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THE STEM FORMATION OF HITTITE
NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABOT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
BSL	Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris
der.	derivative
DLL	Dictionnaire de la Langue Louvite
GEW	Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch
HE	Hethitisches Elementarbuch
HH	Les Hieroglyphes Hittites
HT	Hittite Texts
HW	Hethitisches Wörterbuch
IBOT	Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletleri
IEW	Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie
RHA	Revue Hittite et Asiatique
RS	Ras Shamra
StBoT	Studien zu den Boghazköy-Texten
VBoT	Verstreute Boghazkoi-Texte
ZA NF	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie Neue Folge

INTRODUCTION

Hittite was an ancient Indo-European language spoken in central Anatolia during the second millennium B.C. It was written on clay tablets which have been excavated at Boghazköy in an intermittent series of campaigns since 1906.

In this paper I examine the stem formation of Hittite nouns and adjectives. I group together nouns and adjectives which show similar stem formations and attempt to determine the morphological and semantic characteristics of these formations to the extent that the extant material will permit. I also try to determine the origins of these various formations.

The first chapter describes some of the limits of the Hittite corpus. In the second chapter the various classes of underived stems are examined in detail. The i-stems are treated first, as it was convenient to make certain introductory remarks in describing them. The remaining vocalic stems follow in alphabetical order, then the consonant stems are taken up in alphabetical order. Throughout this paper I have followed the standard convention in alphabetizing Hittite words of ignoring the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops, placing both of them in the position required by the respective voiceless stop. The second chapter ends with six additional groups of underived stems which were not susceptible to placement in an alphabetical order: Hurrian inflection, pronominal inflection, stems with reduplication, compounds, numerals, and miscellaneous--those anomalous stems which did

not fall into any larger category. In the third chapter the various derivational suffixes are examined in detail. These are arranged in alphabetical order.

The sections of Chapters II and III are all arranged in a similar fashion. Each begins with a description of the morphological and semantic characteristics of the particular stem formation. An etymology is proposed wherever possible. All clear examples of the formation are listed with appropriate analyses, including a definition, a derivation, and an etymology. The Hittite texts available to me include all texts published through 1971 and all unpublished texts excavated since 1958. Copies of the unpublished texts are in the possession of my dissertation supervisor, Hans Güterbock, who generously allowed me access to them. I have examined all Hittite texts published since 1952, but have assumed, perhaps with too great confidence, that the entries and literature cited in Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch¹ (hereafter Friedrich, HW), accurately cover the earlier material. Statements such as "hapax" are to be understood with these restrictions in mind. When the source of a word is not given, it is to be found in Friedrich, HW, or in the references quoted there.

The fourth chapter summarizes the second and third chapters, describing in brief the functions and etymologies of the various stem formations. It is suggested for readers who want an overview of this paper without having to sift through a mass of detail that they read the summary.

¹Johannes Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1952).

CHAPTER I

THE LIMITS OF THE HITTITE CORPUS

Only a fraction of the Hittite vocabulary is known to us. The words that may be read and securely defined are not a random sampling, but a sampling skewed chiefly by two factors, the writing system used by the Hittites and the subject matter of the texts.

The Hittite writing system was a cuneiform syllabary taken ultimately from Assyro-Babylonian culture. It contained a mixture of words written phonetically and ideograms which gave the meanings of words without revealing their phonetic content.¹ Sometimes ideograms were provided with phonetic complements, usually of one syllable but in theory of any length, which spelled out the final syllable or syllables of the word indicated by the ideogram. Many Hittite words are phonetically unknown to us because they are always written with ideograms.

The subject matter of most Hittite texts falls into the sphere of religion. The Hittite religion was borrowed from diverse sources, especially from Hattic and Hurrian religion, and its technical vocabulary came chiefly from these two languages. A large portion of the Hittite vocabulary known to us consists of such loanwords. This fact has led many scholars to remark on the non-Indo-European nature of the

¹Phonetically spelled out Akkadian words are also used in Hittite as if they were ideograms. This practice is peculiar to Hittite among cuneiform languages.

Hittite vocabulary.¹ These are the words which the texts reveal to us, possibly because their technical nature did not allow them easily to be reduced to ideograms. The technical vocabulary of a borrowed aspect of culture is precisely where one expects to find loanwords.

There are undoubtedly many Hittite nouns of rare and irregular formation whose phonetic readings are unknown to us. For example, from its phonetic complements, the word for woman is of unique formation. Its root and possible ablaut alternations, however, are concealed by an ideogram. The word for god is an irregular heteroclitite inherited from an Indo-European diphthongal stem, but the distribution of the stems is in part concealed by an ideogram. The two other words which in Indo-European were diphthongal stems, "cow" and "boat," are always written with ideograms.

A brief survey will point out some of the omissions in the Hittite vocabulary whose phonetic readings are known to us. In the physical world we have no phonetically written words for dust, sand, mountain, island, or snow. In the human sphere we have no phonetically written words for man (vs. woman), woman, male, female, son, daughter, infant, husband, wife, brother, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, or any in-law. Among domesticated animals and fowl we do not know the phonetic readings of bull, ox, cow, calf, ram, ewe, lamb, swine, boar, sow, pig, goat, horse, stallion, mare, donkey, mule, goose, duck, dog, or puppy. We know the phonetic reading of one word for sheep, but at least two others are concealed by ideograms. Among wild creatures we do not know the phonetic readings of lion, bear, fox, deer, elephant,

¹Antoine Meillet, Introduction à l'Étude Comparative des Langues Indo-Européennes (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1966), p. 56.

fly, bee, worm, or snake. Those of mouse, bird, fish, and wolf are doubtful. In the sphere of human and animal body parts we do not know the phonetic readings of brain, jaw, chin, nose, tooth, arm, udder, navel, belly, or tail. Among foods we do not know the phonetic readings of apple, fig, grape, nut, olive, oil, salt, vinegar, bread, butter, or cheese. The phonetic reading of milk is doubtful. Of navigation terms we do not know the phonetic readings of ship, sailor, raft, oar, mast, sail, anchor, or harbor. Among the senses we do not know the phonetic readings of smell, taste, salty, sour, or bitter. Other common words whose phonetic readings we do not know include egg, sweat, door, tent, table, plow, spade, gold, silver, summer, voice, slave, servant, sling, bow, and sword. The phonetic readings of all numbers except two, three, four, and seven are always concealed by ideograms.

For whatever interest it may have, the following is a section of a typical religious text translated from Hittite into Greek, but written in Hittite orthography with Hittite spelling conventions.

pa-li-in a-ú-ti-is e-ir-ki-it-ta-i e-is-ten ^{GIŠ}ZA.LAM.GAR-en
ta-as-ti QA-TI-ŠU ni-zi-it-ta-i ha-ti LUGAL-us e-ik-se-ir-ke-ta-i
e-ik-te-es ^{GIŠ}ZA.LAM.GAR-es GEŠTIN-te ki-e-i pa-ra-a-ta ^{NA₄ZI.KIN}
ha-ti LUGAL-us a-na-pa-i-ni e-pít-ta ^{GIŠ}GIGIR pa-ra-a-as-ti
ta-a-na-at-te-ra-an ^{NA₄ZI.KIN} an-na-pa-i-ni ha-i-te LÚ^{MES} ME-ŠE-DI
te-ri-ka-as-si-in ha-ti ni-ik-kan e-ki-i ta KUŠ.KA.TAB.ANŠU ha-ti
LUGAL-us kat-ta-pa-i-ni a-ap-pát-ta ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-as ta-an-ti NINDA.KUR₄.RA
ka-la-i-e-i pa-ra-a-at-ta ^{NA₄ZI.KIN} ka-a-i si-pí-en-ti

CHAPTER II

UNDERIVED STEMS

I-Stems

The two largest groups of nouns and adjectives in Hittite are the a-stems and the i-stems. It is not certain which is larger. In their respective lists the i-stems exceed the a-stems 334 to 314, but this is an accident of the available material. The case forms of i-stem nouns and adjectives are more distinct, so that the stem class can often be recognized from one form. The forms of a-stem nouns and adjectives are not distinct from those of the various consonant declensions, so that in many instances where only one form of what is in fact an a-stem is attested, its stem-class is ambiguous.

Some i-stem nouns are common gender; others are neuter gender. Several may be either common or neuter. These are ^{SIG}es(sa)ri-, UZU hah(ha)ri-, DUG harsi-, keldi-, NINDA nah(h)iti-, DUG palhi-, NINDA sarli-, tuhalzi-, GIS tūri-, zaharti-, zari-, and NINDA zipinni-. sakui- is common gender in the singular and forms its plural from the neuter gender stem sakua-. DUG harsi-, DUG palhi-, and NINDA sarli- are originally adjectives. Their alternation of gender may be based on the existence of two words for "bread" and for "vessel," one common gender, one neuter gender.

i-stem adjectives form their cases outside the nominative and accusative singular from a stem in -ai-. Those i-stem nouns and

adjectives which contain the suffixes -alli-, -assi-, -asti-, -illi-, -m(m)i-, -nni-, -(a)ri-, -ulli-, -uzzi-, -wanni-, and -zzi- are treated elsewhere. Some of the nouns in the following list may properly belong under Hurrian inflection, but forms with a -t- extension are by chance unattested.

There is no productive suffix -i- in Hittite. terippi-, wesi-, and perhaps nakki- show an -i- added to a verbal root. This must be the remnant of an old suffix -i- deriving nouns and adjectives from verbs.

There is one example of a suffix -izzi-. LUGAL-uizzi- "kingship" is derived from LUGAL-u-, phonetic reading hassu-, "king." The adjective hanti- "separate, special" appears to be derived from the adverb hanti, originally the dative-locative singular of hant- "front."

Many nouns and adjectives show forms from both an a-stem and an i-stem. I have arbitrarily listed these under the i-stems, unless the occurrences of the a-stem forms are in the great majority. The heteroclitics in the following list include :aggati-, alili-, arasi-, hatuki-, ^{UZU} huhhurti-, Hurli-, ^(NA₄) husti-, mīti-, nati-, sakui-, salpi-, talli-, dannatti-, and tarmi-. alili- also shows forms from a stem aliliya-. kahari- also has a hapax nominative singular kaharēz from a t-stem.

A large percentage of i-stem nouns are loanwords and refer to items and activities borrowed from other cultures. For example, twenty-six are oracle terms, twenty-six are names of breads, and twenty-two are names of vessels. Most Hurrian and Akkadian loanwords into Hittite are i-stem nouns. This is probably because most nouns in Hurrian are i-stems. Many of the words of Akkadian origin in Hittite have passed through Hurrian. Since the size of the Akkadian corpus is so much

larger than the size of the Hurrian corpus, many words of Hurrian origin are only attested outside Hittite as loanwords in Akkadian. These loanwords may frequently be identified by their restriction to certain areas influenced by Hurrian culture, such as Mari and Nuzi in northern Mesopotamia and Ras Shamra and Alalakh in Syria, and to the Amarna letters from these areas. The situation regarding Luwian loanwords in Hittite is more complex for several reasons. The frequency of Luwian words and forms is greater in some texts than in others. At least in part these Luwianisms are likely the result of a Sprachmischung on the part of scribes whose native language was Luwian. The extent to which these Luwianisms penetrated the language of monolingual Hittites is unknown. Some Luwianisms were marked with a glossenkeil, others were not. And sometimes forms apparently Hittite were so marked. Under such circumstances it is probably best to state the evidence but to be wary of drawing more than tentative conclusions. A few i-stem nouns are loanwords from other sources. Several are from Hattic, including GIŠ parnulli-, GIŠ sahi-, LÚ sahtarili-, (LÚ) tuh(u)kanti-, and SAL zintuhi-. LÚ assussanni- and man(n)inni- may be from Indic through Hurrian. LÚ hapiri-, puwatti-, and (:)upati- also occur in various Semitic languages and are of unknown origin. Several i-stem adjectives are inherited from Indo-European, including harki- "white, bright," mekki- "much, many," palhi- "wide," parkui- "clean, bright," daluki- "long," and perhaps dankui- "black, dark." It is noteworthy that there is no unambiguous example of an inherited i-stem noun in Hittite. nati- "reed" also has forms from an a-stem nata-, and the stem of arki(ya)- "testicle" is ambiguous.

In Indo-European there were stems in both short and long *i*. These are not distinguished morphologically or orthographically in Hittite. Although *i*-stem nouns and adjectives are an inherited formation, their great frequency in Hittite is due to the many *i*-stem loanwords from Hurrian.

ai- c. (a cry of pain). When interjections are used syntactically in a sentence they are common gender. Cf. duddu- and wai-. Imitative in origin. Cf. Greek ai and ai and Russian ay, interjections of astonishment and grief, and Akkadian ai in the vocabulary KBo XIII 1 I 62, whose translation is the Hittite ai.

DUG aganni- c. (a vessel). Loanword from Hurrian aganni-. Cf. Akkadian agannu (a large bowl).

agatahi- c. (oracle term).¹

aggati-, aggata- c. "net, trap." The accusative singular aggatan occurs in KBo XIX 120 II 6. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

NINDA allapuri- n. (a bread). Hapax KBo VIII 89 I 11.

(SÍG) ali- c. (woolen object).

alili-, aliliya-, alila- c. (oracle bird).

(TÚL) altanni-, aldanni- "spring, source." Occurs in a Luwian context KBo IV 11, 51, but the meaning is uncertain. Word common to both languages?²

(:) annari- c. "protective deity?" Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin? Perhaps the Luwian equivalent of ^DInara-.

SAL annati- c. (functionary in a ritual). Hapax KUB XXXIX 54 I 14.

antari- c. Hapax KBo II 11 II 8.

LÚ apisi- c. (a priest). Loanword ultimately from Akkadian āsipu "exorcist" with metathesis of the s and the p.

¹ See Emmanuel Laroche, Revue d'Assyriologie (hereafter RA), LXIV (1970), 137.

² See Laroche, RA, LII (1958), 151 n. 3.

arali- c. Hapax KBo XII 70 I 16: nu 9-an a-ra-li-i-en kap-pu-u-wa-a-an-zi "They count nine arali's."

aramni- c. (a bird). Cf. Hieroglyphic Luwian signs No. 133 and No. 134, which depict a raptorial bird with a human body and have the phonetic reading ar.¹

arasi-, arasa- c. "inner door?"

arawan(n)i- c. "free person." Apparently a der. of arawa- "free," although Hittite has no noun-forming suffix -(a)n(n)i-.

(GIŠ) arkammi-, argami- n. (musical instrument).

arki- c. "testicle." Hapax KBo XVII 61 II 15. The stem could also be arkiya-. From Indo-European *H₄orǵhi- "testicle." Cf. Greek órkhis, Albanian herdhe, Middle Irish uirge, Armenian orjik, and Avestan ərəzi.

GIŠ armizzi-, NA₄ armizzi- n. "bridge?"

arsakiti- c. Hapax KBo XV 33 I 5.

arsi- c. "cultivated land." Loanword ultimately from Akkadian arsu, ersu "drilled (i.e., plowed and sown); drilled field."

arsi(n)tathi- c. (oracle bird).

artah(h)i- c. "sewer, canal."

LJ assussanni- c. "horse-trainer." The first part appears to be a loanword from Indic asva- "horse." The remainder of the word is obscure.

adamtahi- c. (oracle term).

TUG adupli- n. (article of clothing). Loanword from the same source as Akkadian aduplu, atuplu, utuplu (a garment), if it is not in fact an Akkadogram.

(UZU) auli-, UDU auli- c. (an animal; an animal body part). For the two meanings of this word, cf. KBo XII 89 II 9: a-u-li-is ar-ha pa-id-du "Let the auli go away" and KBo XV 33 III 11-12: nu-us-sa-an

¹Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites I* (hereafter *HH*) (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), pp. 79-80.

LÚ EN.É.TIM ŠA USU.ŠIR ŠA GUD.MAH-ya a-u-li-ya GÍR.ZABAR-it QA-TAM da-a-i

"The lord of the house puts his hand on the auli of the ram and of the bull with a bronze knife." Is there a connection with Luwian aulati KUB XXXV 79 III 4?

awiti- c. (an animal).

ehlipakki- (a color). Loanword from Hurrian. Cf. the Akkadian loanword ehlipakku, ehlupakku, hilipakku (a precious stone) attested at Qatna, El Amarna, and Nuzi.

SÍG ehurati- c. "stopper (of wool, in the ear)."

GIŠ elzi-, GIŠ ilzi- n. "balance?"

SAL entanni- c. (ritual personnel). Occurs in KBo VII 60 I 5, 9, 12.

enti- c. (oracle term). Spelled either en-tís or in-ti-is.¹

SÍG esri-, SÍG essari- n. (part² of the fleece). The common gender accusative singular SÍG esrin occurs in KUB XLI 1 I 16. A connection with es- "to be" or es- "to sit" is semantically difficult. This word is to be distinguished from es(sa)ri- "picture, shape, (body) build," which is discussed under the suffix -(a)ri-. A connection with Greek érion "wool" is difficult phonologically. The outcome of intervocalic *sr in Attic is r with lengthening of the preceding vowel.²

hahhari- (adjective describing a reed).

hahasitti- c. (a plant).

UZU hahri-, UZU hahhari- c., n. "lung."

haikalli- (oracle term).

hāli- n. "corral, pen."

(NINDA) hāli- c. (a bread).

hali- n. "watch, night watch."

¹ See Laroche, RA, LXIV (1970), 137.

² See Hjalmar Frisk, Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Vol. I (hereafter GEW) (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960), pp. 468-69.

:halli- "day." Glossenkeil word; of Luwian origin. Cf. Hieroglyphic

Luwian hali- "day."

LÚ haliyami- c. (temple functionary).

LÚ halipi- c. (personnel).

haliwani-, halwani- "rhyton."

halki-, ^DHalki- c. "grain, barley."

GIŠ halmuti- c. Attested in 1425/u 4, 7, and 775/z 4.

haluki- "exploratory?"

hanti- "separate, special." Der. of hanti "apart, separately." Is this an example of giving declensional forms to uninflected words?

hanti- is an adverb, originally the locative singular of hant- "front."

hapati- "loyal, subject."

LÚ hapiri- c. Loanword in Hittite and in Luwian (KUB XXXV 45 II 3, etc.).

Probably of West Semitic origin. Cf. the Akkadian loanword hāpiru,

hābiru (a social class or ethnic group).

GIŠ hapūti- n. "couch."

KUŠ hap(p)utri- n. (part of a harness). Occurs in KUB VII 41 IV 26, KUB XVII 29 II 16, KBo XVI 61 II 8, and IBoT I 29 I 37.

harrani- c. (oracle bird).

NA^h hararazi- n. "millstone." Is there a connection with Akkadian harāru "to grind"?

hari- c. "valley."

haristani- c. Hapax KBo XII 70 I 13.

harki- "white, bright." Also NINDA harki- 879/z V 6 "white bread."

From Indo-European *H₂arg- "bright, white." Cf. Greek argós "glistening, white," Tocharian A ārki "white."

(UZU) harpi- c. (animal body part). The har-sign could also be read hur.

harsi- "thick," (NINDA) harsi- c. "thick (leavened) bread" (has both nominal and adjectival inflection), DUG harsi- c., n. "storage vessel, pithos" (has nominal inflection).

^{DUG}harsiyallanni- n. "storage vessel, pithos." Appears to be a derivative of ^{DUG}harsiyalli- "storage vessel, pithos," although the suffix -anni- and the loss of the stem vowel -i- are hard to explain. The difference in meaning between these two words as well as between them and ^{DUG}harsi- "storage vessel, pithos" is obscure.

^{NINDA}harsupanni- c. (a bread). The har-sign could also be read hur.

harduppi- c. (article of furniture). The har-sign could also be read hur.

harwasi- "secret (adj.)."

(:)hashan(n)ari- (name of a spring). Written either ha-as or has-.

The latter is a rare sign-value at Boghazköy. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?¹

hastapi- c. (oracle bird).

hatahi- c. (oracle term).²

hatanti- "weapon, tool."

^{EZEN}hadauri- n. (a festival).

hatuki-, hatuga- "frightening."³ Is there a connection with Greek atuzomai "to be distressed"?

^{NINDA}hawattani- c. (a bread). Hapax KUB XXXII 129 I 22.

hirihhi- c. (oracle term).

hiri(n)dukarri-, hirendukarri-, hirundukarri- (oracle term).

huelpi- "young, tender, fresh, unripe." huelpi- "young animal."

¹See Laroche, Dictionnaire de la Langue Louvite (hereafter DLL) (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1959), p. 43.

²See Laroche, RA, LXIV (1970), 137.

³For the a-stem forms of this word, see Kaspar Riemschneider, Babylonische Geburtsomina in Hethitischer Übersetzung, Studien zu den Boghazköy-Texten (hereafter StBoT) IX (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), p. 37.

UZU huhhurti-, huwahhurti- c. "throat." Cf. Luwian UZU huhurta[?
Cf. also UZU hurhurta KBo XII 96 I 10, UZU hurhurtan 350/z I 6, and
the instrumental huwahuwartet KBo XVII 54 IV 14.

huisti- c. Luwian word in a Hittite context. Has Luwian inflectional
forms.¹

(NINDA) hulliti- c. (a bread).²

GIŠ hulukanni-, GIŠ huluganni- c. (type of carriage). Attested in the
Cappadocian texts as hulukannu and hilukannu.

DUG huppi- c. (a vessel).

TÚG hupiki- n. "veil"? Hapax KUB XXXIII 67 I 30.

DUG hupurni- c. (a vessel). Hapax KBo V 1 II 44. Loanword from Hur-
rian. Cf. Akkadian huburnu (a small container for perfumed oil)
attested at Mari and Nuzi. (It is conventional to transcribe the
BUR-sign in Hittite as pur.)

GIŠ hurki- c. "wheel." Attested in KUB XXXIV 16 II 10, 871/z II 9, and
1214z/7.

Hurla-, Hurli-, LÚ Hurla-, LÚ Hurli-, URU Hurla-, URU Hurli- "Hurrian" (noun
and adjective).³ The a-stem forms are more common than the i-stem
forms. Are the i-stem forms Luwian? Cf. Hurrian hurrūhe and
Akkadian Hurri. The source of the Hittite -l- is unknown.

DUG hur(r)upi-, hurup(p)i- c. (a vessel). Loanword. Cf. Akkadian
huruppu (a dish made of metal); from Ur III on. Akkadian loanword
in Sumerian.

NINDA hurupi- c. (a bread). Probably the same word as the preceding.

husselli-, hussili- "clay pit." Once hussulli- IBoT I 12 I 5.

(NA₄) husti-, husta- c. (mineral substance).

¹See Laroche, DLL, p. 47.

²Harry Hoffner, Revue Hittite et Asiatique (hereafter RHA),
LXXX (1967), 26, n. 25.

³For the i-stem forms, see Nadia van Brock, RHA, LXXI (1962),
102-103.

hutanni- c. (a vessel).

(:)hutanui- c. Occurs with Luwian inflection KUB VIII 63 IV 13. Of Luwian origin.

DUG hutnikki- c. (a vessel). Occurs in KBo V 1 II 45, KUB XXXIX 12, 15, and 16.

hutusi- c. (vessel for wine).

(:)huwarti- c. In KUB XXXVII 1 I 6 = Akkadian rabiki "decoction." Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

NA_h huwasi- n. "stele."

GAD huzzi- n. (article of clothing). Attested in VBoT 1, 32, KBo XIII 223 II 5, and KBo XIX 93, 3. Loanword. Cf. Akkadian huzzi (a linen garment) attested at El Amarna.

NINDA iyatti- c. (a bread). Hapax KUB X 91 III 15. Perhaps Bo 69/86 8 is to be read NINDA i-ya'-at-ti-in.

TUG intanni- c. (fabric or article of clothing). Hapax KBo XV 2 I 12. Cf. GAD in-ta-na KBo XVIII 187, 6.

irkipelli- c. (oracle term).

ishiyani-, ishēni- c. (a body part). Hapax nominative plural KUB XIII 19, 5 = KUB XIII 4 III 62, where it is paired with UMBIN^{HI.A} "finger-nails."

KUŠ ismeri- n. "bridle, rein."

(D) itmari-, etmari- c. (container). Both Hittite and Luwian forms occur; Luwian in a Hittite context.¹

NINDA iduri- c. (a bread).

(NINDA) gahari- c. (a bread). Once with the glossenkeil, KBo II 4 II 20. Cf. nominative singular NINDA ka-ha-ri-e-iz KUB VII 17, 15.

NINDA kaggari- c. (a bread). Occurs in KUB XXXII 128 I 11 and 1340/v 6. Loanword ultimately from Akkadian kakkaru "metal disk, round loaf of bread," attested at Mari, El Amarna, and Alalakh.

¹See Laroche, DLA, p. 53.

kaki- (an adjective).

URUDU galgalturi- n. (musical instrument).

GIŠ kalmi- c. "log; thunderbolt."

kalmusi- c. (oracle bird).

kaltarsi- c. (oracle bird). Occurs in KBo XVI 98 II 21, IV 3, 4, 6?, 1468/u II 10, 12. The kal-sign could also be read dan.

DUG kalti- n. (vessel for urination). Occurs in IBoT I 36 I 36 and 476/z IV 4.

kaluti- c. "circle, group." Loanword from Luwian kalutti- "circle, group." The verb kalutiya- shows Luwian inflectional forms in a Hittite context, KUB XX 59 V 3 and Bo 69/830 IV 24.

kamzuri- (oracle term).¹

(TU7) gangati-(SAR) n. (an edible plant). Once with the glossenkeil Bo 68/14 II 7.

kappani- n. "caraway."

TÚG gapari- c. "undergarment."

kappi- "small."

DUG kappi- c. (a vessel). Either specialization of the preceding or a loanword ultimately from Akkadian kappu "bowl (usually made of metal)," which may be derived from the meaning "palm of the hand."

karpi- c. "anger."

GIŠ karsani-, GIŠ kar-as-sa-ni- "soapweed."

karsi- "real, truthful, accurate."

(UZU) karsi- (type of fat?). Is there a connection with Akkadian karsu "stomach"?

É garupahi- "storehouse." Loanword from Hurrian karubi "granary, storehouse." Is the final -hi- a Hurrian suffix?

:gasi- c. "visit." Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

¹ See Laroche, RHA, LIV (1952), 38.

kasi- c. Hapax KUB VII 2 I 23 = IBOT II 115, 6.

keldi- c., n. (oracle term) "well-being." Loanword from Hurrian gelti- "good health."

kenupi-, ginupi- n. (eating implement?).

kiklubassari- c. Hapax RS 25.421, 22.

kipessi- (oracle term). Occurs in KBo VIII 86 I 8, KBo VIII 88, 14, and KBo XI 7, 5.

kirihi- c. (oracle term). Hapax KBo XVI 97 II 39.

kipriti- (MUSEN) c. (a bird).

SI? kiputi- c. Hapax KUB XXXVI 77, 3, SI? ki-pu-ti-en. The determinative is weathered and has a tiny winkelhaken between the two verticals in the hand copy. Cf. Hieroglyphic Luwian CORNE kiputa-.

(NA₄) kirinni- c. (a red stone). Loanword probably from Hurrian. Cf. Akkadian girinnu, kirinnu, attested at Nuzi.

gullanti- c. (a bread). Occurs in KBo X 37 I 22 and III 18.

kulawan(n)i- (an adjective).

URUDU kullupi- n. (copper implement used in farming). A connection with Cappadocian kulupinnu "bundle (or straw)?" is difficult semantically. Also made of wood, as in 691/x I 2.

gulzi- c. "drawing? mark?" Probably to be read phonetically and not GUL-zi-.

(:) kummayanni- c. (name of a spring). Glossenkeil word; of Luwian origin? Is this a compound of Luwian kummai- "pure?" and anni- "mother"?¹

kunkumati- SAR, kukumati- (a plant). Occurs in KUB VII 22 I 5, KBo XII 101, 8, 11, KBo XVII 1 III 23, and Bo 68/67 9. In KBo XII 101, 11, the spelling is u₁k?-ku-ma-a-ti.²

¹See Laroche, DLL, pp. 56-57.

²See Heinrich Otten and Vladimir Souček, Ein Althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar, StBoT VIII (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969), pp. 97-98.

kupah(h)i- c. (man's headgear). Occurs only in the ritual of Papanikri,

KBo V 1.

(:)kupiyati- c. "plot." Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

kupti- c. "foundation stone?"

(GIŠ)kurakki- c. In RS 25.421, 28 = Akkadian makutu, which has many meanings, including "panel" and "pillar."

kurpisi- n. (part of a helmet). Loanword from Hurrian gurpisi- (part of a helmet). Cf. Akkadian gurpisu, gursipu "leather hauberk covered with metal scales."

TUGkusisi- n. "(royal) festival robe." Is there a connection with Akkadian kusitu "long shawl"?

GADkusitti- c. Hapax VBoT 1, 32 in the first Arzawa letter, written by an Egyptian scribe. Scribal error for the preceding word?

kuwaluti- c. (something of blue stone). Attested in KUB XII 1 III 16 and KBo XVIII 161 I 15.

lahanni- c. (a vessel). Loanword ultimately from Akkadian lahannu "bottle."

GADlakkusanzani-, TUGlakusanzani- c. (article of clothing). Occurs only in the inventories KBo XVIII 154, 170, 175, and 181, once with Luwian inflection lakkusanzanenzi KBo XVIII 175 V 15. Of Luwian origin?

lallamuri- c. (a bread). Occurs in KUB XXXII 128 I 8, KUB XXV 46 II 12, and KUB XXVII 19 III 5.

NINDAladdari-, NINDAalattari- c. (a bread). The forms with initial a- are more common. NINDAladdari- occurs only in KBo V 1 III 12 and KBo XV 37 I 14. A similar alternation of forms with and without initial a- occurs in the bird names surasura- and assurassura-. In both instances the alternation is unexplained. In the case of the bird names they may not be the same word.

latti- c. (oracle term). Occurs in KBo XVI 97 II 11 and Alalakh 454 I 18, 49.

lissi- n. "liver."

(GIŠ) liti- (an oil-bearing plant).

lukutri- n. (a service).

Lú lulahi- c. "barbarian." Word common to Hittite and Luwian. Der. of the ethnic designation lullu with the Hurrian adjectival suffix -he-.

luli- c. "basin; pond."

(NA4) lulluri- c. (valuable mineral). Probably not connected with the Akkadian lulû, lûlu "antimony?." The suffix -ri- is not added to loanwords.

(TÚG) lupanni- c. "headband?"

luri- c. "humiliation."

lustani- c. "side-door, postern."

luwan(n)i- c. (metal object). Occurs in KBo XVIII 170 II 2 and 667/z 5.

luzzi- n. (a service).

(NINDA) makalti-, NINDA makanti- c. (a bread). Attested in KBo XIII 193, 9, KBo XIV 142 I 59, II 8, KBo XV 37 I 17, and in many unpublished texts. Spellings with both -l- and -n- occur in KBo XIV 142. Loanword ultimately from Akkadian mākaltu "eating implement." The l/n alternation is unique.

magari- c. Hapax XXXIV 89 II 3.

É makzi- (a building). Occurs in KBo XVII 15 I 19 and 879/z II 8.

māni- c. "light blood."

man(n)inni- c. (piece of jewelry). Loanword from Hurrian maninni- (piece of jewelry). Cf. Akkadian maninnu, attested at El Amarna and Qatna. Is there a connection with Sanskrit mañi- "jewel"?¹

mannitti- c. Hapax KUB XVII 10 I 11, something the god Telipinu took away in his anger.

(GIŠ) māri- c. "lance?" Neuter plural GIŠ mari^{HI.A} KBo X 37 I 9.

¹See Annelies Kammenhuber, Die Arier im Vorderen Orient (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1968), pp. 227-32.

(:)(sfg) marihsi- c. (something of wool). Occurs once with the glossenkeil, KBo XIII 109 II 8. Of Luwian origin?

marsastarri- c. (something that incurs divine anger). Is this a compound containing marsa- "false"?

masi- "how many."

TUG mazakanni- c. (article of clothing). Hapax IBoT I 31 I 7.

mazeri- c. (oracle term).

mekki- "much, many." A connection with Luwian mayassi- "of the crowd?" is difficult phonetically. With the loss of *k, a preceding Proto-Anatolian *e becomes i in Luwian. Cf. Hittite tegan and Luwian tiyammi- "earth." From Indo-European *megH- "big." Cf. Greek mégas, Latin magnus, Gothic mikils Sanskrit mah-, mahānt-, Avestan maz-, māzant-, Armenian mec, Albanian madh. A root ending in a voiceless laryngeal may be assumed in order to explain the aspiration in Sanskrit mah- "big" and the double writing of the k in Hittite.

meli- n. (body part).

mīluli-, māluli-, meluli- n. (body part). Do the vowel alternations in the initial syllable represent Hittite and Luwian forms of this word? Never written with the glossenkeil.

misari- c. (an insect harmful to fruits). Occurs in KUB III 94 II 25, KUB VIII 1 III 19, and KBo XIII 18, 8.

(:)misti- c. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?¹

miti-, mita- "red."

NINDA mulati- c. (a bread).

NINDA nah(h)iti- c. and n. (a bread). The nominative-accusative singular neuter NINDA nah(h)iti occurs in KUB XII 15 V 5, 7, and 123/w I 4.

nahsi-, nahzi- c. (a measure). The alternation of -s- and -z- after after -h- is unique. ^{VP 210/211}

¹See Laroche, DLL, p. 71.

nakki- "heavy, difficult, weighty, important." Takes nominal inflection. Probably connected with the root of ninink- "to lift, to gather, to arouse" from Indo-European *nek- "to reach, to carry." Cf. the Greek aorist énegka, Lithuanian nešti, Old Church Slavick nesti, nasiti, all "to carry," Sanskrit aś-, naś-, and Avestan nas-, both "to reach, to attain."

nakkussi- c. "substitute, scapegoat." Probably a Hurrian loanword from a derivative of the verb nakk- "to let go." Cf. Akkadian nakkusše "substitute" attested at Nuzi and Alalakh.

namulli- n. "bed." Loanword from Hurrian namulli- "bed."

nati-, nata- c. "reed; arrow." Cf. Luwian natatt- "reed" and accusative singular GI-in (*natin or another word?). From Indo-European *ned- "reed," with o-grade vocalism. Cf. Sanskrit nadā- "reed," Armenian net "arrow."

(:)nikrani- c. (wooden object). Hapax KUB X 91 III 14. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

nipasuri- c. (oracle term) "oracle liver."

^{NA}nitri- n. (a substance poured into water for washing). Loanword of uncertain origin. Cf. Akkadian nit(i)ru, Egyptian ntrj, Hebrew netzer Aramaic nitra, Greek nitron, and Latin nitrum, all "natron."

^{LÚ}pahursi-, ^{LÚ}pahhuwarsi-, ^{LÚ}pahhurzi- c. "prince not eligible to rule?" The alternation of -s- and -z- is unexplained.

pakmari- (oracle term).¹

palhi- "wide." Also ^{DUG}palhi- c. and n. "basin." From Indo-European *pelH- "wide, flat" with various extensions. Cf. Latin plānus, Lettish plāns, Old High German flah, Old Norse flats, Old Church Slavick ploskŭ, all "flat," and Greek platús "broad." The Hittite word is probably from the zero grade.

panzakitti- c. "reflection?" Hapax KUB VII 1 II 32.

¹See Laroche, RHA, LIV (1952), 38.

pappanikni- c. "boy?"

NA⁴ parashi- n. (precious stone). Loanword from the same source as Akkadian marhašu, marhušu "marcasite," based on the place name Marhasi, Parahše.

parkui- "clean, bright." Also parkui- "bronze."¹ From Indo-European *bherǵ-, *bhrēǵ- "to shine; bright." Cf. Sanskrit bhrāj-, Avestan brāz-, both "to shine," and Gothic bairhts "bright." The Hittite word contains an i-extension of what may earlier have been a u-stem adjective. The laryngeal is lost before a stop. Evidence for the presence of a laryngeal in this word includes the acute accent of Lithuanian bėržas "birch."

GIS⁵ parnulli- n. (a tree and its wood). Loanword from Hattic [parn]ulli (in the bilingual 1700/c).²

NINDA partanni- c. (a bread). Occurs in KUB XVII 12 II 21 and 23 with Luwian inflectional forms. Of Luwian origin.

(MUŠEN) partūni- c. (a bird). Occurs in KBo XVII 1 IV 37 and Bo 69/157 2. Is there a connection with partawar "wing"?

(:)padummazzi- "frame?" Occurs both with and without the glossenkeil. Of Luwian origin?

peri- c. (a bird).³

puhugari- c. "substitute." Loanword through Hurrian puhizari, puhugari, puzigarri "substitute," from Akkadian pūhu "substitute."

pukuri- c. (oracle term). Occurs in KUB V 6 I 11 and KUB XXII 36, 13.

NINDA punniki- c. (a bread).

:purani- c. Occurs in 391/w III 7, 9, 15. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

¹See Heinrich Otten and Wolfram von Soden, Das Akkadisch-hethitische Vokabular, KBo I 44 and KBo XIII 1, StBoT. 7 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), p. 17.

²See Kammenhuber, Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft (hereafter MSS), XIV (1959), 67.

³Hoffner, personal communication.

LÚ purapsi- c. (ritual functionary).

pūri- c. "lip."

purulli- n., EZEN purulliyas, EZEN wuruliyas (important festival). Is there a connection with Hattic wur "earth"? The alternation of p- and w- indicates a sound of foreign origin, the labial fricative common in Hattic and Hurrian. Perhaps this word contains the suffix -ulli-.

puwatti- c. "color; colored mark (as mark of ownership)?" Loanword of uncertain origin. Cf. Ugaritic pwt "red, purple dye?"¹

GIŠ sāhi- c. (valuable wood). Loanword from Hattic sahis (in the bilingual 1700/c.²

LÚ sahtarili- c. "priest singer." Loanword from Hattic LÚ sahtarīl = LÚ GALA, KBo V 11 I 12.

sakui- sg. c., pl. šakuwa- n. "eye; source." From Indo-European *H₃ok^w "eye." Cf. Greek ósse, Latin oculus, Gothic augō, Lithuanian akis, Old Church Slavic oko, Sanskrit ákṣi, Avestan aši, Armenian akn, Tokharian A ak, B ek. The initial s- in Hittite is from the influence of sakuwāi- "to see."

sakuni- c. "source." Is there a connection with the preceding word? The suffix -nni- is always written with a double n.

sak(k)uwani-, sakkuni- c.

salhiyanti-, salhanti-, salhitti- c. (something desirable). Occurs in the list of desirable things associated with the god Telipinu in the vanishing god myth.

salli- "big." A connection with Indo-European *sol- "whole, all" (usually with *-wo- extension, as Greek hólos, Sanskrit sārva, Latin salvus) is difficult semantically. salli- does not occur as an element in proper names; the element meaning "big" is ura-. Derivatives from this word are as if from an a-stem: *sallatar

¹ See Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 56-57, n. 103.

² See Kammenhuber, MSS, XIV (1959), 67.

"bigness," sallanu- "to make large, to rear." The combining form salla- occurs in (:)sallakartatar "arrogance."

salpi-, salpa- c. "dung." Perhaps from Indo-European *sal- "dirty, gray." Cf. Old Irish sal "dirt," Old High German salo "dark-colored," and Sanskrit s̄ara-, s̄āla- "gray." The -pa-, -pi- suffix may be the same noun-forming suffix that appears in waspa- "clothing."

salwini-, salweni- c. (oracle bird). Always spelled sal-u-i-, sal-u-e, or sal-wi-; the mortar-like material called salwina- is always spelled sal-u-i or sa-lu-i-.

TU⁷ sampukki- n. (a food).

LÚ¹ sankun(n)i-, LÚ¹ sakun(n)i- c. "priest." The spelling LÚ^{MES} SAG-ku-ni-is occurs in KBo XIX 28, 2. Loanword ultimately from Akkadian šangû "priest," which in turn is borrowed from Sumerian sanga "priest." The origin of the -n(n)i- is unknown. Is there a connection with the -nni- suffix that is added to divine names?

NA⁴ sariyani- c. (a stone). Hapax KUB XXXVIII 1 II 22.

sarli- "outstanding."

(NINDA) sarli- c. and n. (a bread). Perhaps identical with the preceding word.

LÚ¹ sarmi- c. Hapax KBo XV 33 III 24.

SAL¹ satuhi- c. Hapax KUB IV 3 III 4: SAL¹ sa-a-tu-hi-en-za SAL-an! li-e ME-ti "Don't take a satuhi for a wife."

sehelli-, sihilli- c. "cleanness, purity." Also an adjective "clean, pure." Loanword from Hurrian sehelli-.

sehelliški- c. (a container). Cf. sehelliški 911/z I 2.

seli- c. "pile of grain?"

sentahi- c. (oracle term) "stand."

GIŠ¹ senti- c. (something of wood). Hapax KBo XI 26 I 6.

TÚG¹ sepahi- c. (article of clothing). Occurs in KBo X 23 I 12, KBo XVIII 181 I 8, 28, II 7, lk. Rd. 6.

(É) sinapsi- n. "temple gate." Loanword from Hurrian É sinapsi-, GIŠ sinapsi- "gate."

NINDA siwandananni-, NINDA siwantannanni- c. (a bread occurring in the rituals of Hubesna).

(LÚ) sulli-, (LÚ) sulla- c. "hostage?"

sulupi- c. (oracle bird).

suppi- "clean, pure, holy." Also NINDA suppi[KBo X 34 I 5. (UZU) suppa- n. pl. with adjectival inflection, "meat" is probably the same word.

surki- c. "root."

GIŠ surunni- c. Hapax 1899/u 14.

DUG tahakappi- c. (a vessel).

tahasi- c. (a vessel). Common gender in KBo XVI 68 IV 5 and KBo XVI 80 II 1.

taiszi- c. "barn." Occurs only in law No. 100.¹ It may contain straw and the penalty is given for burning it.

taggani- "breast."

taki- "foreign?"

tali- c. (oracle term).²

talli-, talla- c. (a measure). Occurs in IBoT III 1, 78, 79, 81, and in KBo XVIII 120 I 4, 1. Rd. 4.

daluki- "long." From Indo-European *delHgh- "long." Cf. Greek *dolikhós*, Old Church Slavic *dlǫgŭ*, Sanskrit *dirghá-*, Avestan *darəgá*. The precise phonological development is difficult.

taluppi- c. "shred (of dough or clay), clod (of earth)." Cf. Luwian taluppi- "shred (of dough)." Never written with the glossenkeil. From Proto-Anatolian *taluppi- or loanword common to both languages?

¹Laws will be cited by the numbers of the sections given in Frédéric Hrozny, Code Hittite Provenant de l'Asie Mineure, Part 1 (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1922).

²See Laroche, RA, LXIV (1970), 138.

dam(m)eli-, damili- "untouched, unspoiled."

dampūpi- "inferior, common; barbarous."

tanani- c. (oracle term). Loanword ultimately from Akkadian danānu "strength."

dannatti-, dannatta- "empty, deserted." Twice with the glossenkeil
: dannatta KUB I 1 II 63, 66.

dankui-, tankui- "black, dark." Also dankui- n. "tin." Is there a connection with Old High German tunchal, Old Norse dǫkk, both "dark"?

danduki- "mortal." Also used as a common gender noun.

tarkui- c. (something evil). Hapax 588/v I 5.

tarmi-, tarma- c. "nail, peg." Cf. Luwian tarmi- "nail, peg." The i-stem forms in Hittite occur only in KUB VIII 36 III 4 and 11, and may be Luwian in a Hittite context, although they are not marked with the glossenkeil. There may be a connection with Indo-European *term- "boundary post." Cf. Sanskrit tárman "top of the sacrificial post," Greek téрма, -atos "end, boundary," and Latin termen, termō, terminus "boundary." The Hittite word, however, has no notion of a boundary.

tarpani- c. Occurs only in KBo XIX 53 II 5 and KBo XIX 58, 4. Is there a connection with (:)tarpanalli-, ^{LÚ}tarpanalli- "substitute, rival, usurper"?

tarpi- c. "evil demon."

:tarpi- c. "threshing floor?" Hapax KBo XII 70 + KUB IV 3 II: 38. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?¹

tauti- c. (oracle term). Written ta-u-tis KUB V 24 I 65, KUB XXII 51 I 3. The reading tis for the UR-sign also occurs in the oracle term entis. No oracle term and no Hurrian loanword is an r-stem.

¹See Laroche, "Textes de Ras Shamra en Langue Hittite," in *Ugaritica V*, ed. by Claude Schaeffer, et al. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1968), p. 783.

dawani- c. "staff?" Occurs with both Luwian and Hittite inflectional endings. Word common to both languages?

tawati-SAR n. (a plant). Hapax KBo XIII 248 I 6.

(LÚ) taz(z)elli-, LÚ taz(z)ili- c. (ritual personnel). Not equivalent to LÚGUDÚ, as in HW, p. 219, as these two people are sometimes mentioned together. Cf. KUB XLI 28 II 13, 29 III 9, 30 III 3-4, and 12-13.

Occasionally written Akkadographically, cf. A-[NA] LÚ ta-zi-el KBo X 28 B 9, and LÚ ta-zi-el KUB XLI 28 II 13.

telipuri- n. "district?"

temmi- c. (oracle term).

A.ŠA terippi- n. "plowed field?" Contains the same root as the verb terip(p)- "to plow?" Since Hittite does not have derived i-stem nouns or adjectives or derived root-class verbs, the connection between these two words is old. Is there a connection with Greek trépō "to turn," which is surely old but whose Indo-European connections are uncertain?

(DUG) tessum(m)i- c. "cup."

DUG tilupi-, URUDU tilupi- n. (a vessel). Occurs in 236/q 6 and Bo 68/81 II 8.

GIŠ tiddutri- n. (a tool). Occurs in KUB XXX 54 II 29 and deified in KUB XXXV 52, 6. The ri-sign could also be read tal.

tuhalzi- c. and n. (a sacrifice). Loanword from Hurrian tuhalzi-.

LÚ tuhkanti-, tuhukanti- c. "son of the king?" Loanword from Hattic watuhkanten (a high official). Also spelled LÚ tahu(k)kanti- KBo XIX 163 II 47, 55, and 201/v 7.

GIŠ tuhupzi- n. (an implement used in rituals). Also du!-hu-up-z[i] 879/z v 14.¹

tuk(k)anzi- n. (something given to animals).

¹See Otten, Ein Hethitisches Festritual, KBo XIX 128, StBoT XIII (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971), pp. 37-38.

duklāri- c. Hapax KBo VIII 79 I 13: nu du-uk-l[a]-a-ri-in si-pa-an-ti
 "He sacrifices/pours a libation of duklāri."

GIŠ tuppanni- c. Occurs in IBoT III 72, 11, and 1143/v 5. In a tablet seen and copied by Professor Güterbock at the Istanbul Bazaar in the 1930's, the (Akkadianized?) form GIŠ tumpanni occurs.

DUG tupanzakki- c. (vessel).

tuppi- n. "clay tablet." Loanword from Akkadian tuppu, which in turn is from Sumerian dub "clay tablet." Whether Hurrian tuppi- "clay tablet" was an intermediary is related to the still unanswered question of how the Hittites learned to write. This word does not have Hurrian inflection.

(GIŠ) turi- c. and n. "spear." Cf. Luwian GIŠ turi- "blade? spear?"

From Proto-Anatolian *turi- or a loanword common to both languages?

NA⁴ duski- c. (something of stone). Attested in KUB XXXV 145 II 17 and 19.

:dusdumi- c. Occurs in KUB XIII 35 I 5 and 16. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

tuzzi- c. "army." The nominative singular tuzzias occurs once, KBo II 5 II 13.

ukturi- "form, constant."

ukturi- c. "place for burning." Probably a specialization of the preceding word.

(SÍG) ulini- c. (something of wool).

uluppanni- (a noun).

LÚ ummiyanni- c. (ritual functionary). Hapax KUB X 1 I 5. Is there a connection with Akkadian ummeānu "craftsman," also used as an ideogram at Boghazköy?

(:)upati- n. "feudal estate?" Once with the glossenkeil, KBo IV 10 I 30. Loanword of uncertain origin. Cf. Cappadocian upatin(n)u and Ugaritic ubdy.

urayanni-, urianni- MUŠEN c. (oracle bird).

lú uriyanni-, lú urayanni- c. (priest or temple functionary). Is there a connection with the preceding word?

urki- c. "trace."

urnirni- c. (oracle term) "finger?"

(:)(lú) uruhhi- c. (functionary in funerary cult). Occurs twice, KUB XXX 15 I 31 + KUB XXXIX 19 and KUB XXXIX 41 I 10. In the latter place it is marked with the glossenkeil, but has Hittite inflection.

usantari- "pregnant?" Occurs once with Luwian inflection, KUB XXXV 84 II 12. Of Luwian origin? Never written with the glossenkeil.

SAL udati-, SAL utati- c. "widow."

uwai- c. (cry of pain). Interjections used syntactically are common gender. Of imitative origin. Cf. Latin vae "alas," Gothic wai "alas," and Hittite ai-, with which this word is frequently paired.

walhi-, wa-al-ah-hi- n. (a beverage).

walli- "shorn?"

walli- c. Occurs in KUB XXXV 146 II 8 and 19 with the Luwian inflectional endings. Probably of Luwian origin.

walki- c. (oracle term). Hapax Bo 68/97 I 13.

NINDA walpaimanni- c. (a bread). Cf. NINDA walpailanni- KUB XII 18, 5.¹

wanni- c. "block of stone?" Occurs both in Hittite and in Luwian. Of Luwian origin? Cf. Hieroglyphic Luwian wanaī "stone?,"²

warhui- "rough, shaggy."

warri- "helpful," n. "help."

(URUDU) warsini- c. (copper implement).

GIŠ warduli- c. (type of wood). Is there a connection with Luwian warduli?³

wassi- n. "ingredient; medicine, remedy."

¹Laroche, DLL, p. 177.

²Laroche, DLL, p. 106.

³Laroche, DLL, p. 108.

SAL wasummaniyauli- c. (ritual personnel). Occurs in KBo XII 100 I 5 and 18. Has Luwian inflection. Probably of Luwian origin.

wesi- c. "pasture." From Indo-European *wes- "to pasture."¹ The i-stem derivative from a verbal root is no longer productive in Hittite.

NINDA wistati- c. (a bread). Hapax 163/x I 18.

zaharliti- c. (a bird). Hapax KUB XVIII 12 I 10 with Luwian inflection. Luwian in Hittite context.

zahheli- n. "cress." Loanword from the same source as Akkadian sahlû and Sumerian zag.hi.li "cress."

zaharti- c. and n. (a seat of some sort). The har-sign could also be read hur.

LÚ zakinni-, LÚ zakkenni- c. "prefect." Occurs in RS 17.109, 1, 9, 14, 17. Loanword ultimately from Akkadian šākinu "prefect."

GIŠ zawani- c. (wooden object).

zammuri- c. This word occurs four times, twice in a broken context

KBo XIX 133, 4, 5 and twice in a difficult section of the eighth tablet of the Hisuwa festival, KUB XL 102 V 4 and 5. This section reads: EGIR-an-da l? za-am-m[u]-ri-in ŠA l ŠA-A-TI ti[5) ka-

a-as za-am-mu-ri-is an-na-al-la-as A-NA TUP-PA^{HI.A} 6) ú-UL e-es-ta na-an-kan ^INIR.GÁL LUGAL.GAL 7) EGIR-an-da ne-ya-a[t

"Next l? zammuri- of l ŠĀTI (a dry measure) ti[(probably a verb; ti-ya-an-zi "they put"??). This earlier zammuri- was not on the

tablets. Muwattalli the great king sent it afterwards." The translation "sent" does not capture the nuance of the middle voice,

perhaps "sent for himself" or "sent his own" would be more accurate. zammuri- in form could be the noun from which zammurāi- "to offend,

to insult, to annoy" is derived, but in this passage it appears to be a substance which can be measured in ŠĀTI's.

NINDA zapahi- n. (a bread). Occurs in KUB XII 53, 7, KUB XXVII 34 IV 27, and 968/v 5.

¹See Eric Hamp, Acta Linguistica Hafniensia, XII (1969) 164.

NINDA zappinni-, NINDA zipinni-, NINDA zinnipi- c. and n. (a bread).¹

NINDA zipinni- is the most frequent spelling. NINDA zinnipi-

occurs once, KBo V 1 II 17, alternating with NINDA zipinni-.

NINDA zappinni- occurs once, KUB XXXII 128 I 21, and may be a different word.

zeri- c. and n. "cup."

NINDA ziggawani- c. (a bread?). Hapax IBoT I 10 II 5. The first sign could also be the numeral 4, in which case this would not necessarily be a bread name.

SAL zintuhi- c. "girl." Loanword from Hattic zintuhi- "granddaughter."

zinzapussi-, zizapusi-, zinzawussi- "shaped like a dove." Der. of zinzapu- "dove," which is a loanword from Hurrian. The -ssi- suffix must be Hurrian rather than Hittite.

zipaddani- n. (small liquid measure).

zizahi- c. (oracle term). Occurs in KBo XVI 97 passim. Is this the same word as the accusative singular zizzahin KUB XV 1 I 17, which is probably a vessel?

zizzipki- c. (oracle bird?). Hapax KUB XVIII 14 III 15.²

zulki-, zuluki-, zululki- c. (oracle term). It is not certain that all of these are the same word. No two of them occur in the same tablet.³

GIŠ zuppari- n. "torch." Often written as an Akkadogram GIŠ zupparu.
Loanword ultimately from Akkadian dipāru "torch."

DAM-i- c. "wife." The accusative singular DAM-in occurs in law No. 32.

DUMU.É.GAL-i- c. "palace attendant." The nominative singular DUMU.É.GAL-is occurs in KUB XXVI 71 IV 19; the accusative singular DUMU.É.GAL-in occurs in KBo XVII 4 II 11.

¹Hoffner, personal communication.

²Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 22, n. 11.

³See Laroche, RA, LXIV (1970), 138.

UZU LI.DUR-i- c. "navel." The accusative singular UZU LI.DUR-in occurs in KUB XXXIV 19 I 11.

LUGAL-uizzi- n. "kingdom." Probably to be read *hassuizzi-. If so, der. of hassu- "king," although no other example of a suffix -izzi- exists. Occurs only in omen texts.¹ Elsewhere the equivalent is LUGAL-uiznatar.

MUŠEN-i- c. "bird." Perhaps to be read suwai-. The nominative singular MUŠEN-is occurs in KUB VI 45 III 40, KUB XII 61 III 12, and KUB XXXVI 67 II 22. The accusative singular MUŠEN-in occurs in KBo V 2 III 21. The accusative singular MUŠEN-an occurs in VBoT 24 I 8.

SIG₇.SIG₇-i- "green." Listed by Hoffner without references.²

UDU-i- c. "sheep." Forms with i-stem endings are restricted to oracle texts and must represent a different word than UDU-u.³ Cf. UDU-na-as 496/z I 1 in an oracle text.

UGULA LU^{MES} E.DÉ.A-i- c. "master-smith." See KUB XX 4 I 20, 21, for attestations with a phonetic complement.

A-Stems

Some a-stem nouns are common gender; others are neuter gender. A few may be either common or neuter gender, including alpa-, (:) hūda-, is(sa)na-, kalmara-, and suhha-. The suffix -a- which derives nouns from verbs is treated separately. The following list probably contains words with this suffix whose corresponding verbs are unattested. Those words which contain the suffixes -al(l)a-, -assa-, -asha-, -at(t)alla-,

¹See Riemschneider, Babylonische Geburtsomina in hethitischer Übersetzung, StBot IX (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), p. 32.

²See Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 32.

³See Laroche, RHA, LIV (1952), 25.

-ena-, -ima-, -ssara-, -sepa-, -t(t)ara-, -um(n)a-, -una-, -ura-, and -ya- are discussed elsewhere.

Many nouns and adjectives show forms from both an a-stem and an i-stem. These are discussed under the i-stems. Such heteroclitics in the following list include (UZU) arra-, happira-, hamesha-, (É) hila-, (UZU) kalulupa-, (GIŠ) palzahha-, (NA₄) passila-, and (DUG) tapisana-. TUG massiya- also has a stem TUG massi-, and (NA₄) passila- also shows forms in -u- and in -ant-.

Many nouns show forms of both an a-stem and a consonant or ai-stem. These nouns are discussed under the respective consonant stems and the ai-stems.

A large number of a-stems, both nouns and adjectives, have roots inherited from Indo-European. These include alpa- "cloud," anna- "mother," atta- "father," eka- "ice," hanna- "grandmother," hapa- "river," hassa- "hearth," GIŠ hissa- "shaft," hulana-, huliya- "wool," istamana- "ear," iuga- "yoke," gim(m)a- "winter," nawa- "new," paltana- "shoulder," parsna- "loins?," pata- "foot," peda- "place," (:)tapassa-, tapissa- "fever," tuekka- "body," ura- "big," warsa- "downpour?," GIŠ wera- "tray?," and perhaps huhha- "grandfather" and muwa- "body fluid." Some of these were not a-stems in Indo-European. A good example is pata- "foot," which is cognate with Latin *pēs*, Greek *πούς*, and Sanskrit *pāt*, all consonant stems. There was a tendency for inherited nouns and adjectives to become a-stems in Hittite. This process is attested in our texts, where the inherited nouns kessar- "hand," haster- "star," and nepiš- "sky" show forms from both a consonant stem and an a-stem.

In contrast to the i-stems, there are very few examples of a-stem loanwords. kaskastipa- is from Hattic. TUG massi(ya)- is

ultimately from Egyptian, although the intervening languages are uncertain. :lahpa-, parsana-, and possibly sapsama- are widespread loanwords of uncertain origin. It is uncertain whether ^ēkuntarra- is a loanword from Hurrian, since all other loanwords from Hurrian i-stems are i-stems in Hittite.

Although a-stems are about as numerous as i-stems they account for far fewer words of the sort that are generally borrowed. For example, no oracle terms are a-stems, and only ten names of breads and ten names of vessels are, compared with twenty-six, twenty-six, and twenty-two respectively for the i-stems. Several semantic categories do account for large numbers of a-stem nouns. Twenty-seven are names of personnel, compared with seventeen for the i-stems. A significant semantic grouping of a-stem nouns are the kin terms. These include atta- "father," anna- "mother," šēš-na "brother," nega- "sister," DUMU-la- (= DUMU.NITA-la-?) "child, son," huhha- "grandfather," hanna- "grandmother," and hassa- "grandchild." The stem-class of the word for daughter, DUMU.SAL, is unknown. This is in contrast to the Indo-European situation, where many kin terms had a *-ter suffix, and even contrasts with Luwian and Lycian. For example, Luwian anni- and Lycian ēni- "mother" are i-stems, but Lycian χñna- "grandmother" is an a-stem.

This suffix is inherited from Indo-European *-o-, which formed thematic stems. It may also represent the phonetic, or at least graphic, outcome of Indo-European *-ā-, the feminine thematic suffix. Hittite orthography does not distinguish between o and a, and although plene writing of vowels indicated length in Akkadian it does not appear to do so in Hittite. Masculine and feminine thematic stems have merged in the Hittite a-stems. It is uncertain, however, whether the a-stems

merely replaced the feminine \bar{a} -stems structurally, or whether they fell together phonetically in part as well.

Two nouns in the following list are derived from nouns with a suffix \bar{a} -. These are $\text{T}\bar{\text{U}}\text{G}$ parna- and $\text{T}\bar{\text{U}}\text{G}$ sasta-, which are both names of cloth objects.

aimpa-, impa- c. "load." These are probably the same word. There are occasional graphic alternations between ai and e (i).¹

SAL alhuesra- c. (ritual functionary). Occurs in KBo IX 120 I 3, 7, and 1481/c 8. Is this the same word as SAL alhuitra-? Laroche² suggests that the t forms are Luwian, the s forms Hittite. Cf. Hittite huišwant- and Luwian huiduwali-, both "living, alive."

SAL alhuitra- c. (functionary in the rituals of Hubesna). Is this the same word as SAL alhuesra- q.v.? The terms used in the rituals of Hubesna are frequently of Luwian origin.

al(1)iya- c. (oracle bird).

alpa- c. and n. "cloud." From Indo-European $*\text{H}_4\text{albho-}$ "white." Cf. Latin albus "white," Greek alphós "dull-white leprosy," Old High German albiz "swan."

$\text{L}\bar{\text{U}}$ alpinana- Hapax KBo XIII 111, 6.

NINDA ampura- c. (a bread). Hapax KBo V 1 II 33.³

anna- c. "mother." From Proto-Anatolian $*\text{anna-}$, reshaped as an i-stem in Luwian anni-, Lycian ēni-. For the Indo-European connections of this word, see under hanna-.

andaliya- c. (a product of the soil, also a deity of the earth).⁴

andara- "blue."

antuhsa- c. "man, human being."

¹See Johannes Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementarbuch (hereafter HE), Vol. I (2nd ed.; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960), sec. 13a, p. 26.

²Laroche, DLL, p. 176.

³Hoffner, personal communication.

⁴See Laroche, RHA, XLVI (1946-47), 79.

antuwahha-, antuhha- c. "man, human being." Undoubtedly connected with the preceding word, but the precise relationship is unclear.

LÚ appā- c. (palace personnel). Hapax KUB XIII 3 III 10.

LÚ ara-, SAL ara- c. "companion, friend."

(UZU) arra-, arri- c. "buttocks."¹ Connection with Greek órros "rump," Old High German ars "arse" is semantically attractive but phonetically difficult. The *rs-cluster should yield -rs- in Hittite as in parsna- and warsa-.

arawa- "free."

GIŠ arimpa- c. (wooden implement).

arma- c. "moon." From Proto-Anatolian *arma- c. Cf. Luwian arma-, Hieroglyphic Luwian arma-. Possibly o-grade or zero-grade of the root of irma- "sickness." The root arm- also refers to pregnancy, as in armahh- "to be(come) pregnant, to impregnate," and armahhant- "pregnant." The derivative in -ala- from irma- "sickness" may be either irmala- or armala-.

(:)arps- c. "bad luck?" Occurs with the glossenkeil in Bo 68/209 I 12 and 13. Probably of Luwian origin.

arda- MUŠEN d. (a bird). Occurs in KUB XXXIV 65, 1, KUB XXXIX 35 I 9, and KUB XXXIX 37 I 5.

Ē arzana- c. "inn?" Is this word connected with Akkadian arsānu (a kind of groats)? Cf. IBoT I 29 I 50-52 where a prince goes to the arzana parna "arzanna-house," wishes to eat, and a list of foods follows which includes 2 UP-NU AR-ZA-NU "two handfuls of groats."²

(SÍG)(GIŠ) asara- (an adjective). Once SÍG esara- KUB XXIV 11 II 25.

aska- "gate."

asusa- c. (a metal object) "chain?"³

¹See A. Goetze, Journal of Cuneiform Studies (hereafter JCS), XXII (1968), 18.

²See Güterbock, JCS, X (1956), 90.

³Güterbock, personal communication.

atta- c. "father." From Indo-European *atta "father." Nursery word, subject to frequent reformation. Neither the Hittite word nor Albanian -at- "father" gives evidence for an initial laryngeal. Gothic atta "father" has been reformed, as if not having been subject to Grimm's Law. Sanskrit attā "mother, older sister," may be influenced in the sex of its referent by Dravidian; cf. Tamil attai "aunt, mother-in-law." Similar sounding words occur in unrelated languages of Europe and Asia Minor, both ancient and modern. Cf. Hurrian attai-, Elamite atta, Hungarian atya, Turkish ata, and Basque aita, all "father."

eka- c. and n. "ice."¹ From Indo-European *ieg- "ice" with initial *ie->e- as in ewa² (a grain) from Indo-European *iey-. Cf. Middle Irish aig "ice" and Old Norse jaki "piece of ice." Shows that this root is common Indo-European, not dialectally restricted to Germanic and Celtic.² Each group has a different extension of the root.

enera-, inira- c. "eyebrow."

halhalzana- (part of the human body; head and neck region).³ Cf.

Luwian halhalzani- and halzani-. The occurrence of forms with and without reduplication of the initial syllable is typical of Hattic loanwords. Cf. Hittite kaskastipa- and Hattic kastipan, Hittite GIS halmasuitt- (frequent) and halhalmasut (once, KBo XVIII 151 II 9).

LÚ halliyariya- c. "priest-singer." This analysis of the stem is based on the hapax nominative singular LÚ halliyariyas KUB II 5 II 5.

halmesna- c. (an animal?) Occurs in KUB XXXVI 25 IV 7.⁴

¹See Hoffner, JCS, XXIV (1971), 31-36.

²Cf. Julius Pokorny, Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (hereafter IEW) (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1959), p. 503.

³See Laroche, DLL, p. 38.

⁴See Laroche, RHA, LXXIX (1966), 164, who compares lmi-es-NA₄-as in the vocabulary KUB III 94 I 8.

haluga- c. "message, report." Perhaps originally an n-stem or a n(a)-heteroclitite. Cf. the adverb haluganili. A n(a)-heteroclitite would be preferable, as n-stems are neuter.

hammasa- c. "grandchild?" Hapax KBo X 10 IV 9. Definition based on the similarity to Luwian hamsa- "grandchild?" and Hieroglyphic Luwian hamasa- "grandchild." Also cf. hassa-, the usual Hittite word for "grandchild." Perhaps a Luwian word in a Hittite context.

hamesha-, hamisha- c. "spring." Once an i-stem, ablative singular hameshiyaz KUB XXXIII 54, 13.

LÚ hamina-, LÚ hamena- c. "chamberlain?"

hanna- c. "grandmother." From Proto-Anatolian *hanna-. Cf. Lycian ḡna- "grandmother." This word and anna- "mother" are the reflexes of two Indo-European roots similar in both form and meaning. Because of the segment of the vocabulary to which they belong, that of nursery forms and pet names, these words were especially subject to new formations, and their reflexes in the various Indo-European languages may not often be securely distinguished. From the Hittite forms it appears that one root, that of hanna- "grandmother," had an initial H_2 , while the other root, that of anna- "mother," had an initial H_4 . The distinction between these two initials is lost in all other Indo-European languages except Albanian, but Albanian shows no reflexes of either of these precise forms. From the Latin words anna "foster-mother" and anus "old woman," it is possible that the two roots were distinguished also by a single and a double n. Considering the expressive function of gemination in Indo-European, this could also have been an independent formation in the dialect that gave rise to Latin. Greek also has evidence for gemination in the Hesychian gloss annis. mètròs ē patròs mēter, but in contrast to the Latin form the word refers to the grandmother.

DUG hanessa- c. (a vessel). A connection with han- "to scoop up," hence a "dipper" is attractive semantically, but no -essa- suffix that forms nouns exists in Hittite. Cf. hapax 4 DUG hanissanni KBo XI 11 III 6.

hannitalwana- c. "opponent at court." Connected with hanna- "to decide" although the formation is unclear. Cf. hannitalwes- "to be opponents at court." Perhaps [hannit]talwa- is to be restored in law No. 38, in which case this word would be a n(a)-heteroclite.

hanzana- "black?"

hapa- c. "river." The dative-locative singular íd-ni occurs in KUB XVII 8 IV 23. This may be a different word, or it may be evidence that hapa- is a -n(a)-heteroclite. Cf. Palaic hāpnas "river." From Indo-European *H₂ap-, *H₂ab- "river." Cf. Sanskrit āp-, Avestan āp-, both "water," Latin amnis, Old Irish ab, Old Prussian ape, all "river."

LÚ hapiya- c. (ritual functionary).

happina- "(open) flame."

happina- "rich." Is there a connection with Greek áphenos, áphnos n. "revenue, riches"?

happira-, happiri- c. "city." A connection with happarāi-, happirāi-, happariya- "to sell, to give away" seems likely, hence the original sense may have been "market place." Morphologically the verb appears to be derived from the noun, hence "to market, to sell."

(GIŠ) happuriya- c. (a plant or plant product). The gender is based on the nominative singular happuriyas which occurs in 950/c IV 2.¹

hapustiya- (a beverage). Hapax KUB XV 34 III 26.

TU₇ haramma- n. (a food).

GIŠ harippa- c. Occurs in IBoT III 89 II 3 and 1308/u I 7.

(:) harpa- "heap?" Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin? EZEN harpas and EZEN harpas may belong to this word or they may be connected with Akkadian harpu "harvest, summer."

NINDA harpana- c. (a bread). Occurs in KUB XVII 14 IV 7, 8.

¹See Otten, Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus (Leipzig: Hinrichs Verlag, 1942), p. 28.

hartagga- c. (predatory animal). ^{LÚ}hartagga- c. (a priest?). There exists also a city ^{URU}Ha-ar-ta-q-ga KUB XVI 43 II 3.

hassa- c. "hearth." From Indo-European *H₂ās- "to burn," thematized in Latin āra "altar," Sanskrit āsa- "ashes, dust," and with a velar extension in Gothic azgō and Old English asce "ashes."

hasa- c. "ashes?" Hapax KUB XXXIX 14 I 13, accusative plural ha-as-us. The spelling with two consecutive VC signs is unusual. Perhaps there has been a scribal error somewhere.

^{SAL}hāsawa- c. "old woman" (ritual priestess).

^{GIŠ}hassikka-, ^{GIŠ}hassigga-, ^{GIŠ}hassiqqa- c. (a tree and its fruit?).

hassunga- c. "fodder."

^{GIŠ}hattalkesna-, ^{GIŠ}hat(t)alkisna- c. "hawthorn?" Also spelled hla-tal-ki-is-sa-na-as KBo XII 104 I 7.

^{URU}Hattusa- c. (capital of the Hittite empire; also the land of the Hittites). Loanword from Hattic ^{URU}Hattus, which may mean "silver"; cf. the ideographic writing ^{URU}KU.BABBAR. The Akkadian name ^{URU}Hatti and the Hittite adjective hattili- "Hattic" are probably based on a Hattic form without the s; cf. ^{URU}Hatten 459/t I 3 in a Hattic text.

^{LÚ}hatwaya- c. (ritual personnel). Always spelled with the wa sign, indicating a sound of foreign origin. Cf. the Hattic utterance ha-ta-wa-a-ya KBo XII 48, 9.

haz(z)ila- c. (measure of capacity).

^Éhesta- "mausoleum?"

^{GIŠ}hiqqarza- n. (a tree from whose wood tables are made).¹ Hapax Bo 68/28 IV 16.

(^É)hila-, ^Éhēla- c. "yard, court." Once an i-stem ^Éhiliyas IBoT III 69 I 15.

himma- c.

¹See Güterbock, Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (hereafter MDOG), CI (1969), 23.

LJ hinkula- c. (functionary). Hapax KUB II 7 II 9. Is this a derivative of hink-, henk- "to present; to apportion"? There are no certain examples of a suffix -ula-.

LJ hippara- c. "prisoner."

GIS hissa- "shaft." From Indo-European *H₃ois, *H₃īs- "shaft"; the difference in vocalism between Sanskrit īṣā and Greek οἶσην is difficult to account for by Indo-European ablaut. Perhaps the root should be reconstructed as *H₃oiHs-.

huhha- c. "grandfather." Cf. Hieroglyphic Luwian huha- and Lycian χuga- both "grandfather." From Proto-Anatolian or a loanword common to Hittite and Luwian? A connection with Indo-European *H₂auHos based on Latin avus, Armenian hav, Gothic awō "grandmother," etc., would require a sound change of Indo-European *au to Proto-Anatolian *u, for which there is no sure evidence.

hulana-, huliya- c. "wool." Cf. Luwian SÍG-lani- "wool." From Indo-European *ulHnā- "wool." Cf. Doric Greek lānos, Latin lāna, Old Irish olann, Gothic wulla, Lithuanian vīlnos, Old Church Slav vluna, Sanskrit ūrṇā, Avestan varanā-. The Hittite word has been contaminated by the verb hulaliya- "to wind up, to roll up."

hulpanzana-, hulpanzina- "button? clasp?"¹ The a/i alternation is probably phonetically conditioned. Cf. istamana- and istamina-, GIS kalmisana- and kalmisena-, and tapisana- and tapisena-.

(:)humma- c. "pig-sty." Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

hurnapista- (a disease).²

hūsa- c. (oracle bird).

KUŠ hūsa- c. (part of the harness).

(:)hūda- c. and n. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin? Does this word underlie the adverb hūdāk "quickly, soon; suddenly"?

¹ See Riemschneider, StBoT IX, pp. 79-81.

² See Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 35, n. 45.

hūwa- c. (oracle bird).

^{TUG}huwammaliya- c. "receiving blanket (in the birth ritual)." Hapax
KUB XXX 29 I 7.

hūwara- c. (oracle bird). Is this identical with hūwa-? They never
occur in the same tablet. For the loss of the intervocalic -r-,
see Friedrich, HE.¹

(UZU) huwarla- c. (a body part). Occurs in KBo XVIII 172 I 15, 476/u 5,
9, and 822/u 8.

^{sfg}iyatna- (something of wool). Also ^{TUG}iyatna- 132/x 3.

(MUŠ) illuyanka-, ^{MUŠ}illiyanka-, elliyanka- c. "snake, dragon."

(GIŠ) ippiya- c. (a plant). Cf. ^{GIŠ}u-ip-pi-ya- IBoT II 131 I 22, 25,
and u-ip-pi-ya-, KUB XXV 32 I 29, in which the first sign could be
phonetic or the determinative for grasses.

ippiyanzana- c. (medicinal plant). Hapax KUB VII 1 I 22.

irha-, arha- c. "border." Cf. ^{TUG}ir-hi-is KBo XVIII 197a, 6. The old
dative-locative arha is used as an adverb "out, away." The alterna-
tion of a- and i- is difficult to account for. The form arha-
occurs in Hieroglyphic Luwian, but it is old in Hittite, as is shown
by the adverb arha. Cf. irmala- and armala-, both "sick."

irma- c. "sickness." Possibly e-grade of the root of Proto-Anatolian
*arma- "moon." The root arm- also refers to pregnancy, as in
armahh- "to be(come) pregnant, to impregnate," and armahhant-
"pregnant." Cf. irman- n. "sickness." Perhaps this word is a
n(a)-heteroclitite, despite the difference in gender of the two stems.

irwalliya- (an adjective). Luwian word, usually spelled er(hu)waliya-.²
Appears once in a Hittite context 734/c 13.

ishā- c. "master, lord." Does the plene writing of the -a- indicate
that it is the only vowel in the stem and that the i- is written
to enable the initial sh- cluster to be represented?

¹ See Friedrich, HE, sec. 30b, p. 33.

² See Laroche, DLL, pp. 36-37, for occurrences.

GIŠ iskissana- n. (article of furniture?).

isna-, issana- c. and n. "dough." This word is neuter in KBo II 3 II 8.

DUG ispanduwa-, DUG ispandu- c. (small metal vessel). Is there a connection with sipand-, sippand- "to pour a libation; to sacrifice"?
Hittite does not have a noun-forming suffix -uwa-.

istamana-, istamina- c. "ear." Probably from Indo-European *stomen- "mouth" through the notion "bodily opening." Cf. Greek stóma "mouth," Avestan staman- "dog's mouth."

istanana- c. "offering table."

istarna- "middle."

(GIŠ) iuga- n. "yoke." Cf. Greek zugón, Latin iugum, Welsh iau, Gothic jukuzi, Lithuanian jūngos, Old Church Slavic igo, and Sanskrit yugá-. From Indo-European *iugo- "yoke." This is derived from a verbal root *ieug- "to join, to yoke" but the phonetic ending of the Hittite word for "to yoke" is unknown. The Hittite initial i- corresponds to the Greek z- in zugón. Cf. ewa(n)- and Greek zeiái, in which the Greek z- corresponds to the Hittite lack of an initial consonant. Hittite loses initial Indo-European *i- before *-e-.

iuga- (one year old." Is there a connection with Sanskrit yugá- n. "race of men, generation"?

LÚ kaena-, LÚ gaena- c. "relative by marriage."

kakkapa- c. (an animal). The kakkapa- can be cooked (KUB XX 11 II 22) or cut up for sacrifice (KBo III 34 II 12-14). In law No. 119, the kakkapan annanuhhan is mentioned with the luliyas MUŠEN-in annanuhhan "the annanuhha-bird of the pond" and a penalty is given for its theft. It is never written with the MUŠEN "bird" determinative, and is therefore most likely an animal. There is no connection with Akkadian kakkabānu (a bird), which is homonymous with kakkabānu "covered with stars" and is in origin a descriptive adjective.

(GIŠ) galam(m)a- n. (a part of the door?)

kalmara- c. and n. "(sun-s) ray?".¹

GIŠ kalmisana- c. "log; thunderbolt." Synonymous with GIŠ kalmi-. Hittite has no suffix -sana-. Is this word perhaps a compound?

(UZU) kalulupa-, galulupa- c. "finger, toe." Also once an i-stem genitive kalulupias 571/u 9.

TÚG kaluppa-, TÚG galuppa- c. (woman's undergarment).

kalwisna- (SAR), kalwissina- c. (a plant). Cf. kal-ú-wi-sa-ni-es 245/v II 6.

kammara- c. "swarm; cloud?"

TU⁷ kappara- n. (food). Occurs in KUB XVII 23 I 8 and HT 12, 11.²

kapazila- c. Occurs in KBo III 35 I 4 and its duplicate KBo III 34 I 28.³

kapina-, gapina- n. "thread."

GIŠ kargaraim(m)a- (wooden object). Occurs in 724/z I 2 and 7.

karla- (a noun). Occurs in KUB XVII 8 IV 19 and KBo IX 132 III 5.

GIŠ karnas(s)a- (a wooden implement).

GIŠ karpina- c. (a tree).

Ē kaskastipa- "gate." Occurs in KBo X 24 I 12 and IBoT I 36 *passim*.

Cf. ḡgastipaz 1404/u 3. Loanword from Hattic *kastipan* "gate." The reduplication is probably of internal origin in Hattic. Cf. the similar formation of halhaltumar-, halhalmasut-, etc.

Ē katapuzna- (a building).⁴ Occurs in KBo X 23 III y 8, 17, and Bo 68/71 II 2.

katter(r)a- "lower." Der. of the root of katta "under, below." The suffix -era- is inherited from Indo-European *-ero- which marked the opposition of two things. This suffix also appears in Luwian apparenti- "future."

¹ See Laroche, Orientalische Literaturzeitung (hereafter OLZ) (1967), 33-34.

² Hoffner, personal communication.

³ See Nadia van Brock, RHA, LXXI (1962), 103.

⁴ Cf. Laroche, OLZ (1962), 29.

SAL katra- c. "(female) musician and singer" (temple personnel). A connection with Sanskrit *gāyati* and *gāti* "sings" is unlikely, as the *-tro- suffix is not used for agent nouns.

gim(m)a- "winter." Attested only in the dative-locative singular

gim(m)i. The common Hittite word for winter, even in the dative-locative singular, is gimmant-. From Indo-European **ghiōm*, **gheim* "winter." Cf. Greek *kheimōn*, Latin *hiems*, Old Irish *gam*, Lithuanian *žiema*, Old Church Slavic *zima*, Vedic *hīmā*, Avestan *zyam-*.

gimra-, gimmara- c. "field." From Proto-Anatolian **gim(a)ra-*. The vowel of the first syllable could also be *e*. Cf. Luwian immari-. Proto-Anatolian **e* usually becomes Luwian *a*, but initial **ge-* becomes *i-*. Cf. Luwian issari- and Hittite kessar-, kessera- "hand."

kinzalpa- Hapax KUB XII 1 III 36.¹ :kinzalpassi- occurs in the same text III 5. Is kinzalpa- Luwian or is :kinzalpassi- a Hittite word with the Luwian genitival adjective suffix?

kippa- c. (a building mentioned in rituals). For attestations of this word, see Laroche, Les Noms des Hittites.² Also occurs in 59/v 5, 343/v 3, 124/w I 11, 339/z 9, 10, 11, 1248/z 7.

LÚ kirestenna-, (LÚ) kirestiyana- c. (priest in the Istar-cult).

kueluwana-, kuluwanna- c. "washbowl?"

A.ŠA kuera-, kura- c. "field."

(URUDU) kugulla-, kuggulla-, kukkul(l)a- c. (a vessel).

kukkula-SAR, kugulla-SAR (a plant).³

kūla- c. (gold object).

kunna- "right, favorable."

¹ See Laroche, DLL, p. 55.

² Laroche, Les Noms des Hittites (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1966), p. 258.

³ See Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 56, n. 102.

kuntarra- c. "sanctuary." Cf. Hurrian kuntari- "sanctuary." Loan-words from Hurrian i-stems are usually i-stems in Hittite.

DUG kuraya- (a vessel). Occurs in KBo XIII 217 IV 7, V 4, 14, 881/z III 12, 927/z II 8, IV 10, and 958/z II 3.

kuranna- c. A connection with kuer- "to cut" is difficult. Hittite has no noun-forming suffix -anna-.

kurimpa- c. Occurs in KBo V 1 III 23 and 40.

LÚ kuriwana-, LÚ kurewana-, LÚ kuirwana- c. "independent, not subject to fealty."

kurka- c. "colt."¹

(KUŠ) kursa-, D(KUŠ) kursa-, KUŠ gursa-, GI kursa- c. "skin, hide, leather, shield." A connection with Greek bursa "hide" is difficult phonetically, even as a loanword. Is there a connection with Cappadocian kursānu, kursinnu (a leather sack)? Also occasionally an i-stem noun: KBo VII 29, 15, KUB XXXIX 69 I 7, and KUB XXXIX 71 I 36.

gurta- c. "fortress." A connection with Greek khórtos "enclosed place" or with Sanskrit grhá- "house" is difficult phonetically, as the u-vocalism would be unexplained. gurta- takes the Luwian suffix -wanni- in forming the noun gurtawanni- "fortress guard."

(LÚ) kusa- c. (a relative). Also a divine epithet, as KUB XXIX 1 II 3 and Bo 68/49 I 7. Is there a connection with the verb kuwas(s)- "to kiss"?

kusata- n. "bride-price."

kuwalma- c. (object of silver). Hapax KUB XXXVIII 11 I 10.

lahha- c. "campaign." From Proto-Anatolian *lahh-. Cf. Luwian lahhiya- "to travel," and with reduplication lahhiya- "trip, journey."

:lahpa- c. "ivory." Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin? Is there a connection with Greek eléphas "elephant; ivory"?

lakkarwa- SAR (a plant). Also GIŠ la-kar-wa KBo XII 90.9.

¹Güterbock, personal communication.

lalakuesa-, lalawesa- c. "ant." The alternation of forms with and without -k- is unique. *arkun... t... 1914*

lappa- (something made of silver used to pick up bones).

:lapana- c. (type of pasture). Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

lappiya- c. "blaze." Der. of lap- "to glow," perhaps from an unattested stem lappiya-. Hittite does not use the -ya- suffix with verbs.

lappina- (SAR) (a plant).

laplipanza-, laplipazza- c. "eyelash?" Der. of laplappa-, laplipa- "eyelash?" The suffix -anza- is unique.

lela-, lila- (a festival).

lila- (a building). Is this the same word as the preceding?

limma- (a beverage).

GIŠ mahla- c. "vine branch." Surely there is no connection with Latin mālum, Greek mēlon "apple."

NINDA mahhuella- c. (a bread). Occurs in KBo XIII 62 I 9 and probably to be restored in KUB XXXV 70 III 5: a]h-hu-u-i-la-as.

ID Mala- c. "Euphrates River."

:malusteya- c. (an animal).¹ Hapax KUB XXXVI 25 IV 11: :ma-lu-us-te-ya-as-ma-mu wa-a-ki-it "A malusteya- bit me." Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

malwara- c. Occurs only with Luwian inflectional forms.² Of Luwian origin.

SAL manahuerata- c. (functionary in the rituals of Hubesna).³

(TU₇) marha- (a food).

¹See Laroche, DLL, p. 67.

²See Laroche, DLL, p. 67.

³See Laroche, DLL, p. 176.

marsa- "false."

GIŠ marsiqqa- c. (a tree).

TUG massiya-, TUG massi- c. "belt?, waist-band?" Loanword ultimately from Egyptian mśy, intermediate languages uncertain. Cf. Hebrew mešî and Ugaritic mtyn.

LÚ meniya-, LÚ meneya- c. (personnel). Occurs in KBo XVII 18 II 11, KBo XVII 43 I 10, 12.

NINDA muhhila- c. (a bread). Hapax KBo X 52, 12.

GIŠ muila- c. (an implement).¹ Occurs in KUB VII 14 I 14, KUB XXXV 54 I 8, and II 28.

GAD mutalliya- c. (article of clothing). Hapax VBoT 1, 34.

muwa- c. "body fluid." Frequent onomastic element.² From Proto-Anatolian *muwa-. Cf. Hieroglyphic Luwian muwa- "strength?". Is there a connection with the root of Sanskrit mūtra- "urine," Middle Irish mūn "urine," mūr "mud"?

nega- c. "sister." The definition is based on the context of Bo 70/10. In the Cappadocian tablets this occurs as a final element in names of women.

newa- "new, fresh." From Indo-European *neyo- "new." Cf. Greek néos "young," Latin novus, Old Church Slavic novŭ, Sanskrit náva-, Avestan nava-, all "new."

TU₇ nirikkisa- n. (a food). Hapax HT 12, 9.³

GIŠ pah(h)isa- n. Occurs in KBo V 1 IV 32 and Bo 69/545 I 3.

paizzinna- c. (a fruit?) Hapax KBo X 34 I 17.

palsa- c. "way; time." Is there a connection with Luwian hantilza palz[a KBo VIII 130 II 9?

¹ See Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 89, n. 161.

² See Laroche, Les Noms des Hittites, pp. 322-24.

³ Hoffner, personal communication.

(UZU) paltana- c. "shoulder." From Indo-European *pl̥tnno- or *pl̥thno- "wide." Cf. Greek plátanos "plane-tree," Armenian lain "wide," Old Irish lethan "wide."

paluwa- c. (object of iron). Hapax KUB XXXVIII 1 I 31.

(GIŠ) palzahha-, (GIŠ) palza(s)ha- c. "pedestal." Once an i-stem noun GIŠ pal-za-ah-hi-en 444/t II 5. The spelling may indicate an -lsh- cluster.

UZU panduha- c. (internal organ) "stomach? bladder?"

parhuena-, parhuina- c. (a food).

TÚG parna- c. "wall-hangings? carpet?" (a "house-cloth").¹ Der. of parn-, pir- "house." Compare the similar der. TÚG sasta- which is also the name of a cloth.

parsana- "panther." This is the stem of the oblique cases. The nominative singular is unattested. Loanword of unknown origin. Cf. Old Turkish bars "tiger, panther" and see Vasmer, Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Vol. I,² under bars.

parsina-, parsena- c. "cheek."

par-as-na- c. "loins? upper thigh?." The spelling indicates the consonant cluster -rsn-. From Indo-European *persnā-, *persni-, "heel." Cf. Latin perna "haunch," Sanskrit pārāni-, Avestan pāsna-, Gothic fairсна, Greek ptérnē, all "heel." The Hittite form may represent the o-grade or the zero-grade of the root.

par-as-te-ha- c. "shell (of a nut)?"³ Hapax KUB XXXIII 68 II 9. The spelling indicates the consonant cluster -rst-.

(NA₄) passila- c. "pebble." Cf. NA₄ passilun KUB XV 31 I 61, NA₄ passilandus Bo 69/386 10, and passiliyas Bo 69/386 11.

¹ See Rudolf Werner, Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle, StBoT IV (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), p. 17.

² Max Vasmer, Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (3 vols.; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1953-58), I, p. 57.

³ See Güterbock, JAOS, LXXXVIII (1968), 70.

pata- c. "foot." From Indo-European *pōts, *podos "foot," thematized. Cf. Greek ποῦς, Latin pēs, Gothic fōtus, Sanskrit pad-, Avestan pod, Armenian otn. Whether the Dehnstufe or the o-grade was generalized in uncertain; the -a- is ambiguous.

patalha- c. (part of the foot). The meaning lends itself to derivation from pata- "foot," but an -alha- suffix would be unique. Occurs once with the glossenkeil, :patalha KBo XIII 241 II 20.

GIŠ patalha- c. "sandal? fetter?" (depending upon the interpretation of patalha-). Probably the same word as the preceding with shift of meaning by metonymy.

peda-, pida- n. "place." From Indo-European *pedo- "ground, place." Cf. Greek πέdon "ground."

pilima- c. Occurs in 279/s 10, 12.

pirwa- (a rock).

pittalwa- (an adjective). The pīt- sign could also be read pāt. (SfG)

pittula- c. (object of wool used to tie someone's hands). The pīt- sign could also be read pāt. Is there a connection with the root of pittuliya- "to cramp, to frighten"?

puhla¹ Occurs in the expressions puhlas KÁ.GAL-as ABoT 6, 10, puhlas KÁ.GAL[IBoT I 27, 5, and with the word order reversed K]Á.GAL puhlas 54/s I 11. KÁ.GAL means "gate." Is puhlas an adjective or a noun?

DUG pulla- c. (a vessel).

GIŠ puriya- c. (type of table?). Often of wickerwork, cf. GIŠ pu-(u)-ri-ya-as AD.KID 177/q 5, 933/u II 13, and 1255/v I 7.

TUG puwaliya- n. (article of clothing). Hapax KBo II 20, 6.

DUG saqqa- c. (a vessel). Hapax KBo III 34 I 10.

saksakila- c. (body part).

¹ See van Brock, RHA, LXXI (1962), 104.

KUŠ sala- c. (part of a harness).¹ Occurs in KUB XXVII 67 I 12, II 13, III 18, and KUB XXX 32 I 3.

salwina- c. (a material called kerpiç in Turkish, made of mud mixed with water and chaff and used both for sun-dried bricks and as wall plaster).² Always spelled sal-u-i-na or sa-lu-i-na-; salwini- (oracle bird) is always spelled sal-u-i-ni or sal-wi-ni-.

GIŠ sam(m)am(m)a- n. (kind of nut).³ Once with Luwian inflection, GIŠ sa-ma-am-ma-an-za KUB XXXIX 7 II 17. Word common to both languages?

samana- c. "foundation-stone, foundation." Once samena- KUB XXXI 112, 21.

sapartara- c.⁴ Always with Luwian inflectional forms. Of Luwian origin.

sapidduwa- (an adjective). Occurs in KUB XXXVIII 113 I 12 and 13 where it modifies kunkunuzzi- (a stone). Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

sapsama- c. "sesame?"⁵ Hapax KBo X 34 I 14, in a list of ingredients for bread. If the identification with the ideogram ŠE.GIŠ.Ī "sesame?" is correct, this is a loanword of uncertain origin; cf. Hurrian šumišumi- and Akkadian šameššammu, equivalent terms in a Ras Shamra vocabulary, which may refer to sesame.

GIŠ sarra- c. (article of toiletry).

sarām(a)na- "above (adj.)." Der. of sarā "up, over." The suffix -m(a)na- is inherited from Indo-European *-mno-, which formed adjectives, especially from locative adverbs.⁶

¹See Laroche, DLL, p. 84.

²See Güterbock, Oriens, X (1957), 356.

³Cf. Güterbock, JAOS, LXXXVIII (1968), 66-71 *passim*.

⁴See Laroche, DLL, p. 85.

⁵See Güterbock, JAOS, LXXXVIII (1968), 71.

⁶See Bernhard Forssman, Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung, LXXIX (1964), 11-28.

- LU^{MEŠ} sarikuwa-, ERIN^{MEŠ} sarikuwa- c. (type of troops).
- LU^š sarmeya- c. (personnel).¹
- GIŠ^š sarpa- c. (an implement).
- KUŠ^š sarpa- c. "cushion?" Is this the same as the preceding word?
- sardiya- c. "helper."
- sarūpa- n. "quarrel?"
- NINDA^š sar(ru)wa- c. (a bread).²
- (DUG) sasanna- c. "lamp." Cf. Cappadocian šašannum (metal object, probably a household item).
- TUG^š sasta- c. "sheet? or nightgown?" (a "bed-cloth"). Der. of sast-, sasta- "bed." Compare the similar derivative TUG^š parna- which is also the name of a cloth.
- GIŠ^š satta- n. (an implement mentioned along with GIŠ^š MAR "spade"). Occurs in KUB XV 31 II 14, KUB XV 32 II 8, and KUB XXX 35 I 4.
- sena-, sina- c. "figure, doll," NINDA^š sena- c. "baked figure."
- sepa-, seba- c. "sheaf?"
- URUDU^š sepikkusta-, sapikkusta- c. "pin?" The e/a spelling fluctuation may indicate an initial sp- cluster.
- sesa- c. "fruit." Cf. KUŠ^š sesan IBoT III 60 I 8.
- NINDA^š siluha- c. (a bread).
- sipa- c. "divinity, genius." Hapax KUB XXXIII 66 II 14. This word forms a series of tatpurusha compounds which are names of deities. See under the suffix -sepa-.
- siptamiya- n. (name of a liquid). Written ideographically 7-miya- in Bo 4951, 15, but probably not derived from the name of the number. Cf. the verb siptamaizzi 543/s II 1-2: I-NA ŠÀ É.AMA-ŠU sa-ak-ni

¹See Werner, StBoT IV, p. 42.

²See Otten and Souček, StBoT VIII, pp. 99-100.

[break of unknown length] 2-ŠU si-ip-ta-ma-iz-zi "In the house of his mother in the excrement . . . he siptama's twice.

GIŠ sisiyam(m)a- (a tree). Occurs in law No. 124, KUB XII 51 I 11, and KUB XII 62 II 7.

suhha- c. and n. "roof." A connection with suhha- "to pour out" is difficult semantically.

GIŠ su(i)nila- c. "fir-tree." Occurs in VBoT 58 IV 18 and RS 25.421, 38.

suppistuwara- (an adjective).

GIŠ suruhha- c. (a tree and its wood).

suturiya- n. Occurs in KUB XXIX r I 34 and 36.

(GIŠ) dahanga-, GIŠ tahanka- c. (a place mentioned in rituals). Also NA⁴ dahanga- Bo 3481 I 8, 11, and IV 8.

tahhara- c.¹ Has Luwian inflectional forms. Of Luwian origin.

LÚ dammara-, SAL dammara- c. (ritual functionary). Occurs once with Luwian inflection, KUB V 6 II 46. Word common to both languages?

dannara- "empty, plain, smooth."

tapalkustana- SAR (a plant).² Hapax KUB XXIV 14 I 6.

tabarna-, taparna-, labarna- c. (title of the Hittite king). Originally the name of the Hittite king Labarna-. The alternation of initial t- and l- is unique and unexplained. The forms with initial t- are more frequent. See the discussion in Sommer-Falkenstein.³

(:) tapassa-, tapissa- c. "fever, heat." The form tapassa- sometimes has the glossenkeil. It appears that the form with -a- vocalism is Luwian and with -i- vocalism is Hittite. From Indo-European *topes- "heat," thematized. Cf. Sanskrit tápas- "heat," Latin tepor "warmth."

¹ See Laroche, DLL, p. 88.

² See Hoffner, Orientalia, XXXV (1966), 382.

³ Ferdinand Sommer and Adam Falkenstein, Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1938), pp. 20-29.

(DUG) tapisana-, (DUG) tapisani- c. (a vessel). The a-stem forms are more frequent.

tarasa- c. (an animal).¹ Occurs in KBo XVII 61 I 5, 18.

(:)tarāwiya- c. Occurs in KBo XI 1 I 15, 28, and 44. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

tarlā- MUŠEN c. (a bird). Hapax KUB VIII 62 I 6.

tarlipa- (a liquid).²

tarna- c. (unit of weight?)

SAL tarpašgana- c. (female functionary in the rituals of Hubesna).³

GIŠ tarsa- n. "shoot (of a tree)?" Hapax KUB XII 58 IV 18.

KUŠ tarusha- n. (leather part of the harness).

tesha- c. "sleep; dream."

tetana-, tedana- c. "hair."

GIŠ tīpa- c. (eating utensil).

tuekka-, tuikka- c. "body." From Indo-European *tueHk-. Cf. Greek *sákos* "shield" and Sanskrit *tvacas-*, *tvák-* "skin."

DUG tuhgapisa- (a vessel).

tuliya- c. "assembly." The meaning of Luwian tuliya- is unknown.

:dummanteya-, :tummantiya- c. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin.

Is there a connection with Luwian tumman- "ear?" and tummatai- "to hear?"?

GIŠ tuppa- c. (a container).⁴

turuppa- c. (a bread?). Occurs only in KBo XV 10 passim.

¹ See Howard Berman's forthcoming article in JAOS, "A Hittite Ritual for the Newborn."

² See Otten and Souček, StBoT VIII, pp. 58, 100, 124.

³ See Laroche, DLL, p. 176.

⁴ See Werner, StBoT IV, p. 36.

GI ummiya- "drinking straw?" Occurs in KBo XIII 64 I 12 and 13.

ura- "big." Also ^{DUG} ura- c. (a vessel). The common Hittite word for "big" is salli-. ura- is more frequent in proper names than salli-. Cf. the Luwian divine epithet ura(n)t-. From Indo-European *uer- "wide." Cf. Sanskrit uru- and the Avestan form in compounds vouru-. It is not certain whether Greek eurús "wide" derives its initial e- by metathesis or from an initial e-colored laryngeal.

NINDA wagāta- c. and n. (a bread). A connection with wak- "to bite," although semantically attractive for the name of a bread, is difficult because of the unique suffix -āta-.

(UZU) walla-, uwalla-, ula- c. "thigh."

walkissara-, ulkissara- "skillful."

wannummiya- "alone, childless, orphaned."

warsa- c. "downpour?" From Indo-European *H₁uers- "dew, shower" with various grades of the root. Cf. Sanskrit varṣa- "rain," Greek eērsē "dew."

GIŠ warsam(m)a- c. "firewood?"

warsula- c. and n. "drop?"

waspa-, wassapa- c. "clothing." Der. of was(s)-, wes(s)- "to clothe." The noun-forming suffix -pa-, no longer productive, may be the same that appears in salpi-, salpa- "dung."

(GIŠ) wera-, GIŠ ura- c. "tray? platform?" Probably from Indo-European *uer- "wide." See above under ura-.

wetma- "fear."¹ Hapax KUB XXIX 1 II 19.

:wira-² Glossenkell word. Of Luwian origin?

¹See Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 38, n. 48.

²See Laroche, DLI, p. 111.

NINDA wista- c. (a bread). Hapax KUB IX 17, 16. Cf. Palaic wista- and the Luwian (in form, at least) derivative NINDA wistatnim(m)i-. From Proto-Anatolian *wista- or a loanword common to all three languages?

zaha- n. (metal object used in rituals).

GIŠ zaya- c. (a weapon).¹

:zarsiya- c. "right of hospitality." Occurs only in KUB XIV 3, where it is consistently marked with the glossenkeil. Of Luwian origin?

zena- c. "autumn."

zila- c.

LÚ zipuriya- c. (temple functionary). Hapax KUB XXX 69, 1.

GIŠ zunna- (type of wood).²

GIŠ zuppa- c. (vessel for liquids). Occurs in KUB XXX 41 II 7, 11, and Bo 2898 I 13.³

:zuwa- c. "bread, food." Glossenkeil word with Hittite inflectional forms. Of Luwian origin.

A.A.UR-a- c. "potency."⁴ Hapax in a vocabulary KBo XIII 1 IV 33.

LÚ AGRIG-a- c. "administrator." The accusative singular LÚ AGRIG-an occurs in KBo III 34 II 11.⁵

LÚ ALAM-ZÚ-a- c. "clown?"

ANŠU.KUR.RA.MAH-a- c. "stallion."

GIŠ APIN-a- c. "plow."

¹See Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 96.

²See Otten, Materialien zum hethitischen Lexicon, StBoT XV (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971), p. 4.

³See Otten, StBoT XV, p. 5.

⁴See Otten and von Soden, StBoT VII, pp. 26-27.

⁵See Kammenhuber, Orientalia, XXXI (1962), 378.

NA⁴ARA-a- c. "millstone." Cf. the nominative singular NA⁴ARA-as
902/z I 8.

DUMU-la- c. "child, son."

DUMU.NITA-la- c. "son." Perhaps the same word as DUMU-la-.

DUMU.SAL-la- "girl." Occurs in KBo XX 101, 3.

KUŠ⁵.SIR-a- "shoe."

SAL⁴.GE₄.(A)-a- c. "bride." The nominative singular SAL⁴.GE₄-as occurs
in KBo XIII 35 III 2.

EN-izna- "authority." Phonetic reading probably *ishizna-. Der. of
isha- "lord" with the same suffix that occurs in LUGAL-uizna- "king,"
in a similar semantic sphere. The etymology of this suffix is unknown.

EZEN-a- c. "festival."

GÜB-la- "left; unfavorable."

GUD.MAH-a- c. "bull."

LÚ¹.HAL-a- c. "seer." The nominative singular LÚ¹.HAL-as occurs in 902/z
IV 11.

KI.BAD-a- "distant."

LÚ¹.KÜR-na- c. "enemy." The adverb LÚ¹.KÜR-nili occurs in KBo XIX 70, 6, 8.

LÚ¹-na- c. "man." The LÚ¹-sign also has the phonetic reading ziti-.

LÚ¹ GIŠ³.BANŠUR-a- c. "table-man." The nominative singular LÚ¹ GIŠ³.BANŠUR-as
occurs in KBo XIX 171 I 14, 23.

LUGAL-uizna- "king." Phonetic reading probably hassuizna-. Der. of
hassu- "king" with the same suffix that occurs in EN-izna- "author-
ity," in a similar semantic sphere. The etymology of this suffix
is unknown.

MUN-a- c. and n. "salt."

MUŠ-a- c. "snake."

NA₄-a- c. "stone." The accusative singular NA₄-an occurs in KUB XII 7
VI 5, 1308/u I 2, 1931/u 2, 101/v 4, etc. The accusative plural

NA₄ BI.A¹-us occurs in 274/q 16.

LÚ_{NAR}-a- c. "musician."¹

LÚ_{NI.ZU}-a- c. "thief; spy."

NIN.DINGIR-a- c. (a priestess). Occurs with phonetic complements in KBo XIX 161 passim.

Ai-Stems

Some stems in -ai- are common gender; others are neuter gender. One noun, ^{GIŠ}luttāi-, may be either common or neuter. The oblique cases of these nouns are formed from a stem in -i-. Those stems which are derived from verbs are treated separately. Three nouns in -ai-, sankuwai-, tuhhuwāi-, and zapzagai-, also show forms from corresponding i-stems. This may be the result of -ai- contracting to -e- (-i-) or -uwa- contracting to -u-.² Hittite has two adjectives in -ai-, lazzai- and damai-. lazzai- also shows forms from an i-stem. damai- has pronominal inflection. Two nouns, ^{SIĞ}istaggai- and ^{GIŠ}luttāi-, also show forms from corresponding a-stems.

Most stems in -ai- are of obscure origin. hastai- is inherited from Indo-European. sankuwai- and tuhhuwāi- may also be inherited.

This class of nouns corresponds to the Greek stems in -oi-, nominative singular in -ō. The only noun of this class attested outside of Greek and Hittite is the isolated Sanskrit sakhā "friend," accusative singular sakhāyam. The Hittite nominative singular ends in -s because all Hittite common gender nouns end in -s in the nominative singular.

¹Listed as an a-stem noun by Hoffner in RHA, LXXX (1967), 56, without references.

²Friedrich, HE, sec. 13a, p. 26, sec. 17a, p. 27.

erai- c. (part of the liver?).

(DUG) hakkunāi- c. (vessel for perfume). The nominative singular ha-
ak-ku-un-na-a-us KBo IX 119A I 8 is probably a scribal error.

DUG hapuwāi- n. (a vessel). Hapax ha-pu-wa-a-i 1776/u I 8. Scribal
error for hupuwāi-? Or connected with Akkadian hābū (a small
earthen jug for storage)?

harai- c. Hapax accusative singular ha-ra-in KBo X 16 I 11.

hastai- n. "bone." Cf. Luwian has(s)a-. The loss of the -t- is unex-
plained. The cluster -st- apparently remains in Luwian, as in the
suffix -asti-. From Indo-European *H₃ost- "bone." Cf. Greek ostéon,
Latin os, Welsh asgwrn, Sanskrit āsthī-, Avestan ast-, asti-, Armenian
oskr, Albanian asht.

hasuwāi- (SAR) n. (alkaline plant) "soapweed?" Possibly connected with
hās, hassa-, a soap-like substance which can be made from this
plant. Also cf. hasussara- (a plant).

DUG hupuwāi- n. (a vessel). The nominative-accusative singular
DUG hupuwaya also occurs in KBo II 3 II 41, KBo IX 106 II 47, 48,
and Bo 68/11 II 21, 25.

sfg istaggai-, sfg istagga- c. "bow-string."

NINDA katai-, NINDA gatai- n. (a bread).¹ Occurs in KUB XXXV 82, 1,
KBo XIII 248 I 22, 814/b 1, 7,² and 1262/v III 8, 9, 11.

lazzai-, lazzi- "good, healthy."

GIŠ luttāi-, GIŠ lutta- c., n. "window."

UZU muhrai-, UZU muhharai- c. "rib."

GIŠ parlāi- Hapax GIŠ par-la-a-i 482/u 4.

saklai- c. "custom, usage, rule." The accusative singular saklin occurs
once, KUB IX 27, 28.

¹ Hoffner, personal communication.

² Cited by Otten Die Luvische Texte in Umschrift (hereafter LTU)
(Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953), p. 83.

sankuwai-, sankui- "fingernail." Possibly connected with Indo-European *H₃nogh- "nail" with initial s- under the influence of some other word. The precise phonetic form of the Indo-European word is difficult, as the various languages have reshaped this word.¹ For the -u-extension of the root, cf. Latin unguis "nail."

(UZU) sisai- n. "tail??" (animal body part).² This noun is neuter gender and therefore not likely to be a derivative of ses- "to sleep, to lie, to remain." Deverbal adjectives in -ai- are common gender.

sulai- c. "lead." Possibly a loanword from a similar source as Greek sólos "lump of iron."

suwai- c. "bird?" The entry su-wa-is in the vocabulary 902/z I 15 may correspond to MUSEN-es of the parallel vocabulary HT 42 I 2, 4.³

tallāi-, GIŠ tallāi-, DUG tallāi- n. (vessel for perfume). Probably a loanword from Hurrian. Cf. the Nuzian measure tallu used for oil.

NINDA tuhurāi- n. (a bread).

wagāi- c. "flour, worm."⁴

wattai- c. (something found by the open fields).

GIŠ zahrai- c. (something that can be stolen by the palace gate).

zalhāi- n. (a vessel).

zapzagai-, zapzaki-, zapziki- n. "glass." Loanword of uncertain origin. Cf. Ugaritic spsg "liquid glass," and Hebrew spsg "glaze."

¹See Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine (4th ed.; Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1967), p. 747.

²See Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 25, n. 19.

³See Otten and von Soden, StBoT VII, p. 40.

⁴See Laroche, Ugaritica V, p. 782.

E-Stems

Three nouns are e-stems, mene-, GIŠ₂tarse-, and utne-. GIŠ₂tarse- is common gender; the other two are neuter. During the interval between the introduction of writing and the composition of the surviving texts, Hittite lost the distinction between e and i. The distinction was partly preserved in the spelling, partly lost, and sometimes the wrong vocalism was introduced. mene- and utne- (although not GIŠ₂tarse-) therefore often show forms identical with those of i-stems. Occasionally i-stem nouns show e-vocalism. The only one of these nouns with a secure etymology is utne-, which is inherited from Indo-European.

mene-, meni- n. "face."

GIŠ₂tarse- c. (something made of wood). Meaning uncertain. Occurs only in the ritual for the dead KUB XXX 19+. The absence of spelling variations with i-vocalism is probably due to the fact that all the forms were written by the same scribe.

utne-, utni- n. "land, country." From Indo-European *weden- (the precise form is difficult), an old heteroclite, with generalization of the -n- forms and the zero grade of the root.¹ The origin of the e-vocalism is uncertain. Cf. Greek *oûdas* and Armenian *getin*, both "ground."

U-Stems

Some nouns in -u- are common gender; others are neuter gender. Adjectives in -u- form their cases outside the nominative and accusative singular from a stem in -au-. A few u-stem nouns show Hurrian inflection and are discussed in that section. Many u-stem adjectives and a

¹ See Eric Hamp, "Hittite *utne-*, Greek *oûdas*," in *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata*, Vol. III (Rome: Istituto di Glottologia della Università di Roma, 1969), pp. 7-16.

few u-stem nouns are derived. Those u-stem adjectives which are derived from verbs are treated separately. miliddu- "sweet" is derived from milit- "honey." lahhu- (a vessel) is derived from lah(h)uwai-, lah(h)u- "to pour." A few uncertain examples will be discussed below. Several u-stem nouns are inherited from Indo-European. The surest examples are genu- "knee" and taru- "tree." Several u-stem nouns are loanwords. istanu- "sun" and peru- "rock" are Hattic, iwaru- "dowry" and zinzāpu- "dove" are Hurrian, and alālu- (article of clothing) is of Semitic origin.

Several u-stem nouns may be either common or neuter gender. These include genu-, ^{TUG}seknu-, ^{GAD}tanipū-, wappu-, and wellu-. A few u-stem nouns also show forms from other stem-classes. These variants are formed chiefly by the addition or substitution of an i-element. They include hapupu- and hapupi-, harnāu- and harnai-, wasku- and waskui-. harganau-, which is neuter gender, once has a common gender form harganai-.

In Indo-European stems in both short and long *u occurred. The stems in short u were extremely frequent; the stems in long u were rarer. These two stem classes are not distinguished morphologically or orthographically in Hittite.

(NA₄) aku- c. "stone." From Indo-European *H₄ak- "sharp." Cf. the stem formation of Latin *acus*, -ūs f. "needle." Often with a *-men-extension in the meaning "stone." Cf. Lithuanian *akmuō*, Sanskrit *āśman*-, *āśan*-, Avestan *asan*-, all "stone," Greek *ákmon* "anvil."

GAD alālu- n. (article of clothing). Occurs in KBo VIII 91 I 14 and Bo 69/794 I 6. Loanword of Semitic origin. Cf. Ugaritic *ʾall* (a garment) and Akkadian alālu "to suspend, to hang."

alpu- "blunt, bent,"

Ēhalentu-, Ēhalentiu-, Ēhalantu- n. "residential palace?" Is there a connection with Ēalandu- (building in the cult of Hubesna) which may be Luwian?¹

halenzu- n. "foliage."²

hallu- "deep." Has nominal inflection, but cf. the common gender accusative plural halluwaus KBo III 8 III 4, 522/v 2, and halluwamus KUB XXXIII 24 I 28, KBo XIII 86 I 19.

hapupu- (MUŠEN), hapupi- (MUŠEN) c. (a bird). For similar formations, cf. Latin upupa and Greek épops "hoopoe," Latin būbō, -ōnis (dial. būfō, būfus, -ī) "owl," and Akkadian habābu "to murmur (said of water); to hum, to low, to chirp."

harasu- Given as the word for "bronze" by Laroche,³ but no evidence is presented there.

GIŠ_{harāu-} n. "poplar."

harganau- n. "heel?" (body part mentioned after the foot). Once common gender nominative singular harganauiš KUB XXXIII 66 II 3. Is there a connection with harganu-, harqanu- "to destroy"?

harnāu-, harnāi- c. "birth-stool."

hardu- n. (a distant descendant). Cf. Luwian harduwatt- and the Luwian abl.-instr. hartūwahartuwati in a Hittite context KUB XII 58 IV 13.

Also Hieroglyphic Luwian FILS hartu- (a descendant). From Proto-Anatolian *hartu- or a loanword common to both languages? Cf.

Akkadian hurdu "posthumous child?" in the Cappadocian tablets.

(GIŠ) hattalu- n. "cross-bar." Is there a connection with GIŠ_{hattalla-} "club," which is derived from hattāi- "to cut; to pierce"?

heu- c. "rain." Attested with both nominal and adjectival inflection.

ishahru-, eshahru- n. "tears, weeping."

¹See Laroche, DLL, p. 176.

²Güterbock, personal communication.

³Laroche, RHA, LXXIX (1966), 181.

ishunau- n. "sinew; bowstring." The common gender stem ^{UZU}ishuna- occurs once, KUB IX 34 II 25.

^DIstanu- c. "sun." Loanword from Hattic estān "sun god, sun" (e.g., es-ta-a-an KUB XXVIII 15, 4a). The u-vocalism may come from a Hattic form like es-ta-nu-ú Bo 69/659 3.

idalu- "evil, bad." Cf. Luwian adduwal(i)- "evil." From Proto-Anatolian *edwal-. For the loss of w after d, cf. Hittite *dā- "two" from Indo-European *duō.

iwaru- n. "gift, dowry." Loanword from Hurrian ewuru- "heir." Cf. the Akkadian loanword ewuru "heir" attested at Nuzi.

kapru- n. (body part mentioned between the head and the back).

kapunu- n. (a surface measure).

kalu-, kilu- (a type of sacrifice). Has adjectival inflection.

kellu- n. Hapax KUB XL 102 I 12.

genu-, ginu- n. "knee." From Indo-European *genu- "knee." Cf. Greek gónu, Latin genū, Gothic knīu, Sanskrit jānu-, Avestan žnu-, Armenian cunr. Occasionally common gender, as KUB XIII 4II 58, KUB XVII 29 II 11, and KBo IX 125 I 12. Has ablaut in the instrumental ganut KUB XII 63 I 26, which probably represents an initial gn- cluster with the zero grade.

(UZU) genzu-, ginzu-, gimzu- n. "lap, womb; love, affection." Also spelled ^{UZU}ki-e-en-zu KBo X 31 II 17.

kuwaliu- (adjective modifying huwanhuessar in the vanishing god myth). The neuter nominative-accusative singular is kuwalē in KUB XXXIII 24 I 28. The common gender accusative plural is kuliyamus in KBo XIII 86 I 18.

kuarwasu-, kurwasu- c. Occurs in KUB XVII 20 II 4, KUB XXII 37 I 6, and KUB XXX 65 II 15.

lahhu- c. (a vessel). Hapax in a vocabulary KUB III 94 II 17. Der. of lah(h)uwai-, lah(h)u- "to pour."

lalu- n. "(erect) penis."

maninku- "short, near."

miliddu- "sweet." Der. of milit- "honey." The spelling with initial ma- occurs once, KUB XVII 10 II 26; elsewhere, even in KUB XVII 10, the word begins with mi-. The spelling with ma- is probably a scribal error.

nāru SAR (a plant). Hapax KBo XIII 248 I 8. Cf. Akkadian narûtu (pl. of *narû?) (a type of malt). The form in the Hittite context could also be an Akkadogram.

nû- c. "well-being? contentment?"

GIŠ papû- c. (something knocked over by a dog in the temple).

(GIŠ) per-as-du- c. "shoot?" The spelling represents a medial -rsd- cluster.

NA₄ peru- n. "rock." Loanword from Hattic pir "stone."

sāyû- c. (an animal). Hapax KUB XII 1 IV 23 sa-a-i-û-us. A BIBRU is made in its image.

sanku- Hapax KUB XXXIII 68 II 1. Occurs in the phrase sankus alil "a sanku-flower." If it were an adjective, alil would have to be common gender although it is an l-stem. Perhaps sanku- is the name of a flower.

sāru- n. "booty." Once common gender KUB XXXIV 23 II 29.

TÚG seknu-, TÚG siknu- c. "coat." Twice neuter gender, KBo III 34 I 21 and 917/u I 11. Cf. the determinative of ^{SIG} se-ik-nu [KBo XII 86, 8.

(:)(DUG) simalu-, NINDA simallu-, simmallu- n. (a vessel and a bread).

Attested in KUB XII 4 I 9, KBo XI 11 II 8, KBo XIX 126, 13, 16, and 130/w 4.

sishau- n. "sweat."

suwaru- n. (substance used in washing).

NINDA takarmu-, NINDA dakarmu- c. (a bread).

dampu- "pointed."

GIŠ tanāu- n. (a tree). Hapax 2064/g I 10.

GAD tanipū- c. (an article of clothing). Once neuter nominative-accusative singular GAD tanipū KBo XVIII 186 lk. Rd. 1. For the reading GAD tanipū- and not *kattanipū, cf. KBo XVIII 181 II 28 where it occurs in a list of items each of which has the determinative GAD.

NINDA taparwasu- c. (a bread). This word is always written with the wa- sign, indicating a sound of foreign origin.

tarnu- "bath-house?"

taru- n. "wood, tree." From Indo-European *doru- "tree." Cf. Greek dōru "spear, shaft," Old Irish daur "oak," Gothic triu "stick of wood," Old Norse trē "tree wood," Old Church Slavonic drěvo "tree," Sanskrit dāru-, dru- "wood," Avestan dāuru- "piece of wood, club."

tarru- Hapax KBo XII 70 I 12, adjective modifying sasdan "bed." Probably connected with the adverb tarrū.¹

tasku- c. (a body part).

tisanu- c. "bison."

NINDA tun(n)aptu-, NINDA tunapdu-, NINDA dunnapdu- c. (a bread).

duddu- c. This is the interjection duddu used as a noun. When the interjections ai and wai are declined they are also common gender.

duddu- c. (a vessel). Occurs in KUB XVI 16 II 4 and KUB XXXV 163 III 7. Is there a connection with Akkadian dūdu "kettle"?

wappu- c. and n. "river-bank." The form wappamus occurs in a broken context KUB XXXIII 10 II 11.

wasku-, waskui- c. "offense?"

wattaru-, watru- n. "spring, source."

welku- n. "grass, herb." The nominative-accusative singular welkuwan from a stem welkuwa- also occurs.

wellu- n. and c. "meadow."

¹ See Laroche, Ugaritica V, p. 782.

zāu- n. (an object made of gold or silver). Attested in KBo X 26 I 28, 33, KBo XI 38 I 9, KBo XVI 78 IV 14, and 563/u 3.

zinzāpu-^{MUŠEN} n. "dove." Loanword from Hurrian zinzapu- "dove."

zizzaadu- c. (an object made of gold). Hapax IBoT III 57, 8.

^{NINDA}zuriu- c. (a bread). Hapax 879/z V 7.

AMAR-u- c. "calf." The nominative singular AMAR-us is attested in KUB XXI 27 I 8; the accusative singular AMAR-un is attested in KBo XI 14 II 5 and 310/v I 10.

ANŠU.KUR.RA-u- c. "horse." The following forms are attested:

Sg. N. ANŠU.KUR.RA-us KBo XVII 15 I 9, KUB XL 40 II 12

ANŠU.KUR.RA^{MES}-us KUB XL 40 II 11

Sg. A. ANŠU.KUR.RA^{HI.A}-un KBo VIII 36 I 4

Pl. A. ANŠU.KUR.RA^{MES}-us HT 10 12

^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-u- c. "table." The accusative singular is ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-un. The form ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-us occurs in 236/q 4 in a broken context.

GUD-u- c. "ox."

IN.NU-u- c. "straw." The accusative singular IN.NU-un occurs in KUB XXIX 48 II 11.

KU₆-u- c. "fish." The equation suggested by Otten KBo X p. VI n. 2 of KU₆^{HI.A} KBo X 52, 10 and parhu[KBo X 36 III 4 is uncertain; the two texts are only loosely parallel.¹

UDU-u- c. "sheep." The i-stem complements of this ideogram probably represent a different word.²

Ablauting An-Stems

Two nouns ending in -an- are inherited from Indo-European and show ablaut in their inflection. These are laman- "name" and tekan-

¹Güterbock, personal communication.

²See Laroche, RHA, LIV (1952), 25.

"earth." laman- forms its oblique cases from the stem lamn-. tekan- forms its oblique cases from the stem takn-, showing loss of the -a- and ablaut in the first syllable. This may be an attempt to represent an initial tkn- cluster, which would be the zero grade. This interpretation is supported by the frequent double writing of the vowel in the second syllable while the first syllable is always spelled ták- or ta-ak-, never *ta-a-ak-.

laman- "name." Oblique stem lamn-. From Indo-European $*H_1nomn$ "name." Cf. Greek ónoma, Latin nōmen, Old Irish ainm, Gothic namo, Old Church Slavic imę, Sanskrit nāman-, Avestan nāman-, Armenian anun, Albanian emën, Tokharian A ñom, B ñem.¹ The initial l- may represent the outcome of Indo-European initial $*H_1n-$, or it may be the result of dissimilation of nasals. The correspondence of Hittite le and Latin nē, both prohibitive adverbs, is difficult to evaluate. For a shift of n to l in a different environment, cf. Hattic halmasuitt- "throne," a loanword from Hattic hanwasuit.

tekan- "earth." Oblique stem takn-. From Indo-European $*dheghom$ "earth." Cf. Greek khthōn, Latin humus, Old Irish dū, Lithuanian žemė, Old Church Slavic zemlja, Sanskrit kṣam-, Avestan zam-, Albanian dhe, Tokharian A tkam. In the nominative-accusative singular the final $*-m$ became -n, which was generalized throughout the paradigm. For the change of final $*-m$ to -n, cf. the accusative singular of thematic nouns in -an from Indo-European $*-om$.

L-Stems

All Hittite nouns in -l- are neuter. Those containing the suffix -ul are treated separately. A few of the remaining nouns in -l- appear to be derived, but examples are too few for a clear pattern to

¹For the coloring of the laryngeal, see Werner Winter, "Tocharian Evidence," in Evidence for Laryngeals, ed. by Werner Winter (The Hague: Mouton, 1965), pp. 190-211.

emerge. sarnikzel and tayaz(z)il are derived from verbs by the addition of a suffix -zel, -zil. ishiyal "bond, headband?" is derived from ishiya-, ishai- "to bind, to tie"; it is uncertain whether the -a- is part of the stem or the suffix. suel "thread?" may be derived from an unattested verb inherited from IE *syū-, *sū- "to sew"; a Hittite word for "to sew" does not occur. The derivation of suppal- is uncertain; see below.

Nouns in -l- show little tendency to assume thematic forms. kurtal is also declined as a neuter i-stem kurtali-. suppal- is hetero-generic; its common gender forms are based on a stem suppala-, supla-.

In Indo-European l-stems are rare. The only clear example is *sal- "salt." There are also a few l/n heteroclites, as *sāuel, sāpen- "sun." The sizeable number of such nouns in Hittite is noteworthy. alil-, alal- "flower, blossom."

(GIS) hahhal- "bush, shrub." Possibly connected with a root meaning "yellow, green," cf. hahhales- "to become yellow, green," hahlahh- "to make yellow, green," hahlawant- "yellow, green."

TU₇ hapalzēl-, TU₇ hapalzir- (a food). The dissimilation of l to r is unique, occurring even in the same texts, as TU₇ hapalzili KUB XXVII 69 VI 11, but TU₇ hapalzir line 15.

GIS huhupal- (musical instrument). The last syllable of this word is always written pa-al, never pal.

hurkel-, (:) hurkil- "evil, crime." Once with a glossenkeil, Bo 69/900 II 11 : hu-ur-ki-la-za. Also occurs in Luwian, KUB XXXV 148 IV 13. Word common to both languages.

TU₇ hurutel- (a food). Apparently not connected with arha hurutai- "to overturn? to upset?" Cf. TU₇ hur-ti-la-za 979/z I 6.

ishiyal- "bond, headband?" Der. of ishiya-, ishai- "to bind, to tie."

katral- (bronze object, part of a harness) "bell?"

KUŠ gazzimuel- (part of a harness).

kinuntarriyal This word is cited by Laroche in broad transcription.¹

He cites 734/c 13 and KBo IX 146 I 28. The form in the second passage is ki-nu-un-tar-ri-ya-la-az, which could also be from a stem kinuntarriyala-. I do not have access to the unpublished passage.

GIŠ kurtal-, GI kurtal-, kurtali- (a container).

mashuil- "mouse." This word is inferred from the writing ^IPÉŠ(.TUR)-wa- for the man's name ^IMashuiliuwa-. It is not certain that it is an l-stem. It could be Hittite or Luwian. Mashuiliuwa was a king of Arzawa, one of the Luwian provinces of the Hittite empire.

memal- See under nouns with reduplication.

pahsuil-, passuil- "fodder." The cluster -hs- is usually stable.

pul- "lot?"

sarnikzel- "atonement, compensation, fine." Der. of sarnink- "to make compensation, to atone, to repay."

sartal- (copper object). Hapax in an inventory 476/z IV 10: 1 URUDU sar-ta-al "1 copper sartal."

GIS siyattal- "blade?"

siwal- Hapax KBo XIII 241 II 14.

suel-, (SÍG) suil- "thread?" Der. probably of a root inherited from IE *syū-, *sū- "to sew." Cf. Latin suō, Gothic siujan, Lithuanian siūti, Old Church Slavic šiti, Sanskrit sīv-, syū.

suppal- n., suppala-, supla- c. "cattle." Is there a connection with (UZU) suppa- "meat"?

tayaz(z)il- "theft." Der. of tāya-, dāya- "to steal, to rob."

GIŠ dammashuel- (type of pear-tree).

tarrauwal- Hapax KUB XXXVIII 12 I 18.

tawal- (a drink used in rituals).

¹Laroche, DLL, p. 74.

NINDA tawaral- (a pastry).

wenal- : winal- "pole; prop." Occurs both with and without the glossen-keil. Luwian origin difficult because of the vocalism. Hittite e should correspond to Luwian a. Is there a connection with wen-, went- "future"?

zinall- Hapax KBo XI 14 I 7 in a list of grains and plant products:
zi2-tar se-ip-pi-it par-hu-u-e-na-as e-wa-an KAR-as ha-at-tar zi-na-il.

zuwaluwal- Occurs in KBo XVII 1 III 30 and KBo XVII 3 III 21.

N(a)-Heteroclites

Some Hittite nouns show forms derived from two different stems, one ending in -n(a)-, the other lacking the -n(a)-. There is a tendency for the nominative singular to lack the -n(a)- and for the other case forms to have it. These nouns may be divided into two groups. Some have stems which end in a -n(a)- that sometimes assimilates to a preceding -m- with accompanying loss of an intervening vowel. These include nouns ending in the suffix -um(n)a-, -umana-, as well as arkamma(na)-; ishina(na)-, ishamina-; karimmi-, karimna-; and NINDA saram(m)a(n)-. In contrast to these nouns whose two stems are created by an optional phonetic rule, the remaining -n(a)--heteroclites have morphologically distinct stems. Each noun has two stems, one ending in -na- if the noun is common gender or -n- if it is neuter gender, the other lacking the -n(a)-. The noun sum(m)anza(na)-, although neuter, has a stem ending in -na-. Two common gender nouns, istanza(na)- and lah(h)anza(na)-, also have the nominative singular forms istanza and lah(h)anza, as if formed from the stems istan- and lah(h)an- with the same common gender nominative singular ending after an -n- that appears in SAL-anza "woman." This shorter stem does not occur among the other case forms.

in which the -za- appears to be part of the stem. Several -n(a)- heteroclitics show additional peculiarities which will be discussed below. In view of the considerable formal variation among these nouns, the following list includes all attested forms of these words.

Nouns which form their oblique cases from a stem in -n- contrasting with a nominative case lacking the -n- occur in Latin, Sanskrit, and especially in Germanic, where they are very productive. The Hittite nominative singular ends in -s because all Hittite common gender nouns end in -s in the nominative singular.

GIŠ alanza(na)- c. (type of wood?)

Sg. N. GIŠ alanzanas KUB XXXII 123 II 12, GIŠ alanzas KUB VII 53 III 12

A. GIŠ alanzanan KUB XXVIII 102 IV 13

G. GIŠ alanzanas KUB XXXV 142 I 8, 12

(GIŠ) alkista(na)- c. "branch."

Sg. N. (GIŠ) alkistas KUB VIII 13, 7, VBoT 58 IV 17,
alkistās KBo XVII 3 IV 12

A. alkistanan KUB XXX 34 III 1, alkistān KBo XVII 1 IV 38, GIŠ alkistanan 414/u II 7.

I. alkistanit 309/v I 3.

Pl. N. alkistanes KUB VIII 13, 5?

A. GIŠ alkistanus

(:) arkamma(na)- c. "tribute." Glossenkeil word; occurs with both Luwian and Hittite inflection.¹ Word common to both languages? Loanword of unknown origin; cf. Ugaritic argmn "purple, tribute," and Akkadian argamannu "purple."

Sg. N. arkammas

A. arkamman, argaman KBo XVIII 86, 20, 24.

G. arkammanas, arkammanas KUB XXVI 92, 5, argamanas
KUB XVII 21 II 9

¹ See Laroche, DLI, p. 31.

Pl. A. arkammus, argamus, argamanus KUB XVII 21 II 12

GIŠ eya(n)- n. (evergreen tree?). Probably not connected with Indo-European *eiwo- "yew" on phonetic grounds; Indo-European intervocalic *w remains in Hittite, cf. ewa- from *yewo- "barley" and newa- from *newo- "new."

Sg. N.-A. GIŠ eyan, GIŠ eya, GIŠ ean Bo 68/61 10, Bo 69/195 1,

G. GIŠ eyanas KBo XVII 93, 3

D.-L. GIŠ eyani, GIŠ eani 439/s III 7

Abl. GIŠ eyaz

I. GIŠ eanit 676/z 8

GIŠ e-i-e Bo 2689 II 30¹ may be N.-A. Sg. or Pl. GIŠ eyanza 378/v 7 is an uncertain form in a broken context.

ewa(n)- n. (a grain). From Indo-European *ieyo- "grain," with initial *ie> as in eka<*ieg-. Cf. Sanskrit yáva-, Avestan yava-, Lithuanian javaĩ, all "grain," and Greek zeiaĩ "spelt." Greek zeiaĩ and Hittite ewa(n)- show the same initial correspondence that is found in zugón and iugan. Greek has an initial z- where Hittite has the outcome of Indo-European initial *i-. If Greek z is the result of an initial laryngeal² there is no evidence of it in Hittite.

GIŠ hanza(n)- n. (a wooden object).

Sg. N.-A. GIŠ hanza KUB VII 13 I 6

D.-L. GIŠ hanzani KBo VI 10 III 11, KUB XXXIV 78, 7

hara(na)- (MUŠEN) c. "eagle." Indo-European *H₃or- "eagle," with -r- and -l- extensions in the various languages. Was this originally an l/n heteroclite? Cf. Greek órnis "bird," Old Irish irar, Gothic ara, Lithuanian erėlis, and Old Church Slavic orlŭ, all "eagle."

Sg. N. haras MUŠEN KUB XVII 10 I 27, 445/x II 11, haras KBo XVII 3 II 12, MUŠEN haras KBo XII 86, 7

A. hāran, hāranan KUB XXIII 13, 7, KBo XVII 1 II passim, hāranan MUŠEN KUB XVII 10 I 24, MUŠEN hāranan KBo XVII 1 II passim, MUŠEN hāranan KBo XVII 4 II, 14, MUŠEN hāranan KBo XIII 86 I 16

¹Hans Ehelolf, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie Neue Folge (hereafter ZA NF), IX (1935), 173.

²Winifred P. Lehmann, Proto-Indo-European Phonology (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955), pp. 74-79.

G. haranas

Pl. N. haranis MUŠEN KUB XXXIII 62 II 3

The form MUŠEN harani KBo XII 77, 12 may be dative-locative singular, or it may be incomplete.

hurpasta(na)-, :hurpusta- c. "leaf (of a tree), skin (of an onion)."

The alternation of -u- in a word with the glossenkeil with -a- in a word without the glossenkeil is unique.

Sg. Abl. hurpastaz KUB XXIX 7 II 28

Pl. A. hurpastanus KUB XXIX 1 IV 18, 315/v II 6

D.-L. :hurpastas KUB XVII 35 IV 5, 8, etc. :hur-pu-us-ta
line 31 is probably a scribal error for :hur-pu-us-ta-as.

ishima(na)-, ishamina- c. "cord." Der. of ishiya-, ishai- "to bind, to tie," with a suffix probably inherited from Indo-European *-men-, which formed names of actions, chiefly neuter gender. The first a/i alternation reflects the two forms of the underlying verb stem. The second a/i alternation is probably phonetically conditioned. Cf. istamana-, istamina- "ear," which is common gender in contrast to the cognate Greek stōma "mouth," which is neuter. Both ishimana- and istamana- form their instrumental in -ta.

Sg. N. ishimanas, KUŠ ishimās KBo XVII 15 I 11

A. ishaminan KUB XVII 27 II 31, 34

Abl. ishimanaz KUB XXXVI 55 II 16

I. ishimanta KUB XVII 5, 15, ishimanda KUB XVII 28 I
31, ishimanit KBo XVII 60 I 3

Pl. N. KUŠ ishimānes KBo XVII 15 I 10

istanza(na)-, istan- c. "mind, will." Is there a connection with Greek sthénos "strength"?

Sg. N. istanzas, istanzanas, istazanas, ZI-anza, ZI-za,
ZI-az KUB XVII 10 II 31, ZI-as

A. ZI-an, istanzanan KUB XLI 23 II 15

G. ZI-as, istanzanas KUB XXX 10 I 9

D.-L. ZI-ni

Abl. ZI-az, ZI-za

- I. ZI-nit, ZI-it, istanzanit KUB XVII 21 I 6, KUB XVII 10 II 21

The nominative singular is-ta-an-za-as-si-is "his mind" KUB XXXIII 5 III 6, 10 is ambiguous. It could be analyzed as istanza-sis or istanzas-sis. The nominative singular is-ta-an-za-as-me-it "their mind" KUB XLI 23 II 24 is similarly ambiguous and has a neuter possessive pronoun. This is probably a scribal error, as elsewhere, even in KUB XLI 23, this word is common gender.

Ékarimmi-, Ékarim(na)- Sg. n., Pl. c. "temple." This word shows forms of both an i-stem and an a-stem.

Sg. N.-A. Ékarimmi, karummi KUB XXXI 88 II 7

G. Ékarimnas

D.-L. Ékarimni, Ékarimmi, Ékarimme KUB XIII 4 III 37,
214/v 10

Abl. Ékarimnaz

Pl. Acc. ÉMES karimnas

D.-L. Ékarimnas, Ékarimmanas KUB XXX 31 IV 30

karza(n)- n.? (weaver's tool used for making thread).

Sg. N.-A. karza

G. karzanas IBoT II 96, 12?

Abl. karzanaz IBoT II 94 VI 12

kutruwa(na)-, kutruwena-, kutru- c. "witness." The source of the a/e alternation is unknown.

Sg. N. kutruwas

D.-L. kutruui KUB VI 45 IV 56

Pl. N. kutrués, kutruwas KUB XIII 6 II 27, kutrus KUB XIII 4 II 36, kutruwanes KUB XVII 18 III 6, kutruenes HT 1 I 57, kutruwenes KBo VIII 35 II 13, KBo XII 18 IV 2

D.-L. kutruas KUB XVII 20 III 11

^{NA4}kuwanna(n)-, ^{NA4}kunna(n)- n. "copper, bead." Probably a loanword from the same source as Greek kuanos "dark-blue enamel, lapis lazuli."

Sg. N.-A. kuwannan KBo IV 2 III 18

G. (NA4) kunnanas, kuwannanas KUB XXIV 12 II 7, NA4 kunnas
KUB IX 28 I 18

Abl. NA4 kuwannanaza KUB VI 24 I 2, 6, kuwannanaz 674/u
I 6

D.-L. NA4 kuannani 223/v 3

Pl. N.-A. NA4 kuwanna KUB XXIV 12 III 12

The form kunnanan KUB XXIX 4 I 71 appears in a list and could be either nominative or accusative singular. Thus there also exists a stem of this word kunnana- whose gender is uncertain.

lahhanza(na)- MUŠEN, lahhan- MUŠEN c. (a bird).

Sg. N. lah(h)anza (MUŠEN), ahhanzas MUŠEN KUB XXXIX 8 I 4

G. lahhanzanaz MUŠEN KUB XXXIX 7 II 7

D.-L. lahhanzani KUB XXXIX 7 II 9

Pl. A. lahhanzus KUB XXXIX 7 II 33, 8 I 32, lahhanzus MUŠEN
KUB XXXIX 7 II 35, lahanzus KUB XXXIX 7 II 31,
lahhanzanus MUŠEN.HI.A KUB XXXIX 7 II 19,
lahanzanus 814/z II 9, 10, 12

The form lahanzus occurs twice in broken contexts, KUB XXXIX 7 II 24 and 37, and appears to be an accusative plural formed from a stem lahanzi-.

memiya(na)- c. "speech, word, thing, reason." Certainly connected with mema- "to speak," but a suffix -ya(na)- is unique.

Sg. N. memiyas, INIM-as KUB XV 22, 8, memias 410/u 12,
670/v 4

A. memiyan, memian, INIM-an KUB XV 1 II 30

G. memiyanas, memiyanas KUB XXVIII 94, 9

D.-L. memiyani, memini, memieni KBo X 2 II 8, memiyanni
KBo XIII 30 II 9

Abl. memiyanaz, memiyanaz KUB XII 61 II 11, meminaza
KBo II 6 III 64

I. meminit KUB XXXIII 86 III 6, memiyanit KUB XXXIV 19
IV 6, 1193/u II 8

Pl. A. memiyanus, memiyanes KUB XXIX 8 I 1, memiyas KBo V
9 III 1f.

muri(na)-, muriyana- c. "bunch of grapes."

Sg. N. mures KUB XXXVI 89 II 58

A. murin KBo XI 32, 21

I. murinit KUB XXX 19 I 6

Pl. A. murius, muriyanus KUB XXX 19 I 17

NINDA saram(m)a(n)- n. (type of bread).

Sg. D.-L. NINDA saramani KBo VII 40 II 8

Pl. N.-A. NINDA saram(m)a, NINDA sarāma, NINDA saram(ma)na KUB XXV

12 V 9, 21, IBoT I 29 I 55, 603/v 5

G. NINDA saramnas, NINDA sarammanas 1286/v 8

D.-L. NINDA saramnas, NINDA sarammanas KBo IV 9 IV 48,
NINDA sarammas KUB XX 28 II 5, 10

Two Akkadianized forms of this word occur, the genitive singular

ŠA 1 NINDA sarammani KBo XI 36 V 17, and the stem form ŠA 1
NINDA sarāma 665/u 9.

*siu-, siuna-, *siuni-? c. "god." Indo-European *dyēw- "sky, god."

Cf. Greek Zeus, Latin Iuppiter, genitive singular Iovis, Sanskrit
dyāus "sky."

Sg. N. DINGIR-us, DINGIR-LIM-is, DINGIR-LIM-as KUB I 1 IV
74, DINGIR-LIM-us 531/v 8

A. DINGIR-LIM-in

G. siunas

D.-L. siuni, DINGIR-LIM-ni

Abl. siunaz KBo X 7 II 17

Pl. N. siwannes, DINGIR^{MES}-es, siwannēs KUB XXXV 146 III 8,
DINGIR^{MES}-is KBo IX 146 II 9

A. DINGIR^{MES}-us

G. siunan, siunas

D.-L. siunas

I. siunit

The nominative singular DINGIR-us probably represents a form *sius.
It is uncertain whether the accusative singular is *sin or *siunin.
Outside the nominative and accusative singular the forms show
little alternation between stems. The genitive, dative-locative,
and ablative singular and the genitive and dative-locative plural
are a-stems. The other forms are ambiguous. The nominative
plural shows the o-grade of the stem.

sum(m)anza(na)- n. "cord." A connection with the root of suel-, suil- "thread?" is semantically plausible.

Sg. N.-A. sum(m)anza, summanzanan KUB VII 53 II 4, sumanzan
169/x I 1, 4

R-Stems

All Hittite nouns in -r- are neuter. Those ending in -ur- are treated separately. Many -r-stem nouns also show common gender stems with a thematic vowel. ^{GIŠ}hahhar-, ^{DUG}huppar- and ^{GAD}huppar- also have stems (^{GIŠ})hah(ha)ra-, ^{DUG}huppara- and ^{GAD}huppara-; and kessar- also has a stem kessera- with generalization of a different ablaut grade in the second syllable. In the oblique cases this noun shows a variety of forms; see below. halhaltumar- and happar- also show forms from halhaltumari- and happari-. sittar also has forms from both sittara- and sittari-.

Two adjectives are -r-stems: kallar- "unfavorable" and sakuwassar- "accurate." sakuwassar- forms the nominative and the accusative singular of the common gender from a stem sakuwassara-, thus presenting the following paradigm:

Sg. N. c.	<u>sakuwassaras</u>
A. c.	<u>sakuwassaran</u>
N.A. n.	<u>sakuwassar</u>

kallar- shows similar forms, but the nominative singular of the common gender is so far unattested.

At least two -r-stem nouns are loanwords from Hattic:
(^{GIŠ})hunzinar- and ippizinar-. In contrast, kessar-, kessera-, the only -r-stem noun which shows ablaut alternations, has a clear Indo-European etymology.

(GIŠ) hah(ha)ra- c., GIŠ hahhar- (an implement). The form GIŠ hahhar occurs in KUB XLI 2, 2, and KBo XII 126 I 5.

halhaltumar- n., halhaltumari- c. "corner."

happar- n., happari- c. "price; trade?"

(GIŠ) hasduir- "waste, stubble; residue (of offerings)."

(GIŠ) hunzinar-, GIŠ hunzinir- (musical instrument). For evidence that this is an -r-stem, see 701/z 10: GIŠ hu-un-zi-nir. Loanword from the Hattic compound hun-zinar- "big Istar instrument?".

(DUG) huppar- n., (DUG) huppara- c. "bowl." Cf. NINDA hu-u-up-pár-as KBo XI 36 III 7. NINDA.YÀ.E.DÉ.A hu-u-up-pár-as KBo XI 36 V: 11.

GAD huppara-, GAD hūpara- c., GAD hūppar- (clothing). GAD hu-up-pa-ra-as occurs in KUB XV 34 I 4, GAD hu-u-pa-ra-as in KUB XXIX 4 I 38, and GAD hu-u-up-pár in KUB XXXIX 56 I 5.

ippizinar- (musical instrument). Loanword from the Hattic compound ippi-zinar- "little Istar instrument?".

kallar-, kallara- "unfavorable." Once with the glossenkeil :gal-la-ar ABOT 56 III 13, in a fragmentary context.

kariwariwar-, karū(w)ariwar- "morning." The first part of this word appears to be identical with karū "earlier; already." The second part of this word is obscure. In KBo XII 103 I 9 it is spelled as two words: ka-ru-ū a-ri-wa-ar. Probably this was originally a phrase that came to be treated as one unit. Note the alternation of -i- and -ū- in the second syllable. Is this an alternation between the vowel that was actually pronounced and the etymologically correct vowel?

kessar- n., kessera- c. "hand." From Proto-Anatolian *keser-, *kesar-; cf. Luwian issari- "hand" with shift to an -i-stem and with change of initial *ke- to i- as also in Hittite gimmara- : Luwian immari- "field." Inherited from Indo-European *ghesor- "hand." Cf. Greek kheír, Armenian jern, Albanian dorë, Tocharian A tsar, Tocharian B šar. The vowel of the second syllable was subject to ablaut and the two Hittite forms kessera- and kessar- show the generalization of the e-grade and the o-grade respectively. In the oblique cases

a variety of forms are attested. The entire paradigm of attested forms is as follows:

- Sg. N. c. kesseras, kissiras, ŠU-as
 A. c. kisseran, (UZU) kissiran KBo XIV 133 III 7, 1059/u
 II 5, 1250/v 6, 469/z 13, UZU kessiran KBo XIX
 132 I 3, ŠU-an
 N.A. n. kessar, ŠU-sar
 G. kissaras
 D.-L. kissari, kissiri, kisri, ŠU-i, kessar
 D. kisarra? 251/u 8, kisra KBo VIII 42 II 4
 Abl. kissaraz(a), kisraz KBo XI 72 III 32, kissarraz
 882/z III 9, ŠU-az.
 I. kissarit, kisserit, kissarta, ki-is-sar-at 39r/c I
 24, ŠU-it, ŠU-ta.
 Pl. A. c. kisserus, ŠU^{HI}.A-us, ŠU^{MES}-us
 D.-L. kisras, ŠU^{HI}.A-as
 I. ŠU^{HI}.A-it

sakuwassar-, sakuwassara- "accurate, consistent, truthful." Is there a connection with the glossenkeil word :sahuidara-?

(SI) sawatar- "horn (musical instrument)."

sittar- n., sittari-, sittara- c. "solar disk; disk."

tah(a)tumar-¹

R/-N-Heteroclitites

Nouns whose nominative-accusative stem ends in -r- and whose oblique stem ends in -n- are called -r/-n-heteroclitites. They were an important category of nouns in Indo-European, but form no productive suffixes in any language besides Hittite. All -r/-n-heteroclitites in Hittite are neuter. Those containing the suffixes -atar (oblique stem

¹See Erich Neu, Ein Althethitisches Gewitterritual, StBOT XII (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), pp. 69-70.

-ann-), -atar (oblique stem -atn-), -essar (oblique stem -esn-), and -war (oblique stem -un-) are discussed separately. There is a large number of nouns ending in -r in the nominative-accusative whose stem class is uncertain for want of an oblique case form. These nouns are listed elsewhere. The noun miumar "friendliness, mildness" has a suffix -mar, no longer productive, which may also occur in a few nouns whose stem-class is uncertain, including alpuimar and harnammar. karamt(t)ar "section" is derived from kars-, karsiya- "to cut, to cut off" with a suffix -at(t)ar. In form this suffix closely resembles the suffix -atar which is never written with a doubled t, but its meaning differs ("section" rather than "act of cutting") and perhaps it too is a formerly productive suffix. A large percentage of these words are inherited from Indo-European, including eshar "blood," kuttar "upper arm," mehur "time," pahhur "fire," pattar "wing," sakkar, zakkar "excrement," and watar "water." pahhur and sakkar have a different ablaut grade in the second syllable of the oblique stem. pahhur has the e-grade and sakkar has the zero-grade. watar has e-grade vocalism in both syllables in its oblique stem.

eshar, ishar, iessar, eshan-, ishan-, esn-, isn-, iesn- "blood." From Indo-European *esh₂r, an r/n-heteroclit. Both the quality and the quantity of the initial vowel are difficult, but with its archaic forms this was surely the Indo-European word for "blood." Cf. Greek éar, Lettish asins, Sanskrit ásr̥k, asná-, Armenian ariun, Tocharian ysār, Old Latin assyrr. Hittite has generalized the e-vocalism of the root. The -a- of the stem in the oblique cases may represent an actual vowel, or it may be only orthographic, inserted to enable a cluster of three consonants to be expressed. At some point in its pre-history, Anatolian appears to have lost all laryngeals not followed by a vowel. This sound change created a paradigm eshar, esn- in this word. The forms with and without -h- may represent leveling in both directions.

harsar, harsan- "head." The anomalous har-sa-ni-is KUB XXXIII 66 II 16 is probably a scribal error for har-sa-ni-is-<si>.

(É) hilammar, (É) hilamn-, hilann- "open porch." Cf. the Akkadian loanword bīt hilāni "a room or section of a palace provided with a portico, or the portico itself," attested at Mari and in Neo-Assyrian. In this Akkadian loanword the ending -ānu has a phonetic basis in the source language. Cf. hi-lam-ma-n[ā] 786/t I 6.

huitar, huetar, huedar, huitn- "animals." A connection with Indo-European *yeid- "to know" is difficult phonetically. Greek does not show a prothetic vowel which would correspond to the Hittite h-, and Hittite should have lost an initial laryngeal before a non-syllabic.

(URUDU) ispatar, ispann- (copper implement used to remove cooked meat from the hearth).

karsattar, karsatar, karsattan- "section." Der. of kars-, karsiya- "to cut, to cut off." The spelling kar-sa-tar occurs in R.S. 25.421 23.

(GIŠ) gulzattar, (:) gulzattan- Occurs with the glossenkeil in KBo XI 1 I 21.¹

kuttar, kuttan- "upper arm, shoulder; strength." From Indo-European *gutr "throat"? Cf. Latin guttur "gullet, throat," whose geminated t, however, is difficult to explain.

lammar, lamn- "hour."

mehur, mehun- "time." The dative-locative singular is also mehueni HT 1 III 5 and mehni KUB VIII 21, 8. A derivative of the Indo-European root *meH₁- "to measure." Cf. Sanskrit mā-, Avestan mā-.

miumar, miummar, miumn- "friendliness, mildness." Der. of (:) miu- "gentle, soft." The spelling miummar occurs in KBo IX 102 II 3 and KBo XV 33 I 18.

¹See Otten and Jana Siegelová, Archiv für Orientforschung (hereafter AfO), XXIII (1970), p. 35.

GIŠ mukar, mukn- (musical instrument; part of a chariot). The form mukrit occurs in a broken context, KUB XXXIII 63 I 5. Cf. Sanskrit mūñjati, mójati "utters a particular sound" and Latin mugiō "to bellow." Is the Hittite word cognate or merely based on a similar onomatopoeia?

pahhur, pahhuwar, pahhun-, pahhuen- "fire." Cognate with Luwian pa-a-hu-u-ur "fire." From Indo-European *peH₂r, an r/n stem. Cf. Greek pûr, Umbrian pir, Gothic fōn, Armenian hur, Tocharian A por, Tocharian B puwar. The various languages have reshaped the nominative singular, so that the quality of the first vowel and hence the coloring of the laryngeal is uncertain. The Hittite -a- could be the reflex of Indo-European *a or *o. Hittite has generalized the vocalism of the first syllable of the nominative singular throughout the paradigm.

pankur, pankun- "milk?"

pattar, paddan- "wing." From Indo-European *petr "wing," an r/n-heteroclit. Cf. Greek ptérus, Old Irish ette, Sanskrit pattrā-, all "wing," Latin penna, Old High German federa, both "feather." It is not clear whether the initial syllable of the Hittite word represents the inherited o-grade or the zero-grade.

(GI) pattar, paddan- "basket?" Is this from the Indo-European root *pet- "to spread out," as in Greek patánē "flat dish" and Latin pateō "to lie open" or is it originally the same word as pattar "wing," with the extension of meaning because of the shape of the object?

GIŠ paddur, paddun-, pattun- "tray?" Cf. Luwian ba-at-tu-na-a-ti "mortar," instrumental singular KUB XXXVII 1 I 16.¹ Is there a connection with the Indo-European root *pet- "to spread out"? See the preceding word. In the Hittite word the pāt-sign could also be read pīt.

sakkar, zakkar, sakn- "dung, excrement." Compare the first element in the compound zasgarais "anus." The various spellings indicate that

¹See Laroche, RHA, LXXVI (1965), 48.

initial s- and z- did not contrast before -k-. From Indo-European *sker- "excrement," an r/n-heteroclite with various ablaut grades. Cf. Greek skôr, Old English scearn, both "excrement," and Latin mûscerda "mouse dung."

UZU sarnumar, UZU sarnumn- (a body part).¹

sehur, sehun- "urine."

uttar, uttan-, uddan- "word, speech, thing, reason." Is there a connection with Sanskrit vat- "to apprehend" or with Welsh dywedyd "to say"? It is uncertain from which semantic sphere the meaning of this word was generalized.

watar, witen-, weten-, uwiten- "water." The instrumental wedanda occurs once, KUB XIII 4 III 47. From Indo-European *wodr "water," an r/n-heteroclite. Cf. Greek húdôr, Umbrian utur, Old Irish usce, Gothic watō, Lithuanian vanduō, Old Church Slavic voda, Sanskrit udán-, and Albanian ujë. In the oblique cases Hittite generalizes the e-grade in both syllables of the stem. The e-vocalism of the first syllable is similar to that of Armenian get and Phrygian bedu. The generalization of -en- before the desinences perhaps comes from forms which correspond to the Sanskrit locative udán(i).

zîz-tar, zîz-n- (a grain). Examples of the oblique stem include the genitive singular zîz-nas KUB XXXV 116, 10, and the dative-locative singular zîz-ni KBo XV 33 I 15.

R-Stems or R/-N-Heteroclites?

The following neuter nouns are attested only in the nominative-accusative, where they are r-stems. It is uncertain for each noun whether its oblique cases are formed from an r-stem or an n-stem.

alpuimar, alpuemar "bend?" Der. of alpu- "blunt, bent."

NINDA arpamar (a bread). Hapax KUB XXX 19 IV 2.

GIS halassar (a tree). Occurs in KBo XII 1 IV 1 and its duplicate Bo 68/28 IV 20.

¹See Riemschneider, StBoT IX, p. 65.

harnammar "yeast; ferment." Der. of the same stem that appears in
in harnant- "fermented" and ^{NINDA} harnantassi- "leavened bread."

ha(t)tar (a grain). ha-at-tar occurs in KBo XI 14 I 6 in a list of
grains. ha-a-tar in a broken context KBo XIII 119 III 21 may be
the same word.

hangur "offering." Hapax KUB XXVI 71 I 17. Der. of hink-, henk- "to
present; to apportion."

itar "road, way." Hapax KUB XLI 8 I 20: GIM-an ^DMAH-as i-tar wa-ap-
pu-i ²¹) da-as-ki-iz-zi Û DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ ^{LU} wa-ap-pu-us ka-ru-ú-i-li-as
²²) DINGIR.MEŠ kal-li-es-su-wa-an-zi ú-wa-nu-un "Just as ^DMAH takes
the road to the river-bank, so I, a mortal, come to the river-banks
to call the former gods." The form innas cited by Pokorny¹ is a
ghost-word. Der. of the root of iya- "to go, to walk." The suffix
may be the same as -atar without the inserted -a-. But cf. Latin
iter road," which shows the reflex of a voiceless stop. Tocharian A
ytār, Bytārye "way" is ambiguous with respect to the manner of the
Indo-European stop.

galaktar (a plant or plant product). Possibly a der. of galank- "to
nourish? to soothe?" Many verbs whose stems end in -nk- lose the
-n- before suffixes beginning with a consonant. Once spelled ga-
la-at-tar, KUB XV 34 I 33.

GIŠ garkar (a fruit).²

:kulanittar (Hapax KBo II 7 II 22. Der. of Luwian kulani- "to distin-
guish?" which occurs frequently as a glossenkeil word.

kulessar Hapax in an Akkadian text, KBo I 11 II 17.

kuptar "residue (of an offering)?"

:pasattar Hapax KBo IV 14 III 37. Probably a der. of pas- "to swallow."

pippitar^{SAR} (a plant). Hapax KBo XIII 248 I 9.

¹Pokorny, IEW, pp. 294-95.

²See Otten, Hethitische Totenrituale (Berlin: Akademie-
Verlag, 1958), p. 94 n. b.

satar Hapax KUB IX 4 III 4.

tiyam(m)ar "cord?"

:dür "urine." Hapax KUB XIII 4 III 67. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin. The Hittite word for "urine" is sehur.

zuppar Hapax KBo XVIII 200 I 3.

MUNSUB-tar "(tuft of) hair." Hapax KUB VII 53 III 2.

S-Stems

All s-stem nouns in Hittite are neuter gender. Many of them also have forms from vowel stems, either by addition of -a- or by loss of the -s-. Three such vowel stems, atessa-, hassa-, and nepisa-, are common gender. Several a-stem nouns are inherited from Indo-European, including ais "mouth" and nepis "sky." The oblique cases of ais are formed from the stem iss-.

ais, iss- "mouth." Identification with Indo-European *ōs- secure because they are both s-stems, rare in Indo-European and in Hittite. Cf. Latin ōs, Old Church Slavic usta, Sanskrit ās-, and Avestan āh-. The ai/i alternation is puzzling, both phonologically and morphologically. It is unknown elsewhere in Hittite except in zasgarais, which is a compound containing ais, and in aimpa- and impa-, if these belong to the same root. It might be expected that these forms represent two inherited ablaut grades, but this word does not show ablaut alternations in the other Indo-European languages. Luwian has assa-, with the leveling typical of that language.

(SAR) ankis- (a grain?). Occurs in KUB VII 1 I 20, KBo XIII 248 I 8, ABoT 34, 11, and 901/z 15. In the latter text it appears in a list with the grains euwan, ziz-tar, and KAR-as.¹

URUDU ates-, URUDU atessa- "axe." The similarity to Old English adesa "axe" (Modern English adze) is striking, but a connection is to be

¹For the reading of KAR-as, see under that word in this section.

rejected on phonological grounds. Proto-Germanic stressed short *a became Old English æ if the following syllable contained *e or *i, either short or long. The Indo-European word for axe presents phonological difficulties, but is surely to be reconstructed on the basis of Greek aksīnē "axe," Latin ascia (a carpenter's tool), and the Germanic group represented by Gothic aqizi and Old English acus, æx.

hapusas-, hapusa- (a body part).

hās- n., hassa- c. (a product of the ^{GIŠ}kar-as-sa-ni or the hāsuwāi ^{SAR} made into a ball and used like soap). The forms from an s-stem are neuter, as in KBo XI 10 II 12, where it is referred to by the following na-at.

(:)huwallis-, hullis-, hulli- "embers." Once with the glossenkeil, KUB XXII 40 III 17. Probably not of Luwian origin. Occurs with the ^{GIŠ} determinative KUB XXVII 67 I 4, KBo XI 32, 20, and 22.

(UZU) hupallas- "scalp?"

huwas- (oracle bird).¹

iskis- "back." Apparently this word may be either singular or plural with reference to one person's back. Cf. the vocabulary KBo I 42 II 24 is-ki-i-sa, which is the translation of the Akkadian singular kutallu. For a semantic parallel cf. the poetic use of the Greek plural nōta to refer to one person's back.

^{GIŠ}kalmus- "lituus?" (an object handed to the king in rituals).

KAR-as (a grain). The reading could also be kar-as or KAR.AŠ. If the latter reading is correct, the stem class of this word is unknown. An ideogram KAR referring to a grain does not occur elsewhere.

kutris-, kutres- "limit."

nepis- "sky." The accusative singular nepisan occurs in KUB XXXIII 106 III 40 and KUB XXXVI 32, 10. The genitive singular nepias occurs in KUB VI 46 III 53, 59, 62, and IV 20. An s-stem based on

¹Cited by Laroche in RHA, XLVI (1946-47), 81, without references.

an extension of the Indo-European root *nebh-. Cf. the similar formation of Sanskrit nábhas- "mist," Greek néphos, -ous "cloud," and Old Church Slavic nebo, -ese "sky." The vowel of the first syllable is always written -e- except in KBo XVIII 151 I 5 where it is written -i-. The vowel of the second syllable is always written -i-, including in the Old Hittite texts KBo XVII 1 and 3, except in KUB XL 13 I 1 where it is written -e-. The -e- of the first syllable accords well with the Indo-European evidence, but the -i- of the second syllable does not. The Luwian cognate tappas(a)- shows some interesting correspondences. (It is uncertain whether this is an s-stem as in Hittite, or a plurale tantum.) The initial t- is reminiscent of Lithuanian debesìs "cloud" and it is tempting to see in this evidence for an initial laryngeal, but the lack of a prothetic vowel in Greek should provide a note of caution. The second -a- may be from Indo-European *e, *a, or *o, but in any case it fails to match the anomalous Hittite -i-. The double writing of the -p- shows the difficulty of applying Sturtevant's Law to Luwian.

DUG purpuris- (a vessel). Is there a connection with purpura- "lump"? A suffix -is is unknown in Hittite.

NINDA dannas- (a bread). Cf. Luwian NINDA tannas-. From Proto-Anatolian *tannas- or a loanword common to both languages? Cf. the hapax NINDA danna 1197/z 1.

tapuwas-, tapuwa- "rib, side." Cf. the adverbs tapusa and tapusza, both "sideways; beside, next to," originally the dative and ablative singular respectively of this noun.

NINDA zipulas- (a bread). Occurs only in 109/x. Probably not an accusative plural, but rather an s-stem noun. Cf. the bread names NINDA zippulassi- and NINDA zippulasni-. It is uncertain whether these words represent one, two, or three different kinds of bread.

T-Stems

Some nouns ending in -t- are common gender; others are neuter gender. Those containing the suffixes -att- and -ant- are treated

elsewhere. Several also have forms with a thematic vowel. The common gender noun ikt- also has a neuter nominative-accusative singular ikdu. GIŠ halmasuitt-, karitt, and garatt- show occasional forms with -i-stem inflection, and GIŠ halmasuitt- also shows u-stem inflection once. sasta- is usually an -a-stem with the nominative singular sastas, but sasza occurs once.

Two nouns in -t- appear to be derived. neku- "evening" shows a -t- extension of the verb neku- "it becomes evening" with the e-grade of the root. sasta- "bed," once sast-, is derived from ses- "to sleep," with the o-grade of the root. Both of these formations are unique in Hittite.

In all of these nouns except one in which the stem final -t- occurs intervocalically, there are instances of its being double. The sole exception is GIŠ tiyarit-. Except in this word, the citing of the stem with a single -t- below indicates that no forms are quotable in which the -t- is intervocalic.

Several of these nouns are inherited from Indo-European, including milit- "honey," neku- "evening," and witt- "year." GIŠ halmasuitt- "throne" is a loanword from Hattic.

halhalmasut- n. Hapax KBo XVIII 151 II 9 in an oracle text: LU[GAL]? [...] ar-si-ni-i hal-hal-ma-su-ut ta-as "The king? . . . took the halhalmasut." In this difficult text the source of the oracle is described as having taken various things, including LUGAL-as nakkiset "the heaviness of the king," istarnikaîn "sickness," henkan "plague," harkan "destruction," and ustul "sin." The similarity to halmasuitt- "throne," a loanword from Hattic hanwasuitt-, is striking, and the initial reduplication is typical of Hattic loans. (Cf. Hittite kaskastipa- "gate" and Hattic kastipan "gate.")

GIŠ, ^Dhalmasuitt-, GIŠ^halmasuitti-, ^Dhalmasuittu- c. "throne." Loan-word from Hattic hanwasuit "chair, seat, throne." Is the shift of -nw- to -lm- by Lautgesetz? Hittite has no -nw- clusters. The only other recognized examples of n shifting to l in Hittite are lāman "name" from Indo-European *H₁nomn, where the shift was presumably conditioned by the preceding laryngeal, and le "not" from Indo-European *nē, where the cause of the shift is unknown. Unpublished examples of thematic forms of halmasuitt- are: GIŠ^h DAG-is 496/z I 5, probably las-su-it-ti-in 1441/u 7, and ^Dhal-ma-as-su-id-du-un 241/r I 8.

hant- c. "front; forehead." From Indo-European *H₂ant- "front; forehead." Cf. Sanskrit ānta- "end, border," Old Irish ētan, and Old Norse enni, both "forehead," and the Greek preposition antí "over against, opposite."

ikt-, ekt-, c., ikdu-, ekdu- n. "leg? calf?" The oblique cases are attested twice; both times they are formed from a -t-stem: Gen. iktas KBo III 21 II 17 and Inst. e-ik-te-it 473/t I 13.

kanint- "thirst."

kant- c. "wheat?" The nominative is often used for the accusative in the horse-training texts, probably as a grammatical mistake by the author.¹ Possibly connected with Avestan gantuma- "wheat," a loan-word whose ultimate origin is unknown.²

garatt-, karat-, garati- c. "insides." Indo-European *g^her- "intestines" with various extensions. Cf. Sanskrit hīra- "band," hirā "vein," Latin hīra, Greek khordē, Lithuanian žarnà, all "intestines." The Hittite word does not appear to contain the deverbal -att- suffix, since a verb from this root is unattested even elsewhere in Indo-European.

karitt-, garitt-, karaitt-, karitti-, gi-ri-e-iz c. "flood."

¹ See Friedrich, HE, sec. 220b, p. 127.

² See Hanns A. Potratz, Das Pferd in der Frühzeit (Seestadt Rostock: Carl Hinstorffs Verlag, 1938), p. 185.

kast- c. "hunger, famine." Possibly connected with Tokharian A kast, Tokharian B kest "hunger."

kutt- c. "wall." A connection with Sanskrit kuṭāḥ "fort," kuṭih "cotage," or kuḍyam "wall" seems unlikely on phonetic grounds. The retroflex stops indicate either non-Indo-European origin or Prakritisms involving the loss of a preceding -r-. A connection with Latin cutis "skin," Old High German hūt "skin," Greek skûtos "hide, leather," etc., is attractive both phonetically and morphologically,¹ but is difficult semantically (covering > wall?).²

milit- n. "honey." Indo-European *melit. Cf. Greek méli, Latin mel, Old Irish mil, Gothic miliþ, Armenian meîr, Albanian mjall.

nekut- c. "evening, night." e-grade of Indo-European *nokʷt- "night." Cf. Greek nûks, Latin nox, Welsh nos, Gothic nahts, Lithuanian naktës, Old Church Slavic nostĭ, Sanskrit nakt-, Albanian natë. This is a -t- extension of the root which appears in Greek nûkha nûktôr, nûkhios "nightly," and Hittite neku- "it becomes evening." The restriction of the verb to Hittite is similar to the restriction of ud- "to wet" to Sanskrit in contrast to the widespread attestation of the Indo-European derivative *uodr "water." The e vocalism is found only in Hittite and may be due to analogy with or reinforcement from the root-class verb where the e-grade is to be expected.

purutt-, pu-u-ut n. (a kind of plaster).

sast-, sasta- c. "bed." Usually an -a-stem; once sasza KUB XXXIII 8 III 19. Der. of ses- "to sleep"; the formation, however, is unique.

sawitist- c. "weanling (of animals)."

sep(p)itt- n. (a grain). The spelling is nearly always pí-it. se-ip-pít occurs in KBo XVI 81, 7.

GIŠ tiyarit- n. "wagon? cart?"

¹See Ernout-Meillet, Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine, p. 161, for original consonant stem.

²Cf. Pokorny, IEW, p. 952.

witt- c. "year." Indo-European *wet- "year," frequently with an -s- or -os- extension. Cf. Greek *étos*, Albanian *vit*, and Sanskrit *vatsá-* "yearling, calf." The inclusion in this group of Luwian *ussa-*, *ussi-*, and Hieroglyphic Luwian *-usa-*, both "year," on the basis of an earlier *ut-so- is difficult. The zero-grade is unmotivated and unparalleled elsewhere, and the sound change *ts>s* is unattested in Luwian.

Hurrian Inflection

Some Hittite i-stem nouns optionally add a -t- to their stems before the case endings of the dative-locative singular, the ablative singular, and the neuter nominative-accusative plural. Some of these nouns are common gender; others are neuter gender. Most are of Hurrian origin, so it is likely that the origin of this stem alternation is to be found in Hurrian.¹ A convenient term for this declension is "Hurrian inflection." A few u-stem nouns also show this sort of inflection. NINDA harzazu- is common gender in the singular, neuter gender in the plural. It also shows a -t- before the case endings of the instrumental.

(NINDA) miumi- is not of Hurrian origin, but is a reduplicated form of the adjective miu- "soft, gentle, mild." A few nouns with Hurrian inflection, all neuter, sometimes add -sa in the nominative-accusative singular. Any special significance of this suffix is unknown. The following list contains all attested forms of these words. Several places cited by Friedrich, RHA,² are omitted.

(DUG) ahrushi- c. "censer." Loanword from Hurrian DUG ahrushi- "censer." Cf. Ugaritic *agršh* "censer," and Akkadian *ahrushu* (a container), a Hurrian loanword attested at Alalakh.

¹Johannes Friedrich, RHA, XLVII (1947-48), 13-15, has compared the Hurrian directive case in -ta.

²Friedrich, RHA, XLVII (1947-48), 11-17.

- Sg. N. (DUG) ahrushis
 A. ahrushin, DUG ahrushin 81/w 3
 D.-L. (DUG) ahrushi, DUG ahrushiya KBo XIX 136 I 11,
 DUG ahrushiti KUB XXV 42 V 16
 Abl. ahrushiyaz(a), DUG ahrushiyaz KBo XIV 130 II 8,
 DUG ahrushiyaz 110/r II 8, DUG ahrushiaz KBo XIX
 136 I 22.

This word may be written with initial a-ah- or ah-.

ambassi-, ampassi- c. (something similar to keldi- "well-being"). Loanword from Hurrian ambassi-. The Akkadian loanword ambassu, however, means "game preserve."

- Sg. N. ambassis, ampassis KUB XXVII 16 III 17
 A. ambassin
 G. ambassiyas
 D.-L. ambassi, ampassi KBo XIII 199, 12, 390/t 1, 3, Bo
 69/545 II 14, ampassi KBo VIII 79 I 8,
ambassiti KUB XXIX 4 II 38, ambassiti KUB
 XXXVIII 25 I 8

This word may be written with initial a-am- or am-.

anāhi- n. "sample." It is uncertain whether this word contains the suffix -ahi(t)- or has Hurrian inflection.

Sg. N.-A. anāhi, anahi

Pl. N.-A. anāhita

antaki- (a room).

- Sg. D.-L. antaki KUB XI 20 I 13, andakitti KUB VII 5 I 7,
antaga KUB XXXVI 44 IV 12

āpi- n. "hole in the ground, offering pit." Loanword from Hurrian āpi- "offering pit." Cf. Akkadian apu "hole, opening in the ground," probably also a loanword from Hurrian. This word is usually spelled a-a-. The spelling with single initial a- occurs in 933/u I 9, 13, 14, and 749/z 6.

Sg. N.-A. āpi

A.-L. āpi, āpiti

Abl. āpiyaz KUB XV 31 II 33, apitaz KUB XXIX 4 II 19

I. āpitPl. G. āpiyas

The common gender accusative singular āpin occurs in KBo IX 116 II 9, KBo IX 119A I 16, and KBo XIX 145 III 25. The form a-pī-sa occurs in 933/u I 14: nu apisa anda appanzi. The syntax is unclear.

(Ē) erkiu-, Ē arkiwi- n. (part of the temple?).

Sg. D.-L. (Ē) arkiwi, Ē arkiwiya KBo X 20 III 44, KUB XX 87 I 2

Abl. arkiwas 34/u I 7

Pl. N.-A. Ē arkiwita KUB XXXIX 97 I 2 in a broken context
Ē arkiuyas Bo 2438 IV 12 may be genitive singular, but the syntax is difficult.

atani- (oracle term). Occurs only in the dative-locative singular
ataniti KBo XIII 76 II 19 and KBo XVI 97 II 10.

GIŠ erhui-, GIŠ irhui- "basket."

Sg. D.-L. GIŠ irhuiti, GIŠ irhuya KBo IX 119 I 3, GIŠ irhui
1669/u 9, GIŠ irhuiti 516/z I 6

Abl. GIŠ erhuyas, GIŠ irhuaz KBo XI 32, 20

I. GIŠ erhuit

(Ē) hamri- n. (type of sanctuary for Hurrian divinities). Loanword from Hurrian hamri-, hmr. Cf. Akkadian hamru "sacred precinct (of Adad)," also a Hurrian loanword.

Sg. N.-A. ha-am?-ri KUB XL 2 II 7 (reading uncertain)

D.-L. hamriya KUB XVIII 41 I 20, KUB XXX 31 IV 22

Pl. N.-A. hamrita KBo X 2 II 29

Ē hamri KUB V 7 I 54 may be dative-locative singular, or it may be an Akkadographic writing of the genitive singular.

hapalki-, apalki- "iron." Cf. Hurrian hapalki-, apalki- and Hattic hapalki "iron." Source language uncertain. The alternation of forms with and without initial h- is unique.

Sg. G. hapalkiyas KUB XII 1 IV 32, KUB XVI 34 I 1

D.-L. apalkiti KUB XXX 40 I 5, 26

hapalkiyas also occurs in 1284/v II 6, and apalkiyas in line 12, both in broken contexts. The dative-locative singular Ē hapalki

(an iron house?) occurs in KUB XXXIX 76 I 3. Cf. a-pal-ki-ti-x[1335/v I 8. The heads of two horizontals are visible before the break.

NINDA harzazu- Sg. c., Pl. n. "crumb?" For the meaning, cf. IBoT III 1, 47: 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA-ma har-za-zu-ta DÜ-an-z[i "They make 1 bread (into) harzazu's."

Sg. N.]harzazus 407/q 2

A. NINDA harzazun

D.-L. NINDA harzazuti

I. NINDA harzazutit KBo IV 13 II 26, IBoT II 4 I 2,
431/s I 13, 560/t III 18,]harzazutet 816/u 2,
NINDA harzazuit KUB XXXIV 69 I 16

Pl. N.-A. NINDA harzazuta

This is the only noun which inserts the -t- of the Hurrian inflection before the ending of the instrumental.

hatiwi- c. "inventory." This word occurs only in the nominative singular hatiwis KUB XII 1 IV 45 and VBoT 87 IV 5. It may belong under Hurrian inflection because the verb derived from it, hatiwit(a)- "to take an inventory," adds a -t- to the stem. The verb is attested in IBoT I 31 I 11, 18, 24, and KBo XIX 88, 5.

(:)hazziwi-, hazziu-, hazziwe n. "ritual." Cf. the derivative LÜ^{MES} hazziwitassia KUB XXXVIII 12 II 3.

Sg. N.-A. hazziwi, :hazziwi KUB XVI 77 I 33, 39, hazziu KUB
XXX 39 I 9, KUB XXXI 124 II 27, hazziwe KUB
XXVII 66 II 14

G. hazziwiyas, hazziuwas 670/z I 9, 978/z I 9, hazziwas
978/z II 7

Abl. hazziwiyaza KBo II 7 II 23

Pl. N.-A. hazziwi^{HI.A} KUB XVIII 26 II 8, 39/r 8, hazziwita
KUB XXXII 133 I 4

hazzizi-, NINDA hazzizi- n. "ear, understanding" (also a bread name, probably a bread baked in the shape of an ear). For the meaning of the bread name, cf. KBo XIII 114 II 21: 10 ha-zi-zi SA NINDA i-ya-an "10 hazzizi's made of bread." Loanword through Hurrian

hazzizzi- from Akkadian hasīsu "ear, hearing, understanding, bread in the form of an ear."

Sg. N.-A. hazzizu, hazzizzu 571/u 6, NINDA hazizi KBo XIII 114 II 24, 30, KBo XV 24 III 6, hazizi KBo XIII 114 II 21. The forms in -u are probably Akkadographic spellings.

G. hazzizziyas KUB IX 4 I 24

Pl. N.-A. NINDA hazizita, NINDA hazizida, NINDA hazzizita

(DUG) huprushī- c. (a vessel). Loanword from Hurrian hubrušhi-. Cf. Ugaritic hbrš and Akkadian huprušhu, hurušhu, both Hurrian loanwords.

Sg. N. huprushis, hūprushis KBo XVII 95 II 11, 163/x I 11, DUG huprushis 1996/u IV 2

A. huprushin, hūprushin 84/r I 6, 1665/u 3, 661/v III 19, 892/z 5, DUG hūprushin 576/u 3

G. ŠA^{NA} huprushī 129/r "of a stone-huprushī" with Akkadographic spelling. hūprushiyas 661/v III 16

D.-L. huprushī, huprushiya, DUG huprushiya KUB XII 12 V 3, DUG hūprushiya KUB XXXII 53 I 4, hūprushī KBo XV 47 II 8, KBo XV 48 III 20, 39, 952/u 4, DUG hūprushī KUB XXXIX 71 III 27, 25, hūprushiti IBOT II 39 II 23

Pl. N. huprushēs, DUG huprushēs 1996/u IV 7

A. huprushius KBo XVII 95 II 16, DUG huprushius 1996/u IV 5

The form hūprushas occurs in a broken context 800/w I 8. The hapax DUG hūpūrushī- KUB XXXII 137, 15 is probably a variant spelling of this word.

GIŠ irimpī-, GIŠ irip(p)ī-, GIŠ eripī- n. "cedar." Loanword (through Hurrian?) from Akkadian erēnu, erinnu "cedar." Is the source of the -p- to be found in Hurrian?

Sg. N.-A. GIŠ irimpī KBo V 1 II 14, 20ff., GIŠ eripisa KUB X 92 I 7

Pl. N.-A. GIŠ irippida ABOT 17 II 15, 16

DUG gazzi- n. (a vessel). Is there a connection with Akkadian kasu "goblet, cup"?

Sg. N.-A. DUG gazzi IBoT II 39 I 55, DUG kazzi KUB XI 31 I 24,
27, 1334/v I 1

Abl. DUG gazzidaz IBoT II 39 II 19

GIŠ kishi-, GIŠ keshi- n. "chair." Loanword from Hurrian keshi- "chair,
throne."

Sg. G. GIŠ keshiyas KUB XXXII 49a III 12

Pl. N.-A. GIŠ kishita KUB XXIX 4 I 28ff.

GIŠ kisdu- c. "stand, support."

Sg. A. GIŠ kisdu KUB II 5 I 33, KUB XXV 1 III 5, KBo VII 40
II 10, KBo VIII 119 II 2, etc., GIŠ kistun KBo
XVII 13 II 3

D.-L. GIŠ kisduti KUB VII 30, 3, 10, KUB XVII 23 I 34

Pl. A. GIŠ kestimus KUB XXV 9 III 20, GIŠ kistemus IBoT I 16
I 7, KBo XIII 224, 7. The source of the -em-
(for underlying -ew-) in these forms is unknown.

(SÍG) kunzi-, SÍG kunza- n. (something of wool).

Sg. N.-A. kunzi KUB XXVI 84 II 8, SÍG kunzan KUB XI 20 I 5,
KUB XI 25 III 2

Pl. N.-A. kunzita KUB X 28 I 19, KUB XI 21a VI 10

Cf. EZEN kunzi KUB XXV 27 I 22, "the festival of the kunzi."

(NINDA) miumiu- n. (a bread). A reduplicated form of the adjective miu-
"soft, gentle, mild."

Sg. N.-A. (NINDA) miumiu

Pl. N.-A. NINDA miumiuda KBo XIV 116 IV 7, miumiuta 1326/u I 4

(GIŠ) nathi- n. "bed? couch?" Loanword from Hurrian (GIŠ) nathi- "couch."

Sg. N.-A. nathi KUB XII 5 IV 14, KUB XXVII 8 II 2, Bo 68/65
IV 2, nathi KUB XXVII 1 II 59

Pl. N.-A. GIŠ nathita KUB X 92 VI 15

D.-L. nathiyas KBo II 4 IV 25, KBo VIII 91 I 8, II 1

Also cf. GIŠ na-at-hi-y[ā] in a broken context, 858/v 2.

GIŠ paini- n. "tamarisk." Loanword from Hurrian paini-, paeni- "tama-
risk." Cf. also Akkadian bīnu "tamarisk" attested in Old Babylo-
nian and Old Akkadian and therefore not likely to be a loanword
from Hurrian. Also not an Akkadian loanword into Hurrian, unless

contact occurred before the -ai- cluster contracted in Akkadian.
Probably a loanword from some common source.

- Sg. N.-A. GIŠ paini, GIŠ paeni KUB XXXVI 8 I 21, GIŠ paini Bo
68/28 IV 14, GIŠ paeni KUB XVII 20 I 6, KBo XVII
93, 8, GIŠ painisa 1939/u 3, Akkadographic
GIŠ panu KBo XVII 103 I 15
G. GIŠ painiyas 1030/z I 6
Abl. GIŠ pānitaz KBo XVII 103 II 10
I. GIŠ painit KBo XI 5 VI 7

(GIŠ) tapri- n. "chair? seat?" Loanword from Hurrian tapri- (seating accommodation).

- Sg. N.-A. tapri KBo XVIII 181 I 29, KBo VIII 63 I 8, taprisa
KUB XXX 50, 10, taprissa KUB VII 52 I 5
G. tapriyas
D.-L. (GIŠ) tapriya, tapriti, tapri IBoT III 148 III 7
Abl. tapritaz KUB XXXVI 41, 7, GIŠ tapriaz KBo XIX 129 I 16

tulli- (oracle term; part of the liver). Hapax D.-L. singular tulliti
KUB XVI 39 II 10

(NINDA) dūni- c. (a bread).

- Sg. A. NINDA dūnin, NINDA dunin 1393/u 3, 8, 1618/u 9,
NINDA tunin 1618/u 8
D.-L. tūniti 1665/u 8

SISKUR(.SISKUR) dupsahi- c. (a ritual of Kizzuwatna).

- Sg. A. SISKUR.SISKUR dupsahin KUB XXIX 4 II 23, KBo VIII
90 II 11
G. SISKUR(.SISKUR) dupsahiyas
D.-L. SISKUR dupsahiti KUB XXIX 4 II 24, 26, SISKUR
dupsahi KBo VIII 90 II 13

uzuhri- c. "grass." Loanword from Hurrian uzuhri- "grass."

- Sg. A. uzuhrin
D.-L. uzuhriti

zakki-, GIŠ zakki-, URUDU zakki- c. "door bolt."

- Sg. N. zakkis, URUDU zakkes IBoT I 36 I 20
A. GIŠ zakkin, URUDU zakkin

- G. URUDU zakkias KBo XVI 63 I 10
 (GIŠ) zakkiti
 D.-L. zakkiti
 Pl. A. GIŠ zakkius KUB XII 65, 20, Bo 69/642 3, URUDU zakkius
 KBo XVI 63 I 9, KBo XII 58 II 27, zakkius KBo
 XIII 58 II 14, zakkēs KUB XIII 1 I 25, KUB XL
 57 I 11

Cf. also the Akkadographic genitive GIŠ zāki KBo XII 65? V 5 (KBo XII has an asterisk (*), but is the only available Vs. for the adjacent Rs. V).

NINDA zanni- n. (a bread). Perhaps cf. Akkadian zannu "dish of fermented barley" attested only at Nuzi and therefore probably of Hurrian origin.

Pl. N.-A. NINDA zannita KUB XII 15 VI 15, KBo XI 24 I 2, 4

zizzuhi- n. "jug." Loanword from Hurrian zuzuhi- "jub."

Sg. N.-A. zizzuhi KBo XIX 129 I 10

Abl. zizzuhiaz KUB XXV 48 IV 6, 12, etc., zizzuhitaz KUB
 XXV 49 II 8

Pronominal Inflection

Several adjectives show forms with both nominal and pronominal inflection. These include damai- "other," dapiya-, dapi- "whole, all," 1-as "one," and perhaps 2-e "two," teri- "three," and mē(y)u- "four." 1-as, 2-e, teri-, and mē(y)u- are discussed in the section on numerals. damai- "other."

Sg. N. c. damais, dammais, tammais, tamaīs KBo X 37 III 41,
 216/w I 6, tamaīs Bo 69/618 4, 8

A. c. damain, tamain, damaīn 188/u 8, tamain 279/s 2,
 690/z 1, damaīn 919/v 2

N.-A. n. tamai

G. dammēl, tamēl, dammil KBo XII 101 I 15, dammel
 1864/u 1, 450/w 2

D.-L. damēdani, damētani, tamētani, tamatta KUB XXX 10 II
 15, 11 II 11, tamēdani KBo XIX 66, 8, 129/r III
 9, 647/u 5, etc., dametani KBo XV 10 II 1,

tametani 1563/u I 16, dammēdani KUB XXXVI 89 II
17, damēte KBo XVI 50, 15

Abl. tamēdaz, tamētaḫ, damēdaza, tamēdaza 1686/u 5

Pl. N. c. damāus KUB I 1 I 33

A. c. damaus, tamaus KBo XV 25 II 3, Bo 69/861 5, tamāus
112/r I 3, KUB XXXV 148 IV 22

N.-A. n. tamāi KUB XIV 1 II 37

D.-L. tamēdas, damedas, tametas KBo XI 14 IV 20

dapiya-, dapi- "whole, all."

Sg. N.-A. n. dapiyan, dapiān KBo XIV 21 I 11, 53, etc., dapin
KUB V 1 I 14

G. dapias KUB XXXI 136 II 1

D.-L. dapi, dapi KBo XIV 21 I 17, 58, KBo XVIII 142, 16,
etc.

Abl. dapiza, dapidaz KUB XII 57 IV 4

A. c. dapius KBo XI 14 I 24

N.-A. n. dapida KBo XII 38 I 4

G. dapidas KUB XXXIII 96 I 3, KUB XXXVI 18 II 11

D.-L. dapias

Stems with Reduplication

Many Hittite nouns of both common and neuter gender as well as a few adjectives and many proper names show reduplication. It is usually complete reduplication of the root, which may be from one to three syllables in length. Nouns and adjectives with complete reduplication are either a-stems or i-stems. The stem vowel is sometimes reduplicated and sometimes not. Most of these nouns are of obscure origin. A few may be derived from a corresponding unreduplicated stem. Nouns with complete reduplication are found in Luwian and Palaic as well as in Hittite and tend to fall into certain semantic categories. These include body parts, birds, animals, and plants. Several kin terms in Luwian and Palaic show reduplication, but none are attested in Hittite. These kin terms include

Luwian tati- "father," nani- "brother," and Palaic papa- "father."

Indo-European had full reduplication only in a handful of nouns and adjectives, like Greek bárbaros "barbarian," Sanskrit barbara- "stemmering." The source of the frequent full reduplication in Hittite is Hattic.¹ Although such reduplication is common in the Hattic texts, its function remains obscure.

One noun, titita-, shows tripling of the root with a different stem-vowel in the last syllable. Two stems derived from verbs, lalukki- and memal-, show reduplication of the initial consonant. memal- is an athematic noun containing the root of the verb mall- and has e-vocalism in the reduplicated syllable. lalukki- is an i-stem adjective derived from the verb luk(k)-, with a-vocalism in the reduplicated syllable. No other stem from a verbal root C_1VC_2- shows the formation $C_1eC_1VC_2-$ as memal- does or $C_1aC_1VC_2i-$ as lalukki- does.

Several nouns with suffixes show reduplication, including arsarsura-, kuwankunur-, and several with the suffix -ina-. They are discussed under their respective suffixes, -ura-, -ur-, and -ina-.

akuwakuwa- c. "frog?" Attested only in Bo 2738, mentioned but not quoted by Emil Forrer.² Probably of imitative origin. For the use of a similar sounding word, cf. Greek kóaks (croak of a frog). asiyasi- (SAR) n. (a plant). Occurs in KUB XXXIX 101 II 6 and KBo XII 91 I 11.

assurassura- c. (oracle bird). Hapax KUB XVI 77 III 50. Is there a connection with surasura- (oracle bird)?

¹See Laroche, Les Noms des Hittites, pp. 242-43.

²Emil Forrer, Kleinasiatische Forschungen, I (1930), 310, n. 2.

auwauwa- c. (an animal; a BIBRU is made in its image). Attested in KBo XVI 100, 4, 6, and KBo XVI 101, 2, 6. A connection with Hieroglyphic Luwian wawa- "cow" is phonetically difficult. The loss of the initial a- would be unexplained.

^dHannahanna- c. (mother goddess). Reduplicated form of hanna- "grandmother."

(DUG) harhara- c. (a vessel). The dative-locative singular is DUG harharai KUB XI 34 I 6 = 54/s VI 8 and harharae KUB X 60, 4.

harsiharsi- n. "thunderstorm?" Cf. wantewantema- "lightning," in a similar semantic sphere, which also shows reduplication. A connection with harsi- "thick" is difficult semantically. The ^{DUG} harsiharsi- is a vessel mentioned in connection with the storm-god of the harsiharsi-, as in KUB XXV 23 IV 45. Perhaps it was a vessel made in his image.

gaga- c. (organ used in eating). Mentioned parallel with the mouth and the tongue, KBo XV 10 II 8 and III 50.

kallikalli- c. "hawk."

karsikarsi- (type of fat?). Hapax KUB IX 34 III 43: nu-us-ma-as-sa-an pi-ra-an ⁴⁴kar-si-kar-si-ya-za is-ki-it "In front of them he smeared karsikarsi-." Reduplicated form of ^(UZU) karsi- (type of fat?).

kurakura- c. (an offering to Istar). Hapax KBo XVI 83 III 4.

lahlahhi- Hapax KUB V 22, 35, modifying MUŠEN^{HI.A} "birds."

lala- c. "tongue."

lalukki- "bright." Der. of luk(k)- "to become bright."

laplappa-, laplipa- c. "eyelash?" The a/i alternation is perhaps phonetically conditioned. From Proto-Anatolian *lapp-, reduplicated in Hittite? Cf. Luwian lalpi- (from *lalapi-?) whose meaning is uncertain but which occurs in contexts where body parts occur.¹ Analysis quite uncertain.

¹See Laroche, DLL, p. 62.

lili- Hapax HT 35 II 5. Modifies ^{NA}ARA "millstone."

(:) lulu- n. "prosperity, good luck." Occurs both with and without the glossenkeil. Probably a word common to Hittite and Luwian. Is there a connection with Akkadian lulû "abundance"?

marmara-, marmarra-, ^{GIŠ}mammarra-? c. "thicket? swamp?"

memal- n. "groats." Der. of the root of malla- "to grind."

mutamuti Hapax KUB VII 33, 6. Is more of the stem to be restored?
Cf. Luwian mutamuti-, of uncertain meaning.¹

^{LÚ}pupu- c. "lover."

(NINDA) purpura- c. "lump, dumpling?" Cf. ^{GIŠ}pur-pu-ri-ya 499/w VI 19.

saluwasalwa- c. (oracle bird). Hapax KUB XVIII 3 IV 4.²

sasa- c. (an animal). "antelope." Occurs with both Hittite and Luwian inflectional forms. Word common to both languages. Cf. the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign No. 104 sa which depicts a horned animal, or in its abbreviated form the head of a horned animal.³ The sign value is presumably acrophonic, derived from the name of the animal.

siggasigga- Hapax KUB IX 4 III 26. Is there a connection with ^{DUG}sigga-?⁴

suksuqa-, suksugga-, suksugqa- (animal body part) "mane (of horse)? forelock (of cattle)?"

surasura- (^{MUŠEN}) c. (oracle bird). Once with a glossenkeil, KUB XVIII 9 II 8. Is there a connection with assurassura- (oracle bird)?

^{GIŠ}taptappa- c. "cage? nest?" (where a bird lives).

¹See Laroche, DLL, p. 72.

²Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 22, n. 10.

³Laroche, Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites (hereafter HH), I (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), pp. 65-66.

⁴Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 43, n. 58.

tarpatarpa- (SAR) (a plant). Connection with Luwian tarpa- (body part?) or Hittite tarpi- (evil demon) or the glossenkeil word :tarpi- "space for storage?" all uncertain.

titita- n. "pupil (of the eye)." Lallword with a unique sound pattern.

Cf. Luwian titita- "pupil." Not from Proto-Anatolian, because

Luwian -ti- corresponds to Hittite -zi- or -si- in inherited words.

walliwalli- "strong? violent? stormy?" Possibly connected with walli- "fame? glory? pride?" or with (UZU) walla- "upper thigh."

warawara- c. (a fruit?). Hapax KBo X 34 I 17 in a list of fruits.

Compounds

Compounding in Hittite is frequent in proper names, but much rarer in the formation of common nouns. Many compounds consist of a noun and an adjective. The two elements may occur in either order, as in assuzeri- "good-cup" or pattarpalhi- "wing-wide" (a bird). Some compounds consist of two nouns in syntactic relation to each other. These correspond to the Sanskrit tatpuruṣa compounds and include annaneka- "mother-sister" (sister by the same mother) and zasgarais "excrement-mouth" (anus). The suffixes -sepa- and in some instances -sara- were originally nouns forming such compounds. A third group of compounds are those whose first element is an adverb and whose second element is a participle or a noun. These were originally two words in close syntactic relation whose meaning became specialized and which were probably treated as one accentual unit.

(GIŠ) allantaru-, allan-GIŠ-ru- n. "oak?" Plausibly explained by Hoffner¹ as a compound of a loanword from Akkadian allānu "oak, acorn" and taru- "tree," hence the definition.

¹ Hoffner, Orientalia, XXXV (1966), 390-91.

annaneka- c. "sister by the same mother." Compound of anna- "mother" and neka- "sister."

SAL annawanna- c. "stepmother." Also cf. the accusative singular SAL annawannin in 477/u 8. A compound of anna- "mother" and an uncertain second element. Cf. Luvian annawanni- "stepmother" and tatawanni- "stepfather."

(LÚ) anninniyami-, SAL anninniyami- c. "cousin." A compound of anna- "mother" and an uncertain second element. The stem class of the first element is that of Luvian anni- "mother" rather than that of the corresponding Hittite word.

antiyant- c. "a husband who enters his wife's household." A compound of anda "in" and the participle iyant- "going." For the semantics, cf. Akkadian errebu "newcomer, person accepted into the family," which is derived from erēbu "to enter."

(LÚ) antuwasalli-, LÚ antu-GAL- c. (high official). Possibly a compound whose second element is salli- "big." The first element is obscure. The usual word for "big" used in compounds is uri-.

appasiwatt-, EGIR-pa-UD- c. "future." Compound of appa "back" and siwatt- "day."

assuzeri- n. (a vessel). Compound of assu "good" and zeri- "cup." Is this a "good cup" or a "cup for goods"?

*happiriyasessar, URU-(ri)yasessar n. "city population." Compound of happira- "city" and assessar "meeting, assembly." The ideogram URU also shows the phonetic complements of an i-stem.

istamahura- c. "earring?" Hoffner¹ has suggested that this is a compound of istamana- "ear" (with the -n- lost by assimilation) and hurai- "to adorn?" Hittite has no sure examples of a noun compounded with a verbal stem. Also spelled isdammahurus, accusative plural KBo XVIII 192, 5.

^DIzzistanu- c. (deified) "favorable day." Ideogram ^DUD.SIG₅ and ^DUD.KAM.SIG₅. Compound of two Hattic words, izzi- "favorable" and istanu- "sun."

¹Hoffner, Orientalia, XXXV (1966), 388-89.

(DUG) kattakurant- c. (a vessel). Compound of katta "under" and the participle kurant- "to cut," hence a vessel with a flat bottom? Cf. 1 ^{DUG} kattakurantas in an inventory 1255/v I 6 and apparently nominative singular. Also ṭakurantas broken in line 2.

^{GIS} gazzit(t)uri- n. (vessel for water). Attested in KBo XI 43 I 30, 416/q 3, 56/u I 3, 6, 54/w 4, and Bo 69/615 5. Perhaps a compound of ^{GIS} gazzi- (a vessel) which takes Hurrian inflection and uri- "big."

^{LÚ} parauwandatar n. "position of a ^{LÚ} parauwant-." Hapax KUB XIII 35 + XXIII 80 I 23. Probably a derivative in -atar of a compound of parā "forwards" and the participle uwant-, ambiguously "come" (to uwa-) or "seen" (to au(s)-). The meaning of this word is not clear.

pattarpalhi- c. (an oracle bird). Compound of pattar "wing" and palhi- "wide." Cf. the formation of Akkadian kappu-rapaš (name of a bird), literally "wide-winged."

(:) sallakartatar n. "arrogance? carelessness?" Compound of salli- "big" with the stem-vowel that occurs in sallanu- "to make large, to rear" and ^{*}sallatar "bigness" and kard-, kardi- "heart." Cf. the verb sallakartāi- "to be arrogant? to be careless?" This word is Hittite despite the glossenkeil.

^{TUG} sarriwaspa- (article of clothing). Probably a compound of waspa- "clothing" with an obscure first element.

^{NINDA} sermarant- c. (a bread). Hapax KUB IX 2 I 19.¹ Perhaps a compound of sēr "over" and an otherwise unattested participle marant-.

^{SAL} siwanzanna- c. "mother-god priestess." Ideogram SAL AMA.DINGIR. Probably a compound of siuna-, siuni- "god" and anna- "mother." The source of the -z- is obscure.

suppiwashar ^(SAR) n. "onion." Gen. suppiwashanas. Compound of suppi- "clean, pure" and an obscure second element. Cf. the formation of Sumerian SUM.SIKIL "onion," literally "garlic-clean."

¹ Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 27, n. 28.

daiuga- "two years old." Compound of *dā- "two" and iuga- "one year old."

UZU dānhasti- n. (a body part). Compound of dān "second" and hastai- "bone."

tārumaki- c. (a bird?). Hapax KUB VIII 62 I 6. Hoffner¹ has suggested that this is a compound of tāru- "tree" and wak- "to bite." Hittite has no sure examples of a noun compounded with a verbal stem.

wizzapant-, wezzapant-, wezpant- "old." Compound of witt- "year" and the participle pant- "gone." In Hittite when two t's come together morphologically, an -s- is inserted between them. Perhaps -s- is also inserted between a t and a p which come together.

zasgarais n. "anus."² The nominative-accusative singular zasgarais and the dative-locative singular zasgarissi are both attested only in KBo XVII 61 II 14. Compound of sakkar, zakkar "dung, excrement" and ais "mouth." The compound is formed from the nominative of sakkar, zakkar, rather than from the oblique stem sakn-, zakn-. The spellings sakkar, zakkar, and zasgar- represent an initial cluster and indicate that the distinction between initial s- and z- was neutralized before -k-.

lannaparna "palace." Hapax dative singular in KBo VI 2 I 58, corresponding to A-NA É.GAL "for the palace" in parallel passages. Probably a compound containing parn- "house." The fragmentary first element is obscure. Cf. the phonetic complement of the dative-locative singular É.GAL-ni, KUB XX 88 IV 7.

Numerals

The phonetic readings of most Hittite numerals are concealed by ideograms. Because so little is known about the numerals, it is convenient to treat them as a group rather than under their putative

¹Hoffner, Orientalia, XXXV (1966), 35.

²See Howard Berman's forthcoming article in JAOS, "A Hittite Ritual for the Newborn."

stem-classes. No cardinal number higher than 10 is written with a phonetic complement.

The numeral one has pronominal inflection. Cf. Latin *unus* and Sanskrit *eka-*, both "one," which also have pronominal inflection. The following forms are attested:

- N. c. *1-ta-a-as* Bo 71/222 7, *1-as*
 A. c. *1-an*
 N.-A. n. *1-an* KUB X 75 I 7 = KBo XI 49 I 15
 G. *1-ēl*
 D.-L. *1-edani*
 Abl. *1-edaz(a)*

The forms *1-e-az* KUB XIV 1 II 25 and *1-e-iz* 159/w 6 might be ablatives or adverbs.

The stem of the numeral two is **dā*. This is inferred from the words *dāiuga-* "two years old" and the uninflected ordinal *dān* "second." It is inherited from Indo-European **dwō* with loss of the **w* after **d* as in *idalu-* "evil" as opposed to Luvian *adduwali-*. Cf. Sanskrit *dvau*, *dvā*, Greek *duo*, Armenian *erku*, Albanian *dü*, Latin *duo*, Old Irish *dau*, Gothic *twai*, Lithuanian *dù*, and Old Church Slavonic *ǫva*. Another stem *duy(a)-* appears in ^{LÚ}*duyanalli-*, q.v. The motivation for the use of this stem is unknown. There is no certain example of a common gender accusative. Those which have been suggested are all of the form *2-e ekuzi* "he drinks to two (gods)" or "he drinks twice." Other examples of this phrase have the divine name in the accusative. This may be a cardinal number or it may be an adverb. Cf. *3-e* in similar constructions KUB XI 30 IV 7, IBoT I 2 III 10, 355/t II 8, 11/u 3, and 133/u II 11. The neuter nominative-accusative *2-e* is attested in KBo XI 49 I 16 and KBo XVII 74 I 37. A duplicate of the first text, KUB X 75 I 8, has *2-an*.

It is possible that 2-e is to be read 2-E with the Akkadian phonetic complement of sinē. No oblique cases of the numeral two with phonetic complements are attested.

The stem of the numeral three is teri- from Indo-European *trei-, *tri-. Cf. Greek treîs, Latin trēs, Old Irish trí, Gothic *þreis*, Lithuanian trīs, Old Church Slavonic trije, Sanskrit trāyas, Avestan *θrāyō*, Albanian tre, Armenian erek'. The spelling represents an initial tr-cluster. The following forms are attested:

N. c. 3-ēs, 3-i-e-es KUB X 55, 12

A. c. 3-us KUB IX 31 I 11

G. teriyas Bo 2533 I 10

There is no certain example of a neuter gender nominative-accusative. For the form 3-e see the preceding paragraph in connection with 2-e. In KBo IX 79, 6, 3-an ŠU-an "three hands" may be genitive, although the context is broken. 1775/u II 7 reads: 3 NINDA ki-is-tu-un 3-ta-as si-ū-n[a "three kistu-breads for? three gods." The case is ambiguous but the form apparently indicates that the numeral three also has optional pronominal inflection

The stem of the numeral four is mē(y)u-. It shows both adjectival and nominal inflection. The following forms are attested:

N. c. mēyawas KUB XXXI 127 I 55, mēwas KUB XXXI 127 I 54

A. c. mēus KUB XXXI 127 I 52

G. mi-i-ū-wa<-as> Bo 2533 I 11

D.-L. 4-tas KUB XXXIII 51, 7

I. 4-it 941/z II 5

In 375/v 7 the case of me-u-wa-as hal-hal-tu-u-ma[- "four corners" is ambiguous. The dative-locative 4-tas indicates that this word has optional pronominal inflection

The only form of the numeral five attested with a phonetic complement is the instrumental 5-it 9/r I 3.

No form of the numeral six is attested with a phonetic complement.

The stem of the numeral seven is *sipta-, from Indo-European *septm. Cf. Sanskrit *saptá*, Avestan *hapta*, Greek *heptá*, Latin *septem*, Old Irish *secht*, Gothic *sibun*, Lithuanian *septyni*, Old Church Slavic *sedmŭ*, Armenian *eyt'n*, Albanian *shtatë*. This is inferred from the name of the liquid siptamiya- which alternates with the spelling 7-miya-. It is not certain whether the -m- belongs to the stem of the number seven.¹ The only form of the numeral seven attested with a phonetic complement is the neuter accusative 7-an in KBo XI 11 II 5 and 6.

The only form of the numeral eight attested with a phonetic complement is 8-tas in KUB XXXI 143 II 1, 8, 15, and 16. All of the occurrences are in parallel constructions. The best preserved one is line 16: nu-uk-kán 2-is 8-ta-as ma!-ki-ta-as ak-ku-us-ki-e-si "You will drink twice eight makitas." The word makitas is attested only in this text; it is some sort of vessel or drink. The form 8-tas according to the context must be common gender accusative.

The numeral nine is attested fairly often with phonetic complements. The common gender accusative 9-an occurs in KBo XI 10 II 17 and KBo XII 70 I 16. The duplicate to the first passage KBo XI 72 II 22 fragmentary; at the place where one expects the sign 9 there appears a broken horizontal and the rest is lost. The form 9-at occurs in KUB

¹The Hittite scribes could write a phonetic complement of any length, and they could use an ideogram to represent any part of a word which was homonymous with the ideogram. Only that part of the word which is replaced by the ideogram may with certainty be taken as the reading (in full or in part) of the ideogram.

IX 31 II 7 = HT 1 I 60: nu 9-at NINDA.KUR₄.RA ar-ha-pa-ar-si "he breaks nine breads." 9-at is accusative, but since NINDA.KUR₄.RA may be either common or neuter gender, its gender is uncertain. The genitive ŠA 9-an LU^{MES} "of nine men" occurs in KUB XLI 32 II 6 and 7. The form 9-as occurs in KUB XXXVI 89 II 4 modifying arunas-sas "of its seas." The context is fragmentary but the form is probably genitive. 9-an is also attested in the following places, all of them fragmentary: KBo XI 72 III 28, KBo XII 70 I 11, KBo XIII 94, 4, KBo XIII 115, 5, 8, KBo XVII 1 I 9, KBo XVII 15 II 7, KBo XVII 88 III 9 bis, KBo XX 34 II 16, 20, IBoT III 73 I 4, IBoT III 78, 6, VBoT 58 IV 12, and 893/z 5. 9-as is also attested in a broken context in KBo XVII 15 II 7.

The only form of the numeral ten attested with a phonetic complement is the instrumental 10-antit in KBo XVII 32 I 12: I]Š-TU 2 QA-TI-KA 10-an-ti-it ka-lu-lu-pi-i[t "with your two hands with ten fingers." Cf. the adjectives 10-tilis KUB XXXI 79, 6, and 10-tili KUB XXXI 79, 17, in which the -t- represents the final consonant in the stem of the numeral ten.

Miscellaneous Underived Stems

hastira-, haster- c. "star." From Indo-European *H₂astēr "star." The initial syllable is difficult, the best correspondence to the Hittite word being Greek astēr. Cf. The Sanskrit forms stṛbhīḥ and tārah with Indo-European initial movable s. The Hittite word shows both athematic and thematic inflection. The nominative singular is ha-as-te-ir-za, with the final -s (>-z after r before word boundary?) of the common gender, or hastiras, hasteras.

Sg. N. URU Hastiras KUB VIII 75 I 22 + KBo XIX 10, 22
alternates with ideogram URU MUL-(ra)-as.

hasterza 902/z IV 9, MUL-as

A. URU Hastiran KUB XIX 65 + KUB XXXI 13, 9, dupl.

URU Hasteran KUB XIX 64, 24

Pl. N. MUL^{HI.A}-es KUB XXXIV 16 III 1, Law No. 79

A. MUL^{HI.A}-us 251/u 13, KUB VIII 12, 12 =]^{MES}-us KUB VIII 14 I 6

D.L. MUL^{HI.A}-as KUB VII 1 II 24, MUL-as KUB VII 1 II 20

SAL^{MES}hazgara-, SAL^{MES}hazgara- c. (ritual personnel). Plural tantum.

The inflection of this word is anomalous.¹

Pl. Nom. SAL^{MES}hazgara, SAL^{MES}hazgarai 73/s I 8, 11, Bo 69/575

5, SAL^{MES}hazgaraiyaza

SAL^{MES}hazgara, SAL^{MES}hazgarai, SAL^{MES}hazgaraiyaza

SAL^{MES}hazkaraiyaza

SAL^{MES}haziqara, SAL^{MES}haziqaraz, SAL^{MES}haziqaraza

SAL^{MES}hazhayaza KUB XII 2 I 4, SAL^{MES}hazharaya[KUB

XII 2 I 7

D.-L. hazqarayas KUB XXV 36 II 10

Cf. SAL^{MES}hazkarai 1461/u 2 and]hazgaraissa 648/z I 14, both in fragmentary contexts.

isgaruh- n. (offering vessel). This common vessel is never written with the DUG determinative. A connection with isgar- "to pierce; to fasten" is difficult, as an -uh- suffix would be unique. This word is the only h-stem in Hittite.

Sg. N.-A. isgaruh, isgaruh, iskarih KUB XXVIII 104 V 15,

iskarih KBo XVII 74 I 15

D.-L. isgaruhi, isgaruhi

I. iskaruhit, isqaruhit

Cf. is-ka-ta?-ah KBo XI 29 I 8, an object of silver. The third sign, although broken, is not a RU. (The fourth sign may be read ah or uh.) Is this a scribal error?

kir, kard-, kardi- n. "heart." From Indo-European *kerd-, *krd- "heart," with different ablaut grades in the nominative-accusative and in the oblique cases. Cf. Greek kardia, Latin cor, Old Irish cride, Gothic hairtō, Lithuanian širdis, Old Church Slavic srdice, Armenian sirt, Sanskrit hrd-, hrdaya-, Avestan zərəd-. The genitive is formed from

¹See Charles Carter, "Hittite Cult Inventories" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1962), pp. 187-88.

an i-stem, which is reminiscent of the i-extensions found in Greek and Sanskrit. The declension of this word in Hittite is anomalous, although it closely resembles that of pir-, parn- "house" and somewhat less that of siu-, siuna-, siuni- "god." The loss of the final -d in the nominative singular may be by regular sound change. The behavior of final clusters in Hittite is uncertain for want of enough examples.

Sg. N.-A. kir KBo XII 18 I 9, 11, KUB XL 28, 2, Šà-ir, gir
533/f I 6, 11

G. kardiyas

D.-L. kardi, karta VBoT 58 I 13, karda KBo III 41 + KUB
XXXI 4 I 9

Abl. kartaz

I. kardit

Pl. N.-A. kir KBo VIII 35 II 21

NINDA kistun-, NINDA kestun- (a bread). This is the only n-stem in Hittite whose stem does not end in -an. From the texts it is not possible to determine its gender.

Sg. A. NINDA kistun KBo XIII 227 I 12, 1775/u II 7, Bo 68/40 9

G. ŠA 1 NINDA kistun 1775/u II 10, Bo 68/40 10, ŠA 1
NINDA kestun KUB VII 17, 6. This is the unflected stem form used as an Akkadogram.

Cf. also KUB XXXI 143 II 8: 8-ta-as ki-is-tu-na-as in a broken context.

parn-, pir- n. "house." The declension of this word in Hittite is anomalous, although it resembles closely that of kir, kard-, kardi- "heart" and somewhat less that of siu-, siuna-, siuni- "god." The loss of the final -n in the nominative singular (though not in the dative-locative singular) may be by regular sound change. The behavior of final clusters in Hittite is uncertain for want of enough examples.

Sg. N.-A. pir, É-ir, parnas KUB VII 41 I 17

G. parnas

D.-L. parni, parna, É-na KUB XVII 6 I 27, É-ri

Abl. parnaza, É-irza, parnaz 30/t 7

Pl. N.-A. É-irD.-L. parnas, É-nas

NINDA tunik- n. (a bread). This is the only k-stem in Hittite. It is not attested outside the nominative-accusative singular. NINDA tu-ni-ik occurs in KBo VII 37 I 5, 7, KBo XI 36 III 4, KBo XI 36 IV 9, KUB XL 73 IV 8, 1286/v 11, 1319/v 2, 879/z V 9, and 1180/x 7. tu-ú-ni-ik occurs in KBo XVII 36 II 8.

SAL-ann- c. "woman." The phonetic reading of this word is unknown. It appears to be an athematic n-stem. The nominative singular ends in -an-za, which is probably an attempt to represent a final -nz cluster. The -s of the common gender nominative singular apparently becomes -z when preceded by -n- or -r-. Cf. the nominative singular hasterza "star."

Sg. N. SAL-anza KUB XXX 29, 1, 142/w 1, SAL-za, SAL-as KBo IV 6 I 15, SAL-is KUB XVII 18 III 21 (probably a scribal error).

A. SAL-nan

D.-L. SAL-ni KUB VII 6, 10, KUB XIII 4 II 77, KBo XV 25 I 34

The derivative SAL-annatar "womanliness" indicates that the stem is SAL-ann-.

CHAPTER III

DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

The Suffix -A-

This suffix forms deverbal derivatives of common gender. It is not certain which ablaut grade it requires. There are undoubtedly words containing this suffix which are listed under the a-stems because the corresponding verbs are unattested. One word, huwappa- "bad," is an adjective and may not properly belong here.

This suffix is inherited from Indo-European *-o- which formed nouns from verbs, both with abstract and concrete meaning.

In the Cappadocian tablets there occur proper names containing an element piya-. This is most likely a noun, derived from pāi-, piya- "to give," meaning "gift."

alwanzahha- "hex, sorcery." Der. of alwanzahh- "to charm, to hex."

harga- "ruin, destruction." Der. of hark- "to perish, to be destroyed."

hassa- "grandchild." Der. of has- "to give birth, to generate." Perhaps originally "offspring," then specialized as "grandchild."

(GIŠ) huisa-, (GIŠ) huesa-, GIŠ hūsa- "mirror." Der. of huis-, hues- "to live, to be alive"; a loan translation from Egyptian 'nh "life" and "mirror." Did mirrors come from Egypt?

huwappa- "bad." Der. of huwap(p)- "to mistreat."

karsa- (kar-as-sa-) "body-part, cut (of meat)."¹ Der. of kars- "to cut, to cut off." Occurs in KUB XVII 10 III 5, 6.

¹Güterbock, personal communication.

(:) luha- "light."¹ Glossenkeil word. Der. of luk(k)- "to become bright" with the Luwian shift of intervocalic -k- to -h-.²

Lj maya- "adult." Der. of māi- "to grow, to be ripe."

maniyahha - "administration, district." Der. of maniyahh - "to administer, to govern." Apparently a hapax variant (KUB XXXV 148 III 11) of the usual maniyahhai -

maninkuwahha- "vicinity, neighborhood." Der. of maninkuwahh- "to shorten, to draw near, to approach."

(:)palahsa- "cover, blanket." Der. of (katta) palahsa-, palahsiya-
"to cover?" (something done to horses).

NINDA parsa- "bread-crumb?" Der. of para-, paraī-, paraiya- "to break,
to divide."

pittuliya- "strangling, constriction, fear." Der. of pittuliya- "to
cramp, to frighten." The vocalism of the first syllable is assured
by pí-tu-li-ya-an, KBo XVIII 151 II 10.

sarra- "part, share." Der. of sarra- "to break up, to divide, to distribute."

tapar(r)iya- "command." Der. of tapar(r)iya- "to command."

This suffix is Luwian and occurs in a few Luwian words used in Hittite contexts. It may have either Luwian or Hittite inflectional endings. It forms neuter derivatives naming actions, states, and qualities, and corresponds in function to the Hittite suffix *-atar*. The loss

¹See Laroche, DLL, p. 63.

²See Laroche, DLL, p. 135.

rituale). Possibly an extension as in Lithuanian *giedoti* "to sing" in *-a-* from this root, mean-

Der. of *luk(k)*- "to become" intervocalic *-k-* to *-h-*.²
 "to be ripe."

Der. of *maniyahh*- "to administer,"
 KUB XXXV 148 III 11) of

Der. of *maninkuwahh*- "to

"(katta) *palahsa-*, *palahsiya-* (see).

-ra, *parai-*, *pariya-* "to break,

fear." Der. of *pittuliya-* "to" of the first syllable is assured I 10.

"to break up, to divide, to dis-

(*r*)*iya-* "to command."

ue Stem -*Ahit-*)

are in a few Luwian words used in Luwian or Hittite inflectional naming actions, states, and qualities. The Hittite suffix *-atar*. The loss

of the *-i-* in word final position is characteristic of Luwian phonology.¹ The etymology of this suffix is unknown. The following list contains all attested forms.

kunzigannahiti- This word only occurs in KBo XVII 65 with Hittite inflectional endings.

Sg. N.-A. *kunzigannahi* II 42

D.-L. *kunzigannahiti* I 35

AbI. *kunzigannahitaz* I 3

Cf. *kunziga* II 41.

malhas(a)allahi(t)- "ritual."² Der. of Luwian *malhasalla* hapax KBo IV 11, 28, from Luwian *malhasa* "ritual."

Sg. D.-L. *malhasallahiti* KUB V 6 II 44, *malhasallahiti* KUB V 6 II 67

muwaddalahi(d)- "strength." Der. of *muwattalli*- *muwattalla-*, "strong," which occurs with both Hittite and Luwian inflectional endings.

Sg. G. *muwaddalahidas* KUB II 1 III 14

nakkussahi(t)- "substitution." Der. of *nakkussi-* "substitute, escape-goat." This word is also attested in a Luwian context, KBo IX 141 II 18 = KUB XXXV 15 III 4.

Sg. D.-L. *nakkussahiti* KBo V 2 III 30, 333, KUB XVII 18 II 24, 474/u I 9

taparamahi(t)-³ Hapax ablative-instrumental singular ABoT 56 I 12 : *ta-pa-ra-ma-hi-ta-ti* with Luwian inflection. Probably der. of *taparasma*, a Luwian word in a Hittite context KUB IX 34 III 39.

tarpassahi(t)- "substitution." Der. of Luwian *tarpassa-* "substitute."

Sg. D.-L. *tar-pa-sa-sa-hi-ti* KBo XV 13, 3

warrahi(t)- "help." Cf. Hittite *warri-* "help."

Sg. G. *warrahitaz* KUB XX 60, 7 + IBoT I 22, 12

¹See Laroche, *DLL*, p. 132.

²See Laroche, *DLL*, p. 66.

³See Laroche, *DLL*, p. 91.

The Suffix -Ai-

This suffix forms common gender derivatives from verbs, and requires the zero-grade, as in zashai-, zazhai-, derived from tesha-. These derivatives are chiefly cognate accusatives. The noun hukmai- may also be neuter gender.

This suffix is cognate with Greek -oi-, nominative singular -ō, which forms nouns from verbs, mostly abstract but occasionally concrete.¹ halluwai- "quarrel, strife." Der. of halluwa- "to quarrel."

hukmai- "spell, conjuring." Der. of huk-, huik-, huk- "to conjure." Cf. hukmatalla- "conjunction priest," with a similar -g- extension of the root.

hullanžai- "defeat." Der. of hullai-, hulliya- "to defeat." Cf. hullanžetar and hullanžessar, both "defeat?," which show the same -nz- extension of this verb.

hurta- "curse." Der. of hurta-, huwarta- "to curse."

ishamai- "song." Der. of ishamai- "to sing."

istarningai- "sickness, illness." Der. of istarnink- "to make sick," the causative of istark-, istarkiya- "to fall sick."

kurkurai- "hurt?" Der. of kurkuriya- "to mutilate?," which is a derivative of kuer- "to cut."

DUG lelhundai- (a vessel). Der. of the verb lelhunda-, of unknown meaning, which occurs in the same passage, KUB XXX 19 IV 17-22.

lingai-, lengai- "oath." Der. of link- "to swear."

maniyahhai- "administration, district." Der. of maniyahh- "to administer, to govern." The accusative singular maniyahhin occurs once, KBo III 21 II 2.

¹ See Eduard Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik (2 vols.; Munich: C. H. Beck, 1953-66), I, pp. 478-79.

sagai- "omen." Der. of sakiya- "to make known."

tuhhuwai-, tuhhui- c. "smoke." From the Indo-European root *dheuH- "to shake, to agitate." Cf. Sanskrit dhū- "to shake," Greek thūō "to rage," and the Indo-European derivative *dhūmos "smoke," as in Sanskrit dhūmā-, Latin fūmus, Old Church Slavonic dymŭ, all "smoke," and Greek thūmōs "spirit, anger."

wastai- "sin, misfortune." Der. of wasta- "to sin."

zahhai- "battle, struggle." Der. of zahiya- "to do battle, to make war," which is a derivative of zah(h)- "to hit, to strike." The accusative singular zahhin also occurs, e.g., KBo V 6 III 29.

zashai-, zazhai- c. "dream." Zero-grade der. of tesha- "to sleep," hapax KUB XV 36 I 12. The alternation between zash- and zash- is probably an attempt to indicate an initial ts- cluster.

The Suffix -Als-, Alla-

This frequent suffix was discussed in detail by van Brock in "Dérivés Nominaux en L du Hittite et du Louvite."¹ It has several functions. It forms adjectives and names of occupations and personnel from nouns. It forms names of objects from verbs. And occasionally it forms names of personnel from verbs and names of objects from nouns. Most of its derivatives are common gender; a few are neuter gender. It is not certain which ablaut grade it requires with verbs. The forms with one -l- are more common than those with two. Most words are consistent in having either one or two l's, but the basis for the distinction is unknown. A few stems in al(l)a- also show forms with the suffix -al(l)i-. The uses of these two suffixes overlap to a great extent. In general, verbs form derivatives in -al(l)a- rather than -al(l)i-, although there are exceptions.

¹ van Brock, RHA, LXXI (1962), 67-168.

These suffixes are inherited from Indo-European *-lo- which was productive of both nouns and adjectives. Its reflexes form participles in Slavic, Armenian, and Tokharian, infinitives in Armenian, and a few perfect stems in Umbrian. The basis for the differentiation in Hittite into a-stems and i-stems is obscure. Lj duddushiyalla- is a Hattic loan-word. The following list includes many words of uncertain origin.

aywala- c. Hapax KUB XIV 3 I 12.

aggala- c. "furrow."

annal(i)a-, annal(i)i- "earlier, former, previous; ancient." Probably derived from the root of anni- "that," annaz(a) "at one time, earlier," rather than from anna- "mother," although it occurs in KUB XXXIII 106 III 50 next to attalla- "of father" and huhadalla- "of grandfather."

appaliyalla- c. "deceiver." Der. of appalai- "to deceive."

GIS ariyala- n. (an implement). Hapax KBo V 1 II 36.

Lj arkammiyala- c. "arkammi-player." Der. of arkammi-, argami- (musical instrument). Also SAL arkammiyala- KBo X 27 III 16 and 1744/u I 11.

arnuwa- c. "captured civilian." Der. of arnu- "to bring, to move."

URU ardala- n. (copper implement). Hapax KUB XXXIII 106 III 52. Der. of the verb ard(u?)-, which is mentioned in line 54.

jarzanala- c. Hapax KBo XX 16 I 8. The initial part of the word may be incomplete.

Lj asuala- c. (temple personnel). Probably a der. of asusa- "chain?," ¹

attala- "of father." Hapax KUB XXXIII 106 III 50. Der. of atta- "father."

¹Otten and Rüster-Werner, Christel, Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Vol. XX, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Vol. LXXXVI (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1971), p. 7.

Lj auriyala- c. "border guard." Alternates with auriyatalla- in a duplicate. ¹ Der. of auri-, awari- "tower, look-out."

awalla- c. Hapax KUB XXXVI 96, 11. ² Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin? Is there a connection with the verb awiyahha line 12?

hantale ^{SAR} c. (a plant). Hapax KBo XIII 248 I 9. Cf. Sig hantala. ³

Lj harsiyala- c. "bread offerer." Der. of NINDA harsi- "thick bread."

harziyal(i)a- c. (a water animal). ⁴ The har- sign could also be read hur-.

hasgala- Occurs in KUB XI 32 + XX 17 V 22, 560/t IV 9, 11. ⁵

(SAL) hasnupalla- c. "midwife." Der. of hassanu- "to deliver (a baby)." The -p- inserted after the causative -nu- may be cognate with the -p- added to verbs whose root ends in a vowel in forming the causative in Sanskrit. ⁶

GIS hattalla- c. "club." Occurs once with the glossenkeil, KUB XXVI 25, 12, with Hittite inflection. Probably not of Luwian origin. Der. of hattai- "to cut; to pierce."

Lj hatalwala- ^{GIS} hatalwala- c. "door-keeper?" Der. of (GIS) hattalu- "cross-bar."

hiwas(s)iwala- (adjective modifying NINDA.KUR₄.RA "bread"). Occurs in KUB XXX 15 + KUB XXXIX 11 + 19 I 26 and 37'. ⁷

huhadalla- "of grandfather." Hapax KUB XXXIII 106 III 50. Der. of huhant-. ⁷ Cf. Hieroglyphic Luwian huhatali- "ancestral."

¹Otten, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, III (1955), 169.

²See Laroche, DIL, p. 35.

³See Erich Neu, Interpretation der hethitischen medionassiven Verbalformen, StBoT V (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), p. 143.

⁴Sieglóvá, Appu-Märchen und Bedammu-Kythus, StBoT XIV (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971), pp. 72-73.

⁵See van Brock, RHA, LXVI (1962), 103.

⁶See van Brock, RHA, LXVI (1962), 95.

⁷For loss of the -n-, see Friedrich, HE, sec. 13a, p. 24.

huhhurtalla- c. and n. "necklace." huhhurtalla occurs in RS 25.421, 24; the plural huhhurtalla occurs in KBo XVIII 170 I 4. Der. of an a-stem form of U2U huhhurti-, huvahhurti- "throat."

LJ huldala- c. (ritual personnel). Hapax KBo XVII 74 I 32. This word may alternate with LJUR TUR "man of the puppy" in II 27.¹

hupala- "net?" Hapax KBo VI 29 II 34 with Hittite inflection. Glos-senkeil word. Hittite or Luwian?

SAL hupigala- c. Hapax Bo 69/525 6. Cf. is!-hu-u-pi-ga-la-as line 1. Is there a connection with UG hupiki- "veil?" and hupigawant- "veiled?"

LJ hupralla- c. "man of the huppar- (potter? offerer?)." Der. of (DUG) huppar- "bowl."

hurtial(l)a-, hurtiyali- c. (a vessel). For the i-stem forms cf. KBo XVII 1 I 17, KBo XVII 3 I 11.

NINDA nuthutalla-, NINDA nuthuddala- n. (a bread). Occurs in KUB XXIX 4 II 60 and KUB XXIX 6, 7.

LJ huwassannalla-, SAL huwassannalla-, SAL huwassannalli- c. "priest(ess) of the goddess Huwassanna (in the rituals of Hubesna)." Der. of the divine name D huwassanna-.

SAL, GIS irhuitalla- c. "basket-bearer?" Der. of GIS erhui-, GIS irhui- "basket," which has Hurrian inflection.

irmala-, arwala- "sick." Der. of irma- "sickness"; the a-vocalism is perhaps under the influence of arma- "moon" (hence "moonstruck") or arwant- "pregnant." Once with the glos-senkeil, KUB I 1 I 44.

LJ isannala- c. "squire, stallmaster." Hapax KUB IX 1 III 18.

isannasuvala- Hapax KUB II 1 II 51.

LJ isapantussiyala- c. "offerer of libations?" Der. of (DUG) isapanduzzi- "libation."

¹Neu, Ein althethitisches Gewitterritual, StBot XII (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), pp. 39-40.

isuanalla-, suwanalla- Der. of isuan- "dirt, refuse?" which occurs with it in law No. 163. The alternation of forms with and without initial i- is unique.

gangala- c. Der. of ganak- "to hang, to weigh." Occurs in the vocabulary KBo I 42 V 13 as the equivalent of Akkadian kup-pu and KBo XIX 134, 6 in a list of body parts used in cooking. Akkadian kippu is a "loop" or a "loop-like formation on the exta."

SAL gangatitalla- c. "offerer of gangati-." Hapax KUB XVII 32 I 20. Der. of (U2U) gangati- (SAR), which does not show Hurrian inflection, but of which there are no certain examples in the dative-locative singular or the nominative-accusative plural. Cf. the verb gangadai- which occurs in the same text, line 11. Perhaps this noun is contracted from gangatiyatalla-.¹

LJ karinnalla- c. "temple attendant." Der. of K karinni-, K karinen- "temple." Also LJ karinnallius KBo VII 44 I 4.

Karpiwala- "angry." Der. of karpi- "anger." The origin of the -wa- is obscure.²

(U2U) kattapala- c. (part of the sacrificial animal).

genzuwala-, ginzuwala- "friendly, considerate." Der. of the stem of genzu- "lap, womb," and genzuwai- "to treat in a friendly manner, to spare."³

LJ kinirilla- c. (type of musician). Hapax in the vocabulary KBo I 52 I 15. Der. of an otherwise unattested kinirri-, which may be a loanword from the same source as Hebrew kinor "zither." The reading LJ kinirtalla- is also possible since the -ri- sign could also be read -tal-. I prefer the reading -ri- because most Semitic loanwords in Hittite are i-stems, and most players of instruments are named with the -ala- suffix. There are no clear examples of a suffix -talla-; it is rather -attalla-.³

¹See Friedrich, HE, sec. 14a, p. 27.

²In the words cited by Ferdinand Sommer, Die Ahhijava-Urkunden (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1932), pp. 50-51, the -u- is part of the stem.

³For the contraction of -iyala- to -ila-, see Friedrich, HE, sec. 14a, p. 27.

kinuntarriyala- "present? (adj.)." Hapax KBo IX 146 I 28. Laroche¹ cites kinuntarriyal 734/c 13, KBo IX 146 I 28. The latter passage has the form kinuntarriyalaz. I do not have access to the unpublished text. Der. of a form based on the adverb kinun "now." Cf. Luwian nanuntarriyala-, based in the same way on the adverb nanun "now." The -larr- is inherited from the Indo-European suffix -ter-, -tor-, which marked the opposition of two things. The -i(y)- is unexplained.

DUG kukupall(a- (a vessel). Hapax KUB XXXVIII 13, 11. The stem may not be fully restored. Is there a connection with Akkadian kukkubu (small container)?

kunsiyala- Hapax KUB XXXVIII 3 II 8. Is there a connection with (SIG) kunsi-, kunsa- (something of wool), which has Hurrian inflection?

kupella- Hapax 132/h A 18² in the expression kupellaz KÁ.GAL "the gate of the kupella-."

kurniyala- (an occupation). kurniyalu occurs in an Akkadian seal RS 17.135 I 8 and in the Akkadian text on the reverse of the tablet in lines 3 and 8. This is probably an Akkadianized form of a Hittite noun in -ia-.

(LÜ) lahhiyala- c. "warrior? traveller?" Occurs in KUB XII 63 II 2-3, KUB XIII 9 I 6, and KBo XVIII 14 II 5, 6. Der. of lahhiyāi- "to make war? to travel?"

MUL lessalla- c. (a star). Occurs in KUB VIII 16 + 24 III 8, 11.

maltesseanala-, maltesanala- "invoked through a vow." Occurs in KUB VII 5 I 22, KUB VII 8 III 13.

(KINDA) muriyala-, muriyali- c. (a bread). Occurs in KUB XII 15 V 17, 24, KBo XVI 78 IV 13, KBo XVII 1, 3, 4, and 6 passin, and 118/r 6, 7. Is there a connection with muri(na)-, muriyana- "bunch of grapes"?

¹Laroche, DL, p. 74.

²Otten, "Ritual bei Erneuerung von Kultsymbolen hethitischer Schutzgottheiten," in Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, ed. by R. von Kienle, et al. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1959), p. 357.

mutgella- c. "caterpillar." Hapax KUB III 94 II 19.

GIS niniyal(l)a- c. "cradle?" Occurs in KUB XXXV 89, 20, and KBo XII 112 I 7. Is there a connection with nāi-, ne- "to lead, to turn"? Cf. NINDA niniyami- (a bread).

pantala- "moment." Der. of pant-, participle of pāi- "to go." For another time expression containing the participial stem pant-, cf. wizzapant- "old."

UZU pappassala-, pappassali- c. "gullet, esophagus." Der. of pappasai- "to swallow?" Occurs in KUB VII 1 III 3 (= IBoT III 107, 4), 15, and 23.

GIS paranalla- (wooden object one can step onto). Occurs in KUB XX 76 I 9, IV 6.

LÜ parhūwala- (personnel). Occurs in 22/r 6 and its duplicate Bo 68/246 5. Is there a connection with pār-hu-us(-su-us) KBo III 35, 8 or with pār-hu- [KBo X 36 III 4?]

LÜ pasandala- c. (kitchen employee). Der. of pasant-, participle of pas- "to swallow." In this derivative the participle is semantically active voice.

NINDA piyantalla-, NINDA piyantalli- c. (a bread). Possibly a der. of piyant-, participle of pāi-, pe- "to give."

LÜ pulala- c. "lot caster?" Occurs in KUB XI 28 IV 11 and 459/z 7. Der. of the stem of pul- "lot?" and pulāi- "to cast lots?"

LÜ serhala- (ritual personnel). See Otten, Forward to KBo XX 84.¹ Is there a connection with se-ir-ha-an KUB XLI 4 III 8?

LÜ sur(r)alala- c. (kitchen employee). Occurs in KUB XIII 3 II 24 and IV 21.

LÜ tahiyala- c. (ritual personnel). A connection with Hattic tahaya "barber" (= LÜ SU I IBoT I 36 I 65ff.) is not at all certain. Also LÜ dahiyala- in KBo XI 44 IV 7, 10, and KBo XX 32 II 7.

Otten and Rüster-Werner, Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Vol. XX, viii.

arkamasalli- "tributary (adj.)." Occurs in KUB XIX 5, 15, and KUB XIX 8 III 24. Der. of (:) arkama(na)- "tribute."

halwatnalli- c. Hapax KUB XXXVI 89 I 31. Probably of Luwian origin because of the -tn- cluster. Cf. the verb halwatnazai in the same text II 39.

(GIŠ) hassalli-, GIŠ hassalli- n. "stool." Since the -ga- cluster is stable, hassalli- may be a folk-etymology based on has- "to give birth, to generate."¹

NA harsiyalli- n. (stone object).

harpalli- "heap?" Is there a connection with (:) harpa- "heap?"

harpanalli- c. "enemy." Der. of harp- "to separate." The origin of the -n- is obscure, but cf. the similar formation of (:) tarpanalli- as compared with (:) tarpalli-, both "substitute."

harsanalli- n. "wreath, crown." Der. of harsan(a?)- "head."

DUG harsiyalli- n. "storage vessel, pithos." Der. of DUG harsi- "storage vessel, pithos." The difference in meaning between these two words is obscure. Also GIŠ harsiyalli- KBo XI 50 V 17, 144/t 5, 280/z II 6, and EZEN harsiyalias KBo XIII 234 II 13.

hastali- c. "hero." Phonetic reading of UR.SAG deduced from the equation hastaliyatar = UR.SAG-tar and the phonetic complement UR.SAG-li-ia KUB XVII 7 III 3 and 1378/u 8. Also cf. L¹MEŠ UR.SAG-li-ya- Bo 66/28 I 10.

hantantiyali- c. "craftsman." Hapax KUB V 6 II 72. Der. of hantanti- "weapon, tool."²

IS himalli- c. (functionary). Perhaps a der. of himma- (meaning uncertain).

hirutalli- "of an oath." Occurs in KUB IX 6 IV 21 and 1032/z 3. Der. of Luwian hiru(n)t- "oath," hence of Luwian origin.

¹See van Brock, BHA, LXXI (1962), 117.

²For the insertion of the first -n-, see Friedrich, HE, sec. Ab, p. 34.

(GIŠ) hulāli- n. "roller; spindle."

hurtalli- c. "adversary; mixture." Does this entry represent one or two words? Cf. hurta-, huwarta- "to curse" and (:) huwarti-. Once with Luwian inflection, KUB XXVII 67 II 9, unless this form is a verb. Of Luwian origin?

issalli- n. "saliva." Der. of ais- "mouth," oblique stem iss-.

isharalli- c. "priestess of Ishara." Der. of the divine name ^DIshara-. SAI istahatal(i)i- c. (ritual personnel). Occurs in KBo XVII 102 II 7 and KBo XVII 103 II 7, 17.

(DUG) kantasu(w)alli-, gandasuwalli- c. and n. (a vessel).

kappilalli- "hateful? repugnant?" Der. of the root of kappilahn "to be angry? to hate?" and kappilāi- "to incite to anger?"

GIŠ karkaralli- n. Occurs in KUB XXX 28 + KUB XXXIX 23 I 12, 13. Is there a connection with GIŠ garke (a fruit)?

karsantalli- c. Hapax KUB XIX 23 II 17 with Hittite inflection. The kar- sign is broken and its reading is uncertain. Is there a connection with karsant-, the participle of kars- "to cut, to cut off"? Of Luwian origin despite its inflection?

kattawanalli- "vindictive." Hapax KUB XIII 7 I 5. Der. of kattawatar "compensation, revenge."

kattawatnal(i)i- "vindictive." Glosseckel word. Der. of the stem of Hittite kattawatar "compensation, revenge," with failure of the -tn- cluster to assimilate to -nn-, a characteristic of Luwian phonology. Cf. the synonymous kattawanalli- without the glosseckel and without the -tn- cluster.

kunistavalli- (adjective). Occurs in KUB XXVI 1 IV 12, 17. Glosseckel word. Of Luwian origin?

kupiyatalli- c. "plotter." Hapax KUB XXI 29 II 55. Glosseckel word, but with Hittite inflection. Der. of (:) kupiyati- "plot."

kuttanalli- n. "collar, necklace." Der. of kuttar "upper arm; shoulder."

tapāla- c. (kitchen employee). Occurs in KUB XIII 3 II 24.

tapuwa- c. (personnel). Occurs in KUB XXXVI 105 9, 13, and VBoT 33, 11.

tarasawala- Occurs in KBo V 4 II 17 and 19.

GIS termalla- n. (wooden implement). Hapax KUB XXIX 4 I 30.

(Sf) terpala-, terpali- c. (woolen object).

LI tarsipala-, LI tarsipali- c. (one who cares for the royal chariots).

Occurs in KUB XIII 3 III 9, 10. Der. of the glossenkeil word

tarsi-? "to drive on a chariot?". For the inserted -p-, cf.

SAH hasnupalla- above. Also cf. LI HES tarsipiyalas KBo XVII 15 I 8.

LI tarwesgala- c. "dancer." Der. of tarwik-, iterative of tarwai- "to dance, to jump."

LI tawalala-, LI dawalala- c. "offerer of tawal-" Occurs in KUB X 12 IV 2, KUB XIII 3 II 22, IV 19, and 234/x 6. Der. of tawal- (a drink used in rituals).

terivala-, tariyalla- n. (a beverage). Also spelled 3-yalla in Bo 4951, 15. Is there a connection with teri- "three"? The spelling indicates an initial tr-cluster.

LI tuddushiyalla- c. (personnel). Loanword from Hattic LI tuddushiyal KBo V 11 I 20.

tūwala- "distant, far." Der. of the adverb tūwa "far," whose root is cognate with that of Sanskrit dūrā- "far."

LI ural(1)a- c. (personnel of low rank). Hapax KBo III 34 II 23 = KBo III 36, 26.

LI walhiyala-, LI wa-al-ah-hi-ya-la c. "offerer of walhi-" Occurs in KUB X 60, 3, KUB XIII 3 II 22, and 558/u 5. Der. of walhi- (a beverage).

MUL wannup(p)astal(1)a- c. "morning star." This is an a-stem because of the form MUL wannupastallas KUB XXIX 4 II 68.

warpan(n)ala- (adjective). Occurs in KUB IX 13, 18, and KUB XXIV 5 II 12. Is there a connection with warp- "to wash, to bathe"?

LI zuppala- c. (kitchen employee). Occurs in KUB XIII 13 II 25, KBo VII 21, 6, and 558/u 7.

LI zuppariyala- c. "torch-bearer." Der. of GIS zuppari- "torch." Occurs in KBo XIV 129 II 11, KBo XVII 65 II 23, and 919/z 6.

The Suffix -alli-

This frequent suffix, like -al(1)a-, was discussed in detail by van Brock in RHA LXXI.¹ In function it is similar to -al(1)a- in many ways. It forms adjectives and names of occupations and personnel from nouns. It forms names of objects from nouns more frequently than -al(1)a- does, and it forms adjectives and nouns from verbs more rarely. The distinction between these two suffixes is often unclear, although in some instances they tend to be used with words in certain semantic spheres. There is a series of names of musicians in -ala- derived from names of instruments. And there is a series of nouns in -alli- based on names of body parts. van Brock's monograph contains an analysis of several of these subgroups. In general, nouns in -alli- denoting people are common gender, others are neuter gender. (DUG) kanta-su(w)alli-, gandasuwalli- may be either common or neuter gender. Adjectives in -alli- have nominal inflection. The following list contains many words of uncertain origin. For the etymology of this suffix, see under the suffix -al(1)a-.

annawali-, annauli- "equal, of equal rank."

appāli- n. "deceit?" Perhaps der. of ap(p)-, ap(p)- "to seize."

ariyatalli- (epithet of DISKUR).²

¹ van Brock, RHA, LXXI (1962), 67-168.

² See Laroche, DLL, p. 31.

(:) lapanalli- c. "herdsman." Der. of lapana- (type of pasture).

lapattali- Hapax KUB II 1 II 41.

lehuntalli- c. (a vessel). Der. of ^{DUG} lehundai- (a vessel) and apparently interchangeable with it.¹

laltalli- "of the vow." Occurs only in KBo VIII 68, which describes the activities of the laltallis UKU-as, the "man of the vow." Der. of laid- "to promise, to vow."

(:) lantalli- c. (type of sacrifice). Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

lawalli- (adjective describing horses). Hapax KUB XXXI 66 IV 14.

lawattal(i)i-, lawattalla- "strong." Cf. Luwian lawattalla- and Hieroglyphic Luwian lawatali- "strong." Possibly connected with lawu- "body fluid," but the -it- is unclear. The -att- suffix forms derivatives from verbs.

(:) niwalli-, niwalla- "innocent." The i-stem form sometimes has the glossenkeil. Is it perhaps Luwian in contrast to the Hittite a-stem?

niweralli- (adjective). Hapax KUB XXXIII 111, 9. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

NA ^{DUG} pahhu(i)nalli-, ^{DUG} pahhu(i)nalli- n. "brazier." Der. of pahhur, pahhuwar "fire."

parnalli- c. "palace attendant?" Der. of parn-, pir- "house."

GIS patiyalli- c. "bedpost." Occurs in VBoT 24 I 13, KBo XIII 260 III 23, 29, and KBo XIX 129 I 22. A connection with pa- "foot" is difficult, as that word is an a-stem in both Hittite and Luwian, except in KUB IX 4 I 33.

piddalli-, pittiyalli- "numble?" Der. of piddai- "to run, to hurry; to flee."

(:) pariyalli- n. "muzzle." Once with the glossenkeil KBo XVIII 153 I 13. Probably Hittite. Der. of puri- "lip."

¹See van Brock, RHA, LXXI (1962), 110.

sahuhu(i)suwali- "legitimate (in birth)."

sal-tu-[x?]-li-in Hapax KUB XVIII 58 III 40. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

NINDA sanwali- c. (a bread). Hapax KBo XVII 65 I. R. 1.

URUDU sankuwalli- n. (a copper implement used with the fingernails). "thimble? nail-clipper?" Der. of sankuwai-, sankui- "fingernail." The definition is based on this derivation rather than on textual evidence.

LJ sapasalli- c. "watchman?" Hapax KUB XIV 1 II 12.

sarhantalli- "rapacious? thievish?" Possibly der. of (UZU) sarhuwant- "belly, womb," hence "voracious." Meaning perhaps influenced by sarh- "to fall upon? to attack?."

sarkiwali- Occurs in KUB XXXV 145 I 4, 16, KBo XVII 54 I 13, and IBoT III 102, 2 = KUB IX 34 I 25.

sartuliyalli- n. Hapax KUB XXXIX 14 IV 1. Fragmentary perhaps in II 5 and III 1 of the same text.

siunali- "divine." Hapax KBo X 24 III 14. Der. of siu-, siun- "god." Cf. Lydian civali- "divine?" (The precise meaning of the word is uncertain, but it is probably a derivative of civ- "god.") A Hittite Lydian correspondence is difficult to evaluate because the interrelationship of Lydian and the other Anatolian languages is problematical. Probably an independent creation in both languages, as Lydian has a productive suffix -ali-.

LJ suwasali- c. (palace personnel). Hapax KBo IV 14 III 42.

LJ taperiyalli- c. "commander." Der. of taper(r)iya- "command."

LJ terriyanalli- c. "man of the third rank." Der. of teriyanna "third." The spelling indicates an initial tr- cluster. Cf. ^{TUG} terriyanali-, ^{TUG} teryanali-, KBo XVIII 181 II 3, 8, 22, and KBo XVIII 186 1k. Rd. 4.

(:) tarpalli-, LJ tarpalli- c. "substitute." Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin? Der. of the same stem as tarpassa- "substitute."

(:) tarpanalli-, ^{LJ} tarpanalli- c. "substitute, rival, usurper." Der. of the same stem as (:) tarpalli-, ^{LJ} tarpalli- "substitute." The difference in meaning between these two words is unclear. The origin of the -n- is uncertain, but compare harpanalli- "enemy" above.

^{GIS} teshelli- n. "pestle?" Occurs in KBo XIV 84 III 11 and KUB XXXIV 88, 12.

tarviyalli- c. (an animal?). Hapax KBo IV 2 II 27.

teshelli- "sleepy?" Attested after a break in KUB XXXVI 35 IV 10. If the beginning of the word has not been lost, perhaps der. of tesha- "sleep; dream." The definition is based on this etymology.

tissalli- c. (a vessel). Hapax KUB V 9 I 4. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

titiyalli- c. Hapax KUB IX 34 I 14. Is there a connection with Luwian titiyala KBo IV 11, 49?

^{LJ} tiyalli ^{SAR} n. (a plant). Hapax KBo XIII 248 I 7.

^{LJ} duyanalli- c. "man of the second rank." Derived from some form of "two," but it is uncertain which one. Since the word is parallel with tarriyanalli-, derived from teriyanna "third," van Brock¹ derived it from duyana "second," but the form of this word attested in KBo XX 40 V 6 is ta-a-na.

uiba(1)li- n. (a lot in an oracle text). Occurs in KBo XVIII 151 I 9, II 5.

(TUG) ulipali- (article of clothing). Occurs in 351/1 II 6 and 481/z IV 5.

^{LJ} uuliyalli- n. "slander?" Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin?

^{MUL} wannup(p)astal(1)li- c. "morning star."

warpalli- "strong, powerful."

warvantali- Hapax KUB II 1 III 43.

¹ van Brock, BHA, LXXI (1962), 111.

^{LJ} sappalalli- c. Occurs in KBo XX 57 II 16 and 1133/v II 10.

zariyanalli- n. (a bird?). Occurs in KUB XXIV 7 III 67, IV 24.

^{GIS} zeriyalli- n. "stand for a container." Der. of zeri- "cup."

The Suffix -An-

This suffix forms neuter derivatives from verbs. It is not certain which ablaut grade it requires. The words nudan- and nahhan- appear to contain this suffix, but they are not attested in an oblique case, so they could also be neuter a-stems. It is more likely that they belong here, because a-stems derived from verbs are common gender. Two nouns, kussan- and sahhan-, also have nominative-accusative singular forms kussani and sahhani. The forms in -i- only occur with possessive pronouns, a circumstance which may be fortuitous.

This suffix is cognate with the Greek present active infinitive suffix -nai, -enai. These are inherited from an Indo-European suffix *-en- which formed verbal nouns. The Greek forms are old datives with -ai for the expected -ei by analogy with infinitives in -sai where the a-coloring was due to the final laryngeal of the stem. See the etymology of Greek -sai given under the suffix -asha-. Arcadian, Delphian, and many of the Doric dialects have present active infinitives in -en, based on the locative of the same Indo-European *-en- suffix.¹ The vowel of the Hittite -an- may represent the o-grade or the vowel inserted before deverbal suffixes.

Several nouns in -an- are of unknown origin, and may not be derived from verbs. The only noun with the deverbal suffix -an- which

¹ See Carl Buck, The Greek Dialects (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 122.

loses the -a- in the oblique cases is kussan-, which has both kussani and kusni in the dative-locative singular. Other nouns in -an- which show ablaut are discussed in a special section.

benkan-, hinkan- "plague; death." Der. of hink-, henk- "to present; to apportion."

inan- "disease, sickness."

iran- "sickness." Der. of the root which appears in irma- "sickness."

iskarkan- (a stone).¹

isuan- "dirt, refuse?"

kusan- "reward, pay; price." The nominative-accusative singular is also kussani, and the dative-locative singular may be either kussani or kusni.

udan- "garbage, rubbish?" Der. of utai- "to remove, to dispose of."

nahhan- "respect, reverence." Der. of nah(h)- "to fear, to be afraid; to show respect."

sahhan- "feudal service." The nominative-accusative singular is also sahhani. A connection with sah- "to stuff, to stop up" is difficult semantically.

taksan- "middle, joint." Der. of taks-, takkes-, taggas- "to join, to mix up, to participate in."

The Suffix -ant-

This frequent suffix has several distinct functions. It forms ergatives from neuter nouns. These are treated in a separate section. It forms participles from verbs. These are active in voice if the verb is intransitive, passive if the verb is transitive, with few exceptions. Properly they belong under verbal inflection. When participles are formed from denominative verbs, they may appear to be derived from the

¹Listed by Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 84, without references.

underlying noun. Cf. (GIS) hatalu- "cross-bar," hatalwai- "to bolt," and hatalwant- "provided with a cross-bar." Sometimes there apparently is no underlying verb, so that the suffix -ant- is productive in forming adjectives from nouns with the meaning "provided with" or "having" the noun. In both form and meaning this suffix is similar to -want-. A few doublets exist, for example: hupitawant- and hupidant-, which appear to be synonymous. (The underlying word is uncertain.)

The suffix -ant- is sometimes added to adjectives without any apparent change of meaning. The form of the stem before -ant- is the same as the form before -atar, and the suffix -atar may have influenced the use of the suffix -ant- with adjectives. It is noteworthy that both verbs and adjectives may freely take the suffix -atar. Perhaps adjectives came to use the suffix -ant- freely by analogy. Cf. the use of -ant- with kin terms below, a semantic category of nouns which also freely takes the suffix -atar.

In a few instances -ant- may be added to nouns without apparent change of meaning. These nouns fall into two semantic groups, kin terms and names of seasons. As noted, kin terms also freely take the suffix -atar. Names of seasons, however, do not. One pair of nouns with and without -ant- does not fall into either of these two categories, marnu(wa)- and marnuwant-, the name of a beverage. A few other pairs of nouns with and without -ant- occur in difficult or broken passages. Determining the semantic or syntactic criteria for the use of the suffix -ant- where it does not appear to change the meaning of the underlying word is one of the chief problems of Hittite word formation.

A large number of nouns and adjectives end in -ant- but the underlying stem is unattested. The following list includes all

adjectives and nouns (excluding ergatives) which are not straightforward participles.

This suffix is inherited from Indo-European *-ont- which formed active participles. All its various uses in Hittite are probably to be derived from this earlier function.

aharriant- (oracle term describing the kelti- and the nipasuri-). Occurs in KBo XVI 97 I 34, II 30, 33. Participle or adjective, perhaps derived from Hurrian aharri- "incense."¹

alpent- Rapax KUB VII 1 I 1.

as(s)ivant- "small, weak."

annanuzziyant- "provided with a ^{KUŠ}annanuzzi-." Der. of ^{KUŠ}annanuzzi- (part of the harness).

antarant- "blue." Hapax KUB XXIV 9 I 43. Der. of andara- "blue."

arahzenant- "foreign." Hapax KUB XXIV 3 II 49. Der. of arahzena- "neighboring, foreign."

aranant- c. (an oracle bird). Is there a connection with aramni- (a bird)?

arsanant- "envious." Der. (participle?) with active meaning based on the root of arsaniya- "to envy." For another derivative without the -iy-, cf. arsanastalla- "envier."

arzanant- "lodged? quartered?" Probably the participle of an unattested verb arzana- "to lodge." Cf. ^Earzana- "inn?" and the deverbal derivative arzanatar "lodging?"

assuuant- "good." Der. of assu- "good." The spelling SIG₅-uuant- does not exist. In the only place cited by Friedrich in the first *Ergänzungsheft* of *HW*,¹ KUB XXXVI 75 III 11, the first sign in the cuneiform copy is broken, but the traces are not those of SIG₅.

enant- (unclear adjective describing animals in the laws).

¹See Laroche, *RA*, LXI (1967), 135.

²Friedrich, *HW*, 1. *Ergänzungsheft* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1957), p. 28.

eshankant-, ishaskant- Occurs in KUB VII 41 I 15, KBo XVII 1 I 24, and KBo XVII 4 II 7.

hahhalant- Occurs in KBo XII 90, 5, and KBo XIII 248 I 12. In the latter passage it may be an adjective or participle modifying the following A-ZA-AN-NU-UN-SAR "bitter garlic." Probably connected with the stem of ^{GIŠ}hahhal- "bush, shrub."

hamesant-, hamishant- c. "spring." Der. of hamesha-, hamisha- "spring."

hameskant- c. "spring." A variant spelling of hamesant- "spring" which occurs only in the tablet KUB XXXVIII 26. Is this a scribal peculiarity (the value han for the kān-sign would be unique) or does it reflect an actual (dialectal?) difference in pronunciation?

(i) happinant- "rich." Der. of the stem which occurs in happina- "rich," happinahn- "to make rich," happines- "to become rich." Probably a participle of an unattested *happinā- "to be rich." The derivative happinatt- "riches" presupposes an underlying verb.

^{TUG}hapusant- c. (clothing). Hapax in law No. 182.

harant- "fermented." Der. of the same stem that appears in harnamer "yeast; ferment."

harsallant- "angry."

harsanant- Hapax KBo XIII 248 I 16. Adjective modifying zīz (a grain).

^{NINDA}har(a)spawant- c. (a bread). The spelling indicates a medial -sp- cluster. Always plural except 643/x 7: ^{NINDA}har-as-pa-u-an-za.

^{SAL}harwant- c. "nurse."

^{GIŠ}hattalwant- "provided with a cross-bar." Participle of hatalwā- "to bolt," which is derived from ^{GIŠ}hattalu- "cross-bar."

hattant- "wise, understanding." Der. (participle?) of the root of hattatar "wisdom" and hattah- "to make wise." A connection with the verb hatta- "to cut open, to split open" is possible.¹

¹See Ferdinand Sommer and Adam Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1938), p. 99.

huhant- c. "grandfather? ancestor?" Hapax KUB XXI 5 I 14, in a broken context. Der. of huhā- "grandfather." Cf. Heiroglyphic Luwian huhati- "great-grandfather? ancestor?"

(L¹) huvant- c. "fugitive." Participle of hūwāi-, hūya- "to run; to flee; to escape."

hulpa(n)zinant- "provided with hulpanzina-." Der. of hulpa(n)zina- "button? clasp?." In KUB XII 1 IV 35 it occurs parallel with the Luwian participle hulpanzinaimes line 34.

hūmant- "every, all."

hūwallissanant- "glowing." Hapax KUB VII 58 I 3. Probably connected with (?) hūwallig- "exbers."

hūwalpant- (an adjective describing some physical abnormality). Occurs in KBo XIII 34 IV 4 and 224/b I 9.¹

huvant- c. "wind." Inherited participial formation derived from Indo-European *H₂ueh₂- "to blow." Cf. Greek áemi, Sanskrit vā-, Avestan vā-, Gothic waian, and Russian vejat'. The Hittite form is the expected phonetic outcome of *H₂ueh₂ont-, which was apparently the Indo-European word for "wind." Other Indo-European languages thematize the participle, as Latin ventus, Welsh gwynt, Gothic winds, or add a different suffix to the same root, as Lithuanian vėjas, Old Church Slavonic větrŭ, Sanskrit and Avestan vāta-, and Sanskrit vāyu-.

(UDU) iyant- c. "sheep." Participle of iya- "to go, to walk." For a similar semantic development, cf. Greek prōbaton "head of cattle," later "sheep," from probaínō "to step forward."

iyatziyant- "cultivated; growing." Der. (participle?) containing the same root that occurs in iyatar "plenty, abundance," and iyatnuvant- "abundance."

ikniyant- "lame." Hapax KUB XII 62 II 9.

innarawant- "vigorous?" (Epithet of ^LAMA). Der. (participle?) of the

stem that occurs in innaru- "vigorous?", innarawant- "to become vigorous," and innarawatar "vigor? strength?"

ishassarwant- "friendly?" Hapax KUB XXXIII 120 I 43. Der. (participle?) of the stem which occurs in ishassarwahh- "to treat well, to be friendly?," ishassarwatar "friendliness," and ishassarwes- "to become friendly."

MINDA isgarant- n. (a bread). Participle of isgar- "to pierce; to fasten," hence bread stuck or lined with something. Cf. UZU ie-ga-fa-an-da 245/v I 10.

iskunant- "spotted, dirty." Der. (participle?) of the root that appears in iskunahh- "to mark."

ismeriyant- "provided with an ismeri-." Hapax KUB XXXVIII 1 II 8. Der. of (KUS) ismeri- "bridle, rein."

ispant- c. "night." It is uncertain whether this word begins with sp- or isp-. The accusative plural is-pa-an-ti-us occurs in KBo IV 4 III 31.

istappulliyant- (a bread). Probably connected with istappul(i)i- "cover."

isuwant-, isunant- Occurs in KBo II 4II 23, III 28, and IV 5. Meaning and connection with isuwant- "dirt? refuse?" uncertain.

idalewant- "evil, bad." Der. of idalu- "evil, bad."

SAL ¹want- c. Hapax KBo XVI 78 IV 9: [x(a number) ^LUMEX³ UR.BAR.RA 1 SAL ¹015³BA[N] 3 SAL ¹MEX³ i-wa-an-te-es "x wolf-men (hunters?), 1 woman archer, 3 (women) iwantes." A connection with hunting is possible. In any case, some sort of personnel.

^L raenant- c. "relative by marriage." Hapax KUB XIII 20 I 33. Der. of ^L raena-, ^L raena- "relative by marriage."

zaninant- "thirsty." Der. of kanint- "thirst." Is the -i- lost by dissimilation? This is the form used by Kikkuli for the usual Hittite kanir(u)want- "thirsty."

kappant- "dark." Hapax KUB VIII 6 II 3.

kestant- c. (a plant). Hapax KBo XIII 1 I 44.

¹See Riemenschneider, StBoT IX, p. 35.

gimant- c. "winter." Der. of gisa- "winter," which is only attested in the dative-locative singular gim(m)i.

histant- "hunger." Occurs in NUB XVII 10 I 18, 30. Der. of the same root as kast- "hunger, famine." The cause of the vowel alternation is unknown.

gursipant- "helmeted?" Occurs in KBo II 1 II 22 and perhaps to be restored in 886/z 9: gur-si-ip-pla. Is there a connection with kurpisi- (part of a helmet), a loanword from Hurrian kurpisi-? For the metathesis of the consonants, cf. the Akkadian loanword gursipu, gursipu "leather hauberk covered with metal scales."

kuwawamant- "feared, dangerous." Hapax KBo IV 14 II 12. Der. of kuwawama- "feared, dangerous." Glosenskeil word. Of Luwian origin.

lahbant- c. Hapax KUB II 13 II 35. Is there a connection with (:)lahne- "ivory"?¹

lilwant-, leliwant- "hurried, quick, speedy." Der. (participle?) of the stem of lilwahn- "to hasten."

(LÜ) mayant- c. "grown man." Der. of maya- "grown man." The participle of mai-, miya- "to grow, to be ripe" is miyant-.

maklant- "lean."

maninkuwant- "short, near." Used adverbially in the neuter nominative-accusative singular to mean "near," elsewhere modifies MU (HI.A) "year(s)." Der. of maninku- "short, near."

NINDA sara marrant- c. (a bread). Hapax KBo X 34 I 11. Is this a noun or a participle?

marlant- "foolish; fool." Der. (participle?) of the root that occurs in marlatar "foolishness, stupidity" and marles- "to be foolish."

maruwant- c. (a beverage). Der. of maru(wa)- (a beverage). Is there a connection with Cappadocian maru "stomach" (a food containing flour)?

¹See Laroche, Ugaritica V, p. 777.

miyehuwant- c. "old man." Inferred from the equation LÜ su.GI-a- "to become old" = miyehuwanta-. Der. ultimately from mai-, miya- "to grow, to be ripe." The -hu- is of unknown origin.

misriwant-, mesriwant- "beautiful, splendid." Der. (participle?) of the stem that occurs in misriwatar "beauty, splendor," and misriwes- "to be splendid."

miuwaniwant- (adjective describing horses).

netant- c. (an adjective or participle?) Modifies GAL "cup" in KUB XXXI 53 I 1 = KBo III 39, 7. Is this a derivative of nata-, nati- "reed"?

nekumant-, nikumant- "naked." The connection of this word with the Indo-European root "nog" "naked" is problematical. The outcome of "g" in Hittite is uncertain. The Hittite suffix -want- does not have an allomorph -ant- after u; cf. akumant- and akuwant-. If this is an inherited formation, the e-grade is difficult to motivate. The Indo-European suffix "gent-" was most frequently added to nouns to form adjectives with the meaning "having, provided with."

NAH perunant- "rocky." Occurs in KUB XIV 15 III 41 = KUB XIV 16 III 9 and KBo XIX 76 I 52. Der. of NAH peruna-, NAH piruna- "rock."

pittalwant- (an adjective). Der. of pittalwa- (an adjective; meaning uncertain).

LÜ pittiwant- c. "fugitive." Participle of piddai- "to run, to hurry; to flee."

sankunniwant- Hapax KUB I 1 I 19: nu-za A-NA DINGIR-LIM LÜ sa-an-ku un-ni-ya-an-za BAL-ah-hu-un "I as priest poured libations (or "sacrificed") to the goddess." Participle of sankunniya- "to be a priest," denominative verb from LÜ sankunni- "priest."

(UZU) sarhuwant- c. and n. "womb; embryo."

siuniwant-, (LÜ) DINGIR-LIM-niwant- c. "prophet." Der. (participle?) of siu-, siuni- "god." Cf. the Luwian participle based on the Luwian word for god, LÜ massanami-, KBo XIV 89 I 3.¹

¹See Laroche, JCS, XXI (1967), 176.

siwennant- Hapax KUB XIII 4 I 27.

summittant- c. "hatchet, axe."

suppivant- "clean, pure, holy." Der. of suppi- "clean, pure, holy."

suppissarant- "purified." Hapax KBo XV 34 II 31, describing purified meat. Der. of (DUMU.SAL) suppissara, (DUMU.SAL) suppissara- "virgin" with shift of meaning.

dannarant- "empty." Der. of dannara- "empty, plain, smooth."

tangarant- "fasting."

tapparant- (adjective describing sheep).

depiyant- "whole, all." Der. of depiya-, depi- "whole, all." Is the -ant- suffix from the influence of the synonymous humant-?

tapisant- c. (a vessel?). Occurs in KBo III 43 12 and KUB XXXIV 117.

6. Is there a connection with the vessel (DUG) tapisana-?

dasuwant- "blind."

dasuwant- "strong?" Hapax HT 1 II 27. Probably a der. of dasu- "strong, firm, heavy, important."

tetrant- "goring (bull), sharp (stone)." Der. (participle?) of the root of tetrakh-, detrakh- "to incite, to goad."

tuikkant- c. Hapax in a fragmentary section of Law No. 49. Probably a der. of tuikka-, tuikka- "body."

duddumiyant- "deaf." Der. (participle) of the root that occurs in duddumilli "quietly, softly, secretly," duddumise-, duddumis- "to become deaf," and duddumiyahh- "to make deaf."

dudduwarant- "lame, paralyzed." Participle of dudduware- "to break" with specialization of meaning.

umiyant- Hapax in Law No. 120 modifying MUSEN^{HI.A} us "birds."

urenant- Adjective modifying "bones" occurring in KBo XI 10 II 10, KBo XI 10 III 26, and KBo XI 72 III 13. Otten¹ suggested "burned" and

¹Otten, *OLZ*, LVIII (1955), 393.

it is true that the bones in those passages have been burned, but it is formally difficult to derive this adjective from war- "to burn."

DUG walutassiyant- c. (a vessel). Hapax KUB XXXVIII 32 I 14.

wariwarant-, wriwarant- "burning." Participle of a reduplicated form of war- "to burn."

warkant-, uwarkant-, wagant- "fat, stout."

Wisuriyant- c. "the strangler (a goddess)." Participle of wesuriya-, wisuriya- "to oppress, to stifle," but with active meaning.

zenant- c. "autumn." Der. of zenn- "autumn."

IA¹ KAL-ant- c. "young man." The phonetic complement occurs in KUB XXIV 8 I 14.

KU.BABBAR-ant- c. "Silver (name of a mythological character)." The phonetic reading of the common noun for silver is unknown. The form KU.BABBAR-ant KBo V 2 IV 61, is a scribal error, since it is followed by war-, which requires the genitive. Therefore amend to KU.BABBAR-as! In the vocabulary entry KBo I 42 IV 9 the Hittite column reads DINGIR.LIM-as KU.BABBAR-i "for the silver of the god." The Akkadian and the Sumerian columns are lost. There is no compelling reason to take KU.BABBAR-i as a nominative singular.

Ergatives in -Ant-

Laroche explained the function of this suffix in a perceptive article in *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*.¹ A neuter noun used as the subject of a transitive verb adds -ant- to its oblique stem and becomes common gender. Strictly speaking this "ergative" case belongs in a description of the inflectional system of the language rather than the derivational. Several factors, including the

¹Laroche, "Un 'ergatif' en indo-européen d'Asie-Mineure," *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* (hereafter *BSL*), LVII (1962), 23-43.

lack of a corresponding case in the other Indo-European languages and the belated identification of the function of this suffix, have led it to be treated under derivation in the standard handbooks.

Sometimes an ergative case is formed from a common gender noun. In KUB IX 4 I 34-35 kalulupant- and sankuwasyant- appear in a list of body parts each of which is the subject of a transitive verb in a formula. Several of the preceding body parts are neuter and properly in the ergative case. These two common gender nouns thus appear to be ergative by attraction. This explanation, however, does not account for tuzziyant-, KBo II 5 III 53 or GUNNI-ant-, KUB VII 41 I 20, if the latter is based on hassa-.

The use of this suffix may have arisen in early Anatolian in an effort to disambiguate sentences with a neuter subject and a neuter object. In such sentences the syntactic function of the nouns was not distinguished by their respective Indo-European case endings, since the endings were alike for the nominative and the accusative of neuters. The agent suffix *-ont-, used with verbs to form active participles, was therefore added to the subject of such a sentence, which became common gender. The inflected forms of common gender nouns did not distinguish between the nominative and the accusative. The rule stating the conditions for using the resulting ergative was then simplified. The information about the gender of the object was deleted, so that all neuter nouns serving as the subject of transitive verbs took the ergative case.

ansenan- Hapax KUB XVII 10 IV 9. The underlying word is unattested.

antuhsennant- "population." Ergative of antuhsatar-.

UZU spuzziyant- "tallow, fat." Ergative of (UZU) appuzzi-.

echenan-, ichenant- "blood." Ergative of echar, ishar, ieszar.

hannesnant- "judgment." Ergative of hanneszar.

happisanant- "limb; body part." Ergative of happeszar.

haretanant- "offense." Ergative of haratar.

hargeshwanti- "sole (of foot)?" Ergative of hargashu-.

heshiyant- "bone." Ergative of hastai.

hilesnant- "open porch, pillared hall, portico." Ergative of hilemarr.

hingenant- "plague." Ergative of henkan-, hinkan-.

huitnant- "animal." Ergative of huitar.

hunhunenant- "wave?" Ergative of hunhuneszar.

ishahruwanti- "tears." Ergative of ishehru-, eshahru-.

ishisanant- "bond." Hapax 473/t 1 11: SA]G.DU-an-na is-hi-is-na-an-ti-es ap-pa-an-zi "And the bonds hold the head." Ergative of ishieszar.

ishunawant- "crown." Ergative of ishunaw-.

kalulupant- "finger." Hapax KUB IX 4 I 34. Ergative by attraction of kalulupa-.

panarsuwanti- "bowel movement." Probably derived from the infinitive panarsuwar of panarsa- "to move the bowels."

TUG kuresnant- (woman's headgear). Ergative of TUG kureszar.

kururant- "war." Ergative of kurur.¹

GIS juttant- "window." Ergative of GIS jutta-, GIS juttai-.

nepisant- "sky." Ergative of nepis.

naprennant- "impurity." Ergative of napratar, paprata.

parnant- "house." Ergative of parn-, pir-.

sankuwasyant- "fingernail." Hapax KUB IX 4 I 35. Ergative by attraction of sankuwai-.

¹ See Laroche, BSL, LVII (1962), 35.

sehunant- "urine." Ergative of sehur.

suppala- "domesticated animal." Ergative of suppai-, suppala-,
supla-.

tapuwassant- "rib, side." Ergative of tapuwag-, tapuwa-.

*taruwant- (Giš)-ruwant- "tree." Ergative of taru-.

*tunnakessant- (Š.Šà)-nant- "inner chamber." Ergative of tunnakessar.

tuszriant- "army." Ergative of the common gender noun tuzzi-.

udōnant- "word; thing." Ergative of uttar.

utnevant- "country." Ergative of utne-.

*warwatnant-, NUMUN-ant- "seed." Der. of *warwatna-. This is the oblique stem. The nominative-accusative is unattested. The nominative singular of NUMUN sometimes has the phonetic complement -an, as in KBo XVII 1 III 24, KBo XVII 104 II 5, and 729/v 6.

*wattaruwant- (Tūl)-ant- "well, spring." Ergative of wattaru-, if the phonetic restoration is correct.

widenant- "water." Ergative of watar.

GIŠ-ERIN-ant- "cedar." Hapax KUB XXIV 1 I 12. Der. of GIŠ-ERIN, whose phonetic reading is GIŠ-iripni-.

GUNNI-ant- "hearth." Hapax KUB VII 41 I 20. Is this the ergative of the common gender noun hassa-?

ī-ant- "fat, oil." Der. of ī "fat, oil," whose phonetic reading is unknown.

GIŠ-NA-ant- "bed." Der. of GIŠ-NA "bed," which is plurale tantum. The phonetic reading of this ideogram is not sasta- "bed" since that word also occurs in the singular.

Tūl-ant- "spring." Hapax KBo X 45 II 23. The underlying noun is probably wattaru-.

The Suffix -Assa-

In four Hittite rituals, KUB XX 24, KUB XXV 35, Bo 2372 and Bo 6044,¹ there appears a series of deified body parts formed by the suffix -assa- and having common gender. These deified body parts always occur in the same order, D₁istanzassas, D₂Sakuwassas, D₃hantassas, D₄istamanassas, D₅Kissarassas, and D₆Ginuwassas. The list is complete in KUB XXV 35 and in Bo 2372. The other two tablets are less complete. No member of this series occurs outside these four tablets, except for a single occurrence of D₃hantassa- in KBo IV 13 I 4. The form D₁istanzassas appears in Bo 2372 III 27. The reason for the change of stem vowel is unknown, if it is not a scribal error.

The origin of the suffix is unknown. It is somehow to be connected with the Luwian genitival adjective suffix -assi-?

D₁hantassa- (deified forehead). Der. of hant-, hant- "front; forehead."

D₂istamanassa- "deified ear." Der. of istamane-, istamine- "ear."

D₃istanzassa-, D₄istanzassi- (deified mind). Der. of istanza(an)- "mind, will."

D₅Ginuwassa-, D₆kinuwassa- (deified knee). Der. of genu-, ginu- "knee."

D₇Kis(e)arassa- (deified hand). Der. of kessera-, kessar- "hand."

D₈Sakuwassa- (deified eye). Der. of sakui- "eye; source."

The Suffix -Asha-

This suffix forms common gender derivatives from verbs and occasionally from nouns and adjectives. It is not certain which ablaut grade it requires. When used with verbs and adjectives its meaning is

¹The Bo-numbers are quoted by Otten, Journal of Cuneiform Studies, IV (1950), 124-25.

similar to that of -star. The few examples of this suffix do not clarify its meaning further. Both happarnuwater and happarnuwasha are attested, but the latter does not occur in the published texts, so that comparison of these two words is premature. No other pair of derivatives in -star and -asha is attested.

This suffix is cognate with the Greek aorist active infinitive suffix -sai, the Latin active infinitives in -se and -re and passive infinitives in -ri, and the Vedic dative infinitives in -sct. All contain reflexes of an Indo-European *-sh₂- suffix which formed verbal nouns. The Greek infinitive is a dative with the expected -ei ending colored by the laryngeal. The Latin infinitives represent the locative and the dative respectively. The first -a- of the Hittite suffix is the thematic vowel inserted before Hittite deverbal suffixes. The suffix -asha has become an a-stem because Hittite has no inherited root nouns in -grave consonants.

armuwelasha - "moonlight." Der. of armuwelāi - "to shine like the moon." The nominative singular [armuwelashais] occurs once, KUB VIII 30 I 21.

happarnuwasha - "sun-beam?" Der. of the same stem that appears in happarnuwater "halo."

harnamniyasha - "agitation." Der. of harnamniya - "to make ferment, to arouse, to incite, to stir up."

harnaniyasha - "edge of the road? fork in the road?"

kariyasha - "compliance?" Der. of kariya - "to comply."

karitasha - Hapex KUB XVII 28 II 36.

¹Only Friedrich, *HW*, 2. *Ergänzungsheft* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1961), p. 11: "Oftentimes brieflich."

luliyasha - "swamp-land, moor." Der. of luli - "basin; pond."

(:) maliyasha - "consent." Despite the glossenkell, this word has Hittite inflectional forms and does not appear to be of Luwian origin. Der. of malāi - "to approve."

mar(r)uwasha - "redness?" Der. of anda maruwāi - "to be red?"

nuntar(r)iyasha - "march? trip? haste?" Der. of the stem that appears in nuntar(r)iya - "quick" and nuntarnu - "to hurry."

salasha - (palace) functionary; concerns horses and mules). Probably der. of KUS gala - (part of the harness).

dammesha - dammisha - "damage; punishment." Der. of damag - "to press, to force" with loss of the -ag- of the suffix by hapology.

tar(r)iyasha - dariyasha - "exhaustion." Der. of tar(r)iya - "to become tired."

unuwasha - "ornament." Der. of unuwāi - "to adorn."

The Suffix -Assi-

In Luwian the genitive case is lacking and its function has been taken over by adjectives in -assi-, which are of obscure origin. These genitival adjectives sometimes appear in a Hittite context. Two texts in which they are especially plentiful are KUB II 1, a list of offerings to various ^DKAL's and ^DAala's, each distinguished by an epithet, and KUB VIII 75+, a list of fields. Often genitival adjectives in a Hittite context are marked with a glossenkell, indicating their Luwian origin. In some instances adjectives in -assi- are derived from Hittite nouns. A few nouns also have the suffix -assi-, especially names of oracle birds. Some are probably genitival adjectives borrowed from Luwian and specialized in meaning. At least one, NINDa appulassi-, is a loanword from Sattic.

- NINDA allinassi- c. (a bread). Occurs in KUB XXV 50 II 2, KBo XIII 167 I 3, and 163/x I 15.¹
- (:) alpassi- c. (a bread). Occurs in KBo II 4 II 22, III 26, IV 4, and 176/n I 9.
- annarumahitassi- "of strength." Hapax KUB II 1 III 47, epithet of of ^DAala.² Cf. Luwian annarummi- "strong" and annarummahi (Bo 69/806 6 (Luwian or Hittite context?).
- arziassi- (name of a field). Hapax KUB VIII 75 II 4.³ Cf. Hittite arziya- "granary."
- asaniassi- (name of a field). Hapax KUB VIII 75 II 6.
- assattassi- Hapax KUB II 1 III 44, epithet of ^DAals.⁴
- asheimattanassi- (name of a field). Hapax KUB VIII 75 I 56.
- EZEN asrehitassi- c. (a festival). Attested in KUB V 10 I 7 and 9.
- entassi- (divine epithet). Occurs in KUB XXX 31 III 1 and KBo VII 60 I 6. Also SISKUR.SISKUR entassi (Bo 69/793 1).
- haggezuvassi- c. (personnel). Hapax IBoT I 36 IV 37. Is there a connection with Hittic ^{LU}haggezu "drinker"?
- haleddassi- Hapax KUB II 1 III 10, epithet of ^DKAL.⁵
- halvassi- c. (oracle bird).
- handattassi- "of the decision." Hapax KBo II 38, 8, epithet of ^DAals.
Der. of a verbal noun in -atti- based on Luwian handa(i)- "to decide."⁶

¹See Hoffner, RHA, LXXX (1967), 27, n. 23.

²See Laroche, DLL, p. 27.

³See ibid., p. 32.

⁴See ibid., p. 33.

⁵See ibid., p. 38.

⁶See ibid., pp. 39-40.

- hanteyassassi- Hapax KUB II 1 II 47, epithet of ^DKAL.¹
- NINDA harrantassi- "leavened bread." Der. of harranti- "fermented."²
- harsanassi- Hapax 438/e II 11, epithet of ^DISKUR. Occurs in an AN-TAH-SUM festival.
- NINDA.KUR₄.RA hawassi- c. "sheep's bread." Occurs in KUB XXXII 1 III 2, 10, and KUB XXXIX 70 VI 5. Der. of Luwian hawi- "sheep," which is from Indo-European *H₂owi- "sheep."
- iparvassi- c. (oracle bird).
- ishamenassi- (name of a field). Hapax KUB VIII 75 I 49. Is there a connection with Hittite ishime(na)-, ishamine- "cord"?
- kinzalpassi- Hapax KUB XII 1 III 5. Der. of kinzalpa-, hapax in the same text (III 36). Is kinzalpa- Luwian or is kinzalpassi- a Hittite word with a Luwian suffix?
- Kurrestarressi- Hapax KUB II 1 III 16, epithet of ^DKAL.³
- kursawanassi- (name of a field). Hapax KUB VIII 75 I 12. Probably derived from the Luwian stem kursawana-.⁴
- kutassi- c. (oracle term). Hapax KUB V 20 II 18.⁵
- NINDA.KUR₄.RA ku-wa-an-zu-[x]-na-as-si- c. (a bread). Hapax KUB XVII 12 III 25.⁶
- laleitassi- (name of a field). Hapax KUB VIII 74 IV 52. Is there a connection with the name of the city URU lalatte-.⁷

¹See ibid., p. 40.

²See ibid., p. 42.

³See ibid., p. 57.

⁴See ibid., pp. 57-58.

⁵See Laroche, RA, LXIV (1970), 137.

⁶See Laroche, DLL, p. 59.

⁷See ibid., p. 62.

NINDA lebassi- c. (a bread). Hapax 163/x I 14.

maranassi- c. (oracle bird).

maruhiltassi- (oracle term). Hapax KUB XVI 29 I 31.¹

EEN muhhuilassi- c. Hapax 893/v I 9. Probably derived from the bread name NINDA muhhuila-.

parassi- c. "patron deity?" Hapax KUB I 1 IV 16.

para tarassi- Hapax KUB II 1 III 18, epithet of ^DKAL.

parattassi- (name of a field). Hapax KUB VIII 75 III 6. Cf. the god

^DParattassi- KUB VII 14 I 3. Probably der. of Luwian paratt(a?)- "uncleaness?".²

pihassassi- (Epithet of the storm-god).³ Probably related to the element pihassa- which occurs in the personal name ^IPihassa-A.A KUB XI 91 II 2.

pihaddassi- Occurs in KUB XVII 12 III 23 and KBo XII 60, 4.

salumat[as]i- Hapax KUB II 1 II 49, epithet of ^DKAL.

SISKUR. SISKUR sarressi- c. (a sacrifice). Is there a connection with Hurrian sarri- "king"?

sarlettassi- "of praise" (describes breads and gods). Der. of Luwian sarlett- "praise."

KUŠ sarpassi- ^{GIŠ} sarpassi- c. "cushion?" Der. of Hittite ^{KUŠ} sarpa-, ^{GIŠ} sarpa- "cushion?". The distinction in meaning between these two words is not clear.

seimuhitassi- (oracle term). Hapax KBo XVI 98 II 8.⁴

^{IN} tapariyassi- c. "commander." Hapax KUB IV 1 IV 16. Der. of Hittite

¹See Laroche, RA, LXIV (1970), 135.

²See Laroche, DLL, p. 76.

³See Laroche, RHA, XLVI (1946-47), 69.

⁴See Laroche, RA, LXIV (1970), 136.

taper(r)iya- "command" or of an extension of Luwian tapar- "to rule."¹

tapassi- c. (oracle bird).

^{IN} tapritessi-, ^{SAL} tapritessi- c. (ritual personnel). Der. of (^{GIŠ}) tapri- "chair? seat?" with the -i- extension of the Hurrian inflection.

tapassassi- Hapax KUB XII 63 I 16.²

tapattassi- Hapax KUB II 1 II 48, epithet of ^DKAL. Der. of Luwian tapatt- (meaning unknown).³

(:) tarwa(na)ssi- Occurs only in KBo II 4 II 32, and IV 12.⁴ Is this word derived from a -n(a)- heteroclite or is the omission of the -na- in II 4 a scribal error?

(:) walipattassi- Occurs in KUB II 1 II 19 (= KBo XI 40 II 11) and KUB II 1 III 45, epithet of ^DKAL and ^DAna-. Probably based on a der. in -att- from the Luwian verb walip-.⁵

warpassi- Hapax KUB XII 36 I 9 (= KUB XXX 37 I 7), modifies ^{GIŠ} ^{IN} basin-. A connection with warp- "to wash" is difficult, as the suffix -assi- is not used with verbs.

EZEN vitassi- "festival of the year." Der. of Hittite witt- "year." The Luwian word for year is ussi-.

EZEN zeniyassi- c. "festival of the autumn." Cf. Hittite zena- "autumn." The Luwian word for "autumn" is unknown.

NINDA zipulass-, NINDA zipulassni- c. (a bread). The identity of these two bread names is uncertain, as they never interchange in the same

¹See van Brock, RHA, LXXI (1962), 105-106.

²See Laroche, DLL, p. 93.

³See ibid., p. 92.

⁴See ibid., p. 94.

⁵See ibid., p. 105.

text. A neuter gender NINDA zippulasni occurs once, KUB XXV 1 VI 36. The form in -asni- is a loanword from Hattic awulasne, wulasne "bread." Cf. Palaic wulasina- (name of a food). The alternation of -ss- and -sn-, if correct, is unique. There is no evidence for such an alternation in Hattic. Cf. NINDA zipulas 109/x 8, 9, 10, which is probably a neuter s-stem. The bread name NINDA zippulani-, hapax KUB IX 34 V 49, is probably a scribal error.

The Suffix -Asti-

This suffix forms nouns which designate dimensions from adjectives. The thematic vowel of the adjective is lost before this suffix. pargasti- and dalugasti- are neuter gender; palhasti- is heterogeneric.

The noun (:)lu(m)pasti-, :luppasti- "sadness" does not refer to a dimension, but is an abstract noun whose underlying form is unattested. The Glosenskeil marks it as of Luwian origin. This is the only Luwian noun in -asti- and it is dangerous to generalize from a single example. Could this suffix be used in Luwian with a wider class of adjectives?

This suffix is inherited from Indo-European *-osti-, which formed abstract nouns from adjectives. It is productive only in Slavic, but shows traces in various other branches of Indo-European.¹

(:)lu(m)pasti-, :luppasti- c. "sadness." Glosenskeil word. Of Luwian origin.

palhasti- "width." Der. of palhi- "wide."

pargasti-, parqasti- "height." Der. of parku- "high."

dalugasti- "length." Der. of deluki- "long."

¹Cf. Émile Benveniste, Hittite et Indo-Européen (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962), pp. 89-95.

The Suffix -Att-

This suffix forms deverbal derivatives of common gender often with concrete meaning, and requires the zero grade of the root. In a few instances the underlying verb is unattested, but may be inferred from various derivatives. Thus heppinatti- "riches" reflects a verbal stem *heppina- "to be rich," based on heppina- "rich," and parallel to happunes- "to become rich" and heppinahn "to make rich." The only instance of a neuter gender noun is the heterogeneric aniyatti-. In the singular it is common gender and means "work, performance." In the plural it may be common or neuter gender and means "apparel, regalia."

This suffix is also found in Luwian and Palaic and is derived from Proto-Anatolian *-at-. An interesting group of cognates are Hittite siwatti- "day," Luwian tiwat- "sun," and Palaic tiyat- "sun." The correspondence of Hittite si- with Luwian and Palaic ti- reflects Proto-Anatolian *di-. The Palaic form shows loss of the w, a sound change otherwise unattested in the meager records of that language, so that the conditioning factors are obscure. The Proto-Anatolian form may be reconstructed as *diwat-, a derivative containing the zero grade of a root *dyew- "to shine." The meaning may have been both "sun" and "day" and was later restricted in each language. A similar phenomenon occurs in Hungarian, where nep means both "sun" and "day." Another t-extension of this root appears in Sanskrit dyut-, as a verb "to shine," as a noun "shining, splendor, ray of light."

The suffix -att- is inherited from Indo-European *-at- which formed verbal nouns, especially abstracts, but also with concrete meaning. Cf. the Vedic suffix -at, Gothic mitas "measure" from mitan "to

measure," and Latin *tegēs*, *tegitis* "roof" from *tegō* "to cover."¹ The Hittite *-a-* may represent the o-grade or the zero-grade with the inserted *-a-* of deverbal stems.

aniyatt- "work, performance." The accusative singular *a-ni-ya-an-ta-* occurs in KBo I 45 IV 42. Der. of *aniya-* (*anniya-*) "to work, to make, to produce, to perform." In the plural this word may be either common or neuter gender and means "apparel, regalia."

happinatt- "riches." Epax KUB XXXVI 49 IV 9. Accusative singular *ha-ap-pi-na-at-ta-an(-za)* followed by the reflexive *-za*. Der. of the root which occurs in *happina-* "rich," *happinab-* "to make rich," and *happinea-* "to become rich."

ikkunatt- Occurs in KUB XXXV 18 I 10 and Bo 4388, 4. In the first passage, 2 UDU^{HI.A} *-sa* *ikkunattas* "two sheep of *ikkunatt-*" occurs in a list of sheep. In the second passage, 1 UDU *ikkunattas* "one sheep of *ikkunatt-*" occurs in a similar list. Der. of a stem *ikkuna-* which is attested in Luwian.²

irhatt- "series." Der. of *irhai-* "to make the rounds; to delimit; to complete," ultimately from *irha-* "border." Occurs with both Hittite and Luwian inflectional forms. Word common to both languages?³

kallaratt- "monstrosity." Der. of the root seen in *kallar-* "unfavorable" and *kallares-* "to become unfavorable."

gangaatt- "appeasement." Der. of *gangañai-* "to atone, to propitiate."

karsatt- "piece cut off?" Der. of *kars-*, *karsiya-* "to cut, to cut off."

kartinniyatt- "anger." Der. of *kertinniya-* "to be angry."

karuiliyatt- "earlier condition, former condition." Der. of *karuili-*, *karuli-* "former, previous."

¹ See Benveniste, *Hittite et Indo-Européen*, p. 89.

² See Laroche, *D.L.*, p. 51.

³ See *ibid.*, p. 52.

anniyahhiyatt- "sphere of command?" Epax KUB XIII 20 I 34. Der. of *anniyahh-* "to administer, to govern," with a suffixed *-i-*, possibly under the influence of *anniyahhai-* "administration, district."

nahseratt- "fear, respect." Der. of the stem seen in *nahsar* "fear" and *nahsarnu-* "to make afraid," ultimately from *nah(h)-* "to fear, to be afraid; to show respect." Semantically derived from *nahsariya-* "to be afraid," but lacking the *-i-* of that verb. Cf. the similar set of derivatives with an *-ar-* suffix, ultimately from *dusk-*, *duskiya-* "to be happy, to rejoice; to play," *dusgaratt-* "joy, pleasure," *dusgaratar* "joy," *dusgarawant-* "happy," **dusgarivyatar* "joy."

sarlett- "praise." Der. of *sarlai-* "to praise." Cf. Luwian *sarlatt(a)-* and Hieroglyphic Luwian *sarlata-*. Word common to both languages.

siyatt- "day." See the introductory remarks to this section for the derivation. Also cf. the etymology of *siy-*, *siuni-* "god."

tarnatt- "portion, ration." Der. of *tarna-* "to permit, to release."

tuhhiyatt- "panting; suffocation?" Epax KBo VII 14 I 16 Instr. *tu-uh-hi-ya-at-ti-i-*. Der. of *tuhhai-* "to pant, to gasp, to suffocate."

tumantiyatt- (building in the rituals of Hubešna). Is this a derivative of the glossenkeil word (:)*tum(m)antiya-* (:dumanteiya-) "obedience?" The ritual of Hubešna has Luwian affinities.¹

dusgaratt- "joy, pleasure." Der. of the stem seen in *dusgaratar*, **dusgarivyatar* "joy" and *dusgarawant-* "happy," ultimately from *dusk-*, *duskiya-* "to be happy, to rejoice, to play." Cf. the similar set of derivatives with an *-ar-* suffix listed under *nahseratt-* above.

warsiyatt- "refreshment." Der. of *warsiya-*, *wars-* "to quiet down, to calm down, to be content."

¹ See *ibid.*, p. 176.

watarnahh- "command; communication." Der. of watarnahh- "to command, to charge; to communicate."

The Suffix -Atalla-, Attalla-

This suffix is added to nouns and verbs and forms agent nouns. When used with verbs it requires the zero grade.

This suffix is inherited from Indo-European *-tel-, a doublet of the more frequent *-ter- which formed agent nouns. Cf. Sanskrit *-tr, Greek -tēr, Latin -tor. The reflex of *-ter- in Hittite, -tara-, is preserved only in a few words and is no longer productive. Only in Hittite and in Slevic has the l-variant of this suffix become productive in preference to the r-variant. The initial -a- of the Hittite suffix is the thematic vowel inserted before Hittite deverbal suffixes. arsanattalla- "envier." Der. of the stem that appears in arsaniya- "to envy," and arsanant- "envious."

^{L1} asusattalla- (temple personnel). Probably a der. of asusa- "chain?"¹

auriyattalla- "border guard." Der. of auri-, awari- "tower, look-out."

^{L1} haliya(t)talla- "guardian, watchman." Der. of hali-, haliya- "watch, guard."

halugattalla- "messenger." Der. of haluga- "message, report."

^{DOG} halwatattalla-, halwatalla- (a vessel). Laroche² suggested that in this word the HAL-sign is to be read HEL because of the spelling hi-el-wa-to-al-la KUB XII 37 I 6.

hantitiyattalla- "informer." Der. of hanti tiya- "to bring to court, to inform against."

piran huystalla- "one who runs in front, leader? helper?" Der. of piran huwa-, piran huwa- "to run in front, to lead? to help?"

¹Cf. Otten, KBo XX, p. vi, n. 7.

²Laroche, RA, XLVI (1952), 162.

^{L1} hukmatalla- "incantation priest." Der. of the stem which appears in hukmai- "spell, conjuring"; this derived from huk-, huik-, huk- "to conjure."

^{L1} ishamatalla- "singer." Der. of ishamai- "to sing."

ishanattalla- "murderer?" Hapax KUB XXI 19 III 8. Der. of eshar, ishar "blood."

isiyahheskattalla- "announcer, denouncer." Der. of isiyahhiak-, isiyahhesk-, iterative of isiyahh- "to announce, to denounce."

^{L1} kussanattalla- "mercenary." Der. of kussan- "reward, pay; price." Cf. the synonymous kussaniyattalla- derived from the stem of the verb kussaniya- "to hire."

^{L1} kussaniyattalla- "mercenary." Der. of kussaniya- "to hire." Cf. the synonymous kussanattalla- derived from the stem of the noun kussan- "reward, pay; price."

^{L1} maniyahhetalla- "administrator, governor." Der. of maniyahh- "to administer, to govern." Cf. the synonymous maniyahheskattalla- derived from the iterative of the same verb.

^{L1} maniyahheskattalla- "administrator, governor." Der. of maniyahhesk-, the iterative of maniyahh- "to administer, to govern." Cf. the synonymous maniyahhetalla- derived from the underlying verb.

(^{L1}) palwat(t)alla-, (^{SAL}) palwat(t)alla- (functionary active in rituals). Der. of palwai- "to mutter? to whisper?"¹

^{L1} salpatalla- (ritual personnel?). Probably derived from a reduplicated form of salpai- KUB X 69 II 7, a verb of unknown meaning which occurs in one of the same texts as ^{L1} salpatalla-.

tamisattalla- c. (personnel). Hapax KBo X 31 IV 20: 19) U[DU]^{HI.A} UDUN UZU.GUD^{HI.A} AR-NA-BI 20) L^{MEŠ} te-mi-sa-tal-li-ia 21) pi-an-zi "The tamisattalla-men give sheep of the oven, the meat of cattle, and heares." This word could also be an i-stem. Cf. L^{MEŠ} dag-sa-

¹For the definition see Albrecht Goetze, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1 (1947), 82, and Hans Güterbock, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, VI (1952), 42.

- tal-li-i(a) KBo XX 32 II 3. The last sign could also be an -us.
- unattalla- "merchant." Der. of unna- "to drive, to lead."
- ¹⁴ uskisgetalla- "watchman, guard, sentry." Der. of uskisk-, iterative of usk- "to see."
- ¹⁵ para uwattalla- "one who overlooks, indulgent." Der. of para au(a)- "to be indulgent, to overlook."
- ¹⁶ wehesgetalla- "one who roams about; patroller." Der. of wehesk- "to roam about; to patrol," iterative of weh- "to turn."
- wecuriskat(t)alla- "oppressor?" Der. of wisuresk-, wisurisk-, iterative of wecuriya-, wisuriya- "to oppress, to stifle."
- wiwiskatalla- "woman in labor." Der. of wiwesk-, iterative of wiwa- "to cry out; to be in labor."
- ¹⁷ ziliipuriyattalla- "priest of the god Zilipuri-." Der. of ^dZilipuri-.
- ¹⁸ zipuriyattalla-, ¹⁹ zipuriatalla- (temple personnel). Is there a connection with ¹⁶zipuriya- (temple personnel) KUB XXX 69, 1? This word occurs three times: ¹⁴MEŠ zi-pu-ri-at-ta-li-eg KBo X 31 III 26, ¹⁵MEŠ zi-pu-ri-ya-tal-is-eg KBo XVI 68 I 28, and zi-pu-ri-ya-tal-li Bo 69/14 3.

The Suffix -atar (Oblique Stem -Ann-)

This frequent suffix forms neuter gender derivatives from verbs, nouns, and adjectives. It requires the zero-grade of verbs and forms names of actions or states, corresponding in meaning to the English gerund. Examples of the zero-grade vocalism include hukatar "slaughter?" and kunatar "death, killing."

When used with nouns and adjectives, this suffix forms names of states, positions, and especially qualities. The meaning is sometimes extended to include objects which do not actually have the quality of the particular noun but are representations of the noun. Two nouns referring to people have extended their meanings and taken on a

collective sense: antuhsetar "humanity; population" from antuhša- "man" and DUMU (MEŠ) -latar "descendants" from DUMU-lu "son, child."

Because of the meanings of verbal, nominal, and adjectival derivatives in -atar overlap, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them in those instances where words belonging to different parts of speech are formed from the same stem.

This suffix is cognate with the Latin gerunds in -nd-. Both are inherited from an Indo-European heteroclititic suffix *-d(h)n-.¹ Both the Hittite and the Latin forms are ambiguous and could reflect either Indo-European *d or *dh. The Hittite suffix shows the -a- inserted before deverbal suffixes.

agretar "death." Der. of ak(k)- "to die."

skuwatar "drinking." Der. of sku- "to drink."

alwanzatar "enchantment, spell, sorcery." Der. of the root that appears in alwanzahn- "to charm, to hex, to practice sorcery," alwanzeno- "hexer, sorcerer," and alwanzessar "hex, sorcery."

anniyatar "motherhood." Der. of anna- "mother," but with the stem vowel -i- as in Luwian anni- "mother."

annitalwatar "ability to bear children?" The reading anniriwatar is also possible.

¹⁴ antiyantatar, ¹⁵ andanyantatar "position of an antiyant-." Der. of antiyant- "a husband who enters his wife's household."

antuhsetar "humanity; population." Der. of antuhša- "man."

appatar "seizure, capture." Der. of app(p)- "to seize."

arkammanatar "tribute payment." Der. of arkamma(n)- "tribute," perhaps through an unattested verb meaning "to pay tribute."

¹Cf. Edgar Sturtevant, A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 73.

armahatar "pregnancy." Der. of arrah- "to impregnate, to be(come) pregnant, to make pregnant."

arrahatar "lodging?" Der. of the stem which appears in the participle arrahant- "lodged? quartered?"

asandulatar "garrisoning." Der. of asandulāi- "to garrison, to occupy a land."

asatar "sitting." Der. of as- "to sit."

assiyatar "love." Der. of assiya- "to be beloved."

asiwantatar "poverty." Hapax KUB XXI 18 IV 10. Der. of asiwani- "poor."

asayatar "ain." Etymology unknown.

asulatar "good health? prosperity?" Der. of asul- "good health, prosperity."

asucatar "goodness." Der. of asuu- "good."

asatar "eating." Der. of ed- "to eat."

ahretar "raking?" Der. of ahhahre-, GIS ahre- "rake?" Semantically as if from ahhahriya-, ahhriya- "to scratch; to rake?" but without the -i-.

haliyatar "kneeling." Der. of haliya- "to kneel."

halluwater "quarrelsomeness." Der. of helluwai- "to quarrel."

hannasatar "administration of justice." Der. of hannassar "justice, law, court."

handandatar "(divine) justice." Der. of handant- "put in order, arranged."

handatar "(divine) justice." Der. of handai- "to put in order, to make ready, to prepare."

happarnuwater "halo." Der. from the same stem as happarnuwasha- "sun-beam?"

harkatar "destruction." Der. of hark- "to perish, to be destroyed."

hassatar "family." Der. of has- "to give birth, to generate."

hastaliyatar "strength." Der. of *hastali- "hero." Once spelled ha-as-ti-li-ya-tar, KUB III 103 II 12.

hastariyatar Hapax KUB XXIV 12 II 31.

hattatar, hattāde "wisdom, understanding, advice." Der. of the root that appears in hattahh- "to make wise," hattant- "wise, understanding." Is there a connection with the verb hatta- "to cut open, to split open"?¹

hatugatar "terror." Der. of the root found in hatugi- "frightening," hatuge "dreadfully, frightfully," and hatuganu- "to terrify."

haddulatar "health." Der. of the root found in haddulahh- "to make healthy" and haddules- "to become healthy."

huigatar "threshing?" Etymology unknown.

huiswater, hueswater "life." Der. of huismai- "to live, to be alive."

hukatar "slaughter?" Der. of huek- "to slaughter."

hullanzatar "defeat?" Der. of hullāi-, hulliya- "to defeat" with the same -nz- extension that appears in hullanzai-, hullanza- "defeat" and hullanzessar "defeat?"

hullatar "fighting strength." Der. of hullāi- "to defeat."

huwappanatar "poor health?" Probably derived from an extension of the root that appears in huwappa- "bad" and huwap(p)- "to mistreat."

innarwater, innirtar "vigor? strength?" Der. of the same stem which appears in innarawani- "vigorous?" and innarawes- "to become vigorous." The spelling in-nir-tar occurs only in oracle texts and may be an abbreviation.

ishanittatar Hapax VBoT 2, 3. A connection with eshar "blood" is uncertain. Hittite has no suffix -ittar(a)-.

ishassarwater "friendliness?" Der. of the root found in ishassarwahh- "to treat well, to be friendly?" ishassarwant- "friendly?" ishassarwes- "to become friendly."

¹ See Sommer and Falkenstein, Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I, p. 99.

- isgaratar "piercing." Der. of isgar- "to pierce; to fasten."
- ispiwatar "satiation." Der. of ispai-, ispiya- "to eat to one's fill."
- idalawatar, idaluwatar "evil." Der. of idalu- "evil, bad."
- gaisatar "relationship by marriage." Der. of ^{lu}gaena-, ^{lu}gaena- "relative by marriage."
- kellaratar "bad luck." Der. of kallar- "unfavorable."
- kattawatar "compensation, revenge." Cf. the derivatives of this word kattawanalli- and kattawstnalli- "vindictive?" both with and without assimilation of the -tn- cluster.
- (:)kucupalatar "deception?" Etymology unknown.
- kunatar "death, murder, killing." Der. of kuen- "to kill, to slay."
- *kunnatar, ZAG-natar "righteousness, advantage." Der. of kunna- "right; favorable."
- kururatar "enmity, hostility." Der. of kurur- "enemy, hostile, hostility."
- kusduwatar "slander." Der. of kusduwai- "to slander."
- kutruwatar "testimony." Der. of the stem that appears in kutru(wa)- "witness," kutruwahh- "to call as witness," and kutruwai- "to be confirmed by testimony." kutru(wa)- "witness" also has forms from a stem kutruwan-, kutruwen-.
- lahhiyatar "campaign, expedition." Der. of lahhiya- "to make war."
- litar "losing." Der. of la- "to lose, to release."
- luriyatar "humiliation." Der. of the stem that appears in luri- "humiliation" and luriyahh- "to humiliate."
- *mayandatar, mayatatar "asturity." Der. of ^(lu)mayant- "grown man."
- naklitar "leanness." Der. of the root that appears in the adjective naklant- "lean."
- maniyahhatar "administration, government." Der. of maniyahh- "to administer, to govern."
- maninkuwantatar "shortness." Hapax following pargatar in a fragmentary vocabulary KBo XIII 2 I 16. Der. of maninkuwant- "short, near."

- marletar "foolishness, stupidity." Der. of the root found in marlant- "foolish; fool" and marles- "to be foolish."
- maratar "deceit." Der. of the root found in maras- "false" and marasi- "to be false."
- mayahwandatar, rihupatar "old age." Der. of *kiahuwant- "old, old man."
- mayatar, mayata "growth; abundance." Der. of mai-, miya- "to grow, to be ripe."
- mayuwantatar Hapax KBo XIII 2 II 16, a vocabulary in which only the Hittite column is preserved.
- miriwatar "beauty, splendor." Der. of the stem found in miriwant- "beautiful, splendid" and miriwa- "to be splendid." This stem probably contains the suffix -ri-. The e-grade vocalism of the root mir- is significant, since the suffix -ri- requires the e-grade.
- muwiyatar Hapax in a broken context KBo XIII 116 I 10: JUR-as mu-wi-ya-tar. Possibly a derivative of (awn) kata ru(e)siya- "to crumble."
- muwatallatar "strength?" Hapax KBo XIII 2 II 9, a vocabulary in which only the Hittite column is preserved. Probably a derivative of muwatall(i)-, muwatallia- "strong," hence "strength?"
- nakkiyatar "heaviness, importance." Der. of the stem that occurs in nakki- "heavy, difficult, weighty, important" and nakkiya- "to be heavy."
- nakkusatar "substitution." Der. of nakkussi- "substitute, scapegoat."
- nekunpatar "destitution." Der. of nekunant-, nikunant- "naked" with a shift of the -g- to -u- and loss of the preceding -g-. The cause of these shifts, whether phonetic or morphological, is unknown.
- ninkunatar Occurs in 56/s II 18 and III 12.
- palhatar "width." Der. of the stem that occurs in palhann- "to make wide" and palhasti- "width." Cf. the -i- stem adjective palhi- "wide" and the similar relationship occurring between salli- "big," sallanu- "to make large, to rear," and sallatar "bigness."

peprātar, peprāta "impurity." Der. of peprāi- "to defile, to be impure, to pollute."

parkatar "height." Der. of park-, parkiya- "to be high, to lift, to grow." Cf. the synonymous parkuwater derived from the stem of the adjective parka- "high."

parkuwater "purification." Der. of parkuya- "to purify oneself."

parkuwater "height." Der. of parku- "high." Cf. the synonymous parkatar derived from the stem of the verb park-, parkiya- "to be high, to lift, to grow."

piyatar, SUM-atar "giving." Der. of pai-, pe- "to give."

pupuwater (meaning unknown). Occurs in KUB XXIV 7 I 41 and in the phrase SISKUR pupuwalana "sacrifice of the pupuwater" in KUB VI 15 II 13 and VBoT 25 I 4. Der. of the verb pupuwalai-, hapax in KUB XXIV 7 I 41.¹

pupuwater (a sacrilege). Is there a connection with pupu- "lover"?

sakantatar Hapax 826/x I 7 in an inventory. Object of silver.

sakuwater "display?"² Der. of sakuvai- "to see, to look at."

sallatar "bigness." Der. of the root that appears in sallanu- "to make large, to rear" and (!) sallakartatar "arrogance." Cf. the -i- stem adjective salli- "big" and the similar relationship occurring between palhi- "wide," palhanu- "to make wide," and palbatar "width."

samatar "foundation." Der. of the root found in samana- "foundation stone, foundation" and sammai, sammaniya- "to erect, to set up, to create."

sarazziyatar "height, mountain ridge." Der. of the stem found in sarazzi- "higher, upper" saraz(z)eg- "to be victor," and sarazziyahh- "to award the verdict to, to decide in favor of."

¹See Kammenhuber, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, II (1954), 421.

²See Goetze, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, XVI (1962), 29.

sarguwater "highness, elevation." Der. of sarku- "outstanding, mighty; hero."

sassiyatar Hapax in a broken context 1055/u 6.

siyatar "sealing; seal." Der. of sai-, siya- "to press, to push, to seal."

siuniyatar, DINGIR-LIM-niyatar "deity; divinity; idol, image of a god." Der. of siu-, siuni- "god."

sullatar "quarrel, strife." Der. of sullai-, sulliya- "to quarrel."

suppiyatar "purification." Der. of the root seen in suppi- "clean, pure, holy," suppiyahh- "to purify, to sanctify," and suppen- "to become pure."

tavazilatar "theft." Der. of tavas(z)il- "theft."

takteatar "joining, mixing up." Der. of taka-, takkes-, tagga- "to join, to mix up."

takulatar "peace, friendliness." Der. of the stem which appears in takful- "treaty, peace" and takulai "to agree, to be friendly; to make peace."

dankutar Hapax 1032/u 4. Context fragmentary, but undoubtedly connected to the hapax (verb?) da-an-ku-wa-nu-us-ki of the preceding line.¹

tarhuiletar "heroism." Der. of the stem which appears in tarhuili- "strong, mighty."

tassiyatar, dassiyatar "strength." Der. of the stem that appears in tassiyama- "strength, hardness" and tassiyawar "strength," with an -i- extension of the root of dassanu- "to strengthen" and dasee- "to become strong, to become heavy."

dassuwater Hapax in a broken context Bo 68/235 I 6. Possibly connected with dassu- "strong, firm, heavy, important."

tersewater "drought? poverty?" Der. of terpu- "dry? sterile?"

¹For the contraction of -uwa- to -u-, see Friedrich, *HE*, se. 17a, p. 27.

Unascallatar Hapax KBo XIII 2 II 14, a vocabulary in which only the Hittite column is preserved.

dusgaratar "joy." Der. of the stem that appears in dusgaratt- "joy," pleasure" and dusgaravant- "happy."

*dusgarivatar "joy." Hapax R.S. 25.421.61. Der. of the stem that appears in dusgaratar "joy" with an -i- extension.

L₁urallatar "position of a L₁uralla-." Der. of L₁uralla- (personnel of low rank).

uskingettallatar "custody, protection." Der. of L₁uskingetalla- "watchman, guard, sentry."

uwater "sight." Der. of su(s)- "to see."

walliyatar "glory, praise." Der. of the root found in walla-, wallu- "to praise" with an -i- extension that also occurs in walli- "fame? glory? pride?"

warsiyatar "calming." Der. of warsiya-, wara- "to calm down, to be content."

HIERA wiyattatar (bread). Hapax KUB XVII 24 II 3. Etymology unknown.

sankilatar "fine." Der. of sankila- "to fine, to punish."

DAM-atar "position of a wife; marriage." Der. of DAM "wife."

DUMU (HRS) -latar "descendants." Der. of DUMU-la- "son, child."

SAL₁GE₄A-atar "betrothal." Der. of SAL₁GE₄A "bride."

EN-issatar "authority." Phonetic reading probably *ishinatar. Der. of EN-ina- "authority." The difference in meaning between these two words is uncertain.

GUB-latar "unfavorableness." Der. of GUB-la- "left, unfavorable."

HUR-SAG-tar "representation of a mountain." Der. of HUR-SAG-ra- "mountain."

IBILA-atar "position of an heir, heirloom." Der. of IBILA "heir."

IR-natar "servitude." Der. of IR-na- "slave."

KAL-atar "manliness." Der. of KAL "strong, manly."

KUR-tar "representation of a mountain." Der. of KUR "mountain, country."

L₁-natar "manliness." Der. of L₁-na- "man."

LUGAL-uiznatar "kingdom." Phonetic reading probably *haseviznatar. Der. of LUGAL-uizna- "kingdom." The difference in meaning between these two words is uncertain.

SAL-annatar "womanliness." Der. of SAL-anna- "woman."

SIG₅-star "favor." Der. of SIG₅ "good, favorable." Two possible readings are assuwater (which see above) from assu- "good" and *lazziwater from lazzai-, lazzi "good, healthy."

ŠEŠ-atar "brotherly relation." Der. of ŠEŠ-na- "brother."

L₁SU.GI-tar, SAL₁SU.GI-tar "old age." The reading of L₁SU.GI-tar is niyahuwandatar, which see above. The reading of SAL₁SU.GI-tar may be the same, or it may be *hassawatar from SAL₁hassawa- "old woman," which is the reading of SAL₁SU.GI.

UR.MAH-tar "lion statue." Der. of UR.MAH "lion." Cf. Hieroglyphic Luwian LION-i-tar, meaning unknown.

The Suffix -atar (Oblique Stem -Atp-)

In a few nouns in -atar the oblique stem does not show assimilation of -tp- to -pr-. This is apparently from Luwian influence, as the -tp- cluster remains in that language.¹ The noun haratar also occurs in a Luwian context, KUB XXXV 16 I 5. This suffix, however, is rare in Luwian, where the semantic equivalent of the Hittite -atar suffix is -abi(t)-.

haratar "offense." Probably derived from harra- "to soil, to defile; to crush," although the inconsistent writing of single and double r in these words is unexplained. Cf. the ergative haratant- 2083g &f.

¹ See Laroche, DLL, p. 132.

iyatar, iyata "plenty, abundance." Der. of iya- "to make, to do, to perform, to produce"; the vocalism of this word reflects that of the Hittite iya- rather than the Luvian equivalent aya-.

(:) mulatar "filth?" Glosenkell word. Occurs in KBo XIII 109 II 12 and III 10 where it is parallel with HUL-u-wa-as UN.MES-as NA-21-EL-LU bur-ki-il pa-sp-ra-tar "the villainy of evil men, abomination, uncleanness." Also occurs in an inventory of clothing, KBo XVIII 186 II 11. Perhaps a rag?

tarmatar "fastening." Der. of tarmai- "to hammer."

The Suffix -Ena-

This rare suffix forms adjectives. There are not enough examples of it to determine its morphological characteristics. This appears to be a complex containing the Indo-European adjectival suffix *-no-. Is the first part from *-ei- or *-e-?

alw(en)zenna- "magical," also c. "sorcerer." Der. of the root which appears in alwanzahh- "to charm, to hex, to practice sorcery," alwanzetar "enchantment, spell, sorcery," alwanzessar "hex, sorcery."

arabzenna- "neighboring; foreign." Der. of the adverb arabza "all around; outside."

The Suffix -Essar (Oblique Stem -Een-)

This suffix forms neuter adjectives from verbs and requires the zero grade. It names results or products of actions and frequently has concrete meaning. This suffix is very productive and with some verbs, especially intransitives, it has extended its meaning to include the name of the action itself. Its meaning is sometimes hard to distinguish from that of -atar. It is occasionally used with adjectives, as -atar is, to derive names of qualities. In a few instances -essar is used with nouns, but these are too few and too uncertain in meaning for a clear

pattern to emerge. After an -i- this suffix may have the form -assar.

This suffix is cognate with the Greek present infinitive suffix -ein (from *-esen) and the Vedic locative infinitives in -sani. The Greek infinitive is in origin a locative. All are reflexes of an Indo-European heteroclitic suffix *-es-, *-es- which formed verbal nouns. alalassar (a large field for agricultural use). A connection with the stem of alalina- (meaning?) is uncertain.

alwanzessar "hex, sorcery." Der. of the root which occurs in alwanzetar "enchantment, spell, sorcery," alwanzenna- "hexer, sorcerer," and alwanzahh- "to charm, to hex, to practice sorcery."

NINDA amiyantessar (a bread). Occurs in 119/s II 9, 1110/u I 7, 879/z V 8, and 912/z IV 7. Also NINDA amneyante [KUB XXX 32 IV 3. Possibly a der. of ammiyant- "small, weak." Cf. amneyandur 1248/u I 3, an item in an inventory.

ariyassar, ariyasesir, arissessar "oracle." Laroche¹ suggested that in a-ri-ye-se-sir KBo II 6 IV 25 the ŠIS-sign is to be read ŠAR. Der. of ariya- "to determine by oracle" with an -s- extension of the stem.

arkuassar "prayer." Der. of arkuwa- "to pray."

assessar "meeting, assembly." Der. of as- "to sit."

spuressar (some material used for repair?). Occurs only in a letter KBo XVIII 54 II 25 and 1. Rd. 3. Der. of the verb spurai- (meaning uncertain) which occurs in KBo XVIII 54 and KUB XXXI 89 II 41.

halkuassar "offering materials?"

hanessar, hannassar "justice, law, court." Der. of hanna- "to decide."

happessar, heppessar "limb; body part." Also ^{UZU} happessa KBo XVI 78 IV 19. Probably a der. of hap- "to be suitable, to fit, to join," semantically from the notion "joint."

harnaisar, harniessar (something thrown into the fire in rituals). harnaisar occurs in KBo XIII 216 I 2, 5, and KBo XVII 15 I 15,

¹Laroche, RA, XLVI (1952), 162.

16. harnissar occurs in IBoT III 1 29, 31, 39. In all of the occurrences the HAR-sign could also be read HUR.

hattaressar "fork (in a road)." Der. of hattarāi- "to split."

hattessar, hantessar "hole, pit." Der. of hattāi- "to pierce, to cut, to strike."

hatressar "message." Der. of hatrāi- "to write."

hazziassar, hazziar "affliction?" Possibly der. of hazziya- "to pierce; to engrave."

huittessar "twitching?" Der. of huittiya- "to pull, to drag, to draw (a bow)."

hukessar, hugesar "slaughter." Der. of huk- "to slaughter."

hulalessar "circumference." Der. of hulaliya- "to wind around."

hullanzessar "defeat?" Der. of hullāi-, hulliya- "to defeat," with the same -nz- extension that occurs in hullanāi-, hullanza- "defeat," and hullanaztar "defeat?".

hunhupessar "wave?" Der. of hunhuwan- (stem?) "flood?".

hunikiassar "slaughter."¹ Der. of hunink- "to injure, to strike."

huwanhuessar, huwanhuissar "billow? wave?" Cf. hunhunesar "wave?". The loss of the -p- is unique, if these words are related.

illessar, ilissar, ilassar "omen."

ishlessar, ishlessa "bond." Der. of ishiya-, ishāi- "to bind, to tie."

ishuassar "heap." Der. of ishuwa- "to pile up, to pour out, to scatter."

tūg iskallissar, tūg iskallesar "glashed garment?" (a very inexpensive garment). Der. of iskallāi- "to tear, to slash, to rip."

(DUG) ispanduzziassar, ispantuzessar, ispantuzziassar "libation-vessel." Der. of (DUG) ispanduzzi- "libation." Occurs once as an r-stem; inst. ispanduzziassarit KUB XXV 36 V 7, an Istanuian ritual, probably from Luvian influence.

¹See Hoffner, RHA, LXIX (1967), 81, n. 155.

istappessar "lock (of a watercourse)." Der. of istap(p)- "to cover, to lock, to stop up."

kappuassar "counting." Der. of kappuwa- "to count."

karpessar "lifting." Hapax in a vocabulary KBo 1 42 III 41. Der. of karp-, kariya- "to lift, to carry off, to finish."

kippessar, kippessar (a linear measure, also a measure of time).

GIŠ kuppiassar "stool." Cf. Luvian GIŠ kuppiassa- "foot-stool." Probably a derivative in both languages of an otherwise unattested stem *kupp-. The similarity to Hebrew kevesh "foot-stool" from the Semitic root kbs/kbs is accidental.¹ In Hittite the double writing of the p shows that it is voiceless, and although the source of this word is obscure, there is no morphological reason to separate it from other heteroclitic derivatives in -essar.

tūg kuressar, tūg kurissar "strip" (woman's headgear). Der. of kuer- "to cut."

NINDA kuressar (a bread). Hapax KUB XXXIX 66 u. R. 1. A connection with kuer- "to cut," hence "slice," is attractive but uncertain.

kurkissar "surface?" Is there a connection with kurk- "to keep, to store up"?

lalsakuessar "ant-swarm." Der. of lalsakussa-, lalsawessa- "ant," with hapology.

(GIŠ) luessar (type of wood?). Once common gender accusative singular luissan KUB XII 51 I 15.

mallessar "vow; gift to the gods." Der. of mal- "to promise, to vow."

mukessar, mukissar "sacrifice, ritual." Der. of mugāi- "to pray, to implore."

ninkessar Hapax 398/w 3 in a broken context. Probably a der. of nink- "to lift."

¹See Heinrich Otten, Zur Grammatik und Lexik der Bestimmung des Luwischen (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953), p. 43, n. 93.

hesaar "width." Der. of palhi- "wide."

resaar "dirtiness." Der. of paprāi- "to defile, to be impure, to pollute."

hesaar, parbiesar "haste, hurry." Der. of parh- "to hunt, to chase." Also parhesar Bo 69/673 4.

kessar "height." Der. of park-, parkiya- "to be high, to lift, to grow."

kuessar "purification." Der. of parkuys- "to purify oneself."

ressar "crack, splitting." Occurs only in the vocabulary KBo XIII 1 IV 10, 11. Der. of para-, parāi-, parsiya- "to break, to divide."

ttessar "hole, cavity." Der. of pedda- "to dig."

ppersar "gift." Attested only in the first Arzawa letter, VBoT 1 I 26, which was written by an Egyptian scribe. Probably a scribal error for uppersar "shipment; present, gift," with substitution of the verbal prefix pe- for the prefix y-. Pairs of verbs are often formed with these prefixes, as uda- "to bring," peda- "to carry off." The verb pippa-, however, means "to overturn, to upset," and is not paired semantically with uppa- "to send."

rutessar (a kind of plaster). Der. of puruti- (a kind of plaster). Occurs only in KUB XXXI 89 II 12: puruteen[i] and perhaps in Bo 69/677 2: pjuruttes[i].

hesar "fortress." Probably derived from sah- "to stuff, to stop up," semantically through the notion "stopped up," hence "made secure, fortified."

kiyassar "giving of an omen." Hapax KUB XVII 28 1 1. Der. of sakiya- "to make known." For the semantics, cf. sagai- "omen."

saar "beer." Der. of sai-, siya- "to press, to push, to seal."

nessar "large bean."

upnessar "cleanness, purity." Der. of the root which appears in suppi-, "clean, pure, holy," suppiyahh- "to purify, to sanctify," suppes- "to become pure."

taknessar "arrangement, regulation, tariff." Der. of taka-, takkes-, "to join, to mix up, to participate in, to build."

dannaresar "emptiness; armpit." Der. of dannara- "empty, plain, smooth."

dannattessar "emptiness." Der. of dannatta-, dannatti- "empty, deserted."

tandukessar, dandukessar "mortality, mankind." Also genitive dantukessas KBo XII 100 I 11, II 8. Der. of danduki- "mortal."

tepsesar "preceding time?? beginning??" In the Laws contrasts with kinun "now."

tarupressar, daruppiessar "entirety." Der. of tarup(p)- "to unite; to gather."

tethessar, tethiasar "thunder; thunderstorm." Der. of tethai- "to thunder."

GI² tiessar "forest."

tuhhuessar, tuhhuissar "incense?" Is this a der. of tuhhuwai-, tuhhui- "smoke"?

tunnakessar, tunnakkissar "inner chamber, bedroom." KBo XX 10 I 6 has LAGAL-ua tu-ur-na ra-iz-zi parallel with II 2 uⁿ-na-ki-is-na ra-iz-zi "The king goes to the tunne(kissar)." Is this originally a compound containing -kissar derived from ki- "to lie"?

duddupressar Hapax KUB IX 3 I 16.

tuzziyassesar "army." Hapax KUB XIX 7 I 5. Probably der. of tuzziya- "to encamp" with an -a- extension.

uppersar, uppiessar, uppiyassar "shipment; present, gift." Der. of uppa- "to send."

wahessar Always in the phrase wah(b)essas watar "water of wahessar." A connection with web- "to turn" is difficult semantically.

wahnessar "turning?" Der. of wahnu- "to turn, to change (trans.)."

wakkaressar "revolt." Der. of waggariya- "to rebel, to revolt."

(NINDA) wagešsar, NINDA wakšisar "bite, morsel." Also NINDA wagešsa KBo XVII 30 III 7. Der. of wak- "to bite."

walhešsar, walhišsar "blow, squeezing." Der. of walh- "to beat, to strike, to hit."

warhuššar Occurs in KUB III 94 I 22 and 132/x 7. Cf. also wa-ar-hu-š-š-š-š-an KUB XXXIV 77 I 15. Meaning uncertain, but probably der. of warhui- "rough, shaggy."

wetumššar "building." Der. of weda-, wete- "to build," with the same form of the stem that occurs in wetummar "building."

The Suffix -ili-

This suffix forms adjectives from nouns and perhaps also from adverbs, although the two adverbs in question, karū and sannapi, may be isolated forms of old nouns. It requires nominal rather than adjectival inflection. The neuter singular form of this suffix is frequently used with adverbial force.

Like other Hittite adjectives, these derivatives may be used as nouns. When based on place names, they refer to "the man from (Geographical) N(ame)." Such derivatives are used to designate representatives from various cities, and as proper names. This suffix contrasts with -umna-, which means "a man from GN, an inhabitant of GN," and is often used in the plural to refer to the population of a GN.

The suffix -ili- is borrowed from the Hattic suffix -il-, which forms nouns and adjectives from place names as well as adjectives of quality from nouns.¹ The Hattic form of the suffix occurs in four Hittite texts. VBoF 66, KBo X 24, KUB X 1, and KUB XIV 13 I 13.

¹For a discussion of the Hattic suffix, see Laroche, Les Noms des Hittites, pp. 247-52.

The following list includes several nouns in -ili- whose derivation is uncertain. All of them, as far as can be determined, are common gender.

harēli- Hapax 1187/x I 7: GIŠTUKUL har-mi-li-in. Meaning unknown. Possibly an adjective modifying GIŠTUKUL "weapon."

harsanili- (plant product?). A connection with harsan(a)-? harsani- "head" is difficult semantically.

(URU) hattili- "Hattic, belonging to the city and/or land of Hatti." Der. of a form of the name of the Hittite capital which appears in the Akkadian hatti, probably based on a Hattic form without the a of hattus; cf. URU ha-at-ti-en 459/t I 3 in a Hattic text. The neuter singular of this adjective, hattili, means "in Hattic." The Hittite name of the city is Hattusa-, and the adjective derived from this, Hattusili-, is used as a proper name.

karūli-, karūli- "former, previous." Der. of the adverb karū "earlier; already."

patili-, patili- (type of priest). Cf. Hieroglyphic Luwian pa-ti-li (type of priest).

sannapili- "empty, alone; not pregnant." Der. of the stem which occurs in the adverbial expression sannapi sannapi "sporadically, here and there"; semantic development from "sporadic" to "isolated" to "alone, empty."

sarnesnili-, sarnisnili- (bread).¹ The assimilation of the -rn- cluster to -rn- is unique. Forms in -rn- occur in KBo III 34 I 6 and KUB XXXIV 86 II 3 and 5. A form in -rn- appears in KUB X 39 III 4.

(GI) suheili- "reed."

dankuli- "made of tin." Der. of dankui- "tin."²

¹Hoffner, personal communication.

²For the contraction of -ui- to -u-, see Friedrich, HE, sec. 16, p. 27.

tarhūli- "strong, mighty." Der. of D₁tarhu- "hero" (name of the weather god); this derived from tarh-, tarhu- "to conquer, to be victorious; to be able."

ulili- "greenery?"

upahili- Occurs twice in a fragmentary context, KUB XXIII 1 IV 20, 21. Glossenkeil word. Of Luwian origin? Laroche derives it from of abstract noun *upahi,¹ but the abstract suffix -hit loses its t only in word-final position; from an abstract noun *upahi a derivative in -ili should be *upahitili.

wantili- (a bread).² Is there a connection with the stem of wantāi- "to be warm" and wantes- "to become warm"?

The Suffix -ima

This suffix forms common gender derivatives from verbs and forms names of actions which involve a considerable degree of intensity, either physical or emotional. It is not certain which ablaut grade it requires. Frequently it is used with reduplicated roots. It is also used with a few adjectives to form names of qualities.

This suffix contains the Indo-European noun forming suffix *-mo. The -i is of uncertain origin, the expected thematic vowel being -a. A similar formation occurs in Lithuanian -imas, which forms verbal nouns and is probably a conflation of two suffixes.

alalima, alalam(s)a- Occurs three times in connected texts, KUB XVII 1 II 23, KUB XXVI 68 I 9, and 522/v 7. The first two occurrences are preceded by īd-as "of the river"; the third one is broken, but the preceding line contains a₁r-sa-ar-su-u-ra- "stream." In the vocabulary KBo I 35, 3, īd-as a-la-li-sa-as is the equivalent of Akkadian ha-ti-du, Sumerian UH.TAG.TAG.GA "covered with vermin."

¹Laroche, DLI, p. 102.

²See Hoffner, REA, LXXX (1967), 27.

The Hittite scribe may have mistaken the Akkadian for a form of hatātu "to make a ditch, to excavate," or of hadādu "to roar, to rumble," but these are only guesses.

ekunima- "cold (noun)." Der. of ekuna- "cold."

hahhima- (something fearful that affects a country).

hahhima- "yellow color, jaundice." Hapax KUB VIII 36 III 18. Der. of the stem which appears in hahhalea- "to become yellow, green," hahlewant- "yellow, green." These may be connected with (G18) hahhal- "bush, shrub."

katkattima- "trembling (noun)." Der. of katkattiya- "to tremble."

kurimma- "orphan."

kurkurim(s)a- "hurt (noun)?" Der. of kurkuriya- "to mutilate?" which is derived from kuer- "to cut."

lahhima- "expedition." Der. of lahhiya- "to go on an expedition."

lahlshhima- "motion, agitation." Der. of the stem that occurs in lahlshhiya- "to be agitated?" and lahlshhi- "aroused."

lalukkima- "illumination, light; brightness." Der. of the stem which appears in lalukki- "bright" and laluk(k)es-, lalukkis- "to become bright, to shine."

taskupima- "cry." Der. of taskupai-, daskupai- "to cry out."

tethima- "thunder." Der. of tethai- "to thunder."

tuhhima- "panting, gasping?" Der. of tuhhai- "to pant, to gasp?"

wantenma- "blaze, heat (of the sun)." Der. of wantai- "to be hot."

wanteventema- "lightning." Der. of a reduplicated form of wantai- "to be hot." Cf. harsihare- "thunderstorm?" with reduplication in a similar semantic sphere.

wawarkima- "socket of a door."

weritima-, weritima-, writema- "fear, fright." Der. of werite- "to be frightened."

The Suffix -m(m)i-

This suffix forms participles in Luwian. Sometimes these participles occur in a Hittite context, where occasionally they are marked with a glossenkeil to indicate their Luwian origin. A few nouns, especially bread names, also have the suffix -m(m)i-. These are probably passive participles borrowed from Luwian and specialized in meaning.

This suffix is usually compared to the Indo-European medio-passive participles in -mo- which occur in Baltic, Slavic, and Armenian.¹ The Luwian outcome of inherited -an-, however, is uncertain, so that this suffix also might be inherited from the Indo-European participial formation in -ano-. The m in the Luwian participle is often written double. The shift of an a-stem to an i-stem is frequent in Luwian grammar.

Alauwami- c. Is this divine name a Luwian participle?²

arrami- (name of a field). Hapax KUB VIII 75 IV 27. Is there a connection with Hittite arra(i)- "to wash"?³

hursalami- (describes cattle).⁴

NINDA gazzami- c. (a bread). Hapax KBo XVII 65 II 24: NINDA ga-gz-zami-i[ga]. The last sign could also be -us. Cf. NINDA ka-gz-z[ga] KBo XV 37 V 51.

TUG kukkullami- c. (article of clothing). Is there a connection with the vessel (URUDU) kupulla-, kukkul(i)a-?

kuwarami- Occurs only in 171/x II 9 and 10.

¹Cf. Benveniste, Hittite et Indo-Européen, p. 32.

²See Laroche, DLL, p. 25.

³See ibid., p. 30.

⁴See ibid., p. 49.

(:) lalami- c. (meaning uncertain). Is there a connection with the Luwian verb lala-?

lamami- c. Hapax KUB XII 1 IV 26, an object of gold and stone.

lulim(m)i- (epithet of ^DKAL).

malami- Hapax KUB XL 80, 19. Is there a connection with Hittite malai- "to approve"?

SISKUR mantallassami- c. Hapax KBo II 6 III 20. Probably connected with SISKUR mantalli- (sacrifice for the spirits of the dead).¹

NINDA sigaimi- c. "sweet bread." Cf. the spellings NINDA midagami KUB II 511 12, NINDA sintagami KUB XXX 41 V 6, 17, NINDA sinta-kaimi 418/s III 10, 12, 16, and NINDA singaimi 418/s III 18. Is there a connection with the root of Akkadian matqu "sweet"? ²

NINDA miniyami- c. (a bread). Participle possibly of the same reduplicated form of mai-, me- "to lead, to turn" that occurs in G18 miniyalla- "cradle?".

pallassurimi- c. Hapax in a vocabulary KBo I 42 II 23 where it is the equivalent of Akkadian guzallu "scoundrel, rascal." Probably related to the verb pallassarinuwadda, hapax in an oracle text KUB VI 12 IV 20.

bastami- (describes cloth). Also with an initial MA-sign, ET 50 II 12. Since BA is rare in Hittite and similar in shape to MA, this is probably an error of the Hittite scribe or of the modern copyist.

piha(i)m(m)i- (divine epithet). Probably der. of the verb which underlies the gentiliv adjective pihaddassi-. Possibly connected with the Luwian onomastic element piha-.

(:) sargasam(m)i- The spelling sargasamis KUB V 24 II 43 is probably a scribal error. The following line has sargasamis with the GA-sign written over an erasure.

sarlam(m)i- "exalted, lofty" (divine epithet; also name of a mountain). Cf. Hittite sarlai- "to exalt, to praise" and Luwian sarlatt(a)-.

¹See Laroche, DLL, p. 68.

"praise" which occurs in Hittite with Luwian inflectional endings.

diva(e)i- n. (a food).

laleimi-, DOC laleimi- c. (a vessel).

ai(a)ni- c. "suckling."¹ Der. of Luwian titali- "to suckle, to give suck, to nurse."

talitaimi- c. (occurs in an inventory). The nominative plural tittaltitaimenzi KUB XII 1 IV 43 has a Luwian inflectional ending.²

DA vistatoin(e)i- c. (a bread). Perhaps based on a derivative of NINDA vista- (a bread). The -in- cluster is rare in Hittite, but typical of Luwian phonology.

The Suffix -Nni-

This suffix forms common gender derivatives of divine names. A semantic function is uncertain.³ The underlying divine names are chiefly of Hurrian origin, so it is likely that the suffix too is Hurrian. It is significant that it is an i-stem suffix. The suffix -nni- also used with the Anatolian deity arna-, the moon-god.

allansunni- Der. of allantu-.

aranni-, NINDA aranni- "crescent." Der. of arna- "moon."

NINDA arannatalanni- (crescent-shaped bread, in the rituals of Hubesa). Occurs in KUB XXVII 55 III 3 and KUB XXVII 64 II 8. Der. ultimately of arna- "moon." The spelling variants make it difficult to identify the intervening suffixes.

kulitanni-] Hapax KBo XII 118, 12. Der. of ^Dkulitta-.

ninattanni- Also NINDA ninattanni- KBo VII 46 IV 5. Der. of ^Dninatta-.

^Dsarrusanni-, ^Dlugal-sanni- Der. of ^Dsarruma-.

¹ See *ibid.* p. 98.

² See *ibid.* p. 98.

³ Cf. the references in Friedrich, *HE*, sec. 50c. p. 41.

The Suffix -(A)ri-

This rare suffix forms nouns of concrete meaning from verbs and is the only deverbal suffix which requires the e-grade. auri-, awari- and ^{Sig}kisri-, ^{Sig}kissari- are common gender; esri-, essari-, and etri- are neuter gender.

This suffix is inherited from Indo-European *-ri-, a rather rare suffix which formed adjectives and names of objects. Cf. Sanskrit śrī- "corner, edge," Greek ókris "point," Latin ocris "rugged mountain," derived from the Indo-European root *h₄ak- "sharp." In Hittite it has been restricted to deverbal derivatives. This is the only suffix in Hittite which may occur with or without the inserted -a- of deverbal suffixes.

auri-, awari- "tower, look-out." Der. of au(s)- "to see."

esri-, essari- "picture, shape, (body) build." Der. of es-, as- "to be."

etri- "meal; fodder." Der. of ed-, ad- "to eat."

^{Sig}kisri-, ^{Sig}kissari- c. (something of wool). Der. of kisai- "to comb."

The Suffix -Ssara-

This suffix forms nouns referring to women. In *hassussara- "queen" and lahassara- "mistress" it is added to the corresponding words referring to men. In suppussara- "virgin" it appears to be part of a karnasderaya compound containing the adjective suppi- "pure," so that -ssara- would originally have been a noun meaning "woman."

An early use of this suffix is attested in the Cappadocian tablets where names of women in -hsu₂sar occur alongside names of men in -hsu₂. See the section on u-stem adjectives derived from verbs for an analysis of the suffix -he₂.

The suffix -ssara- is inherited from the Indo-European bound morpheme *-sor- "woman, female" which appears in the feminine of the cardinal numbers three and four in Sanskrit and Old Irish, the noun *syesor "sister," and the Latin noun uxor "wife."

This suffix is unproductive. Just as Hittite lost the distinction between masculine and feminine in its inflection, so its derivational system lacks a consistent pattern for distinguishing between male and female. Usually the distinction is made only in writing, by the use of the LÚ or the SAL determinative; and the same word may refer to either sex. Cf. LÚ arkammiyala- and SAL arkammiyala- "arkammi-player," LÚ dambara- and SAL dambara- (functionary active in rituals), LÚ palwa-talla- and SAL palwatalla- (functionary active in rituals). Sometimes the words referring to different sexes have no formal relationship, as *mivahuwanti- "old man" and hassawa- "old woman."

*hassussara- "queen." Der. of hassu "king."

hassussara- (a plant). Possibly *hassussara- "queen" used as the name of a plant.

ishassara- "mistress." Der. of isha- "master." Note that the first a is never doubled.

² Sathassara- (a goddess). Etymology uncertain.¹

(DUMU.SAL) suppessara-, (DUMU.SAL) suppiessara- "virgin." Once su-up-sar-as 933/4 II 7. Der. of suppi- "clean, pure, holy." Originally a karnadharaya compound? Indicates the original substantival force of -ssara-.

¹ damnassara-, dammanassara- (group of deities) "sphinxes?" Etymology unknown.

*GME-ssara- "female slave."

¹ Cf. Laroche, RHA, XLVI (1946-47), 67.

The Suffix -Sapa-

This suffix is added to nouns and forms names of deified objects. It is identical with the common noun sipa- "divinity, genius," so that these words are really tatpuruṣa compounds. aganzipa- "earth, ground" and tananzipa- "stage? platform?" are written without the divine determinative and appear to have lost the divine element in their meanings. The phonetic alternations in these words are unusual; ^dhantasepa- and ^disapanasepa- show differing resolutions of the -nta- cluster, ^dhilanzipa- is derived from an otherwise unattested stem in -nt- based on the common gender noun hila-, and ^dniyatanzipa- is derived from an -nt- extension of niyatar containing the -t- of the nominative rather than the expected -nn- of the oblique cases.

^d akasepa- Der. of aka- "gate."

^d hantasepa- Der. of hanti- "front; forehead."

^d hilanzipa- Der. of hila-, hēla- "yard, court."

^d isapanasepa- Der. of ispani- "night."

^d niyatanzipa- Der. of niyatar "growth; abundance."

aganzipa-, tananzipa- "earth, ground." Der. of tekan- "earth," with the vocalism in the first syllable that of the oblique stem tekn-.
tananzipa- "stage? platform?" Etymology unknown.

The Suffix -T(t)ara-

This infrequent suffix is semantically identical with -at(t)alla-. It is added to verbs and perhaps also nouns to form agent nouns. There are too few examples to determine its morphological characteristics with assurance. When used with eku- "to drink," it may take either a- or e- vocalism in the root. When used with the stem vesiya- "to lead to pasture," it forms a derivative directly from

the e-grade of the verbal root wea- rather than from the stem. The noun SAL^{MEŠ} taptara- "female mourners" appears to contain this suffix, although a verb *tap- is unattested. Semantically this word is a collective. It almost always occurs in the singular, but it takes the determinative SAL^{MEŠ} "women." The formation of LU^{AD.KID} tara- "basket-weaver" and ŠU.I-tara- "barber?" is concealed by the ideograms, but these words may be derived from nouns. From the three phonetically written examples it appears that this suffix is added directly to verbal roots.

This suffix is inherited from Indo-European *-ter-, which formed agent nouns. Cf. Sanskrit -tr, Greek -tēr, and Latin -tor. Compare the suffix -attalla-.

LU^{AD} skuttara-, LU^{AD} skuttara- "drinker? water-carrier?" The e-vocalism occurs only in KBo V 11 I 14. Der. of eku- "to drink."

SAL^{MEŠ} taptara- "female mourners." The only occurrence in the plural is ME^Š tap-is-ru-us KUB XXXVI 35 I 26. The consistent use of a plural determinative with a singular noun may be unique.

westara- "herdsman." Der. of the root that occurs in wesiya-, wisiya- "to lead to pasture," and wesi- "pasture."

LU^{AD.KID} tara- "basket-weaver." Hapax KUB XIX 5 I 33.

ŠU.I-tara- "barber?" Hapax KUB XXXVI 95 III 4 in a broken context. Or is this to be read phonetically su-i-ta-re-an?

The Suffix -ū-

This suffix forms adjectives from verbs. Its meaning is similar to that of a participle, sometimes with the nuance of a present quality resulting from a past action. For example, from suwāi- "to fill" is derived sū- "full." The voice of the verb used in deriving the meaning of these adjectives agrees with that of a participle, active

for intransitive verbs, passive for transitive verbs. It is not certain which ablaut grade this suffix requires synchronically. In the inherited words asū- and panku- it takes the zero grade.

This suffix is inherited from the zero-grade of Indo-European *-eu- which formed adjectives from nouns and from verbs. Its meaning has been specialized, but its earlier wider use is preserved in the adjective miliddu- "sweet" derived from mlit- "honey."

In the Cappadocian tablets there occur names of men ending in -hšu- (This suffix is sometimes cited as -ahšu-, with the thematic -a- of the preceding stem.) This is a u-stem derivative of han- "to give birth, to bear." It has been nominalized, forming a feminine in -šar-, and means "the one born (of P(roper) N(ame))" hence "son (of PN)." The verb han- was an ablauting verb in the Cappadocian tablets, but in the Hittite of Boghazköy it always has the root vowel a. Compare the u-stem derivative of this stem hassu- "king."

aru- "high?" Der. of ar- "to stand," if this definition is correct.¹

asū- "good; useful, practical; pleasant." With nominal inflection, "goods, possessions; welfare." In the Cappadocian tablets the form āve occurs, containing the archaic feminine suffix -a-. From Indo-European *a₂su- "good," cf. Greek ēūs, ēūs "good, brave." The ē is probably by metrical lengthening.² The correspondence of Hittite a- to Greek e- is the same that occurs in Hittite a-na-an-zi and Mycenaean Greek e-e-si, both "they are." This adjective is a derivative of Indo-European *h₁es- "to be." Cf. Hieroglyphic Luwian sign No. 370 BIEN, SANTÉ, which has the phonetic reading su (or perhaps asu).³ asū- occurs with the glossenkell in 1529/u 5

¹See Onofrio Carruba, *Das Beschwörungseritual für die Göttin Wisurigenze*, StBoT II (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966), p. 14.

²See Frisk, *GEW* I, p. 594.

³See Laroche, *HH*, pp. 196-76.

and perhaps in KBo XVIII 129, 8, where the word :a-as-g[u] (or 10 a-as-g[u?]) is broken at the end. This word is not etymologically connected with Luwian wasu- "good" or Hieroglyphic Luwian BON wasu "favor," which are cognate with Sanskrit vāsu- "good," based on Indo-European *uesu-. Cf. also the glossenkeil word (:i)was- "to be agreeable, to be pleasant."

hasu- c. "king." Der. of has- "to give birth, to generate."

hatku- "narrow; difficult." Der. of hatk- "to close, to shut."

huisu-, huesu- "living, raw, fresh." Der. of huis-, hues- "to live."

malieku- "weak." This word has nominal rather than adjectival inflection. Der. of malesk-, iterative of malāi- "to approve." The spelling malieku occurs once, in the vocabulary KBo I 42 I 14.

menu- "gentle?"¹ Der. of minu- "to let grow," semantically influenced by (:i)miu- "gentle, soft."

(:i)miu- "gentle, soft." Is there a connection with māi-, siya- "to grow, to ripen" (semantically "ripe" > "soft")? Or is this word from Indo-European *mei-, occurring with various extensions in Lithuanian mielas "dear," Sanskrit māyas- "refreshment, pleasure," and Latin mitis "mild, soft"?

panku- "entire, all." With nominal inflection "assembly." Probably not from Indo-European *bhṅghu- "thick," but rather cognate with Latin cunctus "all."² The Hittite word appears to be a deverbal derivative, and the Latin word appears to be a participle, both showing the zero grade of an Indo-European verbal root *penk-.

parku- "high." Der. of park-, parkiya- "to be high, to lift, to grow."

sarku- "outstanding, mighty; hero." Der. of sark- "to climb? to get up?"

su- "full." Der. of suwāi- "to fill." The underlying form of this word is su-u. From this word it is apparent that the outcome of

¹See Siegelová, StBoT XIV, p. 74.

²See Domenico Silvestri, "Lat. cunctus, lit. pankuš," *Euroasiatica*, VI (1970), 3-16.

two successive u's which come together morphologically is ū. Hittite does not have the sequence -wu-.

dasu- "strong, firm, heavy, important." Der. of the stem that occurs in dasasnu- "to strengthen" and dasen- "to become strong."

tepsu- Kapax KUB XVII 10 III 17. An adjective derived from the stem that occurs in tepsanu- "to make tepsu-."

tepu- "few." Der. of the stem that occurs in tepuu- "to make little, to belittle."

The Suffix -ūl-

This suffix forms deverbal derivatives of neuter gender, often of concrete meaning, though occasionally abstract. The noun asul- "well-being" is heterogeneric; the accusative singular may be either asul or asulan. It is uncertain which ablaut grade this suffix requires. Two nouns are attested which may be derived from ablauting verbs, asul and ipul. The meaning of asul has been influenced by that of asuu- "good," and its ablaut grade may have been similarly influenced. The noun ipul "handle?" appears to show the e-grade of the verb ep- "to seize," but its meaning and hence its derivation from this verb are quite uncertain.

The suffix -ūll- is probably an i-stem extension of this suffix. The etymology of both is uncertain. Benveniste¹ has connected these with Indo-European abstracts in *-ul-, but the Hittite suffixes have concrete, sometimes instrumental meaning.

asul- "well-being." The accusative singular may be either asul or asulan. Der. of as-, as- "to be," semantically influenced by asuu- "good." The nominative-accusative singular *asula (SILIM-la) occurs in Bo 6632, 3.

¹Émile Benveniste, *Origines de la Formation des Noms en Indo-Européen* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1935), pp. 40-41.

isul- "mixture." Der. of inniya- "to mix."

ipul- "handle?" Hapax KBo X 23 IV y2: i-pu-ul-se-it["his (its)?"]

ipul." Traces of the preceding are preserved, but they are no help. Following this probably a verb is lost. Lines y3,4 read: L⁶ SANGA D⁶KAL-sa⁴ ta-ni-sa-na-an KÜ.BABBAR har-z(i). "The priest of K⁶AL holds a silver tapistene-vessel." The form suggests a derivative of ap- "to seize," hence "handle." The context is fragmentary, but suggests nothing that would contradict this possible meaning.

ishul- "bond, obligation, treaty." Der. of ishiya-, ishai "to bind, to tie."

GAD. kazzarul- "a cloth). Etymology unknown.

DUG. kizsul- (a vessel). Hapax 1256/v I 5: 1 DUG Ki-iz-zu-ul LAL "a kizsul-vessel of honey." Etymology unknown.

NINDA parsul- (a bread). Hapax KBo X 28 V 13 in a list of breads. Probably a derivative of para-, parsiya- "to break, to divide." Is there a connection with Luwian parsul KBo VII 68 II 9?

GIS gesarul- "sieve, strainer." Der. of gesariya- "to strain, to filter."

taksul- "treaty, peace." Der. of taka- "to join, to mix up, to build."

dammekul- "joint?" Hapax KUB XXXIX 61 I 11 in a list of items for a ritual. Line 11 reads: 1 UZU⁶ UR.DDU UD.DU.A g-ik-sa dan-me-ku-ul te-pu["1 penis(?) of a sheep, dried, a leg(?), a little dammekul . . . (or "a dammekul, a little . . ."). This looks like a derivative of (anda) damenk- "to fasten? to join?" hence a "joint?"

vastul- "sin." Der. of vasta- "to sin."

The Suffix -Ulli-

This suffix forms neuter gender names of objects from verbs.

It is not certain which ablaut grade it requires. The noun parsulli- may be either common or neuter gender. Several neuter nouns in -ulli- are of obscure origin and are included in the following list. For the etymology of this suffix, see under the suffix -ul-.

TU⁶ hapattulli- (a food).

DUG. harulli- (a vessel). Derivation from hariya- "to bury" is plausible, but there is no passage among the texts which would support this. Is there a connection with Akkadian haru (a large container)?

GI⁶ huppulli- (an implement of the home).

SIG. huttulli- "lock (or tuft) of wool." Der. of huttiya- "to pull, to drag, to draw (a bow)."

(SIG) ipulli- (something of wool). Attested with the determinative SIG in KBo X 24 II 6.

istappul(l)i- "cover." Der. of istap(p)- "to cover, to lock, to stop up."

TUG. kariulli- "cap, hood." Der. of kariya- "to cover, to hide."

GI⁶ kuskusulli-, DUG kuskusulli- "mortar (vessel)." Der. of kuskus(a)- "to crush."

parsulli- c. and n. "crumb, morsel." Der. of para-, parsiya- "to break, to divide."

(URUDU) tappulli- (kind of knife?).

The Suffix -Um(n)a-, -Uena-

This suffix, frequent in proper names but rare in common nouns, indicates place of origin. In the Cappadocian texts it appears in proper names in the form -uman. It is usually added to nouns, but may also be added to adjectives, as in daneuma- "from another place?" from dane- "other," or to pronouns, as in kuennuma- "from where" from an nu- extension of kuis, kuit "who, what, which." For the semantic distinction between -um(n)a- and -ili-, see under -ili-. The spelling -uena- occurs twice, both times in the word L⁶ ne-su-me-ni-es "the men of Nesa," KBo VII 38 II 10 and 177/x I 3.

¹ On the contraction of -ui- to -u- see Friedrich, HE, sec. 16, p. 27.

This suffix is cognate with Luvian -vanni-. Both are inherited from Proto-Anatolian *-wan-. There is probably a connection with the Greek suffix -s(w)on- which forms nouns, especially personal names, from nominal stems.¹

arunwana- "of the sea, maritime." Der. of aruna- "sea."

hestuna-, hestuna- "ausoleum attendant? Der. of hesta- "ausoleum?."

kuenwana- "from where." Der. of kuis, kuit "who, what, which" with an -na- extension.

taneuma- "from another place? alien?" Der. of dama- "other."

The Suffix -una-

There is only one certain example of this suffix, ekuna-, ikuna- "cold; heartless, hostile," which is derived from eka- "ice." Two Hittite nouns end in -una-, aruna- "sea" and peruna- "rock." Both are common gender. The etymology of aruna- is unknown. peruna- is probably a loanword from Hattic pir "stone." Another loanword from this Hattic word is Hittite peru- "rock," which is indistinguishable in meaning from peruna-, and was in fact once thought to be a scribal error.

The suffix -uno- is rare in Indo-European and occurs chiefly as the conflation of a u- stem and the suffix -no-.

The Suffix -ur-

All nouns in -ur- are neuter. anur- "ritual, offering" is derived from aniya-, anniya- "to work, to make, to produce, to perform." Although several other stems in -ur- may be derived from verbs, none

¹See Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, p. 521.

shows a wholly convincing semantic relationship. kuwankunur- has reduplication with two different ablaut grades of the root. sarakunur- "beard" is inherited from Indo-European.

anur- "ritual, offering." Der. of aniya-, anniya- "to work, to make, to produce, to perform."

NA₁ bekur-, NA₂ hegur- "rock sanctuary." The common gender accusative plural NA₄ he-kur-us occurs once, KBo XVII 62 IV 4.

kankur-, kangur- (wine-vessel). Possibly der. of gank- "to hang, to weigh."

kurur- "hostility." An adjective meaning "enemy" has forms identical with those of this noun, but it does not occur outside the oblique cases, so it is uncertain whether its stem is kurur- or kurura-. There is no evidence that either of these words is the reading of the ideogram KUR "enemy (noun)." Possibly a der. of kur- "to cut," with the zero-grade of the root.

UZU kudur- (part of the sacrificial animal). Always written with the ur- sign.

kuwankunur- "current?" Possibly a der. of kuen- "to beat." Cf.

arsarsura- "flowing; stream," in a similar semantic sphere, showing reduplication and an -ura- suffix.

pareur- "stew?" Possibly a der. of pare-, parai-, pareya- "to break, to divide." Cf. the obscure word par-su-u-ur-la-as 1326/2 15.

waksur- (a measure). Occurs only in the nominative-accusative singular, so that the stem is uncertain. A connection with waksiya- "to be lacking" is difficult on semantic grounds.

sarakunur-, sarakur- "beard." Cf. sarakunurwadi- "bearded." The spelling in both words probably indicates an initial am- cluster, and the alternation between g- and z- in these words probably represents neutralization of the two sounds initially before -a-. For the alternation of spellings with and without -a-, see Friedrich, *HE*.¹ It is curious that forms with the etymologically unjustified -a-

¹Friedrich, *HE*, sec. 31, p. 34.

are more frequent than forms without it. From Indo-European *sek-_r, *smok- "beard, chin." Cf. Sanskrit śmāśru-, Armenian smark, both "beard," and Old Irish smech, Lithuanian smākras "chin."

SAFAR Occurs in KUB XXXI 57 IV 18, KUB XXXIV 89 I, 6, and perhaps to be resolved in KUB XXXIII 55 I 18: zū-u-ur.

The Suffix -Ura-

There are only two or three examples of this rare suffix, too few to determine its meaning or morphological characteristics. *-ūro- was also rare in Indo-European, occurring chiefly as the conflation of a ū-stem noun or adjective and the suffix *-ro-.

ararēura- c./n. "flowing; stream." Der. of ara- "to flow." Cf.

kuwankunur- "current? breakers?" in a similar semantic sphere, which shows reduplication and an -ur- suffix. The form ar-sa-mu-ra-as KBo XII 33 III 3 in a broken context may belong to this word with loss of the second -r- by haplology.

(DUG) isnura- c. (vessel for preparing dough?). Der. of isna-, iesana- "dough?" in connection with which it is sometimes mentioned in the texts. Cf. for example KBo II 3 II 7-8: nu SALŠU.GI ? DUG is-nu-u-ra-an i-g-iš-zi nu-kān is-sa-na-an te-mu an-da da-a-i. "The old woman makes an isnura-vessel. And she puts a little dough(?) in it."

(GIS) lahura- c. "offering table?" Possibly a der. of lah(h)uwai-, lah(h)u- "to pour."

The Suffix -Uzzi-

This suffix forms nouns of instrument from verbs and requires the zero grade. Some of the words with this suffix, however, do not appear to be nouns of instrument and are of unknown etymology. e.g.,

(UZU) appuzzi-, (UZU) wappuzzi- "tallow, fat." GIS hariuzzi- "table made of cane work." GIS lah(h)urnuz(zi)- "fruit, vegetation." All of the

words with this suffix are of concrete meaning. They may be common or neuter gender; a few of them, GIS antaluzzi-, ishuzzi-, and GIS lah(h)ur-nuz(zi)-, are heterogenic.

The etymology of this suffix is unknown. Attempts to connect it with the Indo-European *-ti- suffix have been unconvincing. The *-ti- suffix formed verbal abstracts. The Hittite suffix has instrumental function. It is also difficult to explain the left-over initial -u- of the suffix.

KUŠ anhanuzzi- c. (part of the harness). Probably a der. of anhanu- "to instruct, to train."

(UZU) appuzzi-, (UZU) wappuzzi- n. "tallow, fat." Note the alternation of initial a- and wa-.

GIS hariuzzi- n.? "table made of cane-work." This word does not appear to be derived from hariya- "to bury."

GIS antaluzzi- c. and n. "shovel?" An implement named in connection with GIS nahra- and GIS mar "spade," used for filling something.

ishuzzi- c. and n. "belt, bond, chain?" Der. of ishiya-, ishai- "to bind, to tie."

isepuzzi- n. (valuable ritual object). Hapax KUB XII 8 I 16 in a list of objects in a ritual.

(DUG) ispanduzzi- n. "libation." Der. of ispand- (ispand-) "to pour a libation; to sacrifice."

GIS ispar(r)uzzi- n. Something cut by the ¹ NAGAR "carpenter." A connection with ispar-, ispariya- "to scatter, to spread," hence "board for spreading"¹ is possible but by no means certain.

GIS kattaluzzi- n. "threshold." Also occurs in a Luwian context KUB XXV 54 III 29.

^{NA} kiruzzi- n. Occurs in the chemical prescription KBo XVIII 201 and in the fragmentary tablet KBo VIII 65.

¹ See Carruba, StBot II, p. 23.

NA¹ hunkunus(e)i- c. (non-precious stone).

URUDU kuruzzi- "cutting implement." Der. of kuer- "to cut."

GIS lah(h)uruz(e)i- c. and n. "fruit, vegetation."

warpsi- m. (bronze implement for bathing). Der. of warp- "to wash, to bathe."

BUR-ussi- "offering pit."

The Suffix -Wanni-

This rare suffix is added to names of places and forms common gender nouns indicating place of origin or appurtenance. This suffix is of Luwian origin¹ and corresponds to the Hittite suffix -ua(n)a-, -uana-. See under the suffix -um(n)a- for the etymology.

hamrawanni- "dweller in the hamri" (epithet of ^dishara-).² Der. of ^(s)hamri- (type of sanctuary for Hurrian divinities); the linking vowel is -a- rather than the -i- of the simple stem.

DUG hassuwanni- (vessel from hassuwa-). Der. of URU hassuwa- (a city).

LÜ gurtawanni- "fortress guard." Der. of gurtaw- "fortress."

The Suffix -Want-

From verbs this suffix forms adjectives describing physical and emotional states. It is not known which ablaut grade it requires. From nouns this suffix forms adjectives describing one state in particular, that of possessing the noun. It also forms descriptive adjectives based on the stems of the adverbs apenissan "so, as mentioned" and kissan "so, in the following way." It is not clear how the adjectives lalukki- and masi- differ from the derived forms lalukkiwant- and masiwant-. In several instances it is uncertain whether an adjective in -want- is

¹ See Laroche, DL, p. 139.

² See Laroche, BSL, LV (1960), 171.

derived from a noun or a verb. There are a few words ending in -want- derived from u-stems in which it is uncertain whether the suffix involved is -want- or -ant-.

This suffix is inherited from Indo-European *-went- which formed adjectives from nouns and occasionally from verbs with the meaning "having, provided with."

NA⁴ ekuwant- "rocky." Der. of (NA⁴) sku- "rock." In form the suffix is ambiguously -ant- or -want-.

apenissuwant-, apenissuwant-, apenissuwant- "such." Der. of the stem of the adverb apenissan "so, as mentioned."

arawant- "pregnant." Der. of arwai- "to be pregnant."

arpuwant- "difficult." Der. of the root of arpuwatar "difficulty."

The verb arpu- does not exist; KBo VI 26 I 20 reads ta la-ar-pu-ut-ta in Hrozný's copy, not ta-at ar-pu-ut-ta as in Friedrich, Die Hethitischen Gesetze.¹ The unpublished tablet 684/c confirms this reading. The suffix may be either -want- or -ant-. Cf. the forms arpuwantis 516/u 5 and arpuwante 252/v I 3.

asivasuwant- "having asivessi- plants" (adjective describing a field).² Der. of asivasi (SAR) (a plant).

asivawant- "loving, lover." Hapax R.S. 25.421, 62. Der. of asiva- "to be beloved."

(LÜ) asivawant- "poor, poor person."

eshanuwant- "bloodied?" (contracted with parkui- "clean"). Der. of eshar "blood."

esharwant-, isharwant- "bloodied?" Der. of eshar "blood." Probably participle of the verb which underlies esharwahi- "to make bloody?". These forms are derived from the nominative rather than from the oblique stem of eshar.

¹ Johannes Friedrich, Die Hethitischen Gesetze (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), p. 74.

² See Laroche, RA, LXII (1968), 88.

hahlewant-, hahhaluwant- "yellow, green." Der. of the stem which appears in hahhalee- "to become yellow, green" and hahlahh- "to make yellow, green." A glossekeil form occurs with different vocalism. Word common to Hittite and Luwian?

hupigewant- "veiled?" Der. of TUG hupiki- "veil?" (woman's clothing). The stem vocalism changes from -i- to -a-.

(:) hupitewant-, hupident- Probably not the same word as hupigewant-. Is the form without the -y- a participle?

huskiwant- Meaning uncertain; Hittite word in an Akkadian text, KBo I 11 II 14. Appears to be a der. of husk- "to wait."

iyatnuwant- "abundant?" Der. of iyatar "plenty; abundance."

isannuwant- "smeared with dough." Der. of isna-, isanna- "dough." The vowel cluster -au- is unexplained. Cf. the formation of !upannuwant- "wearing a headband?"

kanir(u)want- "thirsty." Der. of the root that appears in kaninant- "thirsty." The sequence n-n here dissimilates to n-r-n. Cf. the opposite dissimilation in warāni "it burns" from *warāri.

kartimiyawant-, kardammiyawant- "angry." Der. of kartimniya- "to be angry."

kieduwant- "hungry." Der. of kasi- "hunger, famine" with change of the root vocalism from -a- to -i-.

kisuwant- "such." Der. of the stem of the adverb kissan "so, in the following way."

(:) kurutawant- "dressed in some way, of men). Occurs with the glossekeil in 1309/u 7.

lalukkiwant- Hapax KUB XXXI 71 IV 33. Probably derived from lalukki- "bright."

!upannuwant- "wearing a headband?" Hapax KUB XXXVIII 1 II 7. Der. of (TUG) !upenni- "headband?"

nasiwant- "how big, how many." Der. of nasi- "how many." Cf. nasiyant- "how big, how many."

nahsariyawant- "frightening?" Hapax KBo III 21 II 17. Der. of nahsariya- "to be afraid."

parasawant- (par-as-ne-u-wa-an-i-) "crouching." Der. of paranāi-, "to crouch down."

pittuliyawant- "afflicted, worried." Der. either of the noun pittuliya- "strangling, constriction, fear" or of the verb pittuliya- "to cramp, to frighten." The vocalism of the first syllable is uncertain; the pit sign could also be read pai.

sakliyawant- Hapax KUB VIII 21, 5. Is there a connection with sagai- "omen" or sakiya- "to make known"?

saknuwant- "dirty." Der. of sakkar "dung, excrement."

sasankurwant- "bearded." Der. of sasankur, sasakur "beard" with an (orthographic?) change of s- to g-. Cf. the doublet sakkar, sakkar "dung, excrement" in which the etymological evidence (e.g., Greek skōr) points to an initial cluster. The cognates of sasankur (Sanskrit śaśāru- and Lithuanian śaśāras) also point to an initial cluster. Perhaps Hittite had no sk/zk or sm/zm distinction, so that the scribes were free to write the sibilant with the g-series or the z-series. The two occurrences of sasankurwant- are both in the tablet KBo III 8 and the occurrences of sasankur are distributed: 2 in KUB XXIV 12 and 1, spelled za-sa-kur, in KUB XXXI 127. sakkar also never occur in the same tablet. Considering the paucity of attestation of these words, the lack of the forms *sasankur and *sasankurwant- is most likely accidental.

sehupaniyawant- (dirty in some way). A connection with sehur "urine" is attractive semantically, but the source of the -g- is difficult.

dammetarwant- "luxuriant." Der. of dam(u)eta (= dametar) "luxuriance." Based on the nominative rather than the oblique stem, like esharwant- from eshar.

!upannuwant- (some sort of personnel?). Hapax KUB XXXVIII 12 IV 14.

!tarsuwant- (adjective modifying luli- "pond").

tar(a)sganiyawant- Occurs in parallel passages KBo X 37 II 24 and III 48. The spelling indicates an -rg- cluster. The parallel I 61 has gja-ni-ya-an-za.

dusgarawant- "happy." Der. of the verbal stem underlying dusgaratar "joy."

walhuwant- Hapax KUB XIII 84 III 69. The reading of the initial wa- sign is uncertain.

wastulawant- Hapax KUB XVI 39 II 11. Perhaps to be restored in line 30: lla-wa-an-da-za. Is there a connection with wastul- "sin"?

weskiwant- "crying, lamenting." Der. of wesk-, iterative of wiyai- "to cry."

The Suffix -war

This suffix forms verbal nouns and its treatment properly belongs to the study of Hittite conjugation. It may have an oblique stem in -u-, -un-, -wan-, or -war-. The genitive in -was is especially frequent.¹ Two nouns ending in -war that may in origin have been verbal nouns but are apparently no longer felt as such are karawar "horn" and partawar "wing." Both are neuter heteroclites and form their oblique stems in -un-.

(SI) karawar, karaun- "horn." From Indo-European *kerH- "top, head, horn." Cf. Sandkrit śiras- "head," Greek kéras and Avestan srū-, srvā-, both "horn." The orthography of the Hittite word may represent an initial kr- cluster. The verbal noun suffix -war takes the e-grade, but the vocalism of the second syllable may be influenced by the laryngeal.

(UZU) partawar, partaun- "wing." Not connected with the verb partai- of uncertain meaning, possibly "disentangle."

¹See Friedrich, HE, sec. 185, p. 112.

The Suffix -Ya-

This rather rare suffix forms adjectives from nouns. In a few instances the underlying stem is attested only in other derivatives. It is inherited from Indo-European *-yo-, which also formed adjectives from nouns.

anturiya-, andurriya- "inside (adj.), inner." Der. of the stem which occurs in andurza, andurziya "in it, inside, within."

harpanalliya- "revolted? rebellious?" Der. of harpanalli- "enemy (n.)."

istarniya- "middle (adj.)." Der. of istarna- "middle."

nuttariya-, nuttarriya- "quick." Der. of the stem which occurs in nuntaras, nutaras "quickly, soon," and nuntarnu- "to hurry."

The Suffix -Zzi-, Zziya- (-Ezzi-? -Ezziya-?)

This suffix forms adjectives from a small group of adverbs and postpositions and requires nominal rather than adjectival inflection. Two of these adjectives are the semantic pair hantezzi- "first" and appezzi- "last." This suffix occurs both as -zzi- and -zziya-, although *sanizziya- (by chance?) fails to occur. The stem sarazziya- is a hapax. In hantezzi- and appezzi- the suffix appears to be -ezzi-. Has the -e- been lost in sarazzi- "upper," which is derived from sarā "up"? The adjective sanezzi- "sweet" belongs to this group too, since it has nominal inflection, but its derivation is obscure.

This suffix is inherited from Indo-European *-tjo- and is cognate with Sanskrit -tyā which forms adjectives from adverbs of place.

appezzi-, appizzi-, appezziya- "last." Der. of appa "back, again; behind, after."

hantezzi-, hantezziya- "first." Der. of the root which occurs in hanti "apart, separately," hanza "before, in front" and hant-, "front; forehead."

sanezzi-, sanizzi- "sweet."

sarazzi- "upper, higher." Der. of sarā "up; over." The common gender accusative singular sarazziyan occurs once, KUB XXXIII 62 II 4.



CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY

Hittite nouns and adjectives may be divided into two groups, those which consist of an underived stem, and those which contain a stem and one or more derivational suffixes.

The largest group of underived Hittite nouns and adjectives are those whose stems end in a thematic vowel, either -a-, -i-, -u-, or rarely -e-. The a-stems are inherited from the Indo-European o-stems and possibly from the ā-stems as well. The i-stems and u-stems are inherited from the Indo-European i-stems and u-stems respectively. Although Indo-European distinguished between long and short stem-vowels in these two classes, the distinction is lost in Hittite, at least orthographically. The origin of the e-stem nouns is uncertain. One of them, utne- "land," has a good Indo-European etymology, but the Indo-European languages outside Anatolian have reshaped its stem formation.

The a-stems and i-stems are the most frequent of all in Hittite. The large number of i-stem nouns is the result of extensive borrowing of Hurrian i-stem nouns. Some i-stem nouns and a few u-stem nouns show a stem with a -t- added in some of the oblique cases. Since many of these words are demonstrably borrowed from Hurrian, this t-element is probably of Hurrian origin. In contrast to the Hurrian loanwords in Hittite, the loanwords from Hattic are distributed more evenly among the various vowel and consonant stems.

Hittite has diphthongal stems in -ai-, with an oblique stem in -i-. These are inherited from the Indo-European *oi*-stems that appear in Greek and in the isolated Sanskrit noun *sakhā* "friend."

The adjectives damai- "other" and dapiya- "all" as well as the numerals from one through four show both nominal and pronominal inflection. The noun SAL^{MES} hazgara- (ritual personnel), a plurale tantum, appears to be a vowel-stem but has anomalous inflection, so that its stem-class is uncertain.

Among consonant stems, Hittite has no stems ending in labials, and only two isolated stems ending in velars, NINDA tunik- (a bread) and isgaruh- (offering vessel). Hittite has several consonant stems ending in -r, -l, -s, -t, and -n. The *l*-stems are noteworthy because this category was poorly represented in Indo-European. Some neuter stems end in -r in the nominative-accusative and -n in the oblique cases. This *-r/-n* heteroclit formation is inherited from Indo-European. Another heteroclit formation inherited from Indo-European appears in those nouns which have two stems, one ending in -na if the noun is common gender, -n if the noun is neuter gender, the other lacking the -n(a) element. All Hittite *r*-stems and *n*-stems are neuter except haster- "star" and SAL-ann- "woman." All Hittite *l*-stems and *s*-stems are neuter without exception. Hittite *t*-stems may be either common or neuter gender. Two Hittite neuter nouns are *r*-stems in the nominative-accusative and add a consonant to the stem in addition to having ablaut alternation in the oblique cases. These nouns are pir, parn- "house" and kir, kard- "heart." Several other Hittite consonant stems are inflected with ablaut alternations. These include ais- "mouth," kessar- "hand," laman- "name," pahhur "fire," sakkar "excrement," tekan-

"earth," and watar "water." All are inherited from Indo-European.

Many Hittite vowel stems show complete reduplication. Although such a formation probably occurred sporadically in Indo-European, its proliferation in Hittite is due to the influence of Hattic, where reduplication in nouns is frequent.

Hittite has a large number of suffixes that form nouns from verbs. All productive suffixes that form nouns from verbs begin with a vowel. If the form that was inherited did not begin with a vowel, an -a- was inserted between the suffix and the verbal stem. This was undoubtedly the o-grade of the thematic vowel of a preceding thematic verbal stem, which was then generalized and added to all verbal stems before noun-forming suffixes. Only a few unproductive deverbal suffixes lack an initial vowel. The -pa- suffix of waspa- "clothing" and the agent suffix -t(t)ara- begin with consonants. The rare suffix -ri- has a variant -ari-.

Most of the productive suffixes which form nouns from verbs form nouns which fall into certain semantic categories. The suffix -atar, oblique stem -ann-, forms names of actions and is cognate with the Latin gerunds in -nd-. The suffix -asha- also forms names of actions, but is not nearly as productive as -atar. It is cognate with the Latin infinitives in -re, the Greek aorist infinitives in -sai, and the Vedic infinitives in -ase. The suffix -ima- forms names of actions that involve a degree of intensity. It is probably a conflation of two suffixes including the Indo-European *-mo- suffix which formed nouns from verbs. The suffix -assar, oblique stem -asn-, forms names of results of actions. It is cognate with the Greek infinitives in -ein and the Vedic infinitives in -sani. The suffix -ai-, oblique stem -i-, forms cognate

accusatives, and is cognate with the Greek deverbal derivatives in $-\bar{o}$, genitive $-\text{ous}$. The suffix -attalla- forms agent nouns and is cognate with the Slavic agentive formation in $-\text{tel-}$. This suffix has replaced the agent suffix -t(t)ara-, which occurs in a few words, and which is cognate with the more widespread Indo-European suffix $*-\text{ter-}$. Several other deverbal suffixes are productive, but their meanings are harder to determine. The suffix -a- is inherited from Indo-European $*-\text{o-}$ which formed nouns from verbs, both with concrete and abstract meaning. The suffixes -ala- and -alli-, two of the most versatile of the Hittite suffixes, form nouns from verbs and are also productive in forming nouns and adjectives from nouns. They are inherited from the Indo-European $*-\text{lo-}$ suffix, which forms adjectives in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, and forms participles in Slavic, Armenian, and Tokharian. The source of the Hittite differentiation into a-stems and i-stems is obscure. The suffix -an- is cognate with the Greek infinitives in $-\text{enai}$. The suffix -att- forms nouns usually of concrete meaning, and is cognate with the Vedic suffix $-\text{at}$. The suffixes -ul-, -ulli-, and -uzzi- form nouns of concrete meaning. The suffix -uzzi- especially forms nouns of instrument. It is noteworthy that none of these three suffixes has a good Indo-European etymology, and that the Indo-European suffixes of instrument, $*-\text{tro-}$, $*-\text{tlo-}$, $*-\text{dhro-}$, and $*-\text{dhlo-}$ are unattested in Hittite, even in isolated formations. Another important Indo-European deverbal suffix which is lacking in Hittite is the abstract suffix $*-\text{ti-}$. It is significant that the Hittite suffixes which form nouns from verbs are often cognate with infinitives in the other Indo-European languages. For example, Greek forms active infinitives with three suffixes, present infinitives in $-\text{ein}$, aorist infinitives in $-\text{sai}$, and perfect infinitives

in -enai. Each of these is cognate with a Hittite noun-forming suffix. -ein is cognate with -essar, -sai is cognate with -asha-, and -enai is cognate with -an.

Hittite has two suffixes which form adjectives from verbs, -want-, which is more productive with nouns, and -u-, which forms adjectives similar in meaning to perfect participles. This use of -u- is a specialization of its earlier function of forming adjectives based on both nouns and verbs. The older function is still apparent in the isolated milittu "sweet" derived from milit- "honey."

Hittite has a few suffixes which form adjectives from nouns. The suffixes -ala- and -alli- have been discussed above. The suffix -ili- is borrowed from Hattic, and has apparently replaced the rare suffix -ya- which is inherited from the Indo-European adjective-forming suffix *-iō-. The suffix -want- forms possessive adjectives and is cognate with the Sanskrit suffix -vant- which has a similar function. The use of the suffix -want- has been extended so that it also forms adjectives from verbs, chiefly those describing physical and emotional states. Similar in form and meaning is the suffix -ant-, which was originally restricted to forming participles from verbs, but has come to be productive in forming adjectives from nouns.

The most productive suffix forming nouns from adjectives is the suffix -atar, oblique stem -ann-, which also forms names of actions from verbs. From adjectives it forms names of qualities. The suffix -asti- forms names of dimensions and is inherited from Indo-European *-osti-, which is productive chiefly in Slavic.

Hittite has a few suffixes which form nouns from other nouns. Several are limited to the sphere of religion, and in contrast to the

deverbal suffixes, most have no clear Indo-European etymology. The suffixes -ala- and -alli- have been mentioned above. The suffix -sepa- forms divine names from common nouns. It is identical with the common noun sepa- "divinity," so that these sepa- names are really compounds. The suffix -assa- has a similar function but is used only with names of body parts in a handful of instances. The suffix -anni- is added to names of gods, chiefly Hurrian. Its exact function is uncertain. The suffix -um(n)a-, -umana- forms nouns indicating place of origin. It is probably cognate with the Greek suffix -ā(n)- which forms nouns, especially personal names, from verbal stems. One kind of denominative suffix which is -anti- is also mentioned.

Further mention must be made of the suffix -anti- which takes the suffix -anti-. This suffix was first mentioned by Meillet in the study of inflection rather than as a verbal suffix. It indicated recognition of the function of this suffix in the formation of nouns and entered derivation in the handbooks. The use of the suffix -anti- probably originated in an attempt to distinguish the construction with a center subject and a center object, here the form of the two nouns did not reveal which one was the subject and which one the object.

Several words occur in Hittite which have a derivational suffix. These include the suffix -panti-, which forms names of actions and corresponds to the Hittite prefix -pā-, the suffix -assi-, which forms genitive adjectives and corresponds to the Hittite genitive case, and the suffix -wanti- which indicates place of origin and corresponds to the Hittite suffix -um(n)a-, -umana-, to which it is cognate as well. None of these suffixes has a secure Indo-European etymology. The suffix -m(n)i- which forms passive participles in Luwian may also be mentioned.

here. It is not certain whether it is inherited from the Indo-European middle participles in *-mo- or in *-no-. In some words ending in the suffix -atar, the -tn- cluster fails to assimilate to -nn- in the oblique cases. This failure to assimilate is typical of Luwian phonology, but is rare in Hittite.

A large number of formerly productive suffixes occur in Hittite. The suffix -i- forms nouns and adjectives from verbs in A.ŠA terippi- "plowed field?," vesi- "pasture," and hakki- "heavy." The suffix -(a)ri- forms nouns with concrete meaning from verbs. It is the only deverbal suffix that requires the s-gender, and is inherited from the rare Indo-European suffix *-ri-. The suffix -ga- forms nouns and appears in waspa- "clothing" and perhaps in g.šar- g.šiti "to go." It is probably inherited from the Indo-European suffix *-gho-. The noun-forming suffix -ur- described in the handbooks may be a ghost-form. Only one word with this suffix shows a convincing semantic relationship, aiuru- "ritual" derived from aiya- "to perform." In the absence of supporting examples, this similarity may be fortuitous. The suffix -sara- forms nouns referring to women. It is inherited from Indo-European *-sor-, a bound form meaning "woman, female," as in *susar "sister." The suffix -a- forms nouns from nouns in TUG parna- "house-cloth" and TUG sasta- "bed-cloth." The suffix -izna- forms nouns from nouns in LUGAL -izna- "kingship" and EN -izna- "authority." The suffix -izzi- occurs in the noun LUGAL -uzzi- "kingship." The suffix -m(a)na- of sarām(a)na- is inherited from Indo-European *-mo-, which formed adjectives, especially from locative adverbs. The suffix -era- of kattora- "lower" is inherited from Indo-European *-ero-, which marked the opposition of two things. The suffix -zzi- forms adjectives from a few locative adverbs and is cognate with

Sanskrit *-tya-*, which has a similar function. The suffixes *-una-* and *-ena-* appear to be collocations containing the Indo-European suffix **-no-*. The suffix *-ura-* appears to be a similar collocation containing the Indo-European suffix **-ro-*. The suffix *-ma(na)-* of *ishima(na)-* "cord" is probably inherited from the Indo-European suffix **-men-*, which formed names of actions.

Compounding in Hittite is more frequent in proper names than in common nouns. It is inherited as a productive method of noun formation from Indo-European.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have examined the stem formation of Hittite nouns and adjectives. Much of this part of the derivational system of Hittite is of Indo-European origin. A smaller proportion is borrowed from Hattic and Hurrian, and the origin of a few formations remains obscure. The number of suffixes which form nouns from verbs is considerable. It is noteworthy that many of them have cognates among the infinitives of the other Indo-European languages. The suffixes which form nouns of concrete meaning are frequently not of Indo-European origin and their source is unknown. The suffixes which form adjectives are fewer in number, and chiefly of Indo-European origin. The only clear instance in Hittite derivation of a borrowed suffix replacing an inherited one is the replacement of the inherited adjectival suffix -ya- by the suffix -ili- borrowed from Hattic.

The study of Hittite will be advanced by the publication of the large number of fragments which have so far remained inaccessible. Each new volume of tablets adds to our knowledge of the language, and many important words and forms are undoubtedly yet to appear in print. For the study of the history and the grammar of Hittite, it is especially desirable that the fragments containing texts in Hattic be published. From the few facts we know about Hattic, it is clear that it has greatly influenced both the Hittite vocabulary and grammatical structure. It is to be urged that the publication of the Hattic texts be given greater priority than in the past.

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