

HITTITE *nanna*- AS THE DURATIVE OF *nai*-

Jaan Puhvel*

Among the semantically most multifarious and chameleonic Hittite vocables is the verb *nai*-/ne(y)a-/ni(y)a-, in voice both active and medial, with a plethora of literal and figurative nuances, either singly or in the company of particles and preverbs. Active forms can be amphibiously transitive or intransitive, medial ones intransitive or passive.

Pinning down a proto-meaning is no easy matter, but a common denomination ‘move’ or ‘turn (in a direction)’ emerges. The move is induced by pushing or pointing, rather than by pulling or drawing. The latter was expressed by *huet*- ‘draw, make follow’, as in Lat. *dūcō* (cf. Goth. *tiuhan* ‘draw, drag’); like a German *her-zog*, a Hittite king would convoy his troops (cf. e.g. KBo III 64 I 9-10 *nu-kan tuzzin ... huittiyat*) as a ‘frontrunner’ or ‘headmarcher’ (*piran huuiyatallas*). The frequent alternative nuance ‘turn’ of *nai*- does not imply rotation (*weh*-, *wahnu*-), being often idiomatic for ‘make a move’ or ‘take a turn’, as in KUB V 1 III 54-55 *kedani-za-kan LÍL-ri kuwatin imma kuwatin neyahhari nu-mu pi<r>an huuiyasi* ‘on this campaign wherever I turn, will you lead me on the way?’ ‘Turn in a direction’ amounts to ‘set a direction (for)’; a phrase such as *sakuwa nai*- ‘turn one’s eyes’ means simply ‘direct one’s gaze’, whether *sakuwa* be interpreted as direct object of a transitive *nai*- or as partitive apposition to an intransitive one. A ritual dancer ‘does a turn’ (e.g. KBo IV 9 II 9-10 *n-asta* ^{LÚ}*HUPPI* 1-ŠU *nei*ya), i.e. executes a certain step, while the corps de ballet whirls in place (ibid. I 49 *n-at-san pete-si wehantari*). The middle voice also means ‘turn out, take place’ (e.g. KUB XXI 29 IV 14 *summes-kan kuit neyari* ‘what will happen to you?’). ‘Turn (to)’ amounts to ‘resort (to), incline (to), side (with)’, singly or with a preverb like *anda(n)*, while other preverbs (*appa*, *arha*, *katta*, *piran*) tend to induce an almost antonymical sense of ‘turn away, deflect, (make) defect’. The frequent *parā nai*- usually means ‘send forth’ but can also signify

‘stretch out, extend’, or intransitively ‘coast along, temporize’ (similarly *parā huet*- ‘drag out’). Transitive *edi nai*- amounts to ‘turn aside’, thus ‘divert, dislodge, dismiss, disregard’. A further nuance is ‘wind (about)’ (e.g. KUB VII 1 II 31 *n-at-kan DUMU-li kuttane-ssi nāi* ‘she wraps it around the child’s neck’), impinging on the semantic sphere of *hulaliya*- (with KBo III 27 Vs. 27 MUŠ-*as hulāliazzi* ‘the serpent entwines’ cf. KUB XLIII 62 III 6 MUŠ-*as neyat* ‘a snake coiled’).

What is notable is the extent to which the compound and figurative uses and semantic shadings of *nai*- resemble those of Lat. *vertō*, which also originally meant ‘set/get going, turn (in)to, become’ (cf. Skt. *vārtate* and Goth. *wairþan*), not ‘rotate’ (*volvō*): *anda nai*- (*adversus*, *inversum*), *appa nai*- (*obversus*), *arha nai*- (*rursus*), *edi nai*- (*seorsum*, *aliorsum*), *-kan nai*- (*conversus*), *kattan nai*- (*deorsum*), *kunna nai*- (*dextrorsum*), *kuwattan nai*- (*quorsum*), *parā nai*- (*prorsus*), *sakuwa nai*- (*animadversus*), *sarā nai*- (*sursum*), 1-*etta nai* (*ūniversus*). Such congruence indicates parallel developments in two West-Indo-European languages, with hypertrophy of one verb to the exclusion of another: Hittite has eliminated **wert*-, Latin has dropped **ney*-. The Indo-Iranian survival of the latter (Skt. *náyati* ‘lead’) is an east-west fringe phenomenon (of the kind OIr. *nōib* : OPers. *naiba*- ‘holy’) where some archaic similarity lingers (with Hitt. *sakuwa nai*- cf. Ved. *ne-trám* ‘lead, guidance’ > ‘eye’, Pali *netta*- ‘eye’). E. Benveniste’s postulation of a specific Anatolian-Indo-iranian lexical isogloss **nei*- was erroneous (cf. J. Tischler, *HEG* N 255).

Such discussion barely scratches the surface of the semantic vagaries of *nai*-; any exhaustive treatment requires a sizable monograph. For the purposes of this Festgabe it is but a preamble to a proper appreciation of the related verb *nanna*-/nanniya- which to my thinking is not being correctly evaluated in relation to *nai*-.

* Prof. Dr. Jaan Puhvel, University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Classics, Los Angeles, California / USA.

Nanna- is routinely described as a separate verb and glossed apart from *nai-*. *HW* and *HEG* offered for *nai-* ‘lenken, leiten, richten, schicken, wenden’, but for *nanna-* ‘treiben, ziehen, marschieren, fahren’. *CHD* booked for *nai-* 16 different renderings mostly centering on ‘turn’ or ‘send’, while *nanna-* had to make do with ‘drive, ride’. Analytically neither *CHD* nor *HEG* had a firm take on the relationship of *nai-* and *nanna-*, merely listing past opinions which mostly assumed reduplication in the latter, without accounting very well for gemination and differing conjugation. Occasionally reduplication would be doubted and a suffix *-na-* assumed, which H.Kronasser (*EHS* 122, 566) classified as “transitivizing”. J. Friedrich (*HW* 149) hesitated between reduplication and suffixal formation but at least dared to term the latter “Dur. vom Stamme *nāi-* ‘leiten’”. Lately the idea seems to have gained some more ground (cf. e.g. H.C. Melchert, *Anatolian Historical Phonology* 19 (1994); J.H. Jasanoff, *Hittite an the Indo-European Verb* 117-118 [2003]).

Since the durative suffix was normally *-anna-/anniya-* (*walhanna-/walhanniya-*, etc.), nothing precludes an assumption **nay-anna-* > *nānna-* with regular loss of *-y-* between like vowels. Plene-spelling is still occasionally attested, e.g. KUB XXXIII 120 IV 11-12 + XXXIII 119, 20-21 *sanezzi uttar na-a-an-na-[i (?) ...]* KI-as-za 2 DUMU.MEŠ *hast[a]* ‘he broadcasts the intimate event (or: good news travels): the earth bore twins’; KBo XXI 37 Vs. 7 GUD.M]AH *kuin kattan na-a-an-ni-ya-an-zi* ‘what bull they drive along...’. The stems *nai-/ne(y)a-*, with their duratives *nanna-/nanniya-* and iteratives *na(y)eski-* and *nann(i)eski-* closely parallel *huet-/huiyyəi-*, *hu(i)tti(y)anna-/huiyyəanniya-*, *huiyyəieski-* and *huiyyəianneski-*. An allomorph may appear in KUB XXXII 12 II 28 *arha ne-in-ni-ya-an-zi* ‘(they) drive off (sheep)’ which reflects **neyanniya-*, with duplicate KBo VIII 101 Vs. 9 *arha penniyanzi* (*unna-/unniya-*, *penna-/penniya-* being haplological coinages with the ‘to/fro’ prefixes *u-/pe-* + *nanna-/nanniya-*).

But the real proof of *nanna-/nanniya-/nenniya-* as the durative of *nai-/neya-* comes from the attestations themselves. These are not as massive as for the basic verb but can throughout be related directly to usages of the latter. Intransitive *nanna-* means ‘be on the move, ride’ (e.g. KUB XIX 18 I 24 *nu ABU-YA*

mahhan nannai ‘as my father is travelling’, picking up the narrative of the duplicate KBo XIV 3 IV 27 *KUR-e]-kan anda pennai* ‘he drives into the country’); so does the iterative of *nai-* (Mašat 75/43 Vs. 9 ^{LÜ}KUR *kuwapi naiskittari* ‘where the enemy is on the move’. Transitive *nai-* frequently means ‘make move, send’, while the durative ‘keeps on the move’, especially livestock (KBo XXII 2 Vs. 8 ANŠU-*in nannianzi* ‘they drive an ass’, beside KUB VII 54 III 11 *nu ANŠU ūnniyanzi* ‘they bring an ass’. ‘We bring deportees in bulk’ (*mekki wedaweni*) but drive the mass of livestock (*mekki nanniyaweni* [KBo XII 42 Rs. 6-8]). Indeed animals on the hoof could be either driven or dragged (KBo XIX 152 I 6 *huiyyəianta*), thus underlining the push : pull complementarity of *nai-* and *huet-*. A bolt lock ‘moves back’ (EGIR-*pa nannāi*) and opens the door (KBo XIII 109 III 6-8), while a doorman ‘drew back’ (*appa huiyyəiat*) the bolts (KUB XVII 10 IV 14). Dancers ‘do turns’ (ABoT 5 II 8 ^{LÜ.MEŠ}HUPPI *nēanda*) or ‘keep turning’ (KBo XXI 75, 10 *nannianta*), while others ‘whirl in place’ in dervish fashion (*pete-si wehantari*). Just as *parā nai-* (like *parā huet-*) means ‘stretch out, extend, temporize’, KBo VII 28, 13 *nu-ssan ANA MU.KA[M. HI.A-Š]U parā nanni* means ‘get an extension on his years!’ Especially impressive is the royal crackdown KUB XXXI 101, 19-25: [*nu-sm*]as *kāsa* ^{PUTU-ŠI} [*kuir?*] ŠA Á ^{MUŠEN} *uttar arha [tar]nahhun nu parā-pat nannistin n-at parā le kuwapikki iyatteni mān ŪL-ma n-asta uwatteni IŠTU SAG.DU.HI.A-KUNU paittani* ‘now look, as to me leaving to you the eagle business, you have just coasted along; henceforth never do that, otherwise you are going to pay with your heads’ (cf. KUB I 16 III 51-52 *nu-ssan para-ya [le] naitti* ‘do not temporize!’); in the sequel (26-29) the king calls the dilatory augurs *kursalliēs* ‘rascals’.

Finally, the meaning ‘wind around’ of *nai-* is likewise attested with *nanna-*: KUB XXXIII 115 III 6-8 *LU-GAL-uizzitat n-as [...]* *hūmantēs* DINGIR.MEŠ-*mus* ^{GIŠ}LAM.GAL-as ^{GIŠ}*patalhit na[nnāi]* ‘he became king and ... shackles all the gods with gyves of turpentine-wood’ is validated by *ibid.* IV 3-5 ^{GIŠ}*patal<h>an iyat [...]* *is [na]nnāi*. For the dual constructions ‘enwrap with a shackle’ : ‘wrap this on his feet’ (KUB XVII 8 IV 6 *kī-ma-wa INA GİR.MEŠ-ŠU nāestin*) cf. KUB XII 34 I 5 *n-at* ^{UZU}YÀ.UDU-*it anda hūlaliyazi* ‘she wraps it in sheepfat’ : KBo XXXIX 8 I 44 *n-asta*

appuzzi anda hūlaliyazi ‘she wraps around sheepfat’ (KZ 116:56 [2003]), confirming once again the semantic and syntactic impingement of *nai-* upon *hūlaliya-*.

Thus all significant spheres of meaning of *nai-* are shared by *nanna-*, leaving no doubt that *nanna-* is part of the same paradigm rather than a separate verb requiring its own analysis. This does not preclude Luwian from having reduplicate cognates of *nai-*, such as Luwoid *:naniti* ‘turns to’ (KUB XXII 40 III 18)

and ^{GIŠ}*niniyal-* ‘cradle’ (KUB LVIII 32 II 22), or the Luwian verb *nana-*, e.g. participle *nanammi-* (with KUB XXXV 54 III 17 *wārsa-tta* ^{ÍD-ti} [*nan*]amman ‘water [is] led from the river’ cf. Hitt. *wātar nāi* ‘channels water’ [KUB XXXIX 45 Vs. 5]), or the Luwian artonym ^{NINDA}*niniyami-*, perhaps ‘turnover’ or the like (in KUB XXXV 146 II 7 next to ^{NINDA}*harnantassi-* ‘leavened bread’).