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Hittite Vocabulary:
An Anatolian Appendix to Buck's *Dictionary of Selected
Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Indo-European Studies

by
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CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfO: *Archiv für Orientforschung.*

AI: Jaan Puhvel, *Analecta Indoeuropaea.* Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 35 (Innsbruck, 1981).

AIED: Henrik Birnbaum and Jaan Puhvel, eds., *Ancient Indo-European Dialects* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966).

AJPh.: *American Journal of Philology.*

Alimenta: Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., *Alimenta Hethaeorum. Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor* (New Haven, 1974).

Alp, *Körperteilnamen*: Sedat Alp, "Zu den Körperteilnamen im Hethitischen" (*Anatolia* 2 [1957]).

ANET: James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1950, 2nd ed. 1955).

Antiquitates Indogermanicae: M. Mayrhofer, et al., eds., *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert.* Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 12 (Innsbruck, 1974).

AO: *Archiv Orientálni.*

BB: *Bezzenberger's Beiträge.*

Bechtel, Hittite Verbs: George Bechtel, *Hittite Verbs in -sk-. A Study of Verbal Aspect* (Ann Arbor, 1936).

Beiträge … Pokorny: Wolfgang Meid, ed., *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik un Keltologie Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidment* (Innsbruck, 1967).

Benveniste, *Origines*: Émile Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen* (Paris, 1935).

Berman, *Stem Formation*: Howard Berman, *The Stem Formation of Hittite Nouns and Adjectives.* Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago (Chicago, 1972).

BHD … Kerns: Bono Homini Donum. *Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. Alexander Kerns* (Amsterdam, 1981).

Bi. Or.: *Bibliotheca Orientalis.*

BSL: *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.*

Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual*: Onofrio Carruba, *Das Beschwörungsritual für de Göttin Wišurijanza.* StBoT 2 (Wiesbaden, 1966).

CHD: Hans G. Güterbock and Harry A. Hoffner, eds., *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago* (Chicago, 1980–).

Čop, *Indogermanica minora*: Bojan Čop, *Indogermanica minora, I. K anatolskim jezikom.* Slovenska Akademia Znanosti. Umetnosti. Razred za Filološke in Literarne Vede. Razprave 8 (Ljubljana, 1971).

Couvreur, *Hett. Ḫ*: Walter Couvreur, *De hettitische Ḫ* (Louvain, 1937).

DLL: Emmanuel Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite* (Paris, 1959).

DSS: Carl Darling Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Chicago, 1949).

EHGl.: Harry A. Hoffner, *English-Hittite Glossary* (*RHA* 25 [1967]: 5-99).

EHS: Heinz Kronasser, *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache,* vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1962).

Ertem, *Flora*: Hayri Ertem, *Boğazköy metinlerine göre Hititler devri Anadolu'sunun florası* (Ankara, 1974).

Evidence: Werner Winter, ed., *Evidence for Laryngeals* (The Hague, 1965).

Festschrift for O. Szemerényi: Bela Broganyi, ed., *Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Amsterdam, 1979).

Festschrift J. Friedrich: *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Heidelberg, 1959).

Flexion und Wortbildung: Helmut Rix, ed., *Flexion und Wortbildung. Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden, 1975).

Florilegium Anatolicum: *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche* (Paris, 1979).

Friedrich, *Elementarbuch*: Johannes Friedrich, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch. 1. Teil. Kurzgefasste Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1974).

Friedrich, *Staatsverträge*: Johannes Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache* (Leipzig, 1926, 1930).

Frisk, *Kl. Schr.*: Hjalmar Frisk, *Kleine Schriften zur Indogermanistik un zur griechischen Wortkunde.* Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 21 (1966).

Furnée, *Erscheinungen*: Edzard J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen* (The Hague, 1972).

Gedenkschrift Kronasser: Erich Neu, ed., *Investigationes Philologicae et Comparativae. Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser* (Wiesbaden, 1982).

GEW: Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, n.d.).

Goetze, *Kleinasien*: Albrecht Goetze, *Kleinasien* (2nd ed., Munich, 1957).

Goetze, *Tunnawi*: Albrecht Goetze and E. H. Sturtevant, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi.* American Oriental Society Series 14 (New Haven, 1938).

Götze - Pedersen, *MS*: Albrecht Götze and Holger Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung. Ein hethitischer Text mit philologischen und linguistischen Erörterungen.* Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskapernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 21.1 (Copenhagen, 1934).

Gurney, *The Hittites*: O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Baltimore, 1952).

Gusmani, *Lessico*: Roberto Gusmani, *Il lessico ittito* (Naples, 1968).

Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.*: Roberto Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch. Mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung* (Heidelberg, 1964).

HDW: Johann Tischler, *Hethitisch-deutsches Wörterverzeichnis. Mit einem semasiologischen Index* (Innsbruck, 1982).

Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen*: Hans Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen über die Bedeutung des Hethitischen für die Laryngaltheorie.* Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 28.2 (Copenhagen, 1941).

Hethitica 4: *Hethitica 4. Travaux édités par Guy Jucquois et René Lebrun.* Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique de Louvain 2 (1981).

Hethitisch und Indogermanisch: Erich Neu and Wolfgang Meid, eds., *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch: Vergleichende Studien zur historischen Grammatik un zur dialektsgeographischen Sprachgruppe Altkleinasiens* (Innsbruck, 1979).

Heubeck, *Lydiaka*: Alfred Heubeck, *Lydiaka. Untersuchungen zu Schrift, Spache und Götternamen der Lyder* (Erlangen, 1959).

HIE: Émile Benveniste, *Hittite et indo-européen. Études comparatives* (Paris, 1962).

Hommages à Georges Dumézil: *Hommages à Georges Dumézil* (Brussels, 1960).

Hrozný, *HKB*: Friedrich Hrozný, *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Leipzig, 1919).

Hrozný, *SH*: Friedrich Hrozný, *Die Sprache der Hethiter* (Leipzig, 1917).

HWb.: Johannes Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Kurzgefasste kritische Sammlung der Deutungen hethitischer Wörter* (Heidelberg, 1952-54).

HWb. Erg.: Johannes Friedrich, HWb. Ergänzungshefte 1, 2, 3 (Heidelberg, 1957-66).

IEW: Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern and Munich, 1959).

IF: *Indogermanische Forschungen.*

Indo-European and Indo-Europeans: George Cardona, et al., eds., *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans.* Papers. (Philadelphia, 1970).

Ivanov, *Obščeindoevropejskaja*: V. V. Ivanov, *Obščeindoevropejskaja praslavjanskaja i anatolijskaja jazykovyje sistemy* (Moscow, 1965).

Jahukyan, *Hayerenə*: Gevorg Beglari Jahukyan, *Hayerenə ev hndevropakan hin lezownerə* (Yerevan, 1970).

JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*

JCS: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies.*

JEOL: *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux.*

JIES: *Journal of Indo-European Studies.*

JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*

Juret, *Vocabulaire*: Abel Juret, *Vocabulaire étymologique de la langue hittite.* Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg 99 (Limoges, 1942). Originally in *RHA* 6 (1940-41): 1-66.

Kbo: *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.*

KEWA: Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg, 1956-80).

KlF.: *Kleinasiatische Forschungen.*

KUB: *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.*

Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale*: Hans Martin Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König.* StBoT 3 (Wiesbaden, 1967).

Kuryłowicz, *Études*: Jerzy Kuryłowicz, *Études indoeuropéennes I.* Polska Akademija Umiejętności. Prace Komiskji Językowej 21 (Krakow, 1935).

KZ: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung,* begründet von Adalbert Kuhn.

Laroche, *Noms*: Emmanuel Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (Paris, 1966).

Laroche, *Prière hittite*: Emmanuel Laroche, *La prière hittite. Vocabulaire et typologie.* Ècole pratique des Hautes Ètudes, Vᵉ section, Sciences Religieuses; Annuaire 72 (Paris, 1964-65).

Laroche, *Recherches*: Emmanuel Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms de dieux hittites* (Paris, 1947). Also in *RHA* 7 (1946-47): 7-77.

Les langues du monde: A. Meillet, et al., *Les langues du monde* (Paris, 1952).

Lg.: *Language.*

LIEV: Jaan Puhvel, *Laryngeals and the Indo-European Verb* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960).

Ling: *Linguistica.*

Marstrander, *Caractère*: Carl J. S. Marstrander, *Caractère indo-européen de la langue hittite.* Det Norske Videnskaps Akademie, Hist.-fil. Klasse 1918.2 (Christiania, 1919).

Mélanges H. Pedersen: *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à m. Holger Pedersen à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire 7 avril 1937* (Aarhus, 1937).

MSL: *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris.*

MSS: *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.*

Neu, *Anitta-Text*: Erich Neu, *Der Anitta-Text. StBoT* 18 (Wiesbaden, 1974).

Neu, *Interpretation*: Erich Neu, *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen. StBoT* 5 (Wiesbaden, 1968).

Oettinger, *Eide*: Norbert Oettinger, *Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter.* StBoT 22 (Wiesbaden, 1976).

Oettinger, *Stammb.*: Norbert Oettinger, *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums.* Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft 64 (Nürnberg, 1979).

OLZ: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*

Otten, *Bestimmung*: Heinrich Otten, *Zur grammatikalischen und lexikalischen Bestimmung des Luwischen* (Berlin, 1953).

Otten, *Kumarbi*: Heinrich Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi. Neue Fragmente* (Berlin, 1950).

Otten - von Soden, *Vokabular*: Heinrich Otten and Wolfram von Soden, *Das akkadisch-hethitische Vokabular KBo I 44 + Kbo XIII 1. StBoT* 7 (Wiesbaden, 1968).

P: Jaan Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (Berlin, New York, and Amsterdam, 1984–).

Pāpanikri: Ferdinand Sommer and Hans Ehelolf, *Das hethitische Ritual des Pāpanikri von Komana* (Leipzig, 1924).

PBH: *Patma-banasirakan handes* (= *Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal*) (Yerevan).

Pedersen, *Hitt.*: Holger Pedersen, *Hittitisch und die anderen indo-europäischen Sprachen.* Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 25.2 (Copenhagen, 1938).

Pisani, *Geolinguistica*: Vittore Pisani, *Geolinguistica e Indeuropeo.* Memorie della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie VI, Vol. IX, fasc. II (Rome, 1940).

Potratz, *Pferd*: H. A. Potratz, *Das Pferd in der Frühzeit* (Rostock, 1938).

Pratidānam: J. C. Heesterman, et al., eds., *Pratidānam: Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies Presented to F. B. J. Kuiper on his Sixtieth Birthday* (The Hague, 1968).

Puhvel, *Myth and Law*: Jaan Puhvel, ed., *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans. Studies in Indo-European Comparative Mythology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970).

RA: *Revue d'assyriologie e d'archéologie orientale.*

RBPhH: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire.*

RHA: *Revue hittite et asianique.*

RHR: *Revue de l'histoire des religions.*

RPh: *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes.*

Serta Indogermanica: Johann Tischler, ed., *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag* (Innsbruck, 1982).

Slav. Rev.: *Slavistična Revija.*

SMEA: *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici.*

Sommer, *AU*: Ferdinand Sommer, *Die Aḫḫijavā-Urkunden.* Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung N.F. 6 (1932).

Sommer, *HAB*: Ferdinand Sommer and Adam Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattušili I (Labarna II).* Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung N.F. 16 (1938).

Sommer, *HH*: Ferdinand Sommer, *Hethiter und Hethitisch* (Stuttgart, 1947).

Sommer, *Zum Zahlwort*: Ferdinand Sommer, *Zum Zahlwort* (Munich, 1951).

Stand und Aufgaben: *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft.* Festschrift für Wilhelm Streitberg (Heidelberg, 1924).

Starke, *Funktionen*: Frank Starke, *Die Funktionen der demensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen. StBoT* 23 (Wiesbaden, 1977).

Studi … V. Pisani: *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani* (Brescia, 1969).

Studia … A. Pagliaro: *Studia classica ed orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata* (Rome, 1969).

Studies … G. S. Lane: Walter W. Arndt et al., eds., *Studies in Historical Linguistics in Honor of George Sherman Lane* (Chapel Hill, 1967).

Studies … Whatmough: Ernst Pulgram, ed., *Studies Presented to Joshua Whatmough on his Sixtieth Birthday* (The Hague, 1957).

Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1,2]: Edgar H. Sturtevant, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language* (Philadelphia, 1933, 2nd ed. New Haven, 1951).

Symbolae Kuryłowicz: *Symbolae linguisticae, in honorem Georgii Kuryłowicz* (Wroclaw, 1965).

T: Johann Tischer, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar.* Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 20 (Innsbruck, 1977–).

TL: *Tituli Lyciae* (Vienna, 1901).

TPS, TPhS: *Transactions of the Philological Society.*

Van Windekens, *Le tokharien*: A. J. Van Windekens, *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes. Volume I. La phonétique et le vocabulaire* (Louvain, 1976).

Vendryes, *Lexique*: J(oseph) Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'Irlandais ancien* (Dublin and Paris, 1959–).

VLFH: Heinz Kronasser, *Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre des Hethitischen* (Heidelberg, 1956).

Walde - P.: Alois Walde and Julius Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1930).

Watkins, *Idg. Gr.*: Calvert Watkins, *Indogermanische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1969–).

WO: *Die Welt des Orient.*

ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie.*

ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Hittite Vocabulary:
An Anatolian Appendix to Buck's *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*

by

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The year 1949 saw the publication of Carl Darling Buck's *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*, a compilation of the basic vocabularies of over thirty representative Indo-European languages, ancient and modern, relating to several hundred categories of common objects, activities, and notions of everyday life. By analyzing the patterns of word-derivation and meaning-relationship among these lexica, Buck intended to provide "a contribution to the history of ideas," to trace the semantic roots of the words which still embody and shape our most fundamental concepts and concerns, and this great work has become a standard reference source for students of language and linguistic change, anthropology, semantics, and related disciplines.

Since the early years of the twentieth century, it had been clear that a new era in Indo-European linguistics had begun with the discovery and decipherment of the Hittite royal archives of the

second millennium BC. The unprecedented antiquity and unique Near-Eastern location of Hittite and its related Anatolian dialects promised to open important new vistas in comparative philology, but Buck was forced to leave it virtually unconsidered by the lack of comprehensive dictionaries and other apparatus.

Progress in Hittitology has continued steadily in the ensuing decades, resulting in greater etymological sophistication and culminating in the appearance of several new Hittite dictionary projects, and it is now possible to add the Anatolian dimension to Buck's classic work. *Hittite Vocabulary* uses the lexicographical material now available to undertake a thorough confrontation of the Hittite lexicon with the extra-Anatolian data and to examine its contribution to comparative Indo-European philology.

PREFACE

In the Preface to his *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (p. xi), Carl Darling Buck wrote: "The principal Indo-European languages are covered. Some of the minor … languages, as Albanian, Armenian, and all modern forms of Indic and Iranian, are excluded from the survey, since to include them systematically would increase the labor out of all proportion to the results added." Too obscure to rate inclusion even in this list of unconsidered minor languages were Hittite and Tocharian, though inspection shows that in fact they received incidental treatment much the same as Armenian and Albanian.

Such an approach was undoubtedly the proper one at the time (1949). Where the classical Indo-European language groups were thoroughly known and had yielded up essentially all that could be expected in the way of texts, Hittitology especially was a fledgling discipline. Indeed, only thirty-two years had passed since Hrozný had firmly established its position within the Indo-European orbit in *Die Sprache der Hethiter,* and only two since the discovery of the Karatepe bilingual inscription. The Hittite corpus was still growing, and many years of work would still need to be done in fully interpreting the thousands of tablets already pub-lished.

Equally important was the matter of secondary sources. In contrast with the thorough etymological dictionaries and compara-tive grammars available for other branches (listed extensively in Buck, *DSS* 2-7), Hittite lexicographical tools were rudimentary. Delaporte's *Éléments de la grammaire hittite* and Juret's *Vocabulaire* existed, as did Sturtevant's *Comparative Grammar* and *Hittite Glos-sary*, but even so basic a work as Friedrich's *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*

was yet to appear. Thus while the Indo-European affinity of Hittite was clear, only a handful of solid lexical correspondences, like *watar* 'water', *kardi-* 'heart', *genu-* 'knee', *kessar* 'χείρ', *nepis* 'νέφος', and *pahhur* 'fire', could be found to suit Buck's purpose—certainly not enough to justify the systematic inclusion of Hittite in an already enormous project.

In the decades since the appearance of Buck's *Dictionary*, however, the talents of another generation of scholars have brought Hittite studies to a state of lively growth that would have gratified the early pioneers. Editions of texts on subjects from law and hippology to ritual and myth have fueled a healthy literature in numerous journals, where etymological and philological studies have multiplied to the point where even the specialist finds it difficult to keep abreast of the annual output. Modern root theory and the increasing understanding of the so-called laryngeals have added new depth and insight to Indo-European etymology, while "Sturtevant's Rule" describing the graphic representation of original voiced : voiceless opposition in medial stops and *-h-* (see for example Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.[1]* 73-86) was a step forward comparable in importance to that represented by Verner's Law in Germanic. Perhaps most important, recent years have seen the inception of no less than four new full-fledged Hittite dictionaries, with the material recently published or in preparation covering at least half of the Hittite lexicon; two or three of these show promise of completion in their authors' lifetimes. Luwian and Lydian dictionaries have also appeared, and Palaic and Hieroglyphic Luwian, and to a lesser extent Lycian, have added the material for a sturdily underpinned comparative Anatolian linguistics (cf. Puhvel, *AI* 139-51). While it may take another generation at least for Hittite studies to reach the level of sophistication and maturity now enjoyed by the longer-known branches, it does not seem too early to expect the confrontation of Hittite vocabulary with that of

the other Indo-European languages to begin producing a positive return on the effort invested, and the present work is an attempt to test that possibility.

If one of Buck's aims was a survey of "the principal Indo-European languages," the other, as indicated by his subtitle, was "a contribution to the history of ideas." In contrast to usual etymological dictionaries, which trace the origins and history of words on the basis of formal correspondence—and whose entries therefore contain only groups of strict cognates, varying in meaning within reasonable limits—the organizing principle of the *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms* is that of *similarity of meaning*. The commonly used terms for key notions are recorded, regardless of etymological connection, with such groups of cognate forms as may happen to arise allowed to fall where they may. Assuming that the words a society uses can give us insight (indirectly, to be sure) into the habitual thought processes of its members, we can then translate the isoglossal patterns of cognate-groups into patterns of similarity and difference in concept-formation among the societies of speakers we study—i.e., into a history of ideas.

One further important point is implicit in Buck's decision to limit his "Dictionary of Ideas" (*DSS*, p. x) to the Indo-European languages. If language and thought go hand in hand, then it follows that those who speak and think in related languages must share somehow related ways of perceiving the world; hence the entire Indo-European group must constitute a single, closed entity, comprising patterns of ideas and ideology quite distinct from those of other language families. And if this is true, then we should be able to find parallels between our basic concepts and though and those not only German, Dutch, and Scandinavian speakers, but of Romans, Greeks, Celts, Iranians, Slavs, Balts, Armenians, Albanians, and even Hittites.

Did the Hittites think the way we do? Of course in a sense the suggestion is absurd. They lived nearly three and a half millennia ago, in a social and political world we can scarcely imagine. Their religion shows practically nothing of inherited Indo-European ideology; it was appropriated wholesale, along with the imperial kingship and many other social institutions, from the more cosmopolitan societies of the Near East. Large parts of their vocabulary and syntax are foreign not only to English and Germanic, but to Indo-European in general.

And yet it is hard to read Hittite texts for very long without being struck by a sense of familiarity with many of their habitual ways of expression and turns of phrase, especially when the language is contrasted with the many non-Indo-European tongues of the surrounding civilizations, Akkadian, Hattic, Egyptian, and the rest. The Hittites, despite their distance from us in time and cultural surroundings, are above all *understandable*, to the extent that even with relatively little training we can read and appreciate much of their subtlety and even humor. Increasing etymological rigor is a key factor in this understanding, as it continues to provide more lexical parallels and thus improve our knowledge of the semantic fields of Anatolian and Indo-European vocabulary, adding a new dimension to the work so admirably founded by Buck.

The major sources for the present work include Hoffner's *English-Hittite Glossary* (*EHGl.*), the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (*CHD*), Tischler's *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* (T) and *Hethitisch-deutsches Wörterverzeichnis* (*HDW*), and Puhvel's *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (P; including unpublished portions kindly made available to me by Professor Puhvel). The latter two contain extensive etymological discussions and thorough documentation,

and in many cases I refer to these for convenience rather than the original sources, citations for which can easily be found in T and P.

The work follows the layout of Buck's book, and is intended to be used in conjunction with it, although considerable flexibility has been adopted in the style and format of individual entries. In presenting the material I have tried to steer a middle course, wishing to make the treatment neither too simple for the specialist nor too detailed for the general user, as well as to keep the size of the whole within manageable limits.

The years since 1949 have also seen considerable activity in the fields of Albanian and Armenian philology, as reflected for example in Martin Huld, *Basic Albanian Etymologies* (Columbus, 1984) and John A. C. Greppin, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Indo-European Components of Armenian* (vol. 1, *Bazmavep* 141 [1983]). No doubt the thoroughgoing inclusion of these languages into Buck's framework will soon be found as desirable as that of Hittite, but for the present they must continue to be relegated to incidental mention.

I am particularly pleased to be able to express in print my gratitude to Professor Jaan Puhvel, without whose support and generosity I could not have finished this project. Sincere thanks are also due Professor Terence Wilbur for his constant encouragement.

THE PHYSICAL WORLD IN ITS LARGER ASPECTS

1.1 — WORLD — Although a Hittite word for 'world' is unknown, Anatolian philology has provided clarification of the two most difficult of the terms collected by Buck. For the two meanings of Gk. κόσμος, 'orderly arrangement' and the "secondary" 'ornament, decoration', Puhvel (*AI* 331-38) finds a semantic and formal common denominator in Hitt. *kisai-*, denoting the plucking and carding motion of wool-combing (cf. 6.91), with the antonym *arha kisai-* 'dismantle' matching Gk. ἀποκοσμέω 'clear away'. For Lat. *mundus,* a primary adjectival sense 'washed, cleansed' (expanded with later cultural contact to fill the semantic sphere of κόσμος) allows the reconstruction **mū-tnó- < *mew-H-*, and connection with Hitt. *mutai-* 'flush, rinse' (*AI* 338-44; cf. 1.214, 9.36). The ritual connections of both of these terms in Hittite (combing/washing away evil), together with the notion that "ritual is in essence a magic attempt at microcosmic ordering of the universe" (*AI* 344), may afford a glimpse into the earliest Indo-European conception of universal harmony and order.

The concept of 'the whole world' is expressed in Hittite by circumlocutions such as *nepisas tagnass-a hūlaliesni zik-pat* ᴰUTU-*us lālukimas* 'in the circumference of heaven and earth, you alone, O Sun-God, (are) the (source of) light' or 4 *halhaltumari* 'the four corners (of the world)' (12.76).

1.21 — EARTH, LAND — Buck's doubt (*DSS* 16) about the connection of H. *tekan* and Toch. *tkaṃ* with the group Gk. χθών, OIr. *dú*, Lat. *humus*, Skt. *kṣam-*, Alb. *dhe*, etc. can safely be laid to rest (cf. *EHS* 270), along with his reconstruction with interdental spirant; *tekan* reflects the full-grade vocalism **dhéĝh-om*, vs. the zero-grade **dhĝh-* metathesized and simplified or otherwise altered in other languages. Loss of the guttural and addition of the normal *-i-* stem yields Luw. *tiyammi-* (ibid.).

The term *udne* 'land, country' seems to be connected with *watar* 'water' (IE **wed-/ud-* 'to wet'; Skt. *unátti*), and thus to mean specifically 'irrigated, habitable land', vs. *hatanti-* 'dry land' (1.26); cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37 (1980): 203, who also adduces Lyc. *wedri* 'land' and Arm. *getin* 'ground, soil' (V. Pisani, *ZDMG* 107 [1957]: 552), as well as Gk. οὖδας 'ground, soil' (*AI* 221).

1.212 — EARTH = GROUND, SOIL — *daganzipa-* contains *dagan* < suffixless locative **dhĝh(o)m*, zero-grade of *tekan* 'earth' (cf. Skt. *kṣam-i*). The second element is *-sepa-*, *-zipa-*, possibly a Hattic designation for a feminine divinity, as in ᴰ*Kamrusepa-*, ᴰ*Ispanzasepa-*, etc., see *EHS* 184-86 and 7.31 below.

1.213 — DUST — SAHAR (Akk. *epru*).

1.214 — MUD — *purut-*, *purutessar* seems to mean 'mud' in addition to a primary sense 'clay' (cf. Gk. πηλός), and is treated under the latter (9.73). A common term for 'mud' specifically is *isuwanit watar*, literally 'water with sediment' (P 486); cf. Gk. φύρω 'mix dry with wet' (see 9.73).

halina-, see 9.73.

The cognates of NE *mud*, from **mew-d-*, **mew-H-* (Skt. *mutra-*, Av. *mūθra-*, etc.) are joined by H. *mutai-* 'flush with excrement', as noted in 1.1 above.

1.22 — MOUNTAIN, HILL — *kalmara-* 'mountain' probably reflects IE *$k̥l$-m(o)-*, matching OS *holm* 'hill' (A. R. Bomhard, *RHA* 31 [1973]: 112), plus the topographical suffix *-(a)ra-* as in *gim(ma)ra-* 'field' (*EHS* 186). Thus it fits into the group of variously formed derivatives from **kel-* 'rise' (Lat. *collis, culmen,* Lith. *kálnas,* Gk. κολωνός, etc. [*DSS* 23]). There is no reason to connect it with ᴳᴵˢ*kalmi-,* ᴳᴵˢ*kalmisana-* 'fire-log' (e.g. *EHS* 186); these belong rather with *iskallai-* 'split' < **(s)kel-* (9.27; P 414).

Skt. *párvata-,* Av. *paurvatā* find a cognate in H. ᴺᴬ⁴*peru(na)-;* see 1.44.

1.23 — PLAIN, FIELD — *gim(ma)ra-* 'open (field)' (Luw. *immari-*) is generally believed to be an inherited IE word. Most usual is Sturtevant's connection (*Lg.* 6 [1930]: 216; further references in T 574-75) with the stem seen in *tekan* 'earth' (1.21), thus perhaps **(dh)ĝém-ro-* (with *-[a]ra-* suffix as in *kalmara-* 'mountain' [*EHS* 186]), beside **dhéĝh-om* in *tekan.* This simplification of the initial cluster appears also in e.g. Gk. χαμαί vs. χθών, Skt. gen. *jmás* vs. nom. *kṣám,* and OCS *zemlja,* Lith. *žemė,* Lat. *humus.*

An alternative approach was reportedly taken by Benveniste (Laroche via Puhvel, p.c.), who considered the base meaning to be 'wintry steppe, rangeland', and the etymon IE **gheym-* 'winter; snow'. V. V. Ivanov (*Symbolae Kuryłowicz* 132) tied in the Κιμμέριοι, though the latter more likely belong with H. *kammara-* 'mist, fog' (see 1.74).

wellu- 'meadow' is plausibly connected by Puhvel (*AI* 210-15) with ON *vǫllr* 'meadow', W. *gwellt* 'grass', and especially Gk. Ἠλύσιον (πεδίον) 'Elysian (lit. meadowy) field', reflecting an IE root **(H₂)wel-* plus varying *u*-stem suffixes, different from **H₁wel-* 'twist', and perhaps revealing a very ancient Indo-European concept of the "meadow of the otherworld."

^{A.ŠÀ}*ku(e)ra-* 'field' is a 'parcel' (*EHS* 165) or 'share' of land, a thematic noun corresponding to the verb *kuer-, kur-* 'cut' (9.22); cf. Gk. τέμενος < τέμνω. Anat. cognates are Luw. *Mallitas-kuri-*, lit. 'honey-field', and possibly Lyd. *qira* 'property, goods' (T 611). Bomhard (*RHA* 31 [1973]: 112) preferred instead a comparison with Skt. *kr̥ṣáti, kárṣati* 'plow', *karṣūḥ* 'furrow', from an IE **kʷer-* 'plow'; for these see rather Puhvel, *AI* 118-24.

^{A.ŠÀ}*terippi-*, see 8.12.

1.24 — VALLEY — *hariya-* 'valley' has been successfully equated with Arm. *ayr* 'hole, den' by B. Čop (*Die Sprache* 3 [1956]: 135-38), who notes with Buck the commonality of meaning (via 'concavity') in e.g. OE *denn* 'lair', *denu* 'vale'. The reconstruction is then **A₁(e)r-y-*; for further speculation on a root **A₁er-* (prompted by Lith. *armuõ* 'Tiefe, Abgrund, Moorgrund') see Čop, op. cit. 138.

Much less satisfactory is M. L. Mayer's suggestion (*Acme* 15 [1962]: 242) of origin in Akk. *harru* 'depression, watercourse'; other attempts are surveyed in T 173.

1.25 — ISLAND — According to Kronasser (*EHS* 125), "weder die indogermanischen noch die semitischen Sprachen haben ein altes Wort für 'Insel'," but made use of periphrases like H. *aruni anda* 'amid the sea' (corresponding to Akk. *qabal tāmti*), Lat. *īnsula*, Gk. ἐνάλιος, OCS *ostrovŭ, otokŭ*, etc. Hitt. also possessed the term *kursawar* (T 657-58), derived from *kurs(a)-* 'cut off' (9.22), and thus an exact semantic match for NE *skerry, scar* < ON *sker*.

1.26 — MAINLAND — *hatant(i)-*, originally participle of *hat-* 'dry up', thus means 'dry land' (T 214, 219), like Lith. *sausžemis* and OIr. *tír* (: Lat. *terra, torreo*; Skt. *tr̥ṣ-*, etc., cf. *DSS* 17). *hat-* reflects IE **A₁ed-* 'be dry', seen also in Lat. *ador* '(dried) spelt', and *hatanti-* contrasts with *udne* 'irrigable land' (1.21) from **wed-* 'be wet'

(Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37 [1980]: 203). In view of this derivation, the usual gloss of *hatanti-* as 'shore' probably represents a specialization of the primary sense 'dry land'.

1.27 — SHORE — *hatant(i)-*, see 1.26. Another deverbative term for 'shore' may be *kurkessar* < *kurk-* 'preserve, hold back' (T 650), bringing to mind OE *wer* 'dam, weir', *warian* 'guard', and Gk. ὄχθη 'bank, dike', connected with ἔχω (although doubted by Frisk, *GEW* 2.456).

1.31 — WATER — *watar*, gen. *wetenas* (with Luw. *Kizzuwatna-* < **kez wetenaz* 'cisaquinus') fits firmly into the widespread IE **wedōr* group, and is already included in Buck's list. But the tentative connection of H. *eku-*, *aku-* and Toch. *yok-* 'drink' with Lat. *aqua-* etc. has not survived; see rather 4.98 and P 268.

1.32 — SEA — Although all are agreed that the Hitt. word for 'sea' is *aruna-*, debate over the word's origin is extensive, and an exhaustive treatment is outside the scope of this work. Discussion has followed four main lines, which may be summarized as follows:

(1) Connection with the watery Indic god Varuna, via Mitannian influence.

(2) Reconstruction **m̥ru-no-* and tie-in with the widespread IE **mori-* or Gk. μόρυχος 'dark', with reference to the Black Sea (Puhvel, *Studies … Whatmough* 236-37 = *AI* 38-39).

(3) Hattic origin, from the place-name ᵁᴿᵁ*Arinna* (ᵁᴿᵁTÚL-*na*) via **arinna-* 'fountain'.

(4) Connection with IE **er-*, **or-* 'stir, move', and thus with Skt. *arṇava-*, etc. This last is most likely, and has given rise to many detailed proposals. See for full discussion and references T 71-73, P 178-82.

1.33 — LAKE — *luli-* seems to have meant originally 'lake' or 'pond', later generalized to all small bodies of water, both natural and man-made, including springs, wells, and cisterns (*CHD* 3.80-82). A late Hitt. derivative is *luliyasha-* 'marsh'. Probably non-IE in origin (Sum. *TÚL* 'well, spring'? [*AI* 351]).

1.35 — WAVE — *hunhunessar* 'wave', with variants *hunhuessar*, *huwanhuessar*, *huwahwessar*, and secondary *hunhuesna-*, seems to contain reduplication like other terms for natural phenomena, e.g. *harsiharsi-* 'storm', *arsarsura-* 'stream', *wantewantema-* 'lightning'. Beyond the obvious abstract suffix, the multiplicity of forms makes etymologizing difficult, and Čop's attempt (*Indogermanica minora* 35-37, 49) to reconstruct a root **wen-*, seen in OS *ūthia*, OE *yþe*, ON *unnr* 'wave', is little help.

1.36 — RIVER, STREAM — *hapa-* is cognate with OBrit. Ἄβος 'the river Humber' (Ptolemy, *Geography*, cf. P s.v.), while the more usual *n*-suffixed variant—Lat. *amnis*, OIr. *aub*, OBrit. *Abona*, W. *afon*, OPruss. *ape*, etc.—is matched by Pal. *hāpna-* and H. dat.-loc. sg. ÍD-*ni* (ibid.) The data point to a root **A_1ebh-* 'river', which should be kept separate from **āp-* 'water' (contrast *DSS* 35, 42 and *IEW* 1, 51-52). Further Anatolian cognates include Luw. *hapi-*, Hier. RIVER-*pi(a)-* 'river', Hier. and H. *hapat(i)-* 'river-land' (see P s.v. and refs.)

The reduplicated *arsarsur(a)-* 'stream, current' is deverbative from *ars-* 'flow' < IE **E_1er-s-* (10.32), much as Gk. ῥεῦμα, OIr. *sruth* (but W. *ffrwd* < **sprew-*; cf. Vendryes, *Lexique* S-189), NE *stream*, etc., from **srew-* (*DSS* 41-42).

1.37 — SPRING, WELL — Besides *luli-* (see 1.33), several other terms for 'spring' or 'well' also occur, all roughly synonymous and

alternating with or accompanied by the sumerogram TÚL. (TÚL)*altanni-* (P 41-43, T 20) is late Hitt., generally taken as a Hurrian loanword via Luwian. In contrast, (TÚL)*wattaru-, watru-* appears in OHitt., and apparently springs from the IE word for 'water' (*EHS* 252), much as does Skt. *utsá-*, although the spelling with *-tt-* poses a phonetic difficulty, as it seems to point to an original voiceless stop.

harsumna- (nom.-acc. pl. to sg. **harsumar* 'headwaters, source' has been linked (T 187-88) with *harsar-, harsan-* 'head' (4.20), thus parallel to Akk. *rēš ēni* 'head of the fountain', and like Engl. 'headwaters', via a suffix *-(u)mar* (T 188) or *-umna-* (P s.v.) A weaker alternative is a tie-in with *hars-* 'tear open; plow'; this poses its own extensive etymological problems (see 8.21), but is not unparalleled semantically, given Avest. *xan-*, Skt. *khā-* 'spring', Av. *čāt-* 'well'; *kan-*, Skt. *khánati* 'dig'.

A further Hitt. term for 'spring, fountain' is *sakuni-*, with denominative verb *sakuniya-* 'well up'. The form is itself derivative, from the primary *sakui-*, which appears once in this meaning besides its usual sense 'eye' (4.21). The term thus shows the same polysemy as its Semitic counterparts (e.g. Akk. *īnu[m]* 'eye; fountain'), and can be reconstructed **dhyagh^w-i-* and connected firmly with Gk. σάφα 'clearly', σοφός 'wise', σαφίη 'insight' (17.21, 17.34), through a base-meaning 'clearness, translucency', etc. (cf. Puhvel, *AI* 265-66, 313-21).

1.41 — WOODS, FOREST — ᴳᴵˢ*tiyessar* was identified by Laroche (*RHA* 9 [1948-49]: 11-13) as 'woods, (sacred) grove'. Clearly an abstract derivative, the root might be *ti-*, the weak stem of *dai-* 'place, put', the meaning developing from a locational sense, something like OIr. *ross* < **pro-sto-*. Speculation might even extend to the suppletive passive to *dai-*, namely *ki-*, wending its way back through IE **key-* 'lie' (Gk. κεῖται) and on to Goth. *haiþi*, NE *heath*

and W. *coed*, Corn. *cuit* 'woods' (*koy-to-* [cf. Gk. κοῖτος], Gmc. *χai-to-/χai-ti-* (*IEW* 521), providing support for 'place, be placed/lie' > 'grove, wood'.

1.42 — TREE — *daru-* means both 'tree' and 'wood' (1.43), and belongs with Gk. δόρυ, Skt. *dāru-*, and NE *tree*, etc. It remains part of the word for 'oak' *allantaru* (8.61; P 29), just as Gk. δρῦς and OIr. *daur* have been specialized in this sense.

1.43 — WOOD — See 1.42.

1.44 — STONE, ROCK — Generally accepted for ᴺᴬ⁴*aku-* 'stone' (and *akuwant-* 'stony') is Laroche's connection (*RHA* 15 [1957]: 25-26, 29) with IE **ak-* 'sharp', with cognates Skt. *áśman-*, OCS *kamy*, Lith. *akmuõ* 'stone', Gk. ἄκμων 'anvil', etc., the Hitt. *u*-stem supported by Lat. *acus* 'needle', *acūmen* 'sharp point' (P 24). Although Puhvel notes the difficulty that "the consistent single spelling of *-k-* points rather to /-g-/" (ibid.), his tie-in with Gk. ἄχυρα, ἄχνη 'chaff', Goth. *gazds* 'sting', Lat. *hasta* 'spear' (*A_2égh-/*A_2gh-ádh-*) is difficult.

ᴺᴬ⁴*peru(na)-*, ᴺᴬ⁴*piru(na)-* 'rock, stone' (adj. *perunant-*) is likely matched by Skt. *párvata-* 'mountain; rock, stone', as **per-un-o-* vs. **per-wn̥-to-* (= Gk. πείρατα), with H. ᴺᴬ⁴*peru-* paralleling Skt. *páruḥ-* 'knot, joint' (*KEWA* 2.228, 220-21).

ᴺᴬ⁴*kunkunuzzi-*, a kind of stone (often translated 'diorite' since Götze, *KlF.* 1 [1930]: 201), formed with the implement-suffix *-uzzi-* (*EHS* 121) on the reduplicated root *kun-*. C. H. Carruthers (*Lg.* 9 [1933]: 154-55) derived the word from IE **g^when-* 'strike' (4.76), thus literally 'tool for striking repeatedly, club', with transfer of the weapon-name to the material it was made from. Alternatively, cf. ᴺᴬ⁴*ku(wa)nna(-n)-*?

^{NA₄}*ku(wa)nna(n)-*, see 9.66, 16.67.

1.51 — SKY, HEAVENS — Buck already includes H. *nepis* with Slav. *nebo*, Skt. *nábhas-*, Gk. νέφος, W. *nef*, etc. The vocalism with *-is* is unique but authentic (*EHS* 326-27); evidently an Anatolian innovation (cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 24). The *nem-* seen in OIr. *nem* may be a variant of the same root or IE **nem-* 'bow, bend'; cf. *DSS* 53; Vendryes, *Lexique* N-8.

1.52 — SUN — The common word for 'sun' and the 'sun-god' in Hittite is *Istanu-*, normally written ^{DINGIR}UTU-*us.* This, with its variant *Astanu-*, is simply the Hittite version of the Hattic *Estan-*, *Astan-*, which meant both 'sun-god' and 'day', and ousted the old IE **sawel-*, the only Anatolian survival of which seems to appear in ^DUTU-*liya-*, i.e. **Saweliya-* matching Hom. ἠέλιος (P 466).

The interchange of meanings 'sun' ~ 'day' in Hattic solar theology seems to have influenced Anatolian vocabulary very early, for the Luw. and Pal. terms for 'sun-god', *Tiwat-* and *Tiyat-* (as well as possible OHitt. ^D*Sius, EHS* 467) match H. *siwatt-* 'day' and the large number of reflexes of **déy-*, **dy-éw-* discussed in 14.41 (P 465-68, T 428-30).

1.53 — MOON — The Anatolian word for 'moon' was *arma-*; it appears in this shape in Hitt. and Luwian, in Hier. as MOON-*ma-*, and in very many Anatolian names like Lycian Gk. Ερμαμοας, Ερμενηνις, Lyc. *erm̃menẽni*, etc. It generally means 'month' as well, like the numerous reflexes of IE **mēnes*, etc., but clearly does not continue that term of its basic sense of 'measuring'.

Although pronounced "ohne Etymologie" by Tischler (T 62), *arma-* has been connected (e.g. Laroche, *RHR* 148 [1955]: 18-21) with a large group of words having to do with 'weakness, sickness, paleness', including *arma(n)-*, *irma(n)-*, *irmanant-*

'sickness', derived from IE *ormo- as seen in OE *earm,* ON *armr,* Goth. *arms* 'wretched' (and possible Arm. *oɫorm* 'pity'), and explained as 'the pale one', in contrast to both the daytime sun and the widespread IE replacement lunar designation as 'the shining one' (Lat. *lūna,* etc.; Gk. σελήνη; Skt. *candrámas-*). Also related are *armai-* 'be pregnant', *armahh-* 'impregnate' (4.73; Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36 [1979]: 58); full dicussion in P 151–60.

1.54 — STAR — *haster-* is a match for Gk. ἀστήρ, and with it preserves the initial laryngeal lost in the other dialects: *$A_1(e)ster$-. Arm. *astł* may support full-grade vocalism, and also suggests original *-r/-l* heteroclisis (P s.v.). This reconstruction obviates root-connection with IE *ster-* 'spread out' (*DSS* 56), as well as with **ster-* 'stiff' (Pârvulescu, *KZ* 91 [1977]: 41-50; *IEW* 1022), but Akk. *Ištar* is still implausible as an ultimate source (see T 204-6).

Buck's cited *astira-* is a superseded reading; *KBo* XIX 10 + *KUB* VIII 75 I 22 now reads firmly URU*Hastiras* (Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37 [1980]: 202).

1.55 — LIGHTNING — *wantiwant-* and *wantemma-* exhibit multiple derivational devices, starting from the verbal stem *wantai-* 'be warm, glow'. On one hand, *wantemma-* shows the action noun suffix *-ma* (*EHS* 178). *wantiwant-*, on the other, is either a participial adj. with *-want-*, or less likely a reduplicated form (*EHS* 121; in the latter case one would expect **wantiwanti-*, but the suggestion is supported by the reduplication in *harsiharsi-* '[thunder]storm'). Both formations are present in *wantiwantema-*.

The stem is *want-* 'be hot' (15.85; cf. *wantes-* 'grow hot' beside *wantai-*, also NINDA*wantili-* 'warm bread'), a rhyming synonym to *hantais-* 'heat' (Kronasser [*EHS* 88-89] considered the two etymologically identical, and included H. *ā-, ay-* 'be hot' [15.85] to boot [via part. *ānt-*, *EHS* 67-68]).

1.56 — THUNDER — *tethai-, tethiski-* 'to thunder' and its nouns *tethessar, tethuwar, tethima-,* indicate a stem *teth(a)-,* but the word is "without clear etymology" and apparently non-Indo-European (Puhvel, *Evidence* 87 = *AI* 133).

1.57 — LIGHTNING (AS STRIKING), THUNDERBOLT — ^{GIŠ}*kalmisana-,* besides its normal meaning 'firewood' (< **[s]kel-* 'split', 9.27), has been taken in this sense (T 469), through an identification something like 'firebrand' = 'lightning bolt' (understandable perhaps to anyone who has seen a tree struck by lightning!).

1.61 — LIGHT — *lalukkima-* '(source of) light', is abstracted from *lukk-* 'be light' and its many by-forms (*CHD* 3.28-30, 74-79), probably via *lalukki-* 'be luminous'. Kronasser (*EHS* 121-22) explains the reduplication as "der Versuch, optische Eindrücke wiederzugeben, besonders helles Licht und schnelle oder wiederholte Bewegungen," apparently having in mind rapid blinking or squinting stimulated by exposure to bright light. In any case the root-connection is clear: H. *lukk-* matches Skt. *roc-* or *ruc-* and fits comfortably in Buck's majority group from IE **lewk-* (*DSS* 60).

1.62 — DARKNESS — A Hitt. word for 'darkness' seems to be lacking. 'Celestial darkness', not quite the same thing, is rendered by sumerogram AN.TA.LÙ (Akk. *attalū*).

In NHG *dunkel,* ON *dǫkkr,* a development 'dark' < 'misty, hazy' (Sw. *dunken,* NE *dank*), considered in *DSS* 62 (from Walde-P. 1.851-52), is challenged by Benveniste (*BSL* 33 [1932]: 142), asserting the primacy of 'dark' as shown by the cognate Hitt. *dankui-,* IE **dh(e)ngwo-* (15.63; cf. also *AI* 265).

1.63 — SHADE — GIŠ.GE₆-*las* 'shade; shadow' indicates an *l*-formation, recalling Lith. *šešėlis,* but nothing can be said about the root.

1.72 — WIND — To the group of words from traditional IE **wē-* 'blow' can now be added H. *huwant-*, which when compared with Gk. ἄημι (also Aeol. αὔελλα 'whirlwind', W. *awel* 'breeze', *awen*, OIr. *aí* 'poetic inspiration'; cf. C. Watkins, *Celtica* 6 [1963]: 215–16) confirms a more detailed reconstruction of the root as **A₁weE-*. *huwant-* (/hwant/) thus reflects something like **A₁wE-nt-*, **A₁w-é/ónt-*, participial like Gk. ἀέντες, Lat. *ventus,* W. *gwynt*, etc.

1.73 — CLOUD — *alpa-* is apparently of IE provenance, but its exact source has so far eluded identification. Tischler (T 18) records Čop's adduction of Gk. λάπη 'scum', Russian *lópan'* 'Brunnen im Morast', from an IE **l̥pa-*, with semantic development as in Latv. *mākuônis* 'dark cloud' vs. Lith. *makõnė* 'puddle'. Puhvel (P 38) notes this suggestion and offers two more: Couvreur's connection (*Hett. Ḫ* 106, 149) with Goth. *luftus* (**lewp-*), and a reconstruction **A₂él-p-* > Skt. *álpa-* 'small', Lith. *alpùs* 'weak', with **A₂l-ép-* > Lith. *lepùs* 'soft', Gk. λαπαρός 'slack', with doubtful shift from 'air' to 'flimsy, insubstantial' to 'cloud'.

The earliest and still most popular approach ties *alpa-* to Gk. ἀλφός 'white leprosy', Lat. *albus* 'white'. Puhvel's objection (P 38) that a development from 'white' to 'cloud' would be not only unique, but out of keeping with "the dominant Hitt. association of clouds with rain and water" is well taken, but the equation is phonetically impeccable, and the word could well have lost all connotation of 'whiteness' in Hittite, 'white' being expressed by other terms (see 15.64). On balance IE **A₂el-bho-* remains most likely.

kammara-, see 1.74.

1.74 — MIST (FOG, HAZE) — The likely basis of *kammara-* 'fog; haze, smoke; cloud; swarm of bees' is IE **kem-* 'cover' (T 472–73), seen e.g. in ON *hamr,* OE *-hama* 'covering, skin', perhaps from the appearance of fog or mist covering the ground; cf. Skt. *dhvánati* 'cover', *dhvānta-* 'darkness', Av. *dvạnman* 'cloud, mist'. A. Heubeck (*Hermes* 91 [1963]: 490–93, seconded by Puhvel, P s.v.) deftly tied in the name of the Κιμμέριοι, ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένοι (*Odyssey* 11.15), originally a descriptive adjective like that of the sun-darkened Αἰθίοπες.

1.75 — RAIN — Of the many attempts to explain H. *heu-* (gen. *he[y]aw-*) surveyed by Tischler (T 238-40, to which add now E. Neu, *BHD … Kerns* 203-12), the only one that works is the idea (rejected early by H. Zimmern [*Stand und Aufgaben* 441]) linking it with Gk. ὑετός (vb. ὕει), Toch. *swase, swese* (vb. AB *su-*), OPruss. *suge,* Alb. *shi* 'rain'. Thus the reconstruction includes *s*-mobile and laryngeals, with a basic form **(s)E₂ew-H-, sE₂-uH-* (detailed analysis in Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37 [1980]: 203-4). Further extension **sE₂uH-g-* in Lat. *sūgere,* OE *sūcan,* OIr. *súgim* 'suck' and **sE₂uH-k-* in ON *súga,* OE, OS, OHG *sūgan* 'suck', Lat. *sūcus* 'juice, sap' (NE *swig* < **sE₂wH-ék-*?) may point to some such further nuance as 'flowing', 'nourishment', or the like.

Also of PIE age is *warsa-* 'rainfall, precipitation', matching Skt. *varṣám* 'rain' and Gk. ἔρση 'dew' (pl. 'rain-drops') < **wers-*, with zero-grade in OIr. *frass,* Skt. *vṛṣṭi-*.

1.77 — ICE — Hittite *eka-* 'ice, frost; cold' reflects IE **yeg-* 'ice', seen also in OIr. *aig,* ON *jaki, jǫkull,* etc. (P 258, *IEW* 503), thus giving more solid support to an original IE primary ice-term than arose from Buck's survey.

Derivatives are *ekuna-*, adj. 'cold' (15.86), *ekunima-* 'coldness', like Gk. κρύος 'icy cold' : κρύσταλλος or MCorn. *yeyn* 'cold', and perhaps *ikniyant-* 'lame' (4.94).

1.81 — FIRE — The inclusion of H. *pahhur* (gen. *pahhuenas*) and Luw. **pahur* (N. Oettinger, *MSS* 34 [1976]:102-3) in the group of Gk. πύρ, etc. permits the IE word to be reconstructed confidently as an *-r/-n* heteroclite with a voiceless *a*-coloring laryngeal (Benveniste, *Origines* 169; Pedersen, *Hitt.* 187-88; Puhvel, *Evidence* 89 = *AI* 135), thus **peA₁-ur-*, **peA₁-un-*. No trace of the other IE fire-word, **egni-*, **ogni-*, appears in Hittite.

1.82 — FLAME — Two different approaches have been taken to the explanation of *happin(a)-* 'open flame'. One one hand, V. V. Ivanov (*Etimologija* 1977: 145) adduced ON *ofn* 'hearth', OE *ofen*, Gk. ἰπνός (Myc. *i-po-no*) 'oven', etc., thus following B. Čop (*Indogermanica minora* I: 34-35), who compared ὀπτός 'roasted'. More promising is the direction taken by R. Gusmani (*Incontri linguistici* 4 [1978]: 242-43) and A. J. Van Windekens (*BHD … Kerns* 330-31), connecting Gk. ἅπτω 'kindle, ignite; attach' < **A₁ebh-*, the Gk. word being conflated with an originally separate verb (perhaps **ἅπτω*) 'attach', cf. Engl. 'set fire to'.

1.83 — SMOKE — *tuhhui-*, *tuhhuwai-* 'smoke' is cognate with Gk. θύος 'burned incense' > 'sacrifice', θύω 'offer (burnt) sacrifice', τύφω 'smoke, smoulder', thus **dhuA₁-*, **dhew-A₁-*; cf. θῡμός 'spirit', Lat. *fūmus* 'smoke', etc. (W. Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 210-11; *IEW* 261).

A further derivative is *tuhhuessar* 'incense'; despite *EHS* 104, the latter probably does not belong with *tuhs-* 'cut off', and there is no need to posit ad hoc a homonym *tuhs-* 'sich kultisch reinigen' in order to read *tuhhuisar tuh(uh)sa* as a figura etymologica (ibid.): it

simply means 'cuts the incense', with *tuhs-* 'cut' (9.22; H. G. Güterbock, *RHA* 22 [1964]: 106-7). More likely verbal connection is with *tuhh(ai)-* 'gasp, wheeze, cough', etc.; cf. Gk. καπνός vs. Goth. *af-hwapjan* 'choke', likewise NE *smoke* vs. Lith. *smáugti* 'choke'.

For the alternative term *kammara-* see 1.74.

1.84 — ASHES — No Hittite word has surfaced, but E. P. Hamp (*Evidence* 126-27) connected Alb. *hī* 'ashes' with H. *ā-, ay-* 'be warm' (15.85). Skt. *ā́sa-* 'ashes' was compared with H. *as(s)-* 'remain' by Oettinger (*Stammb.* 187), but Puhvel (P 189) is skeptical.

1.85 — BURN — Intransitive 'burn' in Hitt. is *war-*, with the transitive sense being expressed by the causative *warnu-*, like Goth. *brinnan : brannjan*. Probably not related, as has long been assumed, to Gk. θερμός < *g^wher-mo-* (e.g. *DSS* 1077), as it violates normal phonetic development of initial *g^wh-*, seen rather in *kuenzi* 'he kills' = Skt. *hánti* (cf. Puhvel, *AI* 262, 265). More likely is Götze – Pedersen's connection (*MS* 74) with OCS *varŭ* 'heat', Lith. *vìrti* 'cook' (5.21).

Hittite *pahhuriya-* (*HDW* 58) is denominative from *pahhur*, thus 'burn like fire'.

With Gk. αἴθω, Skt. *idh-* 'kindle', Lat. *aestus* 'heat', etc. (*DSS* 75) cf. Hitt. *ay-* 'be hot' (15.85).

1.86 — LIGHT (VB.), KINDLE — *lukki-* (and late H. *lukk-* [*CHD* 3.76]) is one of the many reflexes of IE *$lewk$-* (1.61), paralleled in this meaning by Fr. *allumer*.

MANKIND: SEX, AGE, FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

Perhaps the most striking feature of Anatolian kinship and family terminology is its maternal and matriarchal bias, in contrast to the strongly patriarchal structure so well known among other Indo-European speakers. Besides the historical record of Herodotus (*History* 1.173), who remarked on the unique matriliny of the Lycians, considerable linguistic evidence demonstrates the Hittites' general adoption of native Anatolian custom at the expense of inherited Indo-European tradition. Noteworthy are the replacement of IE terms for 'father', 'mother', 'brother', 'sister', etc. by indigenous ones, the designation of 'family' by *hassatar* (2.82) < *has* 'give birth' rather than a reflex of **genE-* 'beget' (Gk. γένος, etc.), the maternally-based terms *anninniyami-* 'mother's brother's (child)' for 'cousin' (2.55), *annaneka-* 'co-uterine sister' (2.45), *andaiyant-* 'entering one' for 'son-in-law' (2.63), and so on; see Laroche, *BSL* 53 (1958): 186–93.

2.1 – MAN[1] (HOMŌ) – The very difficult Hitt. *antu(wa)hha-/antuhsa-* presents multiple barriers, both morphological and phonological, to a definitive etymology, as neither the original declension nor stem-formation is certain. An origin in Hattic *antūh* 'human' has seemed likely to Laroche (*JCS* 1 [1947]: 194–95) and others, with the prefixed version *d-andu-ki* perhaps yielding Hitt. *danduki-* 'mortal'.

Other possibilities involve IE elements, e.g. Oettinger's (*Stammb.* 373) **en-dhweA₁-o-*, with root **dhew-A₁-* as in H. *tuhhui-*, Lat. *fūmus* 'smoke' (1.83) and formation like Gk. ἔν-θῡμος 'spirited'. The often repeated (from Kretschmer, *Glotta* 9 [1918]: 232) connection with Gk. ἄνθρωπος, because it must take into account Myc. *a-to-ro-qo,* compels a reconstruction along the lines of **A₂nr-ōkw-(o)s,* which has the virtue of tying in Hes. δρώψ · ἄνθρωπος but leaves seemingly insurmountable phonetic problems. Further tries and refs. P 79-83, T 36-37.

antuhsatar, antuhsannant- 'mankind; population' are straightforward abstract derivatives.

Lyd. *antola, anlola* may mean 'funeral stele', if from H. **antuwahhala-* (Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.* 59; *Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse aus Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1975], p. 5, comparing Gk. ἀνδριάς 'statue').

For H. *danduki-* 'mortal' (adj. and noun), see above. ᴸᵁ*mayant-* 'grown man', part. of *mai-, miya-* 'grow' (12.53).

2.21 — MAN² (VIR) — Hittite uses *pesna-* 'penis' (4.492) in synecdoche to mean both 'man' and adj. 'male' (2.23), somewhat as OE *wæp(en)-man, wæpned-man* (with 'penis' < 'weapon'). A closer parallel may be Lat. *mās* 'male', if cognate with *membrum (virile)* < **mēmsro-* (P s.v., comparing Skt. *māṁsá-* 'flesh'; cf. *DSS* 85). The abstract deriv. *pesnatar* (LÚ-*natar*) 'manhood, virility, potency' was further reconcretized to mean 'male genitalia' and 'semen', as SAL-*natar* became 'vagina' beside 'womanhood'.

Hier. and Luw. *ziti-* (common in personal names, e.g. *Armaziti-*), etym. ?

On the group including Gk. ἀνήρ, etc. see *in(n)arawant-* 'strong', 4.81.

2.22 — WOMAN — Sumerography conceals the Hitt. word, but dat. SAL-*ni,* gen. SAL-*nas,* etc. and the abstract SAL-*natar* 'womanhood' combine with Luw. *unatti-/wana(tti)-* 'woman' to suggest a reflex of the near-ubiquitous IE *g^wen-eA* (RV *jáni-,* OIr. *ben,* Arm. *kin,* zero-grade Skt. *gnā,* Gk. γυνή, etc.). Nom. SAL-*za* points specifically to *g^wen-s* or perhaps *k^wuenan-s < *g^wen-on-s, -n-* suffixed as in Gmc. (Goth. *qino,* OE *cwene*) (F. Starke, *KZ* 94 [1980]: 74-86).

Lyc. *lada* 'woman, wife', cf. perhaps Gk. Λητώ, Dor. Λᾱτώ.

2.23 — MALE — *pesna-* 'man', adj. 'male', *pisnatar* 'manhood', all from *pesna-* 'penis', 4.492; cf 2.21.

2.26 — GIRL — ^{SAL}*haz(i)kara(i)-* 'maiden' or 'girl' in temple-service, exclusively in plural. Tischler (T 234) and Puhvel (P s.v.) concur in suspecting indigenous Anatolian origin, as well as in doubting Kronasser's analysis (*EHS* 186) as *$hazzk$-tara-* 'musical-instrument player'.

suppis(s)ara- 'maiden, virgin' is formed from *suppi-* 'pure' + the fem. suffix *-sra-* (*EHS* 187) seen as well in *alhuesra-/alhuitra-,* a temple-priestess (P 33-34).

Ideogram ^{SAL}KI.SIKIL 'girl'.

2.27 — CHILD — H. *hammasa-* 'small child' goes with Luw. *hamsa-,* Hier. *hamasa-* 'grandchild', likely the original meaning: cf. 2.48.

2.28 — INFANT — *hassant-* 'baby, small child', part. of *has-* 'give birth' (4.72), thus 'one just born', like NHG *kind < *genE-to-.* Also DUMU.NITA.GAB 'boy nursing' and DUMU.SAL.GAB 'girl nursing' (E. A. Hahn, *Studies … G. S. Lane* 163).

2.31 — HUSBAND — Hittite uses LÚ (*pesna-*) 'man', or Akk. ᴸᵁ*MUTU.*

2.32 — WIFE — DAM (Akk. *aššassu*).

2.33 — MARRY — 'To take a wife' appears as *-za … DAM-anni da-*, lit. 'take (so-and-so) to oneself in wifehood' (cf. OIr. *do-beir mnaí*, Lat. *uxōrem dūcere*), and *-za …* ᴸᵁ*MUTI iya-* 'make (so-and-so) one's husband' serves as the distaff equivalent.

hamenk- 'bind' (9.16) also comes to mean 'marry', like NE "get hitched"; cf. *ishanittarātar* 'marriage alliance' (2.81) < *ishai-* 'bind'.

2.34 — MARRIAGE — The state of marriage (but not the wedding ceremony) is denoted by DAM-*atar* 'wifehood' (like Avest. *nāiriθwana-*) or ˢᴬᴸÉ.GE₄.A-*atar* 'bride-hood, engagement'.

2.35 — FATHER — PIE **pH̥tēr-* does not survive in the Anatolian languages, all of which show replacements of the common *Lallwort*-type. Thus H. *atta-* 'father', *attalla-* 'fatherly, paternal' (cf. Goth. *atta*, Russ. *otec*); Luw. *tāti(ya)-*, Hier. *tati(a)-*, Lyd. *taada-*, Lyc. *tedi*, adj. *tedesi,* Hier. *tatali-* (W. *tad*, Rum. *tată*); Pal. *papa* (P 224-26).

2.36 — MOTHER — Like **pH̥tēr-*, IE **mătēr* has been supplanted in Anatolian, by *anna-*, *anni-* (Luw. *anni[ya]-*, Hier. SAL-*natin*, Pal. *anna-*, Lyd. *ẽna*, etc., Lyc. *ẽni*). Parallels include Lat. *anna* 'foster mother', Hes. ἀννίς, Arm. *han*, OHG *ana* 'grandmother', Lith. *anýta* 'mother-in-law', etc. (P 55-57).

Lyc. *χñna* 'mother' corresponds to H. *hanna-* 'grandmother' (Puhvel, *Evidence* 84 = *AI* 130).

2.37 — PARENTS — Siding with those languages which express 'parents' through combinations of the terms for 'father' and 'mother', Hittite uses asyndetic *atta- anna-* or *anna- atta-* (cf. French *père et mère*; also H. *huhha- hanna-* 'grandparents'), Pal. *anna- pāpa-*. The original compound *atta anna, anna atta*, paralleling Skt. *pitárāmātárā(u), mātárāpitárāu* (classical *mātāpitarau*) and elliptical *matara(u), pitara(u)* (cf. Sp. *padres*, Goth. *fadrein*), appears in the expression *(attas) annas siwatt-* 'day of death', lit. '(fathers' and) mothers' day'; see *AI* 205-9.

2.41 — SON — The Hitt. word is consistently hidden beneath sumerographic DUMU(.NITA). H. C. Melchert (*IF* 85 [1980]: 90-95) equated the sporadic DUMU-*la-* with *ayawala-* in *KUB* XIV 3 I 11-12 ᴸᵁ*TARTENU-ma UL ANA* LUGAL *ayawalas* 'is not the crown prince the *a.* of the king?', but etymology supports the reading 'agent, deputy', etc. (< Luw. *aya-* 'make'), favored from Sommer (*AU* 41-54) to Kronasser (*EHS* 174) and Puhvel (P 13).

Luw. DUMU-*ni-* and DUMU-*annassi-* suggest a form in *-anni-*, again with no clues to the root.

Lyc. *tideimi* 'son' < Luw. **titaimi-* 'suckled, sucking' (*VLFH* 211), cf. H. *titan-* 'tit'; semantics as in Lat. *filius*, Latv. *dēls*.

2.42 — DAUGHTER — Normally DUMU.SAL, the inherited IE term survives in the Luwoid ˢᴬᴸ*duttar(ri)yati-* and variants (cf. F. Starke, *KZ* 94 [1960]: 77). Anatolian **du(g)atra-* yielded Luw. **dwatra-* (cf. Hier. ᵂᴼᴹᴬᴺ*tú-wa-tara* [J. D. Hawkins, *KZ* 92 (1978): 112-16]) > Lyc. B **tbatra* > Lyc. *kbatra* (A. Heubeck, *Die Sprache* 8 [1962]: 86; Laroche, *BSL* 62 [1967]: 47-48).

2.43 — CHILD — DUMU.

2.44 — BROTHER — Luw. *nani(ya)-* (also personal name ᴵ*Nani-*) and Lyc. *nẽni-* indicate a Hitt. reading **nana-* for ŠEŠ, with support from attested ŠEŠ-*ni.* Further corroboration probably resides in H. *annin(n)iyami-* 'cousin', i.e. 'mother's brother's son' (2.55). Here again the PIE term has been supplanted.

2.45 — SISTER — Hittite has *neka-* as well as NIN, both on its own and in personal names such as *Hasusarniga-* 'Queen's Sister'. Neumann (*Antiquitates Indogermanicae* 280-82) plausibly derived *neka-* from *nana-* 'brother' (cf. Sp. *hermana* and Gk. ἀδελφή) via the appurtenance suffix *-(i)ga-* (*EHS* 170-71), thus **(na)niga-* paralleling the separate WAnat. development seen in Luw. *nanasri(ya)-,* Hier. *nanaśri-,* Lyc. *neri* (< **[ne]nehri-*) 'sister' (O. Carruba, *Parola del Passato* 24 [1969]: 269-72).

The Hitt. compound *annaneka-* is 'mother-sister(s)', i.e. 'sisters with the same mother' (Goetze, *AO* 17.1 [1949]: 288-90; P 58-59).

2.46 — GRANDFATHER — In contrast to much of Anatolian kinship terminology, H. *huhha-* (Luw. *huha-,* Lyc. *χuga*) may be of PIE origin (**A_1[e]uA_1o-*), matching Lat. *avus,* Arm. *hav,* and cognate with Goth. *awō* 'grandmother' and OIr. *áue* 'grandson' (**awi-yo-;* cf. NHG *enkel, ähnlein : ahn*). References at T 261.

The competing Hitt. term *dān atta-* 'second father' is a very archaic designation with close ties to such ancestor-terminology as Gk. τρίπαππος, τριτοπάτωρ, Lat. *tritavus,* etc.; full discussion in *AI* 391-92.

A third mode of reference 'father's father' appears in akkadographic *ABI.ABI.*

huhha- hanna- means 'grandparents', as *atta- anna-* 'father (and) mother' is also 'parents'.

2.47 — GRANDMOTHER — H. *hanna-* (AMA.AMA), Lyc. *χñna,* recalls Hes. ἀννίς, OHG *ana,* Arm. *han* 'grandmother', Lat. *anna* 'foster mother'. A common IE *A_1en-* can be reconstructed (refs. T 145-46) without prejudicing an ultimate origin in "Kindersprache" (EHS 118; T 145).

2.48 — GRANDSON — Considerable confusion exists, both in modern scholarship and in Hittite usage, among terms for 'grandson, grandchild' and those for the more general notion 'descendant, offspring', as transfer from one meaning to the other is easily possible (e.g. Gk. ἔγγονος 'descendant' > 'grandson'; cf. H. *hammasa-* 'small child' vs. Luw. *hamsa-* 'grandchild', and the similar instability of IE *nep(ō)t-* 'grandson, nephew, offspring' [*DSS* 111-12]). Closest to the specific end of the scale is DUMU.DUMU(-MEŠ) 'son's son; children's children', etc. (similarly DUMU.DUMU.DUMU 'great-grandson'), with the opposite extreme represented by Hitt. neut. *hardu-* (Luw. *harduwatt[i]-,* Hier. *hartu-*), tentatively interpreted as 'Urenkel' (T 189) but meaning basically 'descendant(s), offspring' (see 2.57).

The formulaic expression *hassa hanzassa,* formerly explained as a petrified dual-dvandva and translated 'Enkel und Urenkel' (cf. T 195), was convincingly reinterpreted by Melchert (*RHA* 31 [1973]: 57-70) as an asyndetic directional (dative) meaning 'to the first (and) second generation' (such a phrase could easily then come to mean 'children and grandchildren'). The first element is clearly deverbative from *has-* 'beget, give birth' (4.72), while the second remains etymologically troublesome. T. Milewski's analysis (*L'indo-hittite et l'indoeuropéen* [Krakow, 1936], p. 32, n. 3) *hanza* 'before' + *hassa-* 'generation' is formulaically attractive but chronologically perverse: one would expect *appan* here, as in Lyc. *epñ-neni* 'youger brother' (*TL* 8.2-3); Melchert's comparison (op. cit. 64-65) with Lat. *prōgnātus,* Gk. ἔγγονος is not entirely satisfactory,

as he himself noted (ibid., n. 5-6).[1] Laroche's alternative explanation (*BSL* 53 [1957-58]: 188-89) equates *hanzassa-* with Luw. *hamsa-*, Hier. *hamasa-* 'grandson', H. *hammasa-* 'small child' (plus difficult suffix *-[s]sa-*), thus *hassa hanza-ssa* would show the opposite semantic development 'children (and) grandchildren' > 'generation (and) next generation'. In either case the etymology of Hitt. *hammasa-* poses its own problems; Oettinger's attempt (*Eide* 24) < **A(o)mso-* (ON *áss, æsir*) may be right.

2.53 — NEPHEW — Lyc. *tuhes* 'sister's son'.

2.55 — COUSIN — H. *annin(n)iyami-* is attested; if from Luwoid **anni-nani(ya)-* (P 71-72), the meaning is originally 'mother's brother's (offspring)', but it has been generalized at least as far as 'father's sister's son' (*KUB* XXI 1 III 34-36, quoted ibid.).

2.56 — ANCESTORS — The Hittites apparently shared the Indo-European concept of departed ancestors as the 'fathers' or 'mothers and fathers' ([gen. pl.] *karuuiliyas addas* 'ancient fathers'; cf. RV *pitáras*) who have gone ahead to the next world (H. *wellu-*, Gk. Ἠλύσιον πεδίον, etc.; cf. *AI* 210-15); the old elliptical dual expression survives in *annas siwaz* 'day of death', lit. '(fathers' and) mothers' day' (*AI* 205-9).

Hier. *huhati-* 'ancestor', with adj. *huhatali-*, H. *huhhatalla-*, lit. 'grandfatherly', fr. *huhha-* (2.46).

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1. A Hitt. model **hanz-huhha-* 'great-grandfather' is needed to fill the analogical slot of Lat. *pro-avus*; one wonders whether it might lurk in Luw. *hamsukkalla-*, Hier. GRANDCHILD-*masukula-* '(great-) grandchild', from something like **hanz-huhh-talla-* (cf. OIr. *áue* vs. Lat. *avus*, NHG *enkel*, *ähnlein* vs. OHG *ano*, with 'grandson' derived diminutively from 'grandfather').

2.57 — DESCENDANTS — H. *hardu-* 'offspring, descendant', pl. *harduwa-*, with Hier. *hartu-* and Luw. *harduwatt(i)-*, is accompanied by the phrase *harduwa harduwati* 'in regelmäßig aufeinander-folgender Nachkommenschaft' (T 189). R. Normier's comparison (*IF* 85 [1980]: 58) with Arm. *ordi* 'child, offspring' may be apposite, fr. PIE *A_1rdh-*. The suggestion of O. N. Trubačev (*Voprosy jazykoznanija* 2 [1957]: 88, championed by V. V. Ivanov, *Etimologija* 1979: 135-36), connecting OCS *rodŭ* 'kin, family, birth', is also tempting, but requires separating *rodŭ* and *roditi* 'give birth' from IE **werdh-, *wredh-* 'grow', Skt. *várdhati,* Gk. ὀρθός (Lac. βορθαγορίσκος), etc. (*IEW* 1167). Van Windekens (*BHD … Kerns* 332) adduces Hes. ἀρτύς · σύνταξις, Arm. *ard* 'structure, construc-tion' and other forms, envisioning a basic sense 'line (of descent)'.

Luw. *warwala/i-* 'offspring', *warwalanant-* 'descendant' (NUMUM-*ant*-) are read thus by Laroche (*DLL* 108), vs. *warwatn(ant)-* in N. van Brock, *RHA* 20 (1962): 105. A plausible link with Slavic **vĭrvĭ* 'line' was put forward by V. N. Toporov, *Strukturno-tipologičeskie issledovanija v oblasti grammatiki slavjanskix jazykov* (Moscow, 1973), p. 122-23.

2.63 — SON-IN-LAW — *andaiyant-*, probably from *anda* 'in' + part. of *i-* 'go', is literally 'he who has gone in', and reflects areal son-in-law tradition seen also in Akk. *errēbu* 'he who enters' and Turk. *iç-güvey* 'inside son-in-law' (P 78-79).

[LÚ]*kusa-* may in some occurrences mean 'son-in-law' or the like, but this reading should not be substituted (pace Starke, *Funktionen* 144) for the acc. sg. of *kussan-* 'payment' in the *Code* (11.77/78). J. J. S. Weitenberg's comparison (*IF* 80 [1975]: 66-70) with Gk. κύσθος 'weibliche Scham' fails on phonetic grounds: the latter plainly belongs with Lat. *cunnus* < **kut-no-* (4.47). It might be preferable to derive [(LÚ)]*kusa-* from IE **ĝews-* 'choose' (with either full or reduced

vocalism; cf. Goth. *kiusan* vs. Lat. *gus-tus*), with the meanings 'chooser' or 'chosen one' justifiable for either bride (Weitenberg's [SAL]*kusa-*) or the "entering" (*andaiyant-*, cf. above) groom (cf. ON *kvenn-kostr* 'good match [in marriage]'). H. *kusata-* 'brideprice' may belong here, as a derivative of SAL*kusa-* (cf. Weitenberg, loc. cit.), or with *kussan-* (discussion T 673-74).

2.65 — BROTHER-IN-LAW — LÚ*kaena-* (Lyd. *kãna-*), usually taken as some undetermined (or nonspecific term for) 'in-law' (T 459-60), belongs here according to P 79. F. Mezger's link with demonstrative *ka-/ki-* (*KZ* 75 [1957]: 76) is thinkable in view of the many similarly pronominal derivatives from **s(e)we-*, **swo-* meaning the same thing in other languages (e.g. Lith. *sváinis* 'sister's husband', pl. Gk. ἀέλιοι, ON *svilar* 'husbands of sisters'; OCS *svatŭ* 'relative', Russ. *svojak* 'wife's sister's husband', etc. (*DSS* 126).

2.71 — STEPFATHER — Luw. *tātawanni-*, formed from *tāti(ya)-* with the sufix *-wanni-* (EHS 183), in the manner of Lat. *patrāster*, etc. This and Luw. *annawanni-*, H. *annawanna-* 'stepmother' suggest a likely though unattested H. **attawanna-*.

2.72 — STEPMOTHER — H. *annawanna-*, Luw. *annawanni-* < 'mother' + *-wanna/i-*, as in 'stepfather' above (P 65, T 28-29).

2.75 — ORPHAN — *kurimma-* was identified by Kronasser (*EHS* 180; supported in T 646-47) as a Luwoid participial formation (suffix *-[a]imma-*) on the stem *kuer-/kur-* 'cut off' (9.22). Semantically parallel to NHG *waise* < **weydh-* 'divide, split' (cf. IE **widh-ew-ā* 'widow'), and like Gk. ὀρφανός, Lat. *orbus;* OCS *sirŭ*, etc.

The exact meaning of *wannummiya-* is hard to pin down; noting that it occurs with both DUMU and SAL, Laroche (*RHA* 9 [1949]: 14-15) suggested a combination of 'orphaned' and

'childless', comparing Gk. ὀρφανός and Lat. *orbus*. E. A. Hahn (*Studies … G. S. Lane* 160-62) added the sense 'widowed' as well, accepting Güterbock's translation 'bereaved' (*JAOS* 78 [1958]: 240 and n. 19). The basic sense 'alone, deserted, abandoned', etc. invites comparison with Lat. *vāstus* 'desolate', OHG *wuosti* 'wasteland', OIr. *fás* 'empty', cognate with H. *wastai-* 'sin, failure', etc. (16.75), an equation semantically supportable (cf. Gk. χήρα 'widow', χῶρος '[empty] land') but phonetically difficult (< *wās-n-ummi-*?).

2.76 — WIDOW — ᶳᴬᴸ*udati-* was interpreted 'veuve' by Laroche (*RA* 43 [1949]: 70), who connected it plausibly (ibid. n. 2) with IE **widhewā* by reading initial *ú-* as /wi-/ and the fem. suffix *-(i)t(i)-* as a Hitt. counterpart of IE **-wā*, thus **widha-ti-*. This interpretation and etymology were wholeheartedly endorsed by Hahn (op. cit. 154-70).

2.81 — RELATIVES – *ishanittarātar* '(marriage) alliance, kinship' and *ishanattalla-* 'kinsman by marriage' are most probably from a caustive **ishanai-*, **ishaniya-* (P 395-96, T 381-82) to *ishai-* 'bind' (9.16), semantically like Skt. *bándhu-* 'relative', Gk. πενθερός 'father-in-law', Czech *přibuzní* 'relative'. A former reading 'blood relative' relied on an unlikely derivation from *eshar* 'blood'.
ᴸᵁ́*kaena-* '(brother-?)in-law', 2.65.

2.82 — FAMILY — *hassatar*, see 19.23.

3

ANIMALS

3.11 — ANIMAL — Although the meaning is evidently 'living creature(s)', like Gk. ζῷον, NIr. *beath(aidhe)ach*, OCS *životŭ*, Lith. *gývulis*, etc., the formation and ultimate source of H. *huitar* are somewhat unclear. A Luw. counterpart *huitumar* is plainly derived from the Luw. verb *huit-* 'live', but the corresponding Hitt. verbal slot is filled by *huis-*, which is not the immediate source of *huitar* (or the further denominative *huitnant-*). Rather than an improbable Luw. loanword in Hittite, the explanation may lie in a PAnat. verb **huit-*, yielding separate abstract derivatives in Hitt. and Luw., and reflecting a separate root, or at least stem-formation, from that of H. *huis-*. For fuller discussion cf. T 264-68, 269-71; possible root-connections are via *huit-* and *huis-* 'live': see 4.74.

[*Update:* Puhvel (p.c.) compares *huitar, huitn-* with ON *vitnir* 'creature' (describing the wolf Fenrir, and forming compounds like *hróðvitnir* 'wolf' [lit. 'slayer-creature'], *grafvitnir* 'snake' [< *grafa* 'dig'], and *sporvitnir* 'horse'), thus reconstructing **Hweyd-* or **Hwed-*.]

3.12 — MALE — In most cases the sumerogram refers automatically to the male of animal species, unless additionally marked 'female' (SAL[.AL.LAL]) or a distinct female form (see 3.13). The terms used to refer to human beings (2.23) could probably also be applied to animals for particular emphasis, especially NITÁ as the masculine counterpart to SAL(.AL.LAL).

3.13 — FEMALE — Female animals are in part designated by distinct sumerograms, e.g. ᵁᴰᵁU₁₀ 'ewe' vs. ᵁᴰᵁŠIR 'ram', ᴳᵁᴰÁB 'cow' vs. GUD.MAH 'bull', ÙZ 'nanny goat' vs. MÁŠ 'he-goat', EMÈ 'jenny' vs. ANŠU 'ass'. In other cases the qualifier SAL(.AL.LAL) 'female' could be affixed (cf. *EHGl.* 18-19 and n. 2).

3.14 — CASTRATE — *kars-* 'cut (off)' (9.22) is used in this self-explanatory sense, like the cognate Dan. *skære* (*DSS* 142) and Gk. ἐκτέμνω, Fr. *couper*, Swed. *snöpa*, NE *cut*, NHG *verschneiden*, Czech *vyřezati* (*DSS* 141-42).

3.15 — LIVESTOCK — *huitar* 'animals' (see 3.11) was given as the Hitt. reading for MAŠ.ANŠU (Akk. *būlu*) by Friedrich (*HWb.* 285; *ZA* N.F. 5 [1929]: 41), with semantics paralleled by e.g. Rum. *vite*, Lith. *gyvuliaì*, plurals meaning 'live-stock, domestic animals', and Dan. *kreaturer,* Engl. dial. *critters.* Derivation and context point more in the direction of a less specific 'animal life, fauna'; cf. *gi]mras huwitar* 'beasts of the field', *huwitar hūman* 'all game' (*AI* 220).

H. *sup(pa)l(a)-* 'cattle', with "singulative"-suffixed *suppalant-* (*EHS* 261; Laroche, *OLZ* 51 [1956]: 422) 'head of cattle', appeared to Kronasser (*EHS* 324) to be an *-l*-stem, probably of foreign origin.

Gk. πρόβατα, lit. 'forth-going ones', has a parallel in Hitt. ᵁᴰᵁ*iyant-* 'sheep', see 3.25.

3.16 — PASTURE, GRAZE — *wesiya-* 'put to pasture' (itv. *weseski-*) is denominative from *wesi-* 'pasture' (3.17), like Sp. *pastar*, OFr. *pasturer*; OE *læswian* < *læs*. E. Benveniste (*HIE* 97-101) presented a strong case for the reconstruction of an original IE verb **wes-* with this meaning, comparing H. *wesi-*, Avest. *vāstra-*

'pasture, pasturage' and H. ᴸᵁ*westara-*, Av. *vāstar-* 'herdsman, protector'; see 3.18.

Hier. *lapana/i-* is denominative, from a noun matching Luw. *lapana-* '(summer) pasture', 3.17.

3.17 — PASTURE (SB.) — *wesi-* is from PIE **wes-* 'pasture, protect flocks', cognate with Avest. *vāstra-*, adj. *vāstrya-* (with numerous further derivs.; see *HIE* 98), Skt. *svásara-* < **su-vasar-* (Renou, *Études védiques et pāninéennes* 10 [1962]: 75), perhaps Toch. A **wäsri* grassland' (Van Windekens, *Le tokharien* 565). See further 3.18.

H. *wellu-* 'meadow', besides Puhvel's derivation fr. **wel-su-* (1.23), has also been reconstructed **wes-lu-* by Čop (*Ling.* 6 [1964]: 44, 51), but the existence of *wesi-* plus the unsuppported *l*-suffix (cf. *EHS* 252-3) make this etymology doubtful.

Luw. *lapana-* 'summer pasture', with derivatives *lapanali-*, *lapanallahit*, *lapanuwani-*, adj. *lapanassi-*, Hier. vb. *lapana/i-*, is obscure (*CHD* 3.40-41).

3.18 — HERDSMAN — ᴸᵁ*westara-* matches Avest. *vāstar-* both formally and semantically, from PIE **wes-tr-*. As pointed out by Benveniste (*HIE* 97-101), the Hittite and Avestan terms *wes(iya)-* and *vāstrya-*, etc. have to do with 'protecting; ruling' as well as simply 'pasturing', allowing the reconstruction of an original sense of **wes-tr-* as 'shepherd, pastor, protector of the flocks', with very early transfer to the relationship between men and the gods. Details of possible ultimate connections of this root **wes-* with its many IE homophones (*IEW* 1170-73) remain to be worked out.

ᴸᵁ*lapanalli-* is from Luw. *lapana-* '(summer) pasture', with deverbative parallels e.g. Lat. *pāstor*, Lith. *ganýtojas*, OCS *pastyrĭ*, *pastuchŭ* (*DSS* 149-50).

3.19 — STABLE, STALL — Like other ancient IE speakers, the Hittites had no native word for the technologically advanced notion of a separate, enclosed building for the housing of livestock. They may have adapted an old word meaning 'standing-place', 'pen', or 'hut' (cf. H. *hali-* 'pen, corral'; *asau[w]ar* 'fold'), as happened in the other dialects, or may simply have adopted the indigenous terminology that appears ideographically as É GUD 'Rinderstall' or É ᴸᵁÍŠ 'Haus des Wagenlenkers' (*HWb.* 270).

According to E. Neu (*Interpretation* 162), ᴱ*kizzumi-* refers to 'Stallung' in *KUB* XXXV 148 III 40 GUD-*us* ᴱ*ki-iz-zu-mi-ya dakkudaku-wair* 'sie trieben die Rinder zum k.' (T 598), but no etymology is apparent.

3.20 — CATTLE — The survival of PIE *$gw\bar{o}u$-* into Anatolian is indicated by Hier. ᶜᴼᵂ*wawa-* (*HWb.* Erg. 2: 47; Laroche, *BSL* 62 [1967]: 59), Lyc. *wawā* (Laroche, loc. cit. 59-61), and H. nom. sg. GUD-*us*, acc. GUD-*un* (*HWb.* 275; cf. N. Oettinger, *MSS* 34 [1976]: 101-2).

3.21 — BULL — GUD.MAH (nom. sg. GUD.MAH-*as*).

3.22 — OX — Regularly GUD. The unclear bovine designation ᴳᵁᴰ*hursalami-* might belong here, if related to *hursakniya-*, the latter referring to some kind of roasting, drying up, or destroying by fire (T 308), thus 'cauterizing'?; cf. Lat. *ūrere*, OE *(ā)fyrian* 'castrate', lit. 'burn (off)'.

3.23 — COW — GUD.ÁB.

3.24 — CALF — (GUD.)AMAR.

3.25 — SHEEP — Luw. *hawi-*, Hier. *ha-wa/i-i-śa*, Lyc. *χawã*, and H. **hawi-* (UDU-*is*) reflect the initial laryngeal phoneme in PIE **Aʷ₁owi-*, attested only indirectly or lost without trace in Gk. οἶς, Lat. *ovis*, OIr. *ói*, OHG *ouwi*, Lith. *avìs*, OCS *ovica*, Skt. *avi-*, etc., and seen as well in Arm. *hovi-w* (T 230).

$^{(UDU)}$*iyant-* is originally the participle of *i-* 'go', and the notion of 'walking wealth' is comparable with Gk. πρόβατα and ON *ganganda fé* (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 148) as well as Oscan *eítiuvam* 'pecuniam' < **ey-tu-* (P 348 with refs.).

3.26 — RAM — UDU.NITÁ-*an,* acc. sg., also UDU.ŠIR (ŠIR 'testicle').

3.27 — WETHER — Possibly UDU.ŠE 'fatted sheep', cf. Ved. *pétva-* 'wether' < *pī-* 'grow fat'.

3.28 — EWE — ^{UDU}U₁₀.

3.29 — LAMB — $^{(UDU)}$ÁŠ.SAL.GAR. Tischler (*HDW* 47) tentatively assigns *lazzandati-*, on the basis of *Kbo* XXIV 26 III 3-4 […] *hāwēs lazzandatin hasta* [… *laz*]*zandatis* ^{D}*Aindupinzu hasta* '"Sheep" begot *l.*; *l.* begot A.', but *CHD* (3.50) infers no more definite meaning than 'an animate being'.

3.31 — SWINE — ŠAH(-*as*), Akk. *šahū.* Neu (*Interpretation* 60, n. 6) suggested H. *huntari-*, which Tischler (T 288) connected with *huntariya-* 'fart' (4.64) and *huntarnu-* 'grunt'; cf. NE slang *oinker.*

3.32 — BOAR — Possibly ŠAH IZ.ZI 'wild hog', lit. 'forest swine', like MW *baed coed* (*HWb.* 293).

3.33 — BARROW — ŠAH ŠE, lit. 'fat hog', plausibly refers to the castrated variety; although lacking the Skt. support enjoyed by its ovine counterpart UDU ŠE (3.27), the greater growth of the neutered animal is alluded to negatively in SCr. *nerast* 'boar', and perhaps positively in Lat. *maiālis* 'barrow' (*DSS* 162, 163).

3.34 — SOW — ŠAH SAL.AL.LAL.

3.35 — PIG(LET) — ŠAH.TUR.

3.36–3.38 — GOAT — MAŠ 'goat', MAŠ.GAL 'he-goat', ÙZ (Akk. *enzu*) 'nanny-goat', MAŠ.TUR 'kid' (Akk. *puḫādu*).

3.41 — HORSE — While Hitt. texts universally employ the sumerogram ANŠU.KUR.RA, lit. 'mountain ass' (cf. 3.46), evidence for an Anatolian reflex of PIE **eḱwo-* comes from Hieroglyphic Luwian (Karatepe) *aśuwa-* (Phoen. *ss*). A further survival may appear in the first element of H. ᴸᵁ*assussanni-* 'horse-trainer', if from Mitannian **aśva-* or the like; see for discussion P 222-23, T 91. For discussion of the original source of IE **eḱwo-* see A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962): 34-35.

3.42 — STALLION — ANŠU.KUR.RA.NITÁ, lit. 'male horse', ANŠU.KUR.RA.MAH(-*as*) 'stud horse, stallion'. To the etymological kin of Lith. *eržilas*, Latv. *ȇrzelis* have been added H. *ark-* 'mount, copulate' (4.67) and pl. *arkiyēs* 'testicles' (4.49).

3.44 — MARE — ANŠU.KUR.RA.SAL(.AL.LAL).

3.45 — FOAL — Besides ANŠU.KUR.RA.TUR, H. *kūrka-* may mean 'foal', comparable to NPers. *kurra* 'foal', Gk. κύρνος

'illegitimate son'; perhaps borrowed in Arm. *k̕uřak* 'foal' (B. Forssman, *KZ* 94 [1980]: 70-74; T 651).

3.46 — Ass (Donkey) — Hittite uses the same basic ideogram, ANŠU, for *Equus asinus* as it does for the donkey's later-imported congener *E. caballus* (ANŠU.KUR.RA). As Buck notes (*DSS* 172), the Sumerian word is generally reckoned to be ultimately related to Lat. *asinus* and its many European equivalents, as well as to Gk. ὄνος. Male and female of the species are predictably expressed by ANŠU.NITÁ and ANŠU.SAL(.AL.LAL) respectively, with the alternative EMÈ also for the latter ('jenny').

3.47 — Mule — ANŠU.GÌR.NUN.NA.

3.51-3.55 — Chicken — While a very large number of different bird-names have been collected (cf. 3.64), not one can yet be reliably identified with the domestic hen. Even Sommer and Ehelolf's tentative location here of MUŠEN.GAL 'large bird' (*Pāpanikri* 64), though paralleled by Gk. ὄρνις 'hen' and NE *fowl*, is challenged by B. Landsberger (apud Friedrich, *HWb.* 287), who reads rather 'goose'.

3.56 — Goose — Although 'goose' may be MUŠEN.GAL as mentioned above (3.51), essentially it suffers from the same indeterminacy as most other Hitt. bird-names.

3.57 — Duck — Like most other birds, which of the many attested Anatolian names referred to the *Anatidae* is undetermined. *CHD* (3.6-7), however, confidently and no doubt rightly interprets H. *lah(h)anzan(na)-* as some kind of duck. It further specifically identifies MUŠEN HURRI 'sheldrake' as *Tadorna tadorna* (following Landsberger, *WO* 3.3 [1966]: 262-66).

3.61–3.612 — DOG — UR.ZÍR 'dog', UR.ZÍR SAL.AL.LAL 'bitch', UR.TUR 'puppy'.

3.63 — MOUSE — A. Götze (*ZA* N.F. 6 [1930]: 65-70) collated the personal name ᴵ*Mashuiluwa-* and its allograph ᴵPÍŠ.TUR-*wa-* to recover H. or Luw. *mashuil-* 'mouse'. Connection with PIE **mūs-* is unlikely; Hattic or Hurrian origin seems more probable.

3.64 — BIRD — The occurrence of pl. *suwais* once for MUŠEN-*es* reveals a Hitt. cognate (/swai-/ < **s-A₂woi-*) of Indo-Iranian **vi-*, Arm. *haw-* (< **A₂wi-*), Lat. *avis* (< *A₂ew-is), etc. (cf. J. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 15 [1969]: 144-67, also tying in Gk. ὦόν, Lat. *ovum*, etc. 'egg' as *ō-Hwy-óm).

wattai- may be 'bird' in general (*HWb.* 249) or some specific kind (Otten - von Soden, *Vokabular* 40, n. 2); cf. the name ᴵ*Watti-hahla-* 'Yellow-bird' (Tischler, *Serta Indogermanica* 452).

A fairly large number of specific bird-names are attested (cf. the list at *EHGl.* 22-23), especially in ornithomantic contexts; a few can be identified more or less exactly. Besides *lahhanza-* 'duck' (3.57), attempts have been made, for example, on *alila-*, *aliliya-* (: Lat. *olor*, OIr. *elae* 'swan' [P 34-35]), *aramni-* (: Gk. μέρμνος 'falcon, hawk' [P 127-28]), *arda-* 'heron' (P 175-76), *hapupu-* 'owl' (T 167), *hara(n)-* 'eagle' (: Gk. ὄρνις? [T 170-71]), *kakkapa-* 'partridge'? (T 461), and *kallikalli-* 'falcon' (T 466). The name of *pattarpalhi-* recalls the North American "Broad-winged hawk," *Buteo platypterus p.*

3.65 — FISH — KU₆-*u-* (Akk. *nūnu*) may correspond to (possibly incomplete) *parhu[-* (EHS 252); a derivation from *parh-* 'hurry, leap about; hunt' would make sense in terms of the darting movements of fish-schools.

3.66 — FISHERMAN — ^{LÚ}ŠU.PIŠ.

3.71 — WOLF — In addition to UR.BAR.RA (Akk. *barbaru*), there is *ulip(pa)na-*, a possible cognate of Lat. *vulpes*, Gk. ἀλώπηξ, Lith. *lãpė*, Bret. *louarn* 'fox' (perhaps also OIr. *Olc*, Primitive Ir. *Ulcagnus;* cf. *IEW* 1178; Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, *The Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* [Dublin, 1977], p. 33-34), RV *lopāśá-* 'jackal', all of which could be tabuistically deformed distant relatives of IE *$w\mathring{l}k^wo$-/*luk^wo-.

ON *vargr*, Sw. *varg* have an important cognate in H. *hurkel* 'crime', 21.41.

3.72 — LION — *walwalla-* is inferred from the collocation of ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*walwalla-* and ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UR.MAH 'lion-men'. It may be from the same ultimate source as Gk. λέ(ϝ)ων, thus *(wa)-lwa-lla-*; Puhvel (P s.v.) also suggests verbal origin in PIE *wel-w-* 'steal', comparing semantically ON *vargr* 'wolf' < 'robber' (< 'strangler').

A different type of lion, perhaps 'winged lion' or 'sphinx', is denoted by *awiti-*. G. Neumann's analysis (*KZ* 77 [1961]: 76-77) as *owi-edi-* 'sheep-eater' has to be rejected because the Anatolian reflex of IE *owi-* (i.e. *$A^w{}_1\acute{o}wi$-) is Luw. *hawi-* (3.25). Better is the comparison (P 246, with refs.) with Lat. *invīsus*, Hom. ἀΐδηλος 'fierce, hateful', lit. 'un-faceable, terrible', from *$\mathring{n}$-wid-*.

3.73 — BEAR — H. *hartagga-* (/hartka/) shows that the PIE reconstruction is *$A_1rt\hat{k}o$-, seen also in Gk. ἄρκτος, Lat. *ursus*, OIr. *art*, W. *arth*, Skt. *ŕkṣa-*, and Av. *arəša-*. A further connection with Skt. *rákṣas-*, Av. *rašah-* 'destruction' < *$A_1ret\hat{k}$-* (P s.v.) also makes good sense, as the author's personal experience can confirm.

3.77 — ELEPHANT — H. (or Luw.) *lahpa-* 'ivory' (KAxUD *AMSI,* lit. 'elephant's tooth') is reminiscent of Gk. ἐλέφας, and may be likewise of Egyptian origin (*DSS* 189); cf. Laroche, *RPh.* 39 (1965): 56-59.

3.79 — HUNT — **hurna-* (iter. *hūwarniskizzi,* inf. *hurnuwanzi*) was compared by Čop (*Slav. Rev.* 7 [1954]: 232) with Latv. *vērt* 'run', OCS *variti* 'precede'. A base-meaning 'go quickly; flee' plus causative yields the sense 'make run away, hunt' in **hurna-,* Lith. *varýti,* SCr. *juriti,* with parallels in H. *pittenu-* (below) and many other IE hunting-words (*DSS* 190-91); Gk. αὖρι-ταχέως, Aesch. αὖρι-βά-τᾱς 'swift-striding' supports a reconstruction **A₁w(e)r-.*

pittenu- (Luw. *pittanu-*) has the same meaning, being causative to *pittai-* 'run, flee' (10.41).

siyattaliya- is denominative from *siyattal-* 'spear; arrow' or the like, derived from *sai-, siya-* 'shoot; press; seal' (like *RV sā́yaka-* 'missile') < PIE **seE₁-* 'throw' (cf. 9.432).

'Hunter' is often LÚ UR.ZÍR-*a-* 'dog-man', fittingly for the practice of running down game reflected in *hurna-* and *pittenu-,* and recalling Gk. κυνηγέτης 'hunter', lit. 'dog-driver' (cf. *KUB* XXXIII 121 II 11-12 ["Kessi-Saga"] ᴵ*Kessis-za* ᴳᴵˢŠUKUR *sarā dās* UR.TURᴴᴵ·ᴬ EGIR-*an-seit halzais n-as INA* ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳ*Nattara hurnuwanzi pait* 'Kessi picked up his spear, called the dogs after him, and went to Mt. Nattara to hunt'). An alternative hunting technique appears in H. *appaliyalla-* 'trapper', derived via *appalai-* '(en)trap' < *appala-* 'trap, snare' < *ep(p)-, ap(p)-* 'seize' (11.14); cf. P 95-96.

3.81 — INSECT — Hittite entomological nomenclature presents a picture similar to that of its ornithological terminology, but on a smaller scale. Although a general term for 'insect' is unknown, a few varieties can be identified with varying certainty (e.g. *lalakuesa-* 'ant' [*CHD* 3.27], *mutgalla-* 'caterpillar' [N. van Brock,

RHA 20 (1962): 101], *gagastiya-* 'grasshopper'? [T 462], *masa-* 'locust'), still others remain obscure (see e.g. *HDW* 124 and speculations on several further forms in *Alimenta* 86-93).

3.82 — BEE — NIM.LÀL (Akk. *nubtu*); LÚ NIM.LÀL 'beekeeper'.

3.84 — WORM — Tischler offers *wagai-* 'Mehlwurm' (*HDW* 124); if this meaning is correct (*EHS* 207 "unbekannter Bedeutung"), derivation from *wak-* 'bite' (4.58) is conceivable.

3.85 — SNAKE — The name of *illuyanka-* or *elliyanku-*, the serpent or dragon slain by the storm-god in Hattic mythology, is probably of indigenous origin (P 359). Attempts by Sayce (*JRAS* 1922: 185) and Kretschmer (*KZ* 55 [1928]: 80) to find an IE etymology involving Gk. ὄφις, Lat. *anguis*, Skt. *áhi-*, etc. are rejected by Tischler (T 355), although unresolved problems of phonetic detail in the latter forms still leave the question open. Sum. MUŠ.

PARTS OF THE BODY; BODILY FUNCTIONS AND CONDITIONS

4.11 — BODY — Hitt. *tuekka-* 'body; self, person' is most often connected (since W. Petersen, *Lg.* 9 [1933]: 18) with Skt. *tvác-* 'skin, hide', IE **twek̂-os*, with semantic development as in Skt. *śárīra-* 'body' : *śárman-* 'cover(ing)', OPruss. *kērmens* 'body' : RV *cárman* 'skin', OHG *līchamo* 'body' : OE *hama* 'covering'. Specialization in another direction is seen in the Gk. σάκος 'shield', originally referring either to its material (ox-hide) or function (covering, protection).

E. Risch's alternative comparison of *tuekka-* with Gk. σάρξ 'flesh' (*Die Sprache* 7 [1961]: 93-98), though semantically tenable, is phonetically difficult, and is doubted by Gusmani (*Lessico* 50, n. 42).

4.12 — SKIN; HIDE — The Hitt. word ^(KUŠ)*kursa-* 'skin, hide; (esp.) fleece' seems at first sight derived from *kurs-* 'cut off', like Gk. δέρμα : δέρω 'cut', OIr. *seche* : Lat. *secāre*, etc. (thus Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 119, *Comp. Gr.*[2] 56), but lack of derivational parallels casts doubt on this simple explanation (*EHS* 189, T 655). Some scholars (e.g. Pisani, *Paideia* 8 [1953]: 308), on similar semantic grounds, have compared Skt. *cárman* 'hide', Lat. *corium* 'leather', etc., positing IE root-connection in **(s)ker-* 'cut', but these forms probably belong with H. *kariya-* 'hide, cover up' from a homophonous root (see 12.26).

Another approach to *kursa-* sensibly considers it a Cappadocian loanword, akin to Akk. *gusānu(m)* 'leather bag' and Gk. βύρσα 'hide; leather', whence MLat. *bursa*, MHG *burse*, NHG *Börse*, *Bursch*, Fr. *bourse* 'purse' (EHS 139; Gusmani, *Lessico* 32; T 655-56 with refs.).

Skt. *tvac-*, Gk. σάκος match H. *tuekka-* 'body', 4.11.

4.13 — Flesh — The ideogram UZU (Akk. *šīru*) is universal. ᵁᶻᵁ*suppa-* means specifically 'ritually pure' flesh, from *suppi-* 'pure' (15.87). There is also *uzi-* 'Fleisch, Eingeweide', of Hurrian origin (*HDW* 98).

4.14 — Hair — *ishiyani-* 'body hair' is from *ishiya-* 'bind' (see 9.16); a parallel to this strange shift is the cognate Lat. *saeta* 'coarse hair, bristle' (Oettinger, *MSS* 35 [1976]: 101); cf. P 400, 402.

The usual word for 'hair', *tetana-*, is obscure.

4.142 — Beard — *zama(n)kur-* 'beard', *samangurwant-* 'bearded' apparently belongs with Skt. *śmáśru-* (Laroche, *RHA* 11 [1950]: 40-41), entailing Arm. *mawrukʿ* 'beard' as well as OIr. *smech*, Lith. *smākras* 'chin', from IE **smeḱ-*, **smoḱ(-ru)-*.

4.15 — Blood — *eshar-* or *ishar-* has long been recognized as the Hittite cognate of Gk. ἔαρ, Skt. *ásrg-*, etc. (*DSS* 206), IE **ésHr̥-/*ésHn̥-*. It is particularly well endowed with derivatives, e.g. *eshanant-*; adjs. *eshassi-*, *eshanuwant-* (Luw. *ashanuwant-*), *eshaniya-*, *ēsharúil*; verbs **eshaneski-*, *eshariya-*, *esharnu-* (Luw. *asharnu-*), *esharnumai-*; *eshar iya-* 'shed blood' (P 305-13).

The term denotes 'dark (i.e. venous) blood' (BAD.GE₆, Akk. *adammu*; Gk. αἷμα κελαινόν), as opposed to 'bright (arterial) blood' (BAD.UD, Akk. *sarku*), represented by H. *mani-*, of

unknown affinity (Knobloch [*Kratylos* 4 (1959): 38] derived it from
IE *mā-ni-* 'damp, moist' [*IEW* 699], as in Lat. *mānāre* 'flow, trickle').

4.16 — Bone — One of the key discoveries for initial PIE
(voiceless) *o*-coloring phoneme $*A^w{}_1$- (besides Luw. *hawi-* 'sheep',
3.25) is H. *hastai-* (Luw. *hassa-*), cognate with Gk. ὀστέον, Lat. *os*,
Skt. *ásthi-*, etc. (first in Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 139), IE $*A^w{}_1$*ést-
(ō)i-*. The initial laryngeal has further fueled speculation on the
possible relationship of Lat. *costa* 'rib', OCS *kostĭ* 'bone' (e.g. A.
Martinet, *Phonetica* 1 [1957]: 22; E. Polomé, *Evidence* 40 and n. 176).
Cf. T 202-3.

hastai- is joined by denom. *hastiyant-* 'bone' and possibly
hastali- 'hero' (T 203-4); É *hastiyas* is the 'bone-house' in which the
bones of the cremated dead are placed, after being dipped in a jar
of fat and wrapped in linen, in a funeral ceremony remarkably
reminiscent of the rites for Patroklos and Hektor in *Iliad* 23.224-54
and 24.782-804 (cf. Gurney, *The Hittites* 164-69).

4.162 — Rib — ᵁᶻᵁTI is usually read *tapu(wa)s-* (with denom.
tapuwassant-) 'Rippe, Seite' (*HWb.* 212, *HDW* 85, *EHS* 260, 328, 341-
42, 343); the primary meaning may be 'side', given the case-form
advs. *tapusa-*, *tapusza-* 'sideways; beside' (12.36).

4.17 — Horn — *karawar* is cognate with the common IE stock
from $*ĝerA_2$-, related to Gk. κέρας, Lat. *cornū*, Goth. *haurn*, Skt.
śṛriga-, Av. *srū-* 'horn'; Skt. *śíras-*, Gk. κάρη, Arm. *sar*, Lat *cerebrum*,
OHG *hirni* '(fore)head; peak', etc. The Hitt. word (and Lyc. *keruti-*
'horned animal') includes a *u*-extension (or suffix) $*ĝrA_2w$-ṛ- or
$*ĝrA_2$-*wṛ*-, linking it with such originally adjectival forms as Gk.
κερα(ϝ)ός 'horned', Lat. *cervus*, W. *carw* 'deer', OPruss. *sirwis* 'doe',
etc. (T 500-2).

(SI)*sawatar*-, neut. *sawitra*- and agent-noun *sawatar*- 'horn-player' is both the drinking horn and the musical instrument (*HDW* 73, *HWb.* 189).

4.18 — TAIL — KUN (Akk. *zibbatu*) is tentatively equated with H. (UZU)*sisai*- by Tischler (*HDW* 76) and Hoffner (*EHGl.* 87), the latter rejecting Friedrich's reading 'tooth' (*HWb.* 194).

4.19 — BACK — *iskis*- 'back' may refer originally to the horizontal 'ridge' of animals, to judge from its toponomastic use in HUR.SAG*Iskisa*- 'Mt. *I.*' (Laroche, *RHA* 19 [1961]: 78-79; *EHGl.* 60, n. 116), like Lat. *dorsum*, OE *hrycg*, NHG *rücken*, Gk. νῶτον, etc.

Etymology is complicated by the indeterminacy of formation. Assuming the initial *i*- to be prothetic (cf. *ispant*- 'night' [14.42]), Hrozný connected -*skis*- with OIr. *sciath* 'shoulder blade' (*SH* 42, n. 1). A stronger comparison, based on an analysis *isk-is*-, ties in Gk. ἰσχίον 'hips' (F. Ribezzo, *Rivista indo-greco-italica* 4 [1920]: 130); the expression *iskisa pai*- 'mount, copulate with' (used of animals) apparently supports this connection by focusing specifically on the lower part of the back (P 425). Further suggested cognates are Lat. *īlium* 'loin, flank' (Ribezzo, loc. cit.) and Gk. ἰξύς 'waist', Skt. *sákthi*- 'thigh' (T 401-2).

4.20 — HEAD — The Anatolian words for 'head', *harsar* (with hypostatic *harsan[a]*-) and *halant*-, as well as *hupalla*- 'skull' (or the like), share an initial *h*- whose source is hard to determine, making etymology difficult in each case. If *h*- could be shown to come from IE *$\hat{k}$- (contrary to the normal outcome), then multiple possibilities would present themselves: *harsar* is comparable with Skt. *śíras*- (gen. *śīrṣṇás*), Gk. κρᾱνίον, and other forms from IE *$\hat{k}erA_2$- (T 185; add too Gusmani, *Lessico* 23); *halanta*- has been matched with OCS *glava*, Lith. *galvà* 'head', Arm. *xalam*, Lat. *calva* 'skull' < *$\hat{k}el$- (T 126-

27); *hupalla-* recalls Gk. κεφαλή 'head' and κύπελλον 'cup', Skt. *kapála-* 'skull', Goth. *gibla* 'gable' (**ghebhel-*; refs. T 291). Yet all these must remain only enticing possibilities in the absence of a convincing explanation of the shift from expected Hitt. **k-* to attested *h-*. Assumption of analogical influence from *halanta-* 'head' (W. Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 203; T 185) begs the question, by abandoning *halanta-* itself to non-IE origin in order to account for the *h-* on which the analogy is based. Further undermining an analogically shifted original **k-* are Luw. *harmahi-* 'head' (: H. *harsar*) and Lyc. *qla* 'chief, head man' (: H. *halanta-*). Finally, the expected outcome of **ǩer-/ǩr̥-* may appear intact in the second element of H. *kitkar-* 'at the head of' (T 596-97).

The prudent course is thus to seek a source in either an IE **H₁-*, e.g. a connection (A. Juret, *Vocabulaire* 12) with Lat. *altus* (**A₁el-*), or indigenous sources (as in the case of *hupalla-*, 4.202).

It might be possible to rescue one or more of the above comparisons by a reconstruction (suggested by Puhvel, p.c.) like **(ǩ)H₁erA₂-s-*, with movable *k-* as in Gk. καπρός : Lat. *aper* 'boar' (perhaps also relevant for H. *hastai-* 'bone' vs. Lat. *costa* 'rib', OCS *kostĭ* 'bone', 4.16); thus H. *harsar* < **H₁rA₂s-r̥*, Skt. *śíras* and Gk. κρᾱνίον < **ǩH₁rA₂-*. Russ. *kozá* 'goat' (: Skt. *ajá́-?*), though, may indicate rather the non-palatal velar for *k-*mobile, and the whole approach seems difficult.

4.202 — SKULL — The unlikely derivation of initial *h-* from **k-* probably rules out any connection of H. *hupalla-* 'skull' (vel sim.) with Gk. κεφαλή, Skt. *kapála-*, etc., as discussed above. More reasonable is a tie-in with various indigenous vessel-names including *huppar, huppi-, huprushi-, hupurni, hupuwai-*, with semantics as in Lat. *testa* or NHG *kopf* 'head' < 'plate' or 'cup' (S. Alp, *Anatolia* 2 [1957]: 6-7; T 291).

The source of H. *tarna-*, Luw. *tarsama-* 'skull' (*HDW* 87) is unknown.

4.204 — FACE — *meni-* 'face' (IGI.HI.A-*i-*) is probably also the first element in *menahhanda* (IGI-*anda*) 'opposite, against', from dat. *mena-* + *hant-* 'before the face' (*HWb.* 141). For root-connection, Lat. *mentum* 'chin', W. *mant* 'jaw, mouth', Goth. *munþs* offer a possibility, **mn̥-(to-)* (cf. Lat. *ē-*, *prō-minēre* 'stand out'); with transfer of 'chin' or 'jaw' to 'face' as in Latv. *vaigs.*

4.205 — FOREHEAD — H. *hant-* 'front, forehead' (cf. Lat. *frōns*) reflects, according to Gusmani (*Lessico* 22), an archaic PIE root-noun, from which other languages preserve petrified prepositional case-forms (Gk. ἀντί, Lat. *ante,* cf. H. *hanti-*) or suffixed nouns (OIr. *étan,* OHG *andi* 'forehead', Skt. *ánta-* 'limit, end'), thus IE **A₁ent-* (cf. T 149-54).

4.206 — EYEBROW — *enera-*, *inira-* and further variants (P 271-72) are unrelated to the IE group from **bhrū-*, and probably autochthonous. Likewise for the clearly distinct *laplipa-* 'eyelash' (cf. *EHS* 119), separate also from 'eyelid' (*KAPPI ENI*) (ibid.).

4.208 — CHEEK — *parsina-* may be 'cheek' or 'jaw' (*HDW* 61), possibly referring to its shape, like very many IE synonyms (*DSS* 220-24), cf. *parsna-* 'loin; thigh' and *parsnai-* 'hook downward'. Cognates are Skt. *pắrṣṇi-*, Av. *pāsna-* 'heel', Gk. πτέρνη (?), Lat. *perna* 'calf; thigh; leg', *pernix* 'swift, agile' (< 'heel'), Goth. *faírsna* 'heel', IE **pers-n(e)A-* (*IEW* 823).

4.21 — EYE — Hittite *sakui-* (Luw. *tawi-*), with pl. *sakuwa* and by-form *sakuni-* 'fountain' (1.37), is connected with Gk. σοφός 'wise' (17.21) and σάφα 'clear' (17.34) via IE **dhyogʷh-* or **dhyagʷh-*

(*AI* 265-66, 313-21), opening a window into the distant Indo-European past when 'vision, insight, clarity' and 'wisdom' were conceptually inseparable.

4.22 — EAR — Terms for 'ear' and 'hearing' in Anatolian (H. *istaman[a]-, istamas-*; Luw. *tummant-, tummantai-*) find no cognates among the widespread descendants of either IE *$\bar{o}us$- or *$\hat{k}lew$-. Instead they show a peculiar development from IE *$stemH_1$-, apparently originally denoting a more general concept of 'sense-perception' (e.g. in IGI.HI.A-*as istamassuwar* 'perception of the eyes' = 'eysight'; P 460), and specialized in another direction elsewhere: beside H. *istanh-* 'taste' (15.31), there are Gk. στόμα 'mouth', στόμαχος, Avest. *staman-* 'throat, maw', W. *safn* 'jawbone', OHG deriv. *stimma* 'voice', among others (op. cit. 460-61).
    hazzizzi- means 'ear' as well as 'understanding', like its Akk. source *hasīsu* (T 233-34).

4.23 — NOSE — Only KAxKAK securely belongs here; *kapru-* may mean this (T 494) or 'throat' (*EHGl.* 24, *EHS* 252).

4.24 — MOUTH — Here Hitt. continues and further illuminates the etymon of Lat. $\bar{o}s$, Skt. $\bar{a}s$-, etc. The vocalisms of Lat. $\bar{o}s$ and H. *a(y)is(s)-*, obl. *iss-* can be unified through a reconstruction *$A^w_1\acute{e}E_1$-s-, with zero-grade suffix in Lat., Skt., and Av. $\bar{a}h$-, and *$A^w_1\acute{e}E_1$-es- > *$\bar{o}yes$ > H. $\bar{a}yis$, gen *$A^w_1E_1es$-ós (P 17; for *$E1$ > -*y*- cf. Puhvel, *Evidence* 91-92 [= *AI* 137-38], *LIEV* 53-61). Luw. $\bar{a}s(s)a$- also belongs here; details on the entire group T 6-8.
    Lat. $\bar{o}ra$ 'edge, coast; rope' should be separated completely from $\bar{o}s$ and company and attached rather to H. *arha-* 'line' (12.84), also meaning 'edge, boundary'.

Gk. στόμα and related forms find their identity through Hitt. *istaman(a)-* 'ear' (4.22).

4.25 — L*IP* — *puri-* is etymologically obscure. The Hitt. cognate of Lat. *labrum, labium,* OE *lippa,* etc. may appear in *lip(p)-* 'lick' (4.59).

4.26 — T*ONGUE* — *lala-* (ᵁᶻᵁEME) 'tongue; speech', also '(harmful) speech, slander, blasphemy' (*CHD* 3.21-25), is undoubtedly onomatopoeic, precisely a "Lallwort"; cf. Gk. λάλη(μα) '(idle) talk, gossip, chatter' (*EHS* 121).

4.27 — T*OOTH* — *kaga-* apparently matches OHG *hāko,* OE *hōk* (Laroche, *RHA* 31 [1973]: 90-91) < **k(o)ng-n-*, to which Tischler (T 460) adds Lit. *kéngė* 'hook', Russ. *kógot'* 'claw'.

4.28 — Neck — *kuttar* (ᵁᶻᵁGÚ) matches Lat. *guttur* 'throat' < **gut-ṛ* (T 678-80). Puhvel (P 208) interprets the phrase GÚ-*tar sarā appātarr-a* as 'self-assurance', lit. a hendiadys 'neck-lift'. Cf. *kuttanalli-* 'necklace, collar' (6.45).

4.29 — T*HROAT* — *hurhurta-, hu(wa)hhurti-* is probably non-IE, of foreign or onomatopoeic origin (T 263), and perhaps borrowed in Arm. *xaxurt´* 'throat'.

tar(a)sna- is too doubtful ('Kehle' *HDW* 86,87; otherwise *EHS* 182,185) for meaningful etymology.

ᵁᶻᵁ*pappassala/i-* 'esophagus' seems to be reduplicative from *pas-* 'swallow' (Alp, *Körperteilnamen* 14; Van Brock, *RHA* 20 [1962]: 94), semantically like most of its synonyms (*DSS* 233-35). Further root-connection is doubtful; a link with IE **bhes-* 'breathe, blow' (*IEW* 146) is possible, given Skt. *bábhasti, bapsati* (: Gk. ψύχω?) 'blow', *bhástrā* 'bellows, leather bag'.

4.30 — SHOULDER — *paltana-* (suffix *-na-* as in *halhalzana-* below) is from IE *$pl̥-t-no-$, with parallel formations in Gk. ὡμο-πλάτη 'shoulder-blade' and OCS *plešte* (*$plet-yo-$), OIr. *leithe* (*$plet-yā$) 'shoulder'. With commonplace development 'shoulder(-blade)' < 'flat surface', the root-connection involves H. *palhi-* 'wide, broad' < IE *$pél-A_1-$, *$pl̥-éA_1-$ (12.61).

halhalzana- (Luw. *halhalzani-*), *halhanzana-*, *halhaldana-*, when stripped of the secondary reduplication (cf. *gakkartana-* below), can be compared with Avest. *arəθna-*, RV *aratní-* 'elbow', IE *$H_1elt-no-$ (P s.v.). Cf. further H. *halhaltumar* 'corner' (12.76).

gakkartan(a)i-, reduplicated as in *halhalzana-*, matches ON *herðr*, OHG *harti* (P s.v.), continuing another PIE term.

A cognate of Gk. ὦμος, Lat. *umerus*, Umbr. loc. *onse*, Skt. *áṁsa-*, Arm. *us*, Toch. A *es*, B *āntse*, Goth. *ams* < IE *$om(e)so-$ may be Hitt. *anassa-* 'hips, buttocks' or 'back of shoulders, upper back' (Puhvel, *JAOS* 97 [1977]: 599; *AI* 416; P 63).

4.31 — ARM — While a meaning 'upper arm' has been suggested for ᵁᶻᵁ*ishunau-* (T 392-93), the etymology seems to support rather 'sinew; bowstring' (Skt. *snăvan-*, Gk. νεῦρον, Arm. *neard*, Lat. *nervus* 'sinew', OHG *snuor* 'cord', etc., *IEW* 977; cf. Laroche, *OLZ* 57 [1962]: 30-31; Oettinger, *MSS* 35 [1976]: 93-97; P 403-4). A secondary development of 'upper arm' from 'sinew' is difficult to justify, though admitted as a possibility (via 'biceps') by Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 38 (1981): 351.

4.33 — HAND — The contribution of H. *kessar* to the reconstruction of PIE 'hand', *$ghes-r̥-$ (vs. Indo-Iranian *$ghes-to-$ > Skt. *hásta-*, etc.), was clear already to Sturtevant (*Lg.* 3 [1927]: 121) and is explained briefly by Buck (*DSS* 238-39); many further refs. T 558-63.

Anatolian cognates include Luw. *issari-*, adj. *issarassi-*, Lyc. *izre-* (*DLL* 52-53).

4.34 — FINGER — Puhvel (*AI* 260-61, 349-52) explained Hitt. *kalulupa-* 'finger; toe' as the outcome of **tkad-ul-* < **dkṃd-ul-* '(little) one of a tenfold', with Gk. δάκτυλος (< **δάτκυλος) by metathesis from the same form; Lat. *digitulus* belongs here as well. The meaning is much like that of Goth. *figgrs*, etc. < **penkʷrós* 'one of a pentad' < **penkʷe*.

4.35 — LEG — *egdu-*, *igdu-* reflects **ey-gh-tu-* < **ey-gh-* 'go', cognate with Gk. οἴχομαι 'go away', ἴχνος 'foot, footstep', Lith. *eigà* 'a going' (EHS 252), Toch. B *yku* 'gone' (P 261), etc. (T 351), from **ey-* 'go'. Similar metonymy appears in Skt. *jáṅgha-* 'lower leg', Av. *zanga-* 'ankle' < **ghengh-* 'walk, go'.

4.36 — KNEE — *genu-* faithfully reflects the ancient IE word in its oldest reconstructible shape.

4.37 — FOOT — *pata-* is a full-fledged member of the inherited group of Gk. πούς, Skt. *pad-*, Goth. *fōtus*, Lat. *pēs*, etc., thematized like Skt. *pắda-* (Gusmani, *Lessico* 23), and joined by Luw. and Hier. *pata-*, Lyc. *pede-* (*DLL* 81).

4.38 — TOE — *kalulupa-* is 'toe' as wel as 'finger' 4.34).

4.39 — NAIL — Like most of the practically ubiquitous reflexes of IE **(o)nogh-*, H. *sanku(wa)i-* shows unexplained phonetic variations; according to Gusmani (*Lessico* 23) the latter are "di probabile origine tabuistica"—one thinks of the rather unsettling tendency of fingernails (and hair) to continue growing after the rest of the body is dead.

4.392 — WING — *pittar* (possibly *pattar*), gen. *pittanas* or *pattanas*, is from **pétH-r̥/petH-n̥-s* or the like (cf. Puhvel, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 212-13 = *AI* 359-60) < **pet-* 'fly' (10.37). Cognate with Skt. *páttram*, Gk. πτερόν 'feather', and thus with Lat. *penna*, OIr. *ette* 'wing', OHG *federa,* etc.; the basic comparison was made already by Hrozný (*SH* 70-71).

partawar goes with the other IE term 'fly', **per-* (OCS *pariti*), akin to Skt. *parṇá-*, OCS *pero* 'feather, wing', Lith. *spar̃nas* 'wing', etc. (Goetze, *Lg.* 30 [1954]: 403; Benveniste, *BSL* 51 [1955]: 36-41; *EHS* 283-84). Puhvel (P 441-47) further tentatively connects Hitt. *ispar(r)-, isparriya-* 'spread, scatter, fell; fly (?)', suggesting this as the original PIE meaning (see 9.34).

4.40 — CHEST — *taggani-*, "ohne nachweisbares Grundwort" (*EHS* 222).

4.41 — BREAST — *tita-* seems to match Ital. *tetta*, OE *titt,* NHG *zitze*, etc., and forms denominative *titiya-, titiski-*, Luw. *titai-* 'breast-feed'. Possibly an *n*-stem in Anatolian, if Luw. dat. sg. *titani* belongs here (*EHS* 196).

4.44 — HEART — IE **ḱēr(d)-* appears in H. nom. *kir* (and suffixless loc. *kir*), as in Gk. κῆρ and OPruss. *seyr;* with these belong Arm. *sirt* (**ḱērdi-*) and Goth. *haírto*, etc. (**ḱērd-on-*). Zero-grade **ḱr̥d(i)-* underlies Hitt. gen. *kardiyas* and *kartas*, and Gk. καρδία, Lat. *cor, cordis*, OIr. *cride*, Lith. *širdìs*, OCS *srŭdĭce*, etc. (*IEW* 579). Other anatolian forms are Pal. *kārti* and perhaps Lyc. B *kridesi* (A *kerθθi*) (T 556-58).

4.45 — LIVER — Although IE **yekʷ-r̥t* does not survive in Hitt., the attested word *lesi-, lissi-* may have been its partner in a phrase

'fatted liver'. The postulated development is from *loysi* or *laysi*, with cognates in Arm. *leard* 'liver' (< *lis-r̥t*, reshaped after *yekʷ-r̥t* or *neard* 'sinew'), Gk. λᾱρῑνός 'fatted' (< *layes-r-īnos*), Lat. *lārdum, laetus* 'fat, rich, fertile'. The meaning is paralleled in OE *lifer*, etc. (: Gk. λίπος, λιπαρός) 'fatted') and French *foie*, Ital. *fegato* (Lat. *[iecur] ficātum* 'fig-fattened liver' (J. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 12 [1966]: 77-78; P s.v.). The same meaning appears in Pal. *bānnu-* 'liver' < IE *pen-nu-* 'fattened'; cf. Lith. *penù* 'fatten' (Melchert, *KZ* 94 [1984]: 42-43).

The important role of hepatoscopic augury explains the meaning of adj. *lissiyala-* 'oracular', lit. 'pertaining to the liver', as well as the existence of a number of names for specific parts of the organ, mostly from Hurrian, e.g. *mazeri-, nipasuri-, sentahi-* (*EHGl.* 55, *HDW* 52, 57, 74).

4.46 — BELLY; STOMACH — ᵁᶻᵁ*panduha-* 'stomach' resembles Lat. *pantex, pantices* 'entrail(s)', which came to mean 'belly' in Rum. *pîntece*, Ital. *pancia*, OFr. *panche* > NE *paunch*, Sp. *panza*. Root *pend-* 'hang down', with Lat. *-t-* analogical after *venter, uterus*, etc.? The same root may also occur in H. *pantala-* 'moment', 12.52.

4.47 — WOMB — For *genzu* 'lap, womb', also 'love, friendship', a derivation from IE *ĝenE-* 'beget' (H. Eichner, *MSS* 31 [1973]: 55) is phonetically inexplicable. The variant *gimzu* prompted Laroche's reconstruction (*RHA* 23 [1965]: 51) from IE *gem(s)-* 'contain, grasp' (*IEW* 368-69), and comparison with Gk. γέντα 'entrails', though γαστήρ is best left as *γραστήρ < *greHs-* 'devour' (Skt. *grástar-* 'devourer' [*IEW* 404]). Derivatives: denom. *genzuwai-* 'be friendly towards', adj. *genzuwala-* 'friendly, solicitous'.

sarhuwant- 'womb; entrails; fetus' (Akk. *ša libbi-ša*), from an unattested *sarh-*, may be comparable with Gk. ὀρύα (< *ὁρύα)

'intestine' < *$srA^w{}_1$- (cf. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 15 [1969]: 159; *GEW* 2.429).

A euphemistic reference to female genitalia is apparent in the story of the birth of Ullikummi, where Kumarbi becomes enamored of a huge rock and *katta-kan kuit harzi* 'what it has underneath'.

4.49 — T<small>ESTICLE</small> — *arki-* (attested as nom. pl. *arkiyēs,* acc. *arkius*) matches Gk. ὄρχις, Arm. *orji-kʿ,* Alb. *herdhë,* MIr. *uirgge* (*orghi-*, and is further cognate with Avest. *ərəzi-* 'testicle', Arm. *orj* 'male', Lith. *erž̃ilas* 'stallion', *aržùs* 'lustful', and ON *argr* 'passive homosexual' (P 142-43). The etymon is an ancient *i*-stem from a verb *erĝh-, *orĝh-*, attested in H. *ark-* 'copulate' and cognates in Gk., Slavic, and Indic (see 4.67).

4.492 — P<small>ENIS</small> — IE *pes-*, seen in Gk. πέος, Skt. *pásas-,* Lat. *pēnis,* also yielded H. *pesna-* *'penis' (< *pes-no-*, parallel to Lat. *cunnus < *kut-no-*; cf. Gk. κύσθος), which became synechdochically 'man, male' and gave rise in turn to *pisnatar* (LÚ-*natar*) 'manhood; male genitals, penis; sperm' (P s.v.). The meaning of the verbal root involved is suggested by H. *pes* 'rub' (Puhvel, *JAOS* 102.1 [1982]: 179; 9.31 below); cf. Ital. *fregare* (Oettinger, *Stammb.* 327, n. 141).

hapusa- is from IE *$A^w{}_1pus$-*, with the denom. verb *$A^w{}_1pus$-ye*-reflected in Gk. ὀπυίω 'mount; marry'; with female subject the passive (Gortyn οπυιεθθαι) is used (cf. van Windekens, *Orbis* 27.2 [1978]: 318; C. Watkins, *Serta Indogermanica* 455-57).

genu- 'knee' (4.36) is also 'penis' (like Akk. *birku*). The symbolic connection of these concepts is apparently common in Indo-European, Semitic, and Finno-Ugric languages: cf. e.g. OE *cnēow,* OCS *kolěno* and Finnish *polvi,* Estonian *pòlv,* all both 'knee' and 'offspring, generation', as well as OIr. *glún-daltae* 'knee-nursling'

(like Akk. *tarbit birkiya*); see the discussion and refs. by Puhvel in *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), p. 95, n. 40.

lālu- '(erect) penis' (*HWb.* 126) is most likely a lallwort, *EHS* 119.

4.51 — BREATHE; BREATH — *para-* 'breath; air' (*HDW* 60), *parai-* 'breathe; blow (up)', *paripariya-*, *paripareski-* 'blow a musical instrument' are comparable with OCS *para* 'steam, vapor', Gk. *πρήθω, πίμπρημι* 'blow up, inflate', as in *IEW* 809 (W. Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 208).

4.53 — COUGH — *tuhh(ai)-*, iter. *tuhheski-*, with nouns *tuhhima-*, *tuhhiyatt-*, is to be connected with *tuhhui-*, *tuhhuwai-* 'smoke' (1.83). The equation of smoke with respiratory distress was a natural one in the days before the custom of its intentional inhalation: e.g. Gk. καπνός 'smoke' vs. Goth. *af-hwapjan* 'choke'; OE *smoca* vs. Lith. *smáugti* 'stifle'.

4.55 — SWEAT — The verb *allaniya-*, occurring in hippological texts, probably means 'sweat', and on this basis is compared with the OIr. noun *allas* 'sweat', providing a rare Hitt.-Goidelic isogloss (**aln-*, vs. W. *chwys* < IE **sweyd-*; cf. Pedersen, *Féil-Sgribhinn Eóin Mhic Néill* [Dublin, 1940], p. 142; Benveniste, *HIE* 107; P 28-29, T 14). *zappiya-*, primarily 'drip, leak' (10.24), can also refer to perspiration (P 28-29).

enumai-, lit. 'become heated' (< **ay-* 'be hot', 15.85), also refers to horses, in which context the gloss 'sweat' (Neu, *Kratylos* 12 [1967]: 166) amounts to the same thing.

For the noun, the hapax *sishau-* may be a Hurrian loanword (*EHS* 251), and 'perspiration' is also a secondary meaning of

warsula- 'moisture, wetness' (P 28-29), a derivative of *warsa-* 'rain' (1.75; Laroche, *BSL* 58.1 [1963]: 59-62).

4.56 — SPIT — *allap(p)ahh-, alpahh-* is the Hitt. word, tentatively connected (P 31) with Gk. λάπτω, λαφύσσω, OE *lapian* 'lap, slurp', Arm. *lapʿem,* Alb. *lap,* Lat. *lambō,* OHG *laffan* 'lick', from a root **lab(h)-, *lap(h)-,* perhaps onomatopoeic in origin (cf. *EHS* 431, T 15). Details of formation unexplained.

4.58 — BITE — H. *wak-* (possibly Pal. *waq-*), iter. *wakkiski-* means 'bite (off)' (Friedrich, *AO* 6 [1954]: 373-76), and has been compared with Gk. ἄγνῡμι 'break' (*ϝαγ-; Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 212; A. Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 47).

4.59 — LICK — *lip(p)-,* redupl. *lil(l)ipa(i)-* (*CHD* 3.71, 61), evidently belongs with Lat. *labium, labrum,* OE *lippa,* OHG *lefs,* etc. 'lip' < **lep-* (*IEW* 655). The Hitt. sense thus supports the connection of these with Lat. *lambō,* doubted by Buck (*DSS* 229).

4.61 — SLEEP — IE **swep-/sup-* survives in H. *sup(p)-* 'sleep; dream', with vbl. noun *suppūwar,* and is also the basis of *suppariya-* 'dream' < **suppar* (see 4.62). The verbal use of this root is rare in comparison to the more common term *ses-* (Luw. *sassa[i]-*), which although violating normal IE root structure constraints (cf. *Les langues du monde* 8) is clearly ancient, matching Skt. *sas-,* Av. *hah-.*

Careful analysis of Hitt. and other reflexes of the two roots **swep-* and **ses-,* however, can shed light on their early semantic relationship. Whereas H. *sup(p)-* and all its cognates mean basically 'fall asleep and dream' (cf. Ved. *svap-*), the sense of *ses-* clearly centers more around 'lie down and rest; sleep with, lay (*seskiya-*); put to bed (*sas[sa]nu-;* cf. *sast[a]-* 'bed[ding]'); stay quiet (Luw. *sassa[i]-;* Ved. *sasvár[tā]* 'stealthily')', with no suggestion of

'dreaming' (P s.v. *ses-*; Laroche, *RPh.* 23 [1949]: 39; Ivanov, *Peredneaziatskij sbornik* 311-20). Thus the distinction seems to be primarily one of "subjective" sleep and its related mental activity vs. "objective" inactivity, viewed from outside—"he is sleeping"— the former being the more ancient term (**swep-*), and the latter possibly from an interjection resembling Engl. *sh* 'silence!' (Mayrhofer, *IF* 70 [1965]: 249-51). A detailed discussion of IE **swep-* and its descendants is provided by J. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 12 (1966): 67-76.

4.62 — DREAM — The initial-variation in *tesha- ~ zashai-* strongly indicates a Hattic origin for the word, as do the theonymic alternatives *Tasha-, Zashapuna* (Laroche, *Recherches* 38-39). Many unsatisfactory IE etymologies have been attempted, involving e.g. Gk. δέατο (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 160), Skt. *dhī-* 'perceive' (Gusmani, *Lessico* 53), Lith. *dvasià* 'ghost' (A. Carnoy, *La Nouvelle Clio* 6 [1954]: 234), and others: cf. P s.v. *tesha-. tesha-* has essentially replaced the native nouns *suppūwar* and *sesuwar* (see 4.61), and the attendant periphrasis *teshit aus-* 'see in a dream' competes with *suppariya-*; cf. mpsv. *teshaniya-* (Ù-*at*) 'appear in a dream'. It also means 'sleep' (*teshalli-* 'sleepy') and 'Beischlaf' (*IŠTU* SAL-*TI teshas*).

The deriv. *suppariya-* itself is of considerable comparative interest, as its likely nominal basis *suppar is not only cognate with Lat. *sopor* < *swép-ōr (Sturtevant, *JAOS* 56 [1936]: 282-84), but matches Gk. ὕπαρ. Under polarizing pressure from the encroaching innovative ὄναρ, ὄνειρος 'false dream' > 'dream' in general, ὕπαρ was shifted from its original slot 'dream' to 'true dream, real vision' (cf. *Odyssey* 19.547, 565-76) and thence to 'waking reverie' (e.g. Frisk, *Kl. SChr.* 361-65; Mayrhofer, *Studien zur indogermanischen Grundsprache* [Vienna, 1952], p. 42-43). A

similar replacement appears in Germanic, e.g. ON *draumr* (: OHG *triogan* 'deceive') vs. *sofa* 'sleep'. P. s.v. *sup(p)-*.

4.63 — WAKE — *arriya-* 'rouse, awaken; be awake' is one of the many forms from IE **er-*, **or-* 'move, stir' (10.21), perhaps reflecting a caus. **(E₁)orH₂éye-*, like *araizzi* 'he rises'. It is echoed in Gk. (*Iliad* 10.518-19) ὦρσεν 'he roused' vs. ὕπνου ἀνορούσας 'starting from sleep', and OIr. *ar-* 'be awake', *aire* 'watch', *airech*, Arm. *artʿown* 'watchful, attentive' have been compared (Szemerényi, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* [1979], p. 613-16). Cf. for meaning Engl. 'stir, be stirring' = 'be awake'. P 138-39.

4.64 — FART — *huntariya-*, when compared with *huntarnu-* 'grunt' and the possible *huntari-* 'swine' (T 288), seems to be based on a nominal or verbal stem **huntar-*, perhaps of imitative origin (T 289, *EHS* 457, Otten - von Soden, *Vokabular* 26). A link with *huwant-* 'wind' (1.72) is also plausible; cf. NE "break wind."

4.65 — URINATE; URINE — Several etymologies have tradition-ally been defended for *sehur* (verb *sehuriya-*), including derivations from IE **sūr-o-* 'sour' (*IEW* 1039), **sē(y)-* 'sow', **sey-(k-)* 'trickle, drip', and **sew-(H-)* 'rain' (refs. in Puhvel, *Florilegium Anatolicum* 298, n. 5 = *AI* 366), but all present phonetic difficulties and require more or less tortured morphological and semantic explanations.

After careful dissection of the textual material, Puhvel (op. cit. 297-302 = *AI* 365-70) determined that the meaning of *sehur* was rather more inclusively 'body wastes, crap', with 'urine' a secondary marked sense in opposition to *sakkar* 'shit' (4.66), and considered it a verbal noun from *sah-*. Reinterpreting the latter as 'clog (with dirt), stuff up', etc. (separate from *sanh-*, *sahh-* 'seek, strive for' [9.99] and its homonym 'flush, wash down' [9.36]), he took a new approach in reconstructing it as an IE pf. **dhyóE₂-*, with

related forms having to do with 'dirt, crud, filth' and the like: *dhyeE₂-wr > *dyehur > H. sehur, Luw. dūr (< *deur < *dyehur) 'urine'; *dhoy-k-s or *dhoyE-s > Lat. faex, pl. f(a)eces; *dhoy-t-ē > Lat. foeteō 'stink'; *dhi-mo- > Lat. fimus 'dung, filth'. T. Schultheiss (KZ 77 [1961]: 222) saw a loanword in Arm. šeř' 'urine', šř'em 'urinate'.

4.66 — DEFECATE — sakkar (Luw. sahh- 'dirt, filth') has been compared with Gk. σκῶρ, etc. since Benveniste (Origines 9). Spelling variants zakkar and zasgar- indicate /(t)skar/ < *skōr, while gen. saknas and derivs. saknuwant- 'filthy, full of shit, impure' and saknumar 'feces' call for a reconstruction *sókr, obl. *sókn- (Puhvel Florilegium Anatolicum 303 = AI 371).

The native Hitt. derivative verb sakniya- has a synonym kam(m)ars-, borrowed from or corresponding to Luwian katmars- < *ĝhed-mŗ-s (with -s variously explained; cf. Puhvel, op. cit. 304 = AI 372 + 417, T 473-75) ~ *ghed-wr-, cognate with Gk. χέζω, Skt. had-, Alb. dhjes 'defecate', Av. zaδah- 'anus', Toch. B kenmer 'shit'.

salpa- '(dog) shit' (UR.ZÍR-as salpa) matches Arm. ałb, and may be analyzed as *sal- 'dirty, dirt-colored, gray' + -bho-, comparing OIr. sal 'dirt, filth', OW p. halou 'stercora', OHG salo 'dirty', Russ. solovój 'light bay' (Schindler, Die Sprache 24 [1978]: 45).

An etymology is now available for the previously unexplained Lat. fimus (DSS 276); see 4.65.

4.67 — COPULATE — The most common Hittite expressions for human sexual intercourse are euphemisms derived from ses- 'lie down' (4.61), thus 'sleep/lie with': seski-, katta(n) ses-; sas(sa)nu- 'make cohabit with'.

An alternative term referring more to animal coition is ark- 'mount, cover', the verbal root underlying arki- 'testicle' (4.49) and arga-tiya- 'come to violence' (: Skt. rágha- 'rage, anger', P 147), with cognates in Gk. ὀρχέομαι 'dance (lasciviously); and Russ. jërzat'

'fidget' (P 142-43, 147-48; *AI* 290-92, 416; cf. for meaning possibly Engl. *frike* 'lusty, vigorous', *frig* 'dance, move briskly; fuck'.

Some insight into the Hitt. view of animal and possibly also human coital behavior is afforded by the expression *iskisa pai-*, lit. 'go to the back' (*iskis-* '[lower] back', 4.19); cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 102.1 (1982): 179, *AI* 416, and P 425.

4.71 — BEGET — Besides DUMU(.MEŠ) *iya-*, lit. 'make a child/children' (cf. NHG *kindern* or OCS *roditi* : *rodŭ* 'offspring'), Hitt. also uses *has-* 'bear' (4.72) in this sense.

4.72 — BEAR — The source of *has-* 'bear; beget' (Hier. *has[a]-*), pt. *hassant-*, iter. *haski-* has been widely debated, but no definitive explanation has yet been offered. IE origin seems likely, but the commonly supported connection with Ved. *ásu-* 'life', *ásura-* 'powerful', Av. *ahū-*, *ahura*, etc. (from Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPS* 1946: 81) is unconvincing, as is the inclusion of H. *hassu-* 'king', on semantic grounds. To derive *has-* from an unknown **hams-*, on the basis of Luw. *hamsa-* 'grandson', H. *hammasa-* 'child' (2.48), and further adduce ON *áss* < Gmc. **ansu-* (e.g. Polomé, *Lg.* 28 [1952]: 453) is overly speculative, while L. Brunner (*Die gemeinsamen Wurzeln des semitischen und indogermanischen Wortschatzes* [Bern, 1969], p. 187) exchanges semantic problems for phonetic ones in comparing instead Hebr. ʿ*āśāh* 'beget; create', Arab. ʿ*aśīra* 'family, tribe'. Discussion and refs. T 191-94.

4.73 — PREGNANT — The basic vocabulary includes *armai-* 'be pregnant', *armant-*, *armawant-* 'pregnant', *armahh-* 'impregnate', *-za armahh-* 'conceive, be pregnant', lit. 'make oneself pregnant'. The source is evidently *arma-* 'moon' (1.53), although the semantic details of the derivation (e.g. "make moon-bound, bring into menstrual orbit" in Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36 [1979]: 58 and P 157, with

refs.) are not precisely clear; none of the IE synonyms (*DSS* 283-84) has anything to do with the moon. The etymological sense of *arma-* 'feeble, weak, sick; pale' (4.84) may be involved as well, cf. ON *ekki heil* 'not well' and SCr. *trudna* 'tired out, weak' (OCS *trŭdŭ* 'toil, labor'), both also 'pregnant'.

  sumrai-, iter. *sumreski-* 'be pregnant' is likely from *sū-* 'full' (13.21), via a verbal noun **sumar* (< **sū-wr̥-*?) 'fullness' (*Stammb.* 298, n. 78). Cf. for meaning Gk. κυέω 'be pregnant' < **ḱewA-* 'swell' (*IEW* 592), Fr. *pleine* 'full; pregnant', and (obs.) Engl. *full.*

  4.732 — CONCEIVE — *-za armahh-* (4.73).

  4.74 — LIVE — The Hittite verbal root is *huis-*, with derivs. *huisu-* 'live, raw', *huiswai-* 'live', part. *huiswant-* 'living, alive', *huiswatar* 'life', and *huisnu-, huisnuski-* 'make live, bring to life'. The simplest etymology (e.g. Benveniste, *Origines* 156, 155 n.) derives *huis-* from IE **A₁wes-* 'dwell, stay the night; be' (*IEW* 1170-71; Skt. *vásati,* Goth *wisan,* OIr. *fo(a)id,* Arm. *goy,* Gk. ἄεσα, etc.).

  What complicates the picture, however, is the existence of Luw. *huit-* 'live', with Luw. *huitumar* and H. *huitar, huitnant-* 'animal(s)'. As the Hitt. and Luw. verbs cannot be directly equated (Hitt. *-s-* = Luw. *-t-* so far only when initial and < **dy-*; e.g. *siwatt-* vs. *Tiyat-* [14.41], *sehur* vs. *dūr* [4.65], another source must be found for the latter. The most viable suggestion along this line (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 150) involves IE **A₁we-E₁-* 'breathe, blow' (*IEW* 81-84; cf. H. *huwant-* 'wind', 1.72) and comparison with Lat. *animal* < *anima* 'breath' (IE **an-* 'breathe'). Thus the Hitt. and Luw. forms with *huit-* might reflect an enlarged form like **A₁we-d-* (Gk. ἐδανός 'fragrant'), **A₁weE₁-d-* (OHG *wāzan* 'wehen, blasen'; Gk. ἀάζω 'breathe' < αϝάδ-ιω?), **A₁we-dh-* (Hes. ἐθμή · ἀτμός), **A₁we-t-* (Hes. ἀετμόν · το πνεῦμα; ἀτμός 'steam, vapor'), or **A₁wE₁-t-* (ἀήσυρος 'windy', Skt. *vắta-,* Av. *vātō* 'wind'), etc. (*IEW*

82-84). H. *huis-* could either be left separate (as did Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen* 26, 59), or better seen as a variant *$A_1we(E_1)$-s-* (cf. Skt. *vāsa-* 'perfume', Lith. *vė́sti* 'cool oneself off [by blowing]'). See T 264-68, 269-71.

4.75 — DIE — *ak(k)-* 'die, be killed, be executed', with part. *akkant-* 'dead, dead person', *akkatar-* 'death', is the common Hitt. word, and seems to be of IE provenance, yet numerous attempts have failed to find an acceptable etymology. The most commonly proposed etymon is Gk. νέκῡς 'corpse', Lat. *necare* 'kill' (e.g. Hrozný, *SH* 176), a comparison now generally rejected (P 22, T 8). Kronasser's suggested cognate Toch. A *āk*, B *āke* 'end' (*VLFH* 222) has so far been neither refuted nor expanded upon.

Gk. νέκῡς, Avest. *nasu-* 'corpse', Lat. *nex* 'violent death', Skt. *naś-*, Av. *nas-* 'perish, vanish' find a better cognate in Hitt. *henkan-* '(fated) death, disease, plague', IE *$E_2enk̂$-/$E_2nek̂$- (P 22); see the discussion of its semantics vis-à-vis *akkatar-* in Puhvel, *Studia … A. Pagliaro* 3.174-75 = *AI* 203-4. Further lexical kin can be OIr. *éc*, W. *angheu* 'death', OIr. *écen*, W. *anghen* 'necessity' (Puhvel, *Evidence* 88 = *AI* 134), Toch. *näk-* 'vanish, perish', Gk. ἀνάγκη 'necessity', among others (*AI* 18), and possibly Gk. (ϝ)άναξ (*AI* 6-26).

Another common Hitt. stem is *hark-*, *harkiya-* 'perish', iter. *harkiski-*, caus. *harkanu-*, *harkanuski-*, nouns *harga-* and *hargatar* 'ruin, destruction', and nasal-infixed *harnink-*. The cognates include OIr. *orgaim* 'I strike, kill' (A. Cuny, *RHA* 2 [1934]: 205), Gaul. *orge* 'occide', *Orgeto-rīx,* and Arm. *harkanem* 'strike, chop up' (T 175-76), and the root is IE *A^w_1erg- (H. *harnikzi* < *A^w_1r-n-ég-ti, *harninkanzi* < *A^w_1r-n-g-ónti [Benveniste, *Origines* 162]).

A form related to OIr. *marb,* Lat. *morī,* Skt. *mṛ-,* etc. survives in H. *mer-* 'disappear, be lost' (*HWb.* 141), which Gusmani (*Lessico* 21) considers the original meaning of IE *mer-*.

Luw. *u(wa)lant-* 'dead' was compared (via unattested **wala-*) with ON *valr*, OE *wæl* 'those slain in battle', as well as Toch. A *wäl* 'die', Lith. *velỹs* 'deceased', Hes. ἀλίβαντες · οἱ νεκροί by A. J. Van Windekens (*KZ* 77 [1961]: 86-88).

4.76 — KILL — H. *kuen-* matches Skt. *han-*, Av. *ǰan-* 'strike, kill', OIr. *gonim* 'I wound, kill', Gk. φόνος 'murder', θείνω, Lat. *(of-)fendō*, Arm. *ganem* 'strike' < IE **gʷhen-* (*DSS* 288, *AI* 265).

huek- 'slaughter (animals)' is in all likelihood from IE **H₁weyk-*, cognate with Goth. *weihan* 'fight', ON *vega* 'kill', Lat. *victima* 'sacrificial animal'. Lat. *vincō* 'gain victory' parallels the nasal-infixed H. *hunink-* 'damage, injure' (11.28). Goetze, *Lg.* 30 (1954): 403.

hulla-, (hul)huliya- 'strike (down)', see 9.21.

OIr. *orgaim*, Gaul. *orge, Orgeto-rīx*, Arm. *harkanem* (*DSS* 289) may go with H. *hark-* 'perish', 4.75.

4.77 — CORPSE — A definite word for 'corpse' is lacking, although one supposes *akkant-* 'the deceased' (4.75) was common enough. For Gk. νεκρός, νέκῡς see H. *henkan-*, 4.75.

4.78 — BURY — *hariya-*, denom. from *hari(ya)-* 'valley; depression, hollow, cave' or the like (1.24, cf. *EHS* 492, T 172-73), cf. ON *heyga < haugr, grefta < grǫftr* 'grave' < *grafa* 'dig'.

4.79 — GRAVE — The name and nature of the common man's grave are not known (on social-class differences in burial practices see Gurney, *The Hittites* 166). In the fragmentary royal funeral ritual (*KUB* XXX 15), the directions are to place the bones of the cremated body in a É NA₄ 'stone-house' or mausoleum, within which is the É.ŠÀ 'inner (burial) chamber' (*HWb.* 270). Cf. also É *hastiyas* 'bone-chamber', see 4.16.

4.81 — STRONG — Adj. *in(n)arawant-*, noun *innarawatar*, with counterparts in Luwoid *annaru-, annari-* and Luwian *anarummi-, anarum(m)ahit-*, suggest H. **innaru-, *innara(wa)-*, meaning fundamentally 'physical or vital strength, life force, vigor' (P 372). A very early comparison with Gk. ἀνήρ 'man' (Hrozný, *SH* 74) has been rehabilitated (P 372-73), the reconstruction **E₁énr, *E₁nḗr* 'vital strength', etc. tying in such forms as Ved. *nar-*, Av. *nar-*, Alb. *njeri*, Arm. *ayr* 'man', Ved. *nŕtama-* 'most forceful', *sūnára-*, Gk. εὐήνωρ 'rich in vital strength', OIr. *nert* 'strength', Osc.-Umbr. *ner-* 'man of rank'; cf. T 358-62. Van Windekens (*BHD … Kerns* 343) rejects this approach, although it is not incompatible (at least phonetically) with his suggested cognate Gk. ἔναρα 'armor of a slain enemy, booty'. A good alternative (Melchert, *Die Sprache* 29 [1983]: 17) reconstructs *innara- < *en-A₂nr-o-* 'having strength inside', cf Gk. ἔνυδρος.

tarhui-, noun *tarhuilatar*, cf. perhaps the Luwian storm-god *Tarhunt-* and the Asianic Greek Ταρκονδημος. The H. verb *tarh-* 'overcome' points to **tér-A₁-*, with **tr-éA₁-* in Lat. *in-trāre*, Skt. *tŭrvati* 'conquer' (Gusmani, *Lessico* 17, 53, 94), etc. The basic sense is 'potency', cf. *KUB* XV 34 II 18-19 LÚ-*ni* LÚ-*natar tarhuilatar* SAL-*ni* SAL-*natar annitalwātar* 'to the man manliness and potency, to the woman femininity and motherhood'.

(walli)walli(ya)-, cf. 12.91, 16.79.

dassu-, dassuwant- 'thick, stout, strong', nouns *dassuwatar*, (from denom. *dassiya-*:) *dassiyatar, dassiyawar*, (from caus. *dasnu-*:) *dasnumar*. The basic form *dassu-* matches Gk. δασύς and Lat. *dēnsus* 'thick, dense' *< *dn̥s-u-* (Gusmani, *Lessico* 96-97 and n. 24).

hastali- 'hero' (UR.SAG-*li-*) is understood as a substantivized adj. *'strong' *< hastai-* 'bone' (4.16; *EHS* 212, T 203-4).

Luwoid and Luwian *muwattal(l)i-*, Hier. *muwatali-* 'strong' used of weapons (also PN ¹*Muwattali-*), plus Luw. abstract

muwaddalahit- 'strength', are perhaps from Luw. *muwa-* '(seminal) fluid' (*HWb.* 145-46). Source unknown, as is exact meaning (*DLL* 72).

warpalli- 'strong, powerful', perhaps in the sense of 'toughness', if related (via a **warpa-*) to Gk. ῥάμνος 'thorn-bush', ῥάβδος 'rod', Lat. *verber* 'switch', Lith. *vìrbas* 'twig, switch', Russ. *vérba* 'willow-branch', IE **wer-b(h)-* (*IEW* 1153).

Skt. *ójas-*, Av. *aoǰah-*, Lat. *aug-*, Goth. *wahsjan,* etc. are reflected in H. *ukturi-* 'firm, lasting' (15.74).

4.82 — WEAK — *malisku-, milisku-* (caus. *maliskunu-*), possibly related to Skt. *mlāyati* 'weaken', Arm. *mełm* 'soft, limp', Gk. ἀμαλός, ἀμβλύς 'weak', Lat. *mulier* 'woman' (< **ml̥-yésī* 'the weaker one') etc. < **mel-* 'grind, wear down, soften up' (H. *malai-,* 5.56), with extended forms denoting 'weak, soft, tender': Skt. *mr̥dú-*, Gk. βλαδύς, ἀμαλδύνω, Lat. *mollis*, OE *meltan*, OCS *mladŭ*, and very many others (*IEW* 716-19). Perhaps *malisku-* < **ml̥(E₁)-sk-*, cf. NHG *mulsch* 'soft'.

4.83 — WELL; HEALTH — **haddula-* 'healthy', *haddulatar* 'health', with corresponding Luw. *hattulahi-* and H. derivs. *haddulahh-* 'make healthy', *haddules-* 'become healthy', "ohne Etymologie" (T 229).

assuwant- (SIG₅-*ant-*) 'in good condition', from *assu-* 'good' (16.71).

4.84 — SICK; SICKNESS — There is a large group of words based on *arma(n)-, erma(n)-, irma(n)-* 'illness' (GIG), including *irmanant-* 'id.' and adjs. *armala-, irmala-, irmalant-*. The most plausible comparison (Carruthers, *Lg.* 9 [1933]: 159-60) is with Goth. *arms,* OE *earm* 'wretched', ON *armr* 'wretched' (vs. *heill* 'well'), IE **er-mo-, *or-mo-* 'miserable, wretched'. Already Meillet (*MSL* 10

[1898]: 280) had adduced Arm. * oł-ormim* 'misereor', and further Hitt. cognates are *arma-* 'moon' (1.53) and *armant-* 'pregnant' (4.73). P 157-60; other views T 369-71.

Whereas *irma(n)-* refers to generalized illness, ailments or diseases of specific parts of the body are apparently denoted by *inan-* (Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37 [1980]: 204-5, P 366-67). Puhvel (ibid.) compares Ved. *énas-* 'sin, guilt', Skt. *īti-* 'plague, disease', Av. *aēnah-* 'violence, damage', *iti-* 'injury', reconstructing *$A_2éy-(no-)$ 'affliction', and further adducing Gk. αἰνός 'terrible', with Hes. ζητρός 'executioner' and Ved. *yātár-* 'avenger' < *A_2y-*éA-*.

istarningai- 'ailment' < *istarni(n)k-* 'afflict' < *istark(iya)-* 'be sick, ail; afflict' may belong with Toch. A *särk,* B *sark,* OIr. *serg,* OCS *sraga* 'illness', Lith. *sir̃gti* 'be ill' (*LIEV* 25; Ivanov, *Obščeindoevropejskaja* 65; P 477); on the variation *st-* vs. *s-* cf. *istanza(n)-* 'soul' : Lat. *sensus* (16.11) and P 471. An alternative (also reported in P 477) is Gk. στραγγάλη 'noose', Lat. *stringō* 'draw tight', OHG *strengi* 'stiff' < *$stre-n-g$-*, with further noninfixed *$stér-g$-*, *$str-ég$-* in OE *stearc* 'stiff', *strec* 'firm', although the semantics are less satisfactory. Further suggestions are reviewed in P 477 and T 434.

4.86 — CURE, HEAL — *haddulahh-* 'make healthy', from *haddula-*, 4.83.

saktai- 'care for, look after, cure' (*HWb.* 177) may be denom. from a *$sag-to$-* 'knowledge' < *sak-* 'know', 17.17 (cf. Kronasser, *Studies … Whatmough* 128; right formation but doubtful root-connection [OIr. *socht* 'stupor'] in C. Watkins, *Kratylos* 19 [1974]: 69-71).

4.87 — PHYSICIAN — ^{LÚ}AZU, also 'magician'.

4.88 — MEDICINE — *wassi-* 'medicine, salve' (*HWb.* 248) possibly of a particular kind (*EHS* 204).

4.91 — TIRED — *tariyant-*, part. of *tariya-* < *tarra-* 'become tired'. *tarra-* might be cognate with ON *þreyttr* 'exhausted' < *þreyta* < *þraut* 'exertion', OCS *trudŭ* 'toil, hardship', *truditi* 'become tired', Lat. *trūdere* 'thrust, press', all from **trewd-*, with Hitt. *tarra-*, *tariya-* (and perh. Gk. τείρω 'rub') < **ter-yo-*, **tor-yo-*; cf. *DSS* 313).

4.94 — LAME — Various approaches have been taken to explaining *ikniyant-*. A derivation from *egdu-* 'leg' (Oettinger, *Eide* 22) is superficially attractive, but presents fundamental problems both phonetically and semantically, and Benveniste's comparison (*BSL* 35 [1934]: 102-3) with Gk. ὄκνος 'shrinking, hesitation' needs more support.

A different tack involves a connection with H. *egai-*. Carruba (in Neu, *Interpretation* 68, n. 1) interpreted the latter as 'zer-springen' and offered *dudduwarant-* 'lame' < *duwarnai-* 'break' as a parallel. The collocation, rejected by Tischler (T 350), is instead improved upon by Puhvel (P 354), who glosses *egai-* 'freeze, become paralyzed' < *eka-* 'cold, ice' (P 257), thus *ikniyant-* 'lame, paralytic, crippled'.

For *dudduwarant-*, the connection with *duwarnai-* (Carruba, loc. cit.) remains plausible (cf. Goth. *halts* : Gk. κλάω 'break'), although its further etymology is disputable.

4.95 — DEAF — Besides sumerographic LÚ GEŠTU NU.GÁL 'man who has no ears', Hitt. has **duddumi-* (in adv. *duddumili-*), *duddumiyant-* and further verbal derivs. *duddumes-*, *duddumiyahh-*. **duddumi-* has been connected with the interj. (orig. adv.?) *duddu-* 'halt! be still!' (*HWb.* 230), perhaps as an adjectivized participle (*EHS* 219). More cogently, Petersen (*AO* 9 [1937]: 211-12)

reconstructed *dum(m)- < IE *dhu(m)-bh- or *dhu-m-, comparing
Goth. *dumbs* 'dumb', OHG *tumb* 'deaf, stupid', Gk. τυφλός 'blind',
OIr. *dub* 'black', ON *doufr,* OHG *toup* 'deaf'. See also H. Ehelolf,
KlF. 1 (1927): 399-400.

4.96 — DUMB — *karussiyant-*, from *karussiya-* 'be silent', has
been analyzed (Čop variously, e.g. *Indogermanica minora* 50) as IE
g^wor-us-yo-, from pf. part. of a root *g^wer-* seen in Arm. *korusanem*
'spoil', Lith. *gùrti* 'cease, abate' (of the wind), Toch. A *kur-* 'grow
weary, get old' (T 529). Further related forms include adv.
karussiyantili- 'silently; secretly', vbl. noun *karussiyawar,* caus.
karussiyanu-.

4.97 — BLIND — *dasuwant-* (with *dasuwahh-* 'to blind') is
etymologically obscure; textual discussion by Ehelolf, *KlF.* 1 (1927):
393-98.
Also LÚ IGI.NU.GÁL 'man with no eyes'.

4.98 — DRUNK — *nink-* 'get drunk' (caus. *ninganu-*) (*HWb.* 151)
means basically 'drink one's fill' (5.13). An infixed deriv. *nini(n)k-*
means 'to levy troops'.
wiyanai- 'get someone drunk' < *wiyana-* 'wine' (5.92); the adj.
might have been participial *wiyanant-* 'drunken'.
Lat. *ēbrius* can be explained as a cognate of H. *eku-, aku-*
'drink', abstracted from a neg. *$sē-eg^w$hri-o-* 'without drink', a
variant of which also produced *sōbrius;* similarly Gk. νήφω 'be
sober' < *$ne-eg^w$h-* (P 267-68 and refs.).

4.99 — NAKED — The *e*-grade corresponding to IE *nog^w-* (Lat.
nūdus, OIr. *nocht,* Goth. *naqaþs,* Lith. *nuogas,* OCS *nagŭ,* Skt. *nagná-,*
Av. *maγna-,* Gk. γυμνός) is seen in H. *nekumant-* (variant
nekmunt-), dissimilated from *neg^w-no-nt-* (F. O. Lindeman, *RHA* 23

[1965]: 32; W. Cowgill, in *Evidence* 156; *AI* 264). H. *nekuz* 'evening', *nekuzi* 'evening falls' belong not here (as in *DSS* 325) but with IE *nok^wts* 'night' (14.42).

FOOD AND DRINK; COOKING AND UTENSILS

5.11 — EAT — IE *ed- lives on in H. ed-, ad-, Luw. and Pal. ad-, Hier. ad-, ar-, with iter. azziki- (P 315-20, T 91-92, 117-18).

karap-, karip- 'devour, fressen' is best read /grab-/ and linked with Hes. βράπτειν · ἐσθίειν, Lith. gróbas 'gut' < IE *gʷr-ébh-, and further cognates OIr. brágae 'neck', NE craw (*gʷr-ógh-), Gk. -βόρος 'devouring', Skt. giráti 'devour', Lith. gérti 'drink' (W. Belardi, Ricerche Linguistiche 1 [1950]: 122-23, 144; Čop, Ling. 5 [1964]: 42; Puhvel, AI 263). Semantically less satisfactory is a connection with Skt. grabh-, NE grab, OCS grabiti 'rob' (Sturtevant, Lg. 8 [1932]: 130; E. Risch, Flexion und Wortbildung 253; T 496-98.

ispai-, ispiya- 'eat one's fill' reflects *spoE₁-y-(e-) from IE *speE₁-(y-) 'be full, be fat, prosper', e.g. Skt. sphāyate 'grows fat', OE spōwan 'thrive', spēd 'prosperity, success', OCS spěti 'be successful', Lat. spēs 'hope', pro-sperus 'favorable' (IEW 983, P 431, T 408-9).

Pal. mūsi is glossed 'he eats his fill' by Puhvel (AI 147), but no etymology is given.

5.12 — FOOD — etri- is 'food' and 'meal', both for man and animals, and is formed with the suffix -ri- (EHS 225) to ed- 'eat' (5.11). Denom. edriya-, iter. edriski- serves for 'feed' (T 119, P 319).

5.13 — DRINK — The common verb eku-/aku- is often connected with Lat. aqua, OHG aha 'water', or with Toch. AB yok- 'drink' (cf. T 103-4). Phonetically preferable is the comparison

(Juret, *RHA* 2 [1934]: 251-52) with Lat. *ēbrius* 'having had enough to drink, drunk'; see 4.98.

nink- 'drink one's fill' can be compared with Skt. *náśati*, Lat. *nanciscor* 'attain', Lith. *nešù*, Gk. aor. ἤνεγκον 'carried', Goth. *ganah* 'it is enough'; cf. *LIEV* 25.

sarāp-, sarēp- seems to match Gk. ῥοφέω, Lat. *sorbeō* 'drink, sip', *sr̥bh-éye-* (cf. Oettinger, *Stammb.* 426; M. Poetto, *JIES* 2 [1974]: 435-37).

5.14 — HUNGER — *kast-* 'hunger', *kisduwant-* 'hungry', *kistant-* 'famine' are generally thought related to Toch. A *kaṣt*, B *kest* 'hunger', although further connections and precise reconstruction are debated. The likely inclusion of H. *kist-* 'be extinguished' leads to comparison with Skt. *jásate* 'be exhausted', Toch. *käs-* 'quench, be quenched', Lith. *gèsti*, OCS *u-gasiti* 'be extinguished', Gk. σβέννῡμι 'quench', Goth. *qistjan* 'ruin', and reconstruction *$g^w es$-* 'starve' or 'die out', like NHG *sterben* vs. NE *starve* (cf. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 118, *Comp. Gr.*[2] 58; T 536-38). A. R. Bomhard (*RHA* 31 [1973]: 76) separated the Gk. (and presumably Germanic) forms and posited IE *ges-* for the rest (rejecting *g^w-*, as also Gusmani, *Lessico* 59).

5.15 — THIRST — *kanint-* (*kaninant-* 'thirsty') is analyzed as an *-nt-* suffixed Luwoid *kani-* in T 481, with the supposed verbal root *kan-* unattested and obscure (*EHS* 302-3, n. 2). More detailed examination (P s.v.) yields rather a stem *$kanen$-* (< *$kneE_1$-n-) + suffix *-t-* (*EHS* 254-55), leading to comparison with Hom. πολυ-καγκής δίψα 'parching thirst' and Photios κέγκει · πεινᾷ, Goth. *hūhrus* 'hunger', Lith. *keñkras* 'emaciated' < *$kn̥k$-(r-), the original meaning being 'hunger and thirst'; cf. H. *tangarant-* and Arm. *sin* 'empty, not having eaten or drunk'.

5.16 — SUCK — 'Suckle' is *tittiya-*, transparently denominative from *tita-* 'breast' (4.41), with Luw. part. *titaimmi-* 'suckled'.

5.17 — MIX — *immiya-* appears frequently in the phrases *anda immiya-, menahhanda immiya-*, paralleling Gk. ἐμμείγνῡμι and Lat. *immisceō*. The root is probably IE **mey-* (Skt. *máyate* 'exchange', extended in μείγνῡμι, *misceō*, OHG *miskan*, OCS *měšiti*, Lith. *miẽšti* 'mix'; *IEW* 714-15), and the prefix *im-* a survival of IE **en-*, vs. regular Hitt. *anda* (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 133, 224; *Comp. Gr.*[2] 117; T 356-57; P 361-65); cf. also *innara-* (4.81) and *istarna-* 'between; within' (< **ens-ter* : Lat. *inter*?; P 478-83).

hurtalliya- < *hurtalli-* 'mixture' has been compared (by Neumann, *Kratylos* 8 [1963]: 41) with Skt. *vart-*, Lat. *vertere* 'turn' < IE **wer-t-* (thus **H₁w[e]r-t-*; cf. *IEW* 1156-58); cf. also Gk. ῥατάνη 'stirring spoon', Hes. βρατάναν · τορύνην?

5.21 — COOK — 'To cook' a meal could be expressed by *zanu-*, a caus. transitive to (intrans.) *zeya-*. The meaning may be properly 'prepare', if related to nasal pres. *zinna-* 'finish' < **si-ne-E₁-* (: Lat. *sinere* 'leave off' < 'let alone' [14.28]), root **seyE₁-* (Oettinger, *Stammb.* 151-52); there are semantic parallels in Sp. *guisar* 'prepare (food), cook', Rum. *gati* 'prepare; cook' (< *gata* 'ready' < Slav. [SCr.] *gotovŭ*), OIr. *air-fogni* 'prepares (food)', Nir. *fuinim* 'I cook' < **fo-* + *gníu* 'I make' (*DSS* 337).

marra(i)-, marriya- 'melt, dissolve; cook until tender' (*CHD* 3.180-81) reflects an IE **merH₂-, *mrH₂-óye-*, and has been compared with Skt. *mṛṇắti* 'crush, pound', Gk. μαραίνω 'quench', psv. 'die, waste away, wither', and ON *merja* 'crush, bruise' (*IEW* 736; cf. W. Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 207; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 281).

5.22 — BOIL — *zanu-* (5.21) could have referred particularly to 'boiling'; cf. *Kbo* VI 34 II 22 *n-at wetenit imiyanzi n-at zanuanzi* 'they mix it with water and boil it'.

5.23 — Roast, Fry — *enu-, inu-* is causative from *ā-, ay-, e-* 'be hot' (15.85), P 11.

Either here or under 'bake' (5.24) belongs *sanhuwai-*, although H. Eichner's comparison (apud Oettinger, *Stammb.* 367) with Gk. ἀνύω would call for a meaning 'cook, prepare', like *zeya-, zanu-* (5.21).

5.25 — OVEN — No Hitt. reading is known for IM.ŠU.(NÍG.)NIGÍN.NA (Akk. *tinnūru*). For UDUN (Akk. *utūnu*) Hoffner (*Alimenta* 138) tentatively suggests *isliman-*.

The group of Gk. ἰπνός, Goth. *auhns,* OE *ofen,* Skt. *ukhắ-,* Lat. *aulla* probably also includes H. *happina-* 'flame' (1.82), although details are uncertain.

5.26–5.37 — Words for specific 'vessels' (usually with DUG determinative) are quite numerous (see e.g. *EHGl.* 93-95), appearing plentifully in the detailed instructions of ritual texts. As the exact shape and nature of the implement denoted by a given term is most often impossible to determine, its inclusion under one category or another is to a large extent arbitrary. A small selection of the more reliably identified ones is given here, excluding those expressed solely by sumero- or akkadograms.

5.26 — POT — *hupuwai-* is of Hurrian origin, possibly from *hupuwa-* (T 299). The initial syllable *hup-* is common in vessel-names, e.g. *huppar-* 'bowl' (cf. Gk. κύπελλον 'goblet', Pisani, *Paideia* 19 [1964]: 282), *huprushi-* 'censer' (cf. Gk. ὄβρυζα, Lat. *obrussa* 'assay', *HIE* 126-31), and of unknown meaning *huppi-*,

huphuphi-, hupurni-, hupulli-, and has likely sources in both Hurrian and Sumerian (T 292).

5.27 — KETTLE — *palhi-* is a nominalized adj., *palhi-* 'wide' (12.61) (*HWb.* 156).

5.31 — DISH — ^{GI}*pattar* is 'dish, tray, basket, hamper', and even 'ice-bucket', and seems once to mean 'colander' or the like. It was made of reeds and was used to hold bread. The word is cognate with Lycian Gk. πατάρα and apparently Lat. *patera* 'saucer', and Gk. πατάνη 'flat dish' (Lat. *patina*); Puhvel, *AI* 353; *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 210 = *AI* 357.

5.32 — PLATE — The term *piran pedunas* (with variants) was interpreted (by Puhvel, *Serta Indogermanica* 317-18) as 'proffering platter', from the gen. of a vbl. noun from *peda-* 'bring, carry'.

5.33 — BOWL — *huppar-* is one of the many areal culture-terms with *hup-,* cf. 5.26 and T 291-93.
    kappi- (^{DUG}PUR.SÍ.TUM) is probably from Akk. *kappu* 'bowl, basin' (Berman, *Stem Formation* 16).
    aganni- 'bowl' or 'cup' is from Hurr. *aganni-,* and has cognates in Akk. *agan(n)u,* Ugar. *agn,* Hebr. *aggān,* Egypt. ʿ*ikn* (P 24).

5.34 — PITCHER, JUG — *akutalla-* (also *akugalla-*) is probably from *aku-* 'drink' (5.13) + *-dhlom* (cf. Lat. *pōculum* 'drinking-cup'); cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 97 (1977): 598; P 25.
    lahanni- 'bottle' or 'pitcher' matches Akk. *lahannu* and Sum. ^{DUG}LA.HA.AN, a culture-word found in Hurrian ritual contexts (*CHD* 3.6).
    lelhūndai- and *lelhundalli-* are literally 'pourers', formed reduplicatively from *lahhuwai-, lāh-* 'pour' (9.35); *CHD* 3.60.

ispanduw-, ispanduzzi-, ispanduzziyar- are 'libation-vessels', from *sipant-, ispant-* 'libate, pour' (9.35).

5.35 — CUP — *assuzeri-* may be *assu-* 'good' + *zeri-* 'cup' (P 223-24); the second element compared unconvincingly with Lith. *tveriù* 'hold, enclose', Gk. σορός 'urn' by V. Georgiev, *KZ* 92 (1978): 95.

aganni- 'cup' or 'bowl', 5.33.

5.37 — SPOON — *hanessa-*, secondarily formed from *hanessar,* is deverbative from *han(iya)-* 'draw water', thus meaning 'ladle' or the like. The etymology connects Gk. ἄντλον 'bilgewater', ἀντλέω 'bail' (cf. for meaning Lat. *sentīna* 'bilge' vs. Lith. *sémti* 'draw water') and probably also Arm. *hanem* 'draw out, remove'; cf. Benveniste, *BSL* 50 (1954): 39; G. Kapancjan, *Chetto-Armeniaca* 96: T 144-45; P. s.v.

5.41 — MEAL — Besides *etri-* (5.12) from *ed-* 'eat', Hitt. also uses *adatar* '(an) eating', the vbl. noun from the same root (P 317-18); cf. NHG *Essen.*

5.51 — BREAD — Words referring to 'bread' form the largest category of Hittite vocabulary. The basic NINDA occurs both on its own and as a determinative prefixed to dozens of specific terms for individual kinds of bread varying in size, shape, composition, color, and function, and expressed in hittitographic as well as ideographic forms. Lists of these (to be used with caution) can be found in *EHGl.* 25-29 and *HDW* 128-29, with discussions in the dictionaries and especially Hoffner, *Alimenta* 129-220.

A suggested Luwian and (Luwoid) Hitt. reading for NINDA is *zūwa-* 'bread; meal' (Otten, *Kumarbi* 11[1]; *HWb.* 263; DLL 116), while Pal. may be *wulasina-*, from Hattic *wulasne-* (Laroche, *RHA* 13 [1955]: 74-78).

5.52 — CAKE — Many of the Hitt. NINDA-terms are apposite here, to the extent that 'cake' is understood as a specialized kind of bread. Examples might be NINDA SIG 'thin, flat bread', NINDA KU₇ 'sweet bread' (*mitgaimmi-*), NINDA(.KUR₄.RA) *LABKU* 'moist loaf', NINDA.KUR₄.RA TUR 'little loaf', *am(m)iyantessar* 'miniature bread' (P 47), *kaggari-* 'round bread' (T 462), etc.

5.53 — DOUGH — *is(sa)na-, ēssana-* is from IE **yes-* 'ferment' (*IEW* 506), reflecting **yes-(o)no-* and cognate with OHG *jesan* 'ferment' (P 381-85).
The name of 'yeast, ferment(ation)', so vitally imortant in the making of bread, cheese, and wine from the earliest times, is *harnammar*. This verbal noun and the Luw. (orig. part.) *harnant-* 'id.' point to a verb *harna-*, of unknown affinity (T 178). Connection with IE **er-, *or-* 'rise' (Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4 [1959]: 35) is impossible: the latter is H. *ar-* (10.21, 10.22, 10.55).

5.54 — KNEAD — *immiya-* 'mix' is generally used, 5.17.
For an alternative term *salk-* 'knead', a connection with IE **selĝ-* 'let loose, gush out' (*IEW* 900-1) is doubtful (*Stammb.* 216).
harnamniya- is denom. from *harnammar* 'yeast, ferment' (5.53).

5.55 — MEAL, FLOUR — ZÍD.DA (Akk. *qēmu*).

5.56 — GRIND — The two main terms for grinding appear in the frequent phrase *harra- malla-* 'pound (and) grind'. *malla-* is the inherited IE **mel-* (Goth. *malan*, Lat. *molere*, OIr. *melim*, OCS *mlěti*, Lith. *málti*), while *harra-* may be a Near Eastern culture-word referring to crushing or pounding, with a likely source in Akk. *harāru* 'grind' (Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36 [1979]: 57). Alternatively, nuances of 'ruin, spoil, destroy' support a comparison with OCS *oriti*

'destroy', Skt. *nír-r̥ti-* 'dissolution', *árma-* 'ruins' < IE *$E_2er(-E_1)$-, *E_2orE_1-* (V. Machek, *AO* 17.2 [1949]: 132-33; P s.v.).

Another expression of the crushing technique appears in *KUB* XXII 70 Rs. 55-56 *namma-at* ᴺᴬ⁴*kunkunuzzit* GUL-*anzi* 'and they pound it with a *k.*-stone', where GUL = *walh-* 'pound' (9.21; cf. *EHGl.* 47, n. 74).

Luw. *pasihaiyi-*, H. *pasihai-* 'crush', *HWb.* 164-65.

5.57 — MILL — The 'millstone' or 'grindstone' is ᴺᴬ⁴ARÀ, or Hitt. ᴺᴬ⁴*hararazi-*, from the same Akk. source as H. *harra-* 'crush, pound' (5.56). The 'millhouse' is simply É ᴺᴬ⁴ARÀ. On the use of ᴺᴬ⁴*kunkunuzzi-* as a grinding-stone see *EHGl.* 47, n. 74.

5.61 — MEAT — ᵁᶻᵁUTÚL 'food', with 'flesh' determinative.

5.612 — BUTCHER — Apparently the cook, ᴸᵁ́MUHALDIM, also handled this duty.

5.62 — BEEF — *suppa* … *ŠA* GUD.MAH.

5.64 — SOUP, BROTH — The normal ideographic expression is TU₇ (Akk. *ummaru*). A Hitt. reading *parsur* (F. Sommer, *HAB* 173, n. 2; *HWb.* 164, 300) is rejected by Hoffner (*Alimenta* 102-3).

5.65 — VEGETABLES — (UTÚL) SAR '(edible) greens'.
Gk. λάχανα might be comparable with Hitt. *lakkarwa(n)-*, an unknown kind of plant (*CHD* 3.19); cf. NGk. λάχανο 'cabbage'.
gangati-⁽ˢᴬᴿ⁾, see 8.53.

5.66 — BEAN — GÚ.GAL 'bean', GÚ.GAL.GAL 'large bean'. A tentative Hitt. reading *sumessar* is deduced from the gen. *sumesnas*

(*EHGl.* 21, *HDW* 78). Although morphological details are uncertain (cf. *EHS* 284), the probable connection is with *sū-* 'full', *suwa-* 'swell' (13.21); cf. *sumrai-* 'be pregnant', and for meaning Gk. κύαμος 'bean' : κυέω 'be pregnant' < **k̑ewA-* 'swell', ON *baun,* OE *bēan* < **bhew-* 'swell up', and Lith. *pupà* 'bean' < **pew-*.

5.67 — PEA — GÚ.TUR (Akk. *kakku* or *pulīlu*), *EHGl.* 93.
'Chickpeas' (not strictly speaking a pea) are referred to as GÚ.GAL (5.66).

5.68 — ONION — *suppiwashar-* is apparently a loan-translation of the Sum. SUM.SIKIL^{SAR} 'pure-leek' (*HWb.* 199), referring to onion or garlic. GA.RAŠ^{SAR} may mean some kind of onion or leekish plant (*EHGl.* 92); cf. *Alimenta* 107-9.

5.69 — CABBAGE — While no term for this common vegetable has been definitely identified, it is tempting to compare *kalwis(si)na-*^(SAR) with Lat. *caulis,* Gk. καυλός, ON *kál,* NE *kale,* etc.

5.70 — POTATO — As the potato was introduced to Europeans only around the sixteenth century AD (*NED* s.v.), it was of course unknown to the Hittites.

5.71 — FRUIT — *sesa(na)-* means 'fruit' (*CHD* 3.17), etym. unknown. Ideographic alternatives are ^{GIŠ}GURUN, *INBU.*

5.72 — APPLE — ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR (Akk. *hashūru*). The Hitt. reading may be *sam(a)luwa(nt)-* (cf. Hatt. *ša-a-waᵃ-at*?); discussion in Laroche, *OLZ* 66 (1971): 149; Hoffner, *Alimenta* 113-15 with refs.

5.73 — PEAR — ^{GIŠ}*karpina-*, tentatively glossed 'Birnbaum' by Hrozný (*Code Hittite provenant de l'Asie Mineure* I [Paris, 1922],

§ 101), has been compared with Russ. *grabína* 'hornbeam' (G. Neumann, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 78, n. 4; V. V. Ševoroškin, *Etimologija* 1964: 157).

5.75 — FIG — ^{GIŠ}PÈŠ. Something related to Gk. σῦκον may appear in the second element of H. ^{GIŠ}*has(s)ik-*, *marsiqqa-*, and *sigga-sigga-*, these three possibly referring to varieties of figs (*EHGl.* 43 and n. 58; T 200-1). In particular, *marsiqqa-* can be compared to Lat. *mariscus* 'large fig' (Neumann, *KZ* 84 [1970]: 141).

5.76 — GRAPE — ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN is the normal term for 'vine' and 'grape', with ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN HÁD.DU.A 'dried grape' = 'raisin'. Hittite terms specifically denoting 'grapevine' are ^{GIŠ/Ú}*ippi(y)a-* (autochthonous, cf. Gk. ἄμπελος) and ^{GIŠ}*mahla-* (P 378-79; Pedersen, *Hitt.* 187), while the fruit itself is expressed by *muri-* '(bunch of) grape(s)' (*EHS* 197, 204).

5.77 — NUT — A generic term is unknown. ^{GIŠ}LAM.GAL is 'pistachio' (*HWb.* 282), Akk. *buṭuttu.*

5.78 — OLIVE — Always ^{GIŠ}SERDU (*ZERTUM*).

5.79 — OIL — Ì, Ì.GIŠ, with Ì ^{GIŠ}ZERTUM 'olive oil'.

5.81 — SALT — MUN, Akk. *ṭābtu.*
A word for 'sodium carbonate', *nitri-*, is an areal culture-word matching e.g. Gk. νίτρον (Puhvel, *AJPh.* 104 [1983]: 217).

5.83 — VINEGAR — GEŠTIN *EMṢA* 'sour wine'.

5.84 — HONEY — Hittite *milit* joins Goth. *miliþ*, OIr. *mil*, Alb. *mjal*, etc. in reflecting faithfully IE **mélit(om)-* (*IEW* 723-24).

5.85 — SUGAR — Probably unknown to second-millennium Anatolia.

5.86 — MILK (sb.) — The general designation GA occurs with terms for several kinds of milk, including GA.KU₇ 'sweet milk', GA *EMṢÛ* 'sour milk', and GA *DANNU* 'thick milk'. In one passage *pankur*, normally 'family group, tribe, kin' or the like, appears to have the meaning 'milk'. A connection via the notion 'milk-brothers' (Güterbock, *RHA* 22 [1964]: 102-3) lies on the edge of probability.

Gk. γλάγος, γαλα(κτ-), Lat. *lac(t)-* may well be related to H. *gala(n)k-* 'soothe; satiate', *galaktar* 'nutriment'; further connections with Skt. *jálāṣa-* 'soothing' and ON *klǫkkr*, Lith. *glēžnas* 'soft, tender', Bulg. *glezíl* 'coddle' are also possible (cf. T 463; *Stammb.* 149; P s.v.).

5.88 — CHEESE — GA.KIN.AG (*Alimenta* 121-22).

5.89 — BUTTER — Ì.NUN.

5.91 — MEAD — This drink was apparently not used in Anatolia, where wine was preferentially made from grapes. Occasionally 'honeyed wine', like the Gk. μελιηδέα οἶνον, was consumed, to judge from the expression GEŠTIN.LÀL (*EHGl.* 21-22, n. 7).

5.92 — WINE — The Hitt. reading of GEŠTIN is *wiyana-* (Hier. *wayana-*), expectably representing the Mediterranean areal term seen in both IE (Gk. οἶνος, Lat. *vinum*, Arm. *gini*, Alb. *venë*) and Semitic (Arab. *wain*, Hebr. *yayin*) (Gusmani, *Lessico* 32 and n. 48).

5.93 — BEER — *sessar* (KAŠ), related to Gk. ζῦθος (> Lat. *zythum*)?? On Hittite beer-production see A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* 119, n. 1-2.

CLOTHING; PERSONAL ADORNMENT AND CARE

6.11 — CLOTHE, DRESS — Inherited IE *wes-* appears as Hitt. *wes(s)-*, Luw. *was-* 'dress, wear, be clothed', with middle inflection, while *was(s)(iya)-* (< *wos-*), usually active, may express the transitive sense 'clothe'. Conjugational details of these verbs are treated in depth in Oettinger, *Stammb.* 299-306.

sai- is 'put on' (particularly headwear), from the sense of 'press (on)' (9.342), and the same meaning is expressed literally in *anda zikki-*, from the iterative *zikki-* to *dai-*, *tiya-* 'place'; cf. NHG *anziehen.*

ishuzziya- 'gird' (P 401) is denominative from *ishuz(z)i-* 'belt, girdle' (6.57) < *ishai-* 'bind' (9.16). *sarkuwai-* means 'to put on shoes', and must be related to *sarku-* 'high' (12.31); cf. Ehelolf in Sommer, *HAB* 86, and G. Neumann (*sarku-* 'hoher Schuh') apud Oettinger, *Stammb.* 335, n. 159.

6.12 — CLOTHING — Besides the ideogram TÚG, general terms are derived from *wes(s)-*, *was(s)-* (6.11), namely the concretized neuter abstract *wassuwar* and animate *was(sa)pa-* (Goetze, *Corolla Linguistica* 50-51; *EHS* 184), with *sarriwaspa-* possibly a calque on Hurr. *sarri-* 'king' (*EHS* 125).

aniyatta, a neut. pl. '(ceremonial) habit, vestments', is a vbl. noun from *an(n)iya-* 'work' (P 69-70).

6.13 — TAILOR — LÚ TÚG 'cloth-man' may be 'tailor' or 'fuller'.

6.21 — CLOTH — Curiously, no general term for 'cloth' or 'fabric' is known, but its presence is signalled by TÚG. 'A cloth' in the sense 'towel' is marked with GAD, with a few varieties such as ^{GAD}*mutalliyassa[*, ^{GAD}*sawalga-*, ^{GAD}*kazzarnul-*.

6.22 — WOOL — *hulana-* (SÍG), Luw. *i*-stem SÍG-*lani-*, reflects the *$H_1wlH_2-no-(A_2-)$ seen in practically every branch of Indo-European (*DSS* 400, *IEW* 1139, T 278-79), and is also a likely source for Akk. *hullānu* '(woollen or linen) blanket' (*EHGl.* 39-40, n. 53). A synonym *huliya-*, *hulaya-* is from an alternatively suffixed *H_1wlH_2-y- (P s.v.).

The river-name $^{\text{ÍD}}$*Hulana-* ($^{\text{ÍD}}$SÍG-*na-*), together with $^{\text{GIŠ}}$*hulali-* 'distaff' and the verb *hulaliya-* 'wind around', points to a verbal root *$hul(a)-$ < IE *$H_1wel(-H_2)-$ 'wind, twist' (*IEW* 1139-45), under-lying the IE words for 'wool' (twisted, spun [material]) as well as those for 'turn, wrap, roll', etc. (10.12-10.15, *DSS* 665). Cf. Laroche, *AO* 17.2 (1949): 13, n. 18; Friedrich, *KZ* 77 (1961): 257.

$^{\text{SÍG}}$*es(sa)ri-* 'fleece' is understandable as 'wool-shape, wool-skin', derived from *es-* 'be', with semantics as in *tuekka-* 'body' vs. Skt. *tvac-* 'skin', OPruss. *kērmens* vs. Skt. *cárman-*, with the same respective meanings, or Gk. χρώς with both (P 313-15).

$^{\text{KUŠ}}$*kursa-* 'fleece; skin, hide', 4.12.

$^{\text{SÍG}}$*huttuli-*, a 'tuft' or 'flock' of wool, appears derived from *huit(tiya)-* 'pull, draw' (9.33; Čop, *Ling.* 8 [1968]: 55).

Particular kinds of wool or woollen objects may be denoted by *ali-* (Hurrian; cf. Gk. ἀλινδέω?, P 34), *kunzi-* (T 637-38), *marihsi-*, *zum(m)ina/i-*.

6.23 — LINEN; FLAX — 'Leintuch' has been guessed as the meaning of *kattanipu-* (T 544), perhaps on the basis of a suggested connection (V. Pisani, *Paideia* 8 [1953]: 308) with late Babyl. *kitinnū*,

Phoen. *ktn* 'linens', Gk. χιτών, Myc. *ki-to-*. Besides the unclear formation (H. *-pu-* < ?), the reading may be wrong as well: ᴳᴬᴰ*tanipu-* is also possible (T 544).

6.29 — LEATHER — KUŠ.

6.31 — SPIN — The Hitt. expression is probably *(appa parza) malkiya-* (*CHD* 3.131-32), but the etymology is unclear. A comparison with Skt. *mā̆rṣṭi* 'wipes', Lat. *mulgere* 'milk' (*Stammb.* 346) is semantically improbable.

An alternative phrase is *hulanan kapinan iya-* 'make wool into thread'.

The previously unexplained Gk. κλώθω may be compared with H. *kaluti-* 'line', see 12.84.

6.32 — SPINDLE — The origin of ᴳᴵˢ*huesa-* remains a subject of debate, the most likely derivation so far being that (by Kronasser, in *Studi … V. Pisani* 2, p. 611) from IE **H₁wes-* 'turn, wind' (*IEW* 1173 [7. u̯es-]), comparing Skt. *vedá-* 'bunch of Kusa-grass' (< **veḍá-* < **H₁wos-do-*), *uṣṇíṣa-* 'turban', ON *vasask* 'be wrapped, mixed up in', NHG dial. *wasen*, ME *wase* 'faggot' (the Engl. form also meant 'pad on the head for carrying burdens'). Other suggestions T 268-69.

The spindle is partnered with ᴳᴵˢ*hulali-* 'distaff', a further deriv. from *hul-* 'twist'.

6.33 — WEAVE — Hoffner's idea (*EHGl.* 98, not mentioned in *CHD*) that *malkiya-* serves for 'weave' as well as 'spin' is supported by Lith. *pìnti* 'plait' : Goth. *spinnan*.

IE **(H)webh-* might survive in H. ᴳᴬᴰ*hupra-* (Luw. *huppara/i-*), the name of some woven material or article of clothing (T 293 and

refs.), as well as *hupiki-* 'veil' (T 295) and others, cf. Kronasser, *Beiträge … Pokorny* 46-47.

A Hittite counterpart of Lat. *texō* may be found in *takk(e)s-* 'join together; agree to (a treaty); undertake (a conspiracy), weave (a plot)', from IE **teḱ-s-* 'build, put together; weave' (> Lith. *tašýti*, OCS *tesati* 'hew'), with the same stem seen in Gik. τέχνη 'art, skill, craft', etc. < **teḱs-nā*. A reduplicated stem **te-tḱ-* yields verbs for 'cut, hew, fashion' and related nouns; e.g. Skt. *takṣ-*, Av. *taš-*; Gk. τέκτων, Skt. *tákṣan* 'carpenter', Av. *tašan-* 'creator'. Further Hitt. derivs. are *taksul* 'agreement, treaty, peace' (< 'joining'; cf. Lat. *pax* < *pangō*), *taksatar* 'flat surface, plain' (< 'piece of [woven] fabric'?), and *taksan-* 'middle, halfway point' < 'joint, seam', *taksan sarra-* 'split in half' and UD-*az taksan tiyazi* 'it is midday', lit. the day approaches (its) midpoint'. Cf. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 81; *EHS* 397-98; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 217-19, and for a dissenting argument (connecting with *tākk-* 'resemble' [12.92]) Laroche, *BSL* 58 (1963): 65-71.

6.35 — SEW — Although a verbal reflex of IE **sū-* (**syū-*, **sīw-*) is missing, the root probably appears in H. *suwēl-* 'thread' (6.38).

6.36 — NEEDLE — Possibly *KIRISSU* (*HWb.* Erg. 1: 31; Goetze, *JCS* 10 [1956]: 37 and n. 62).

6.38 — THREAD — *suwēl-* can be analyzed as the suffix *-ēl* on a root **sū-* seen also in Skt. *sū́tra-* and ON *saumr*, possibly also Lat. *suō* 'sew'. The Hitt. form does not help to clarify the relationship between this IE **sū-* and **syū-*, **sīw-* (Goth. *siujan*, Lith. *siúti*, OCS *siti*, Skt. *syū-*, *sīv-* 'sew'; IEW 915-16). Cf. Carruthers, *Lg.* 6 (1930): 161-62; Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 111; Čop, *Die Sprache* 6 (1960): 6; P s.v.

gapina- 'thread, yarn' is without certain cognates; tentative comparisons have been suggested with *kappani-* 'cumin', a Semitic loanword (Akk. *kammūnu, kammanu,* Hebr. *kammōn,* etc.; E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec* [Paris, 1967], p. 51-52), and with Arm. *kap* 'thread' (Jahukyan, *Hayerenə* 154). A **gapinanza-* may appear, misspelled, in *gapanza,* cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 38 (1981): 353.

hanzana- is read as a quasi-synonym 'strand, thread, yarn', also 'web' in the phrase *auwawas hanzanas* (Akk. *qū ettuti*) 'spider's web', by Puhvel, *BHD … Kerns* 237-40.

6.41 — CLOAK — Possibilities are ᵀᵁᴳ*adupli-,* some kind of ceremonial cloak or other garment (= ᵀᵁᴳNÍG.LÁM?), perhaps of common origin with Akk. ᵀᵁᴳ*uduplu* (Goetze, *Corolla Linguistica* 51-52; P 229, T 94-95), and *sek(u)nu-,* source unknown.

6.412 — OVERCOAT — ᵀᵁᴳ*kariulli-,* perhaps a sort of (hooded) coat, fr. *kariya-* 'cover, protect' (12.26): cf. for meaning Lat. *toga* : *tegō,* or Sp. *abrigo.* Cf. Goetze, op. cit. 61.

6.42 — WOMAN'S DRESS — ᵀᵁᴳNÍG SAL. Goetze (ibid.) assigned here ᵀᵁᴳ*kariulli-* and ᵀᵁᴳ*kaluppa-.*

6.43 — COAT — ᵀᵁᴳ*gapari-* (= ᵀᵁᴳE.ÍB?) may denote a tunic or short coat (T 490). *EHS* 225 connects it with **gap(i)-* in *gapina-* 'thread'. ᵀᵁᴳ*sarriwaspa-* 'Ober-kleid'? 'Jacke'? (*HDW* 71) contains *waspa-* < *wes-* 'be clothed', see 6.11.

6.44 — SHIRT — Perhaps ᵀᵁᴳGÚ.È.A (Akk. *nahlaptu*); cf. Goetze, op. cit. 52-54, HWb. 296. ᵀᵁᴳ*sasta-,* if from *sas-* 'sleep' (4.61), could mean 'night-shirt' or 'bedclothes' (*HDW* 73).

6.45 — COLLAR — *kuttanalli-* is from *kuttar* 'neck' (4.28; T 678), and means 'neck-band' or the like; cf. Lat. *collāre* : *collum.*

6.46 — SKIRT — Although a short kilt seems to have been the normal dress of the Hittite common man, its name is as yet undetermined, unless perhaps *ishuzzi-* 'band, belt, girdle' < *ishiya-* 'bind' (9.16).

The existence of some sort of skirt may be implied in ᵀᴜᴳ*iskallessar*, derived from *iskalla(i)-* 'slit, tear', if it means 'slit dress' (T 398, P 414) and not 'torn garment'.

6.49 — STOCKING — *patalla-* 'sock'? (*EHGl.* 31) is very uncertain, although this and *patalha-* appear to be formed from *pata-* 'foot' (*HWb.* 166). Cf. also ᵀᴜᴳ*KAPALLŪ* 'stockings', ᵀᴜᴳGAD.DAM 'leggings' (Goetze, op. cit. 60, 62).

6.51 — SHOE — The regular form is ᴷᵁˢE.SIR.

Gk. πέδῑλον might be connected with H. *patalla-* or *patalha-* (6.49; *HWb.* 166).

6.52 — BOOT — ᴷᵁˢE.SIR *istappanta* 'boots' (Akk. *šahupatum*), lit. 'covered footwear', fr. *istap(p)-* 'shut, enclose' (12.25; P 473).

6.54 — SHOEMAKER, COBBLER — ᴸᵁ̄EPIŠ ᴷᵁˢE.SIR.

6.55 — HAT, CAP — ᵀᴜᴳ/ᴳᴬᴰ*lupanni-* is some sort of round, flat 'cap', and is also used of part of a dagger ('pommel'?); cf. Goetze, *Corolla Linguistica* 62; CHD 3.85-86. The source is unknown (*EHS* 222), although the variation seen in *luwanni-* suggests local origin (cf. *kupahi-*, Hurr. *ku-(ú-)waₐ-hi*, next).

Another type of men's headgear is called *kupahi-* (ᵀᴜᴳSAG.DUL; areal culture-word, cf. Hurr. *ku-(ú-)waₐ-hi*, Hebr.

koba 'helmet'; Goetze, op. cit. 59; T 640-41), while that of women is denoted by ᵀᵁᴳ*kuressar*, evidently a vbl. noun from *kuer-/kur-* 'cut' (9.22; e.g. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 152; *EHS* 67), with a possible semantic analogy in ᵀᵁᴳ*iskalessar* < *iskalla(i)-* 'slit' (T 646).

6.57 — BELT, GIRDLE — *ishuzzi-* 'band, belt, girdle' (P 410; see also Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 38 [1981]: 350), is from *ishai-*, *ishiya-* 'bind' (9.16). There is also ᵀᵁᴳ*massiya-* (ᵀᵁᴳSA[G].GA.AN.DÙ) 'waistband' (Goetze, op. cit. 54.55).

6.58 — GLOVE — ˢᴵᴳ*kisri-* may belong here, from *kessar* 'hand', cf. Gk. χειρίς < **ghes-rí-*, but the meaning may be rather 'skein of carded wool', frm *kis(ai)-* 'comb, card' (*AI* 337).

6.59 — VEIL — GÁD IGI.HI.A must have this meaning (IGI.HI.A 'eyes'); a suggested Hitt. reading is ᵀᵁᴳ*hūbiki*, possibly from IE **(H)webh-* 'weave' (T 295), with foreign *-k(k)i-* suffix (*EHS* 211).

6.63 — PIN — *sepikkusta-* (ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁZI.KIN.BAR), worn in women's hair, may denote the safety-pin or clasp type (*HWb.* 301). Etymology is obscure (*EHS* 191, 197).

6.71 — ADORNMENT — *unuwasha-* has been analyzed (Oettinger, *Stammb.* 472) as deverb. *unu(w)-a-sha-*, from a *-nu-* suffixed verb *u-* 'adorn', cognate with Lat. *ind-uō* 'put on' (op. cit. 322), *induviae* 'clothing', *ex-uō* 'doff', Avest. *aoθra-* 'footwear', etc., IE **eu-* (*IEW* 346).

A **hura-* 'ornament' may well be the second element of *istamahura-* 'earring' (Hoffner, *RHA* 21 [1963]: 38). With the denom. *hurai-* 'to ornament, decorate' (Laroche, *RHA* 15 [1957]: 14), it is reconstructed (by Van Windekens, *BHD … Kerns* 338-39) **A₁(e)ur-*,

and compared with *A_1wer- in Gk. ἀείρω 'lift, suspend', Alb. *vjer* 'hang up, hook', Lith *virvẽ* 'cord', with semantics as in NHG *(ohr)gehänge,* Fr. *pendant.*

For discussion of Gk. κόσμος and Lat. *mundus,* see 1.1 and *AI* 331-44.

6.72 — JEWEL — ^{NA4}*ku(wa)nnan-* (^{NA4}NUNUZ) most likely stands for 'lapis lazuli, lazurite', the blue-green mineral used for gemstones and pigment, referred to also by the related Gk. κύανος. Further areally related possibilities in T 688-92.

NA$_4$.ZA.GÌN 'blue stone' may be lazurite, sapphire, or the like, while NA$_4$.GUG 'red stone' could be carnelian, porphyry, or ruby; the Hittite word *kirinni-* is perhaps from Hurrian (Laroche, *RHA* 24 [1966]: 176-77).

6.73 — RING — HAR (Akk. *šemīru*); *HWb.* 276.

6.74 — BRACELET — HAR ŠU 'hand ring'.

6.75 — NECKLACE — *huwahhuwartalla-* is a nominalized *-alla-* adj. from *hu(wa)hhurti-* 'throat' (4.29, T 263). Similarly, *kuttanalli-* is related to *kuttar-* 'neck', 4.28.

6.82 — TOWEL — GAD.

6.83 — NAPKIN — There is a *genuwas* GAD 'knee-cloth'.

6.91 — COMB — ^{GIŠ}GA.ZUM conceals the noun, but the verb *kis(ai)-* is cognate with OCS *česati* and nominal derivs. *česlŭ*, OIr. *cír* (*kēs-rā) 'comb', ON *haddr* 'long hair' (< *hazdaz < IE *kos-tos), Lith. *kasà* 'braid, tress' (*DSS* 449, *AI* 336-37), from IE **kes-* 'comb, card;

clean up; adorn', etc. (cf. Puhvel, *AI* 331-38, 417; *Bi. Or.* 38 [1981]: 353-54).

6.94 — OINTMENT — *wassi-*, 4.88.

6.95 — SOAP — Ancient Anatolian practice apparently made use of alkaline plant materials for cleansing, to judge from ᴳᴵˢ*karsani-* 'soap-weed' (cf. Ertem, *Flora* 131-32), perhaps an areal culture-word akin to Gk. κάρδαμον 'nasturtium' (Furnée, *Erscheinungen* 64, n. 269; T 521).

*hasuwai*ˢᴬᴿ, included as 'soapweed' in *EHGl.* 82, is glossed 'wild rue' (*Peganum harmala*) in T 211, with reference to the use of its resin as a red coloring agent; cf. Pliny (*HN* 28.191) *prodest et sapo; Gallorum hoc inventum rutilandis capillis…* . Berman (*Stem Formation* 59) connects it with *has(sa)-* 'chip' or 'flake' (of soapwort): cf. *KBo* IV 2 I 39-41 *nu hassan* ᴳᴵˢ*karassaniyas dāi n-an-kan pūwati n-an-kan istalgaizzi n-an purpuran* 1-EN DÙ-*anzi* '(s)he takes flakes of soapwort, pounds them, flattens them, and they make them into a lump' (P 451; cf. T 211, *EHS* 526).

The ideogram is ŠE+NÁG (Akk. *uhūlu; HWb.* 294).

DWELLING, HOUSE, FURNITURE

7.11 — DWELL — Hitt. uses *es-, as-* (Hier. *as-*) 'sit' < IE *$\bar{e}s$-* (12.13) to mean also 'remain' and 'dwell', just as Rum. *şedea,* Fr. *résider* from IE *sed-* (P 291-300).

7.12 — HOUSE — *pir, parn-* (É) is probably an indigenous word, and occurs in most Anatolian dialects: Luw., Hier. *parn(a)-,* Lyc. *prñnawa-,* Lyd. *bira-* (Laroche, *RHA* 23 [1965]: 52-54; *EHS* 161; Puhvel, *AIED* 240 = *AI* 144).

purut-, purutessar- 'clay, plaster, mortar' or the like (9.73) also means by extension 'house' (*HWb.* 174).

7.13 — HUT — ᴳᴵˢZA.LAM.GAR 'hut' or 'tent' (Akk. *kultaru* 'tent'), with ᴳᴵˢZA.LAM.GAR *ŠA* GI 'reed hut'; see *EHGl.* 50, n. 81.

7.14 — TENT — ᴳᴵˢZA.LAM.GAR (7.13), ᴱZARATU.

7.15 — YARD, COURT — *hila-* (TÙR) is '(court)yard', also 'halo' (around moon or sun), and possesses several derivatives, e.g. *hilanni-* and *hilamnant-* 'courtyard', *hilammi-* and *hilammatta-* 'courtier', *hilammar* 'gatehouse' (7.22), as well as numerous divine, personal, and place-names: ᴰ*Hilassi-,* ᴰ*Hilanzipa-;* ᴵ*Hiliyas;* ᵁᴿᵁ*Hilammā,* ᵁᴿᵁ*Hilammatiya-,* ᵁᴿᵁ*Harsanhila-,* ᵁᴿᵁ*Istuhila-,* etc. (cf. e.g. Laroche, *Recherches* 69; *Noms* 67, 284; *RHA* 19 [1961]: 81-82).

Other Anat. relatives are Hier. GATE-*(la)na-* = *hilana-* and Lyc. *qla* 'enclosure, τέμενος' (Laroche, *BSL* 55.1 [1960]: 183; 62.1 [1967]: 55).

All attempts at IE etymology (recorded T 242-43) have failed; an indigenous Anatolian term is indicated.

7.21 — ROOM — *antaka-* or *antaki-* is apparently derived from *anda-* 'within', with a suffix of either foreign (*EHS* 210-11) or IE origin (*-*gh-*; P 77). Lyc. *ñtata* 'chamber' < *ñte* 'in(side)' may be parallel (Laroche, *Fouilles de Xanthos* 5 [1974]: 136).

Some sort of 'anteroom' or 'vestibule' seems to be intended by *arku-* (P 148), possibly from Hurrian (*EHS* 225), cf. Hurroid Akk. *arkabinnu* 'a kind of door' (I. Singer, *ZA* 65 [1975]: 86).

An 'inner chamber' of the house is denoted by É.ŠÀ, H. *tunnakkessar* (*HWb.* 228).

7.22 — DOOR, GATE — The Hitt. reading for ᴳᴵˢIG 'door' is *arasa-*, whose variant reading *asari-* points to a likely source in Hurr. *ašar* 'gate, door' (Puhvel, P 128-29; *JAOS* 102.1 [1982]: 178).

While the 'gate' proper is ᴳᴵˢKÁ (Akk. *bābu*), H. *aska-* refers to the 'gateway' which surrounds it (cf. KÁ.GAL-*as āski* and *āsga ANA* KÁ [P 213, 214]), and is another Anat. areal term, like *hila-* 'courtyard' (7.15) and *pir, parn-* 'house' (7.12; P 215)—PIE **dhwer-* does not survive in Anatolian.

The gateway structure of *aska-* plus ᴳᴵˢKÁ lies within the *hilammar* 'gatehouse' or 'portal', denom. from *hila-* 'courtyard', with a semantic development exactly the opposite of that seen in Lat. *forīs* : *forum* or Russ. *dver'* : *dvor* (P s.v.). Also used to denote this structure is KI.LAM, otherwise 'market', cf. Akk. *bāb mahīrim* 'market gate' (Singer, *ZA* 65 [1975]: 91-95).

'Side door' or 'postern' might be the meaning of ⁽É⁾*lustani-* (*CHD* 3.88); a detailed discussion of the term is in Laroche, *RHA* 10 (1949): 25-26.

7.23 — LOCK — The origin of ᴳᴵˢ*hattalu-* 'bolt', with animate *hattalwant-* and denom. *hatalwai-* 'to bolt, lock', is unknown (T 219). *zakki-*, possibly 'bar' (*EHS* 204), is likewise obscure.

7.25 — WINDOW — The Hittite 'window', *lutta(i)-, luttant-* (ᴳᴵˢAB) was a sophisticated enough affair to be opened (*has-*) and closed (*istap-*), probably by means of shutters (*CHD* 3.88-89). The likely derivation is **luk-t-* < IE **lewk-* 'light' (H. *lukzi* 'becomes light, dawns'; *AI* 221), like Avest. *raočana-* 'window' and ON *ljóre* 'roof-hole' < *ljós,* also ON *gluggr* 'window' : *glóa* 'glow'.

7.26 — WALL — *kutt-* (Akk. *šahādu*), vbl. noun *kuttessar* 'walling, walls' (Hier. ᶜᴴᴵˢᴱᴸ*kutasara/i-*), reflects **ĝhu-t-* from IE **ĝhew-* 'pour' (*IEW* 447-48), with the requisite semantics illustrated by Gk. χέω 'pour; pile up', χυτὴ γαῖα 'earth-heap', χῶμα 'mound' (Laroche, *Syria* 31 [1954]: 106; *EHS* 255; T 676-78; P s.v.). This accords with both the occasional NA₄ determinative and the archeological evidence.

7.28 — ROOF — The source of *suhha-* is unknown, though it is difficult to separate from *suhha-* 'throw, scatter' (9.34); cf. perhaps *suhha warhui* 'strohgedecktes Dach'? (*HWb.* 196).

7.31 — FIREPLACE — *hassa-* matches Osc. *āsā-*, Lat. *āra* 'altar', ON *arinn* 'hearth', IE **ās-* (**A₁eH₂-s-*) 'burn' (*IEW* 68); cf. Pal. *hā-* 'be warm' (Melchert, *KZ* 94 [1984]: 41-42). Something like NHG 'Herdstelle' or NE 'hearth' may have been referred to by *hassanzipa-*, where *-zipa-/-sepa-* evokes the intrinsic numinous power of the object; cf. *Āska-sepa-* (*aska-* 'gate', 7.22), *Hilanzipa-* (7.15), *daganzipa-* (1.212).

7.32 — STOVE — The term for 'brazier', forerunner of the more modern 'stove' (*DSS* 476), is *pahhunalli-* (GUNNI), transparently from *pahhur* 'fire' (1.81), with adj. suffix *-alli-*, *EHS* 212.

7.41 — FURNITURE — A piece of 'furniture' may be ᴳᴵ�Šhardduppi-, likely a foreign word (*EHS* 224, T 189), compared with Gk. κάρδοπος 'kneading-trough' by Furnée, *Erscheinungen* 257.

7.42 — BED — *sast(a)-* is from *sas-* 'lie down, sleep' (4.61), with *-t*-suffix perhaps equivalent to that of *kutt-* 'wall' (P s.v.) and *lutta(i)-* 'window'; cf. e.g. Lat. *lectus* < **legh-* or Gk. κοίτη < **key-*.

Further terms are of foreign origin, and refer to various types of couch: ᴳᴵŠhaputi- (*EHS* 237, T 168), *namulli-* (*EHS* 213), *nathi-* (< Sum. *nàd*?, *EHS* 244).

7.43 — CHAIR — ᴳᴵŠkishi(ta)-, keshi-, also *hishi-* (ᴳᴵ ŠŠÚ.A-*hi-*) is a loanword from Hurr. *kis-hi-*, in turn from Akk. *kuššu*, Sum. *gu.za* (cf. ᴳᴵ ŠGU.ZA 'throne') (T 590-91).

Obscure and probably also not native Hitt. are *hapsalli-*, *hassalli-* 'stool' (*EHS* 214, T 167; improbably connected with OPruss. *abse*, Russ. *osina*, OHG *aspa*, ON *ǫsp* 'aspen' by Van Windekens, *BHD … Kerns* 331-32) and *tapri-* 'chair' (*EHS* 225).

The 'throne' as an item of furniture is ᴳᴵ ŠGU.ZA (prob. *kishi-* or *hishi-*), but as the symbolic representation of royalty and its power, it is denoted by a separate term *halmasuitt-* (ᴳᴵ ŠDAG; often deified ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿDAG). The source of the latter is Hattic ᴰ*Hanwas(u)wit-* (and variants), analyzed as *ha-* (locative) + *n(i)was(u)-* 'sit' + *-it* (fem. suffix) by Laroche (*RA* 41 [1947]: 89), further refs. T 134.

7.44 — TABLE — The usual term is ᴳᴵ ŠBANŠUR; several others are uncertain and unanalyzable: *hariuzzi-* (T 173), *lahhura-* = ᴳᴵ ŠGAN.KAL (*CHD* 3.15), *papu-* (*EHS* 251), *puriya-* (*EHS* 169-70).

7.45 — LAMP — An alternative to ^{DUG}IZI.GAR (Akk. *nūru*) is *sasanna-* (*HWb.* 188), perhaps *sas-s(a)na-* (*EHS* 183), though a connection with *sas-* 'sleep, lie down' has not been demonstrated.

^(GIŠ)*zuppari-*, *zupparu-* 'torch' was linked with Skt. *kṣúbhyati* 'shake, tremble' by W. Petersen (*Mélanges H. Pedersen* 473, comparing for meaning Lat. *tremula flamma, tremulum lumen,* etc.), with improbable *-pp- < *-bh-*.

AGRICULTURE, VEGETATION

8.11 — FARMER — ᴸᵁENGAR.

8.12 — FIELD — ᴬ·Šᴬ*terippi-* is from *teripp-* 'plow' (8.21); cf. late Church Slavic *ralija* (Pol. *rola*) from OCS *orati* 'plow', or Avest. *karšū-* (Skt. *karṣu-* 'furrow') from *karš-* (Skt. *kṛṣ-*) 'plow'.

An 'irrigated field' may be what is meant by ᴬ·Šᴬ*sissuras-* (*HWb.* 194, *HDW* 76; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5 [1969]: 778); denom. *sissuriya-* 'irrigate'. It is a likely technical loanword, as are the terms for irrigation ditches or channels, *amiyara-* (P 48) and *alalima-* (P 28).

The most probable connection of *arziya-* 'cultivated land' is with *arsi-* 'cultivation, planting' (> *arsai-, arsiya-* 'cultivate', 8.15); P 187.

8.13 — GARDEN — ᴳᴵŠSAR (Akk. *kirū*).

8.14 — BARN — One of various kinds of outbuildings (all represented ideographically) is É IN.NU.DA (IN.NU.DA 'straw'), read Hitt. *taiszi-* (*Alimenta* 34). Another is ᴱ*garupahi-*, perhaps 'granary', borrowed from Hurr. *karubi* (Laroche, *RA* 54 [1960]: 198-200).

8.15 — CULTIVATE — *arsai-, arsiya-* is denom. from *arsi-* 'planting, cultivation', probably an areal technical term seen also in Hes. ἀρσεα · λειμῶνες. Further identity with *ar(a)s-, arsiya-* 'flow' (10.32) is plausible in view of the importance of Middle Eastern

and Asian irrigational technology in Anatolian agriculture (P 173-74; cf. 8.12).

Like verbs for 'work' (9.31) in many other languages, Hitt. *an(n)iya-* can have this meaning (P 66, 68); cf. Fr. *labourer*, NIr. *oibrighim*, ON *yrkja*, *vinna*, OCS *dělati*, SCr. *obraditi*, Avest. *aiwi-vərəz-*, etc. (*DSS* 493-94).

8.21 — PLOW — The noun for 'plough' is always concealed by sumerographic ᴳᴵˢAPIN (Akk. *epinnu*). The verb 'to plow', on the other hand, is well attested by two different terms, often occurring together in the asyndetic phrase **harszi terpzi.* This expression reflects a situation similar to that denoted by *harra- malla-* 'pound (and) grind' (5.56), where the inherited word for an activity traditionally known to the early IE speakers is joined by a borrowed term for a more recently adopted Mesopotamian-based technique. Thus *teripp-* 'plow' matches Lat. *trepō* and Gk. τρέπω 'turn', with the same sense as in Lat. *terram vertere* 'turn the sod' and a possible meaning-parallel in Skt. *karṣ-*, Av. *karš-* 'plough' < **kʷel-s-* (**kʷel-* 'turn'), whereas *har(a)s-* can be a technical loanword, from Akk. *harāšu* 'plant', *harāṣu* 'dig a furrow', or WSem. *ḥaraš-* 'plow'. See Puhvel, *AI* 1-3, 110-24; *Bi. Or.* 36 (1979): 57.

Less likely competing explanations involve connections of *teripp-* with IE **treb-* (MIr. *trebad* 'plow, inhabit', W. *tref* 'homestead', Goth. *þaúrp* 'field', Osc. *trííbúm*, Lith. *trobà* 'house', etc. [*IEW* 1090]; e.g. G. Jucquois, *RHA* 22 [1964]: 91-92), **drep-* (Gk. δρέπω 'pluck', δρεπάνη 'sickle' [Rosenkranz, *JEOL* 19 (1965-66): 502]), or **ter(i)-*, **trī-* 'rub' (e.g. Gk. τρίβω [Pisani, *Paideia* 9 (1954): 128]), but all present formal or semantic difficulties. The derivation of *har(a)s-* from IE **ar(ā)-* 'plow' (from Goetze, *Tunnawi* 70), though very common, is doubtful (cf. T 182-83).

8.212 — FURROW — *akkala-* (AB.SÍN) suggests a reconstruction from **ok-*, seen in Gk. ὄγμος 'furrow' (Benveniste, *HIE* 107-8, thus separating ὄγμος from **ag̑-* 'drive'), and possibly Lat. *occa*, Corn. *ocet*, Gk. ὀξίνη, Lith. *akė́čios* 'harrow' (Čop, *Ling.* 5 [1964]: 26) and Arm. *akaws* 'furrow' (Greppin, *PBH* 1972: 3 [58], p. 221-24; P 23).

The gloss 'tiefgehender Pflug' (T 9, following Oettinger, *Eide* 14, 50) is inferior and unnecessary, cf. Puhvel, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 215-216, n. 36 = *AI* 362-63.

8.22 — DIG — *peda-*, written in classical Hittite *pè-da-* to avoid confusion with *peda-* 'carry off', reflects IE **bhedh-*, with cognates Lat. *fodiō* 'dig', Lith. *bedù* 'bore, dig', W. *bedd* 'grave' (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 76-77; Puhvel, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 214-16 = *AI* 361-63; *IEW* 113-14).

8.23 — SPADE — ᴳᴵˢMAR URUDU or ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁMAR.

8.24 — SHOVEL — *intaluz(z)i-*, of unknown source, has the suffix *-uzzi-* (*EHS* 241). Compared tentatively with Gk. ἔντεα 'implements' at P 374 and *AI* 250, rejected in T 362.

8.25 — HOE — The reading of ᴳᴵˢAL (Akk. *allu*) is ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁ*tekan*, kept apart from *tekan* 'earth' in *EHS* 270 and also by Laroche (*RHA* 10 [1949]: 20-21; cf. *HWb.* 220), who showed that it is from IE **(s)teyg-* 'pointed', seen e.g. in Skt. *téjate* 'is sharp', *tigrá-* 'sharp', OPers. *tigra-* 'point' (15.78; *IEW* 1016).

8.27 — RAKE — ᴳᴵˢ*hah(ha)ra-*, probably 'rake' or similar, was thought to be reduplicated from a **har-*, cf. *hars-* 'till' (8.21) by Rosenkranz (*JEOL* 19 [1967]: 505; also Gusmani, *Lessico* 67; T 122). Rejecting this approach, Puhvel (*AI* 250-51) compares instead Lat.

ārea 'threshing-floor' < *$*A_1eA_1riyeA_2$ (8.35), via the Hitt. verb *hahriya-* 'rake'.

8.31 — SOW; SEED — *sai-, siya-* has both meanings of IE *$*sē-$, 'sow' (Goth. *saian;* Lat. *sēmen,* OIr. *síl,* OE *sǣd,* etc. 'seed') and 'throw' (Skt. *sǎyaka-* 'missile'), as well as 'press, put on (headwear)', with 'sow' especially in the phrase *para siya-.* See Laroche, *BSL* 58 (1963): 73-76.

Also meaning 'sow' is *suniya-,* from a primary meaning 'scatter' or 'pour' (9.35).

an(n)iya- 'work' (9.31) is also used in this sense (P 66, 67, 68).

'Seed' is NUMUM, Akk. *zēru,* Luw. reading *warwalanant-* or *warwatn(ant)-,* 2.57.

8.32 — MOW — *war(a)s-, warsiya-,* basically 'sweep clean' (9.37), is also used occasionally with reference to fields, and thus may have 'mow' as a corollary meaning (along with 'thresh' [8.34] and 'reap, harvest' [8.41]), e.g. *n-asta apūn* A.ŠÀ-*LAM arha war[asdu* 'let him harvest that field' and A.ŠÀ *warrasuwas* 'harvestable field' (*AI* 198).

8.33 — SICKLE — *kullupi-,* probably an areal culture-word (cf. Akk. *kalappu,* Hebr. *kēlappoṭ,* Aram. *kulbā* 'hoe, pick'), is usually glossed 'sickle' (e.g. *HWb.* Erg. 3: 10; Laroche, *RHA* 15 [1957]: 9-11), though the possibility of its being made of wood (e.g. Berman, *Stem Formation* 17) may be cause for doubt (T 630). In any case the ideograms ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁKIN and ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁKIN.GAL stand for this implement (*Alimenta* 28-29).

8.34 — THRESH — A verb *$*huek-$ (inf. *huganna,* vbl. noun *huigatar*) is postulated for this activity in *Alimenta* 31-32, uncon-

nected with homophones meaning 'slaughter' (4.76) and 'utter an incantation' (18.21).

We have also KISLAH-*an wars(iya)-* 'sweep the threshing-field', with *wars(iya)-* matching e.g. OCS *vrěšti* 'thresh' and Lat. *verrō* 'sweep' (9.37). This descriptive designation of the early technique is echoed in Latin, e.g. Horace (*Carmina* 1.1.10) *quidquid de Libycis verritur areis* 'whatever is swept up from Libyan threshing-floors' (*AI* 247).

8.35 — THRESHING-FLOOR — Sumerographic KISLAH (dat.-loc. sg. KISLAH-*ni*) is the only attested representation of the Hittite concept.

It is possible to compare Lat. *ārea* with H. *hahriya-* 'to rake' (*$A_1eA_1riyeA_2$), ^{GIŠ}*hah(ha)r(a)-* 'rake', and to construe H. *hahrannas* as gen. sg. of a **hahratar* '(place) of raking, threshing-place', thus affording some insight into early IE threshing and harvesting technique; see *AI* 246-51. Such a reconstruction suggests a possible refinement of the meaning of ^{GIŠ}*hah(ha)r(a)-* from 'rake' to something more like 'ripple', and the further deduction that the sense 'open space' in Lat. *ārea* developed from 'threshing-field', and not the reverse (cf. *DSS* 510).

8.41 — CROP, HARVEST — The regular term is sumerographic BURU$_x$-*a(nza)-* (Akk. *ebūru*); *Alimenta* 24-28. The usual derivation of *halkuessar* from *halki-* 'grain' (8.42) (e.g. Laroche, *RHA* 11 [1950]: 39-40; T 134) fails to explain either the origin of the *-u-* (*EHS* 290; Rosenkranz, *JEOL* 19 [1965-66]: 503) or the occasional meaning 'first fruits (for sacrifice)'. The key to a better approach lies in the allograph *MELKITU* 'income, revenue' (Friedrich, *AfO* 14 [1944]: 349) from *leqū* 'take, receive'. The meaning of *halkuessar* is thus (substantive) 'yield, próduce', and the etymon IE *A_1elg^wh- (cf. Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 31-32; P s.v.). Cognates include Skt. *árhati*,

Av. *arəǰaiti* 'be worth', Gk. ἀλφή 'gain', Lith. *algà* 'wages', etc. (*IEW* 32-33).

'To harvest, reap' can be expressed by *wars(iya)-,* properly 'sweep' (9.37); cf. also 8.34 'thresh'.

8.42 — GRAIN — *halki-* (ŠE; also deified ᴰ*Halki-;* cf. Lat. *Ceres*) is in all probability a Middle Eastern and Mediterranean culture-word (*EHS* 211). Possible attestations are widespread, e.g. Anatolian (Tyana) Gk. ἄλιξ, Lat. *(h)alica* 'spelt' (Neumann in T 133), and perhaps Etr. *halχ(za),* if 'beer' (V. Georgiev, *Linguistique balkanique* 5.1 [1962]: 41).

Čop (*Hethitica* 4 [1981]: 31-32) unnecessarily connected *halki-* with IE **(A₁)elgʷh* as in his etymology of *halkuessar* 'produce, harvest', still influenced by the traditional connection of the two (8.41).

8.43 — WHEAT — Several individual varieties are referred to in the texts. Wheat in general, and possibly specifically 'bread wheat', *Triticum vulgare,* are denoted by ZÍZ(*-tar*). *kant-,* plausibly 'einkorn' (*Alimenta* 69-73), may have related forms in a Lyc. *χada-* 'grain' (cf. *χθθase* 'Futtermittel' [?]), Lycian place-names Κάδρεμα (called σίτου φρυγμός by Stephanus of Byzantium) and *Kadyanda < χadawāti* 'grain-rich', as if Hitt. **kant-want-* (like **Wiyanawanda >* Pisidian Οἰνόανδα; G. Neumann, *Die Sprache* 8 [1962]: 208; cf. T 486). The idea of an Iranian loan source for H. *kant-* (from J. Potratz, *Pferd* 184-85; cf. T 486; comparing Avest. *gantumō* 'wheat') is to be doubted, nor is a connection with Gk. χόνδρος 'groats' (: Ugar. *ḫundr̤t*?) convincing (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 6; cf. *Alimenta* 60-70).

The etymology of *karas-,* possibly 'club wheat' or 'emmer' (*Alimenta* 73-77), is unknown (see T 498), as is that of *seppit-* (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 11 [1951]: 68).

8.44 — BARLEY — In addition to generic 'grain' (8.42), *halki-* also means specifically 'barley'. A particular kind is apparently meant by *e(u)wa(n)-*, an inherited IE word < **yewo-* 'grain', seen e.g. in Ved. *yáva-* 'grain, barley', Av. *yava-* 'grain', Pers. *ǰav* 'barley', Lith. *javaĩ* 'grain', Gk. ζειαί 'spelt', etc. (ibid. and P 321). See *Alimenta* 77-82.

8.51 — GRASS — Several words for (types of?) grass are known. For *welku(want)-*, some connection with the root **wel-* seen also in *wellu-* 'meadow' (1.23) is conceivable; cf. W. *gwellt* 'grass', ON *vǫllr* 'meadow', etc. No etymologies have been found for *kariyant-* or the related *karitasha-* (T 507, 510; cf. *kariya-* 'cover' [12.26]?) or for *uzuhri-* (or ᵁ*zuhri-*; *EHS* 225).

8.52 — HAY — The expression 'dried grass' is used; *welku hadan* or *uzuhri-/*ᵁ*zuhri- hadan*.

8.53 — PLANT — *gangati*⁽ˢᴬᴿ⁾ apparently refers to herbs, particularly those with magical or healing powers (Laroche, *RHA* 111 [1950]: 38-39), etym. obscure (*EHS* 238).

8.54 — ROOT — *surki-* (also *surka-*, *HWb.* 200) reminded Neumann (*KZ* 77 [1961]: 78-79) of IE **swer-/sur-* 'pole, post', Skt. *sváru-*, OE *swer-*, etc. 'post', Lat. *surus* 'twig, sprout', with *-k*-suffix as in ON *svíri*, OE *swira* 'neck' < **swer-χyōn* (cf. *EHS* 211; Eichner, *MSS* 31 [1973]: 74). Root-connection of Gk. (ϝ)ρίζα, Lat. *(w)rādix*, via **wr̥-d-* vs. **(s)wr̥-k-*, is suggested by Puhvel (cf. Hitt. *sankuwai-* : Lat. *unguis* 'nail').

8.55 — BRANCH — The word is *alkista(n)-* (Akk. *ARTU*), serving for 'branches' of vines, etc. and 'boughs' of trees. A division into *alk-* + *-ista(n)-* is secured by the further botanical

terms *hurpasta(n)-, hurpusta-* 'leaf' (8.56), *hatt-alk-esna-* 'thorn-bush', and *tap-alk-ustana-*, name of a plant. Disengaged from the various affixes, the root *alk-* (IE *A_2él-ĝ-*) can be linked (cf. Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 30-31), with OCS *loza* 'vine, tendril, shoot' and Hes. ὀλόγινον · ὀζῶδες and κατάλογον · τὴν μύρτον (*A_2l-oĝ-*; cf. P 36, T 17-18).

8.56 — LEAF — *hurpasta(n)-, hurpusta-* refers to a 'leaf' of trees and other plants, as well as the skin of an onion. Setting aside the suffix *-asta(n)-, -ista(n)-, -usta(n)-* (cf. 8.55), the word can be reconstructed *H_1wrb-* and compared with e.g. Lit. *vir̃bas* 'twig, sprig', etc.; Gk. ῥάβδος 'twig, rod' (*IEW* 1153); and possibly Lat. *verbēna* (< *werbes-nā*), sacred leaves and branches of various plants (cf. Neumann, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 79; *EHS* 43; refs. and further details T 307, P s.v.).

The collective 'foliage' is expressed by ᴳᴵˢ*lah(h)u(wa)rnuz(z)i-* (*CHD* 3.15-17; Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5 [1968]: 774-75, 778-79); etym. ?

8.57 — FLOWER — *alil-, alel-* belongs to a widespread group of culture-words, including such far-flung members as Gk. λείριον, Lat. *līlium,* Coptic *hrēri, hlēli* 'lily', Alb. *lule,* Cushitic *ilili,* Basque *lili,* and Estonian *lill* 'flower'; cf. Benveniste, *BSL* 50.1 (1954): 43; T 16-17; P 32-33.

8.60 — TREE — *taru-* 'tree, wood', 1.42.

8.61 — OAK — *allantaru-* is composed of Semitic *allan* 'oak' (Akk. *allānu*) + Hitt. *taru-* < IE *doru-* 'tree', 1.42; Hoffner, *Orientalia* N.S. 35 (1966): 390-91; T 14; P 29.

8.65 — FIR — Although *e(y)a(n)-* has been assigned here in the past (e.g. Güterbock, *RHA* 22 [1964]: 100; *EHGl.* 41; *CHD* 3.78, 956),

it is better interpreted as 'yew' and compared with ON *ýr*, NE *yew*, OIr. *éo*, OPruss. *iuwis*, etc. (cf. Ivanov, *Etimologija* 1971: 298-302; Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees* [Chicago, 1970], p. 136-37, and see Puhvel, *Kratylos* 25 [1980]: 136-37; P 253-57). The name of the 'fir' is more likely *tanau-*, probably cognate with OHG *tanna*, Du. *den* 'fir' (: Skt. *dhanvan-* 'bow'?), IE **dhonu-*, **dhon-wo-* (Neumann, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 77-78). The flat needles of *Abies* hint at ultimate connection with IE **dhen-* 'flat surface, palm' (Gk. θέναρ, etc., *IEW* 249).

8.67 — VINE — ᴳᴵˢGEŠTIN, 5.76.

MISCELLANEOUS PHYSICAL ACTS; OTHER
MISCELLANEOUS NOTIONS

9.11 — Dᴏ, Mᴀᴋᴇ — *iya-* is the basic verb meaning 'make' and 'do'. Besides the common iter. *essa-* (P 300-5, T 111-12), related forms include Luw. *a(y)a-*, Hier. *a(i)a-*, Lyc. *a-*, and Lyd. *i-*. The most plausible etymology connects *iya-* with Toch. *yām-* 'make' (H. Holma, *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne* 33.1 [1916]: 23-24). Beyond this widely accepted collocation, many other attempts have been made which are semantically doubtful, mostly involving IE **yē-* 'throw' (*IEW* 502). Further linking of Skt. *yam-* 'hold' (e.g. Watkins, *Idg. Gr.* III/1: 71) is also questionable, and identification with H. *iya-* 'go' (10.47; e.g. Hrozný, *SH* 153) is generally rejected (cf. T 338-43, P 335-47). Abandoning this approach altogether, V. Machek (*Die Sprache* 4 [1958]: 79; approved of in P 346) saw *iya-* as a verbalization of the pronominal stem *a-* 'it' (< **e-/o-*), thus '(do) it', by the same process as in *anniya-* work'.

an(n)iya- 'work, do, produce', etc. (Luw. *an[n]i[ya]-*, Pal. *ani[ya]-*) has been interpreted as denominatively based on an IE word for 'weight, burden', as in Lat. *onus* 'load', Gk. ἀνίᾱ 'distress' (e.g. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPS* 1946: 74). Formal and semantic difficulties with this derivation prompted V. Machek (op. cit. 76-79) to imagine instead a development from pronominal *anna-*, *anni-* 'that', as in Lith. *anúoti* : *anàs*, Czech *onačiti* : OCS *onŭ* (T 30, P 66-71).

9.12 — WORK (sb.) — *aniyatt-* 'work; task', is from *an(n)iya-* 'make, do', etc. (9.11), with abstract suffix *-t-*; see *EHS* 254, P 69-70.

9.13 — WORK (vb.) — The sense is most nearly rendered by *an(n)iya-*, 9.11.

9.14 — BEND — Closest to the transitive sense is *laknu-* 'knock over; fell (tree or wrestling opponent); train (vine); persuade', lit. 'cause to lean' < *lakk-* 'fall down or out, incline' (*CHD* 3.17-18, 19-20), cf. OE *hlinian, hlǣnan*, Gk. κλῑνω, Lat. *dē-clīnāre*, etc. < IE **ḱley-*. The root-connection is probably with IE **leĝh-, *loĝh-* 'lie', OCS *položiti* 'lay', etc. (Eichner, *MSS* 31 [1973]: 99, n. 83), cf. *DSS* 834.

Words meaning 'bend oneself, bow' and the like are numerous. *kaniniya-* 'crouch' may be fr. IE **kney-n-*, corresponding to **kney-gʷh-* in OE *hnīgan* 'bow, bend', Lat. *cō-nīveō* 'blink', etc. (Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 38 [1981]: 352). *hink-* 'bow, show reverence' can match Skt. *añc-* 'bend, hook' (IE **A₁enk-, *A₁onk-*), with Gk. ἀγκῶν 'elbow', Lat. *uncus*, OE *angel* 'hook', etc. (Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen* 28, T 250-51). *ar(u)wai-* 'prostrate oneself' is connected with Lat. *ruō* 'fall down, collapse' (Laroche, *RPh.* 42 [1968]: 243-44), Gk. ὀροὑω 'rush forth' < **(E₁)r-éw-* 'stir, rush' (P 184-85).

9.16 — BIND — *ishai-, ishiya-* (Luw. *hishiya-*) is from IE **sE₂-óy-* (with prothetic *i-*), the root **seE₂-(y-)* 'bind' and its variants being seen in numerous cognates including Skt. *sắtum, syáti* 'bind', *sétu-* 'bond', Av. *hāy-*, Lith. *siĕti* 'bind', ON *seiðr* 'rope, line', *sími* 'string' (cf. Lat. *saeta* 'bristle'), Gk. ἱμάς 'strap', etc. Cf. *DSS* 546, *IEW* 891-92, T 384-88, P 398-403.

hamenk- was compared with Gk. ἄγκω, Lat. *angō* 'lace up', OCS *vezati* 'bind', etc. (*IEW* 42) by Pedersen (*Hitt.* 197), though his connection via a **hwenk-* with Skt. *váñcati* 'stagger' was misguided.

More plausibly Van Brock–MacGregor (*RHA* 20 [1962]: 32) reconstructed a nasal-infixed *ham-en-k-* (*H_1[a]m-en-ĝh-*), endorsed by Oettinger, *Stammb.* 148 and n. 32 (doubted in T 142 and *EHS* 433); similarly V. Georgiev, *Linguistique balkanique* 25.4 (1982): 15. Van Windekens (*Festschrift for O. Szemerényi* 913-14) tentatively opts for a Semitic source (*ḥnḵ*), while deriving Gk. ἀνάγκη 'constraint' directly from Hitt. *hamank-*. Puhvel (p.c.), reading /hmenk-/, suggests a comparison with Lat. *mancus* 'crippled', IE *H_1menk-*.

   kaleliya- 'bind, fetter' appears denom. from an unknown **kalel-* or **kaleli-* (*EHS* 497; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 354), perhaps *-ēl* (cf. *suwēl-* 'thread', 6.38) added to a root **kel-*, but no root-formation is apparent.

   9.17 — BOND — *ishiul-* 'binding', also 'obligation, treaty', a neut. abstract from *ishiya-* 'bind' (9.16), gave rise further to factitive *ishiulahh-* 'enjoin, instruct' (P 401). Related words with equivalent meaning include Lith. *saītas*, OE *sīma*, Avest. *hinu-*, Skt. *sétu-*.

   9.18 — CHAIN — ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁSÌR.SÌR (?; *EHGl.* 30).

   9.19 — ROPE, CORD — *ishima(n[a])-, ishamin(a)-* is from *ishiya-, ishai-* < **sE₂-(y-)* (9.16), thus analogous to Gk. ἱμάς 'strap', Skt. *sīmán-* 'hair-parting', ON *sími*, OE *sīma* 'string, band', and cognate also with ON *seiðr* 'line', *seil* 'cord', Lith. *saītas* 'band, string', etc. (P 399-400, 402).
   sum(m)anza(n)- < **sū-* 'sew' + *-mn̥-(s)-* (cf. *suwēl-* 'thread', 6.38), can be compared with Gk. ὕμνος (cf. for meaning H. *ishamai-*, Skt. *sā́man-*, Gk. ὄιμη 'song' < **seE₂-m-, *sE₂-om-y-*; P 395), ON *saumr* 'seam', Skt. *syū́man-* 'bond' (P s.v.; *EHS* 178, 199).
   suwēl-, gapina-, hanzana-, see 6.38.

9.192 — KNOT — DUR (?; *EHGl.* 53 and n. 93).

9.21 — STRIKE — Besides *kuen-* < IE **gʷhen-* (*DSS* 552; see 4.76), a variety of other Hitt. words express similar notions:

wal(a)h- (GUL-*ah-*) may belong with Lat. *vulnus,* Hom. οὐλή 'wound', etc. (*IEW* 1144-45; Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 137), the root being **welH₁-*. Cf. also Arm. *bałxem* 'knock' (T. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 221).

Identity of *hulla-, hulliya-* 'strike down' with *wal(a)h-* (assumed by e.g. Petersen, *JAOS* 59 [1939]: 176; T 274-76) is formally improbable, and comparison with Gk. ὄλλῡμι 'destroy' (Couvreur, *Hett. Ḫ* 143-44, 324; O. Szemerényi, *KZ* 73 [1956]: 73-74) is also doubtful; see 11.27. Cf. also Arm. *xołxołem* 'massacre' (Schultheiss, op. cit. 220).

zahh- is obscure, the source of *z-* being unknown. Reconstructing **ds-eA₁-* > **das-* as in Hom. δαΐ 'in battle' (Schindler apud Oettinger, *Stammb.* 447) is very speculative; for δαΐ cf. rather H. *lahha-,* 20.13. V. Georgiev's derivation (*KZ* 92 [1978]: 95-96) from **tw-eh-* (adducing Gk. σάω 'sift, bolt') relies on an improbable shift of **tw-* > H. *z-* (cf. also A. Carnoy, *Orbis* 1 [1952]: 426).

hazziya- 'strike, hit' and further *hazziski-, hazziki-* 'strike (play) a musical instrument', are derivs. of *hatta-,* whose basic sense seems to be 'chop' (9.22).

lahiyai- 'attack' (Lyc. pret. *laχadi* 'he attacked') is from *lahha-* 'military campaign; journey' (20.13; *CHD* 3.4-6, 7-9).

9.22 — CUT — IE **(s)ker-* (*IEW* 932-47) survives in Hitt., Pal., Luw. *kars-,* with -*s*-extension as in Gk. κουρά 'tonsure' < *κορσά, Toch. A *kärṣt,* B *kärst* 'cut off'. A -*t*-extended form (in Skt. *kr̥ntáti,* Russ. Church Slavic *črěsti* 'cut', Lith. *kir̃sti* 'hack', Arm. *k̔ert̔em* 'peel', Lat. *cortex,* etc.) yielded the rarer H. *kartai-* 'cut (cloth)'; cf. T 517-20, 523-24. The same **(s)ker-* also produced *iskar-* 'sting, prick,

stab, skewer; stick, fasten; cling to'; cf. ON *skera* 'cut, prick', OE *scear* 'plowshare', and for meaning Engl. 'stick, hew, cleave' (P 416-19).

The synonym *kuer-* is probably not related to the forms from **(s)ker-*. Explaining the initial *ku-*, which must be original, has proved difficult. The answer may lie either in Pisani's link (*Geolinguistica* 352) with IE **skew-* 'cut' (Skt. *skunắti* 'stir', *IEW* 954), with -r-extension as in Lith. *kiáuras* 'perforated', ON *skora* 'scrape', thus **(s)kw-er-*, or in a connection with IE **kʷer-* 'make' (*IEW* 641-42), with meaning influenced by *kars-* (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 128; T 607-11), but both approaches are semantically troublesome.

tuhs- 'cut off, finish' can be equated with Gk. δεύομαι 'be lacking', Ved. *dūṣáyati* 'spoil, ruin', from IE **dew-H₁-s-* (Sturtevant, *Lg.* 18 [1942]: 23; T 215-16).

hattai- 'chop; strike' (Hier. *hat-*, Luw. *hattalla-* 'club', *hatali-* 'strike down', Lyc. *χttadi* 'smashes') resembles Arm. *hat* 'piece', *hatanel* 'cut' (Austin, *Lg.* 18 [1942]: 23; T 215-16).

happesnai- 'cut up (sacrificial animals)' may be literally 'dismember', if from *happessar* 'limb, body-part', seemingly from *happ-* 'join, attach', 12.22.

kukkurs- is reduplicative from *kuer-* (above; T 610), with -s- perhaps analogical from *kars-*.

ark- and *mark-* mean basically 'cut up' in the sense of 'divide' (and 'distribute'), see 12.232.

9.23 — KNIFE — Several types are known, all referred to by the basic sumerogram GÍR (*EHGl.* 53).

9.24 — SCISSORS — ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁ*zina[* (*EHGl.* 77, 79).

9.25 — AXE, ADZE — *ates(sa)-* (*HASINNU, PĀŠU*) may well be cognate with OE *adesa*, Goth. *aqizi*, Gk. ἀξῑνη, Lat. *ascia*, etc., and

also Akk. *haṣinnu;* a likely international technical term; see P 227-28.

summittant- 'hatchet, axe' or the like may be **sm(e)y-t-(o)nt-* < IE **smey-(t-),* Gk. σμίλη 'knife', ON *smiðr,* NE *smith* (*IEW* 968), with epenthetic *-u-* as in *sulai-* 'lead' (9.68); cf. Knobloch, *Festschrift V. Christian* 66-67; *Kratylos* 4 (1959): 41.

9.26 — BREAK — *duwarnai-* was connected by Goetze (*Lg.* 30 [1954]: 403) with Skt. *dhvárati* 'harm, destroy', and further explained as nasal present **dhwr̥-né-E₁-* in Oettinger, *Stammb.* Further comparison of Gk. θραύω 'break to pieces' also recommends itself, though the relation of IE **dhrew-* and **dhwer-(H-)* is problematic (*IEW* 274-75, 277).

Luw. *lawarr-* 'despoil, strip', also 'break (an oath)' (*CHD* 3.49) is equated with the root of *duwarnai-* as **dhw(e)rE₁-* in Oettinger (loc. cit.), with areal *t-/d- ~ l-* variation as in *Tabarnas/Labarnas; EHS* 61-64.

parsiya- means 'break', referring either to limbs (Oettinger, *Eide* 53, n. 5) or bread, in the latter case joined by ᴺᴵᴺᴰᴬ*parsa-* (a kind of bread) and denom. *parsai-* 'crumble'. A possible root-connection is IE **bher-* 'cut, bore, shave', etc.: Gk. φάρω 'split', OIr. *bern* 'gap, pass', *berrad* 'shave', Arm. *beran* 'mouth', Alb. *brimε* 'hole', Lat. *feriō* 'strike', ON *berja* 'bore', esp. Latv. *birzt* 'crumble' (*IEW* 133, *EHS* 503), with *-dh-* extension in Gk. πέρθω 'destroy', Skt. *bárdhaka-* 'cutter' (*IEW* 138). On the other hand, the *-s-* of the Hitt. form is matched better by OHG *brestan* 'burst; crack(le)', Lith. *braszkěti* 'crackle' < **bhres-* (*IEW* 169; cf. Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4 [1959]: 34; Tischer apud Oettinger, *Stammb.* 519, n. 15; here also OIr. *brissim* 'break'?).

9.27 — SPLIT — *iskalla(i)-* 'split, slash, tear', etc. belongs with Gk. σκάλλω 'hoe', Lith. *skélti,* Arm. *celum* 'split' (with doublet

skalim 'splinter' < Hitt.; cf. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 222), ON *skilja* 'separate', MIr. *scoiltid* 'splits' (Hrozný, *SH* 71) < IE **sk(e)l-H₂-* (*IEW* 923-27, P 413-14). Also related is H. ᴳᴵˢ*kalmi-* 'fire-log' (Frisk, *Kl. Schr.* 57).

    hatta(i)- 'slice up, cut open', see 9.22.

9.28 — TEAR — *iskalla(i)-* develops a meaning 'tear' from 'split; slit' (9.27), particularly with reference to garments; cf. NE *slit* as well as H. ᵀᵁᴳ*iskallessar* 'slit (or torn?) dress' (P 414).

9.31 — RUB — The verbal root *pes-* (iter. *paski-*) is seen elsewhere in nominal derivatives for 'penis' (H. *pesna-*, Lat. *penis* < **pes-ni-*, Gk. πέος, πόσθη, Skt. *pásas* [4.492]), indicating that it may have served already in PIE times as a euphemism for 'copulate'; as still in Lith. *pìsti* (Oettinger, *Stammb.* 327), cf. Ital. *fregare,* etc.

    wars(iya)-, 9.37.

    IE **ter-* (Gk. τρίβω, Lat. *terere, trīvī,* OCS *trěti,* Lith. *trìnti*) appears perhaps, reduplicated, in H. *tattarai-* 'scrub, scour' (P s.v.).

9.32 — STRETCH — 'Stretch' is a collateral meaning of *ispar(r)-*, *isparriya-* 'spread out' (9.34), and ᴳᴵˢ*ispar(r)uzzi-* 'rafter' is an exact semantic match for various technical senses of NE *stretcher* (P 441-47).

9.33 — DRAW, PULL — The most plausible source of *huittiya-*, also rarely *huit-*, is IE **Awedh-* 'lead' (OIr. *fedim,* Lith. *vedù,* OCS *vesti,* Avest. caus. *vāδaya-*, etc.; *IEW* 1115-16), although morphological difficulties remain unaccounted for. The spelling *-tt-* is not explained by a suffix *-to-* (e.g. *EHS* 485, n. 2; Goetze, *ANET* 128), as **-dh- + -t-* would yield *-zz- /-tst-/* (cf. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*² 62). Further, **Awedh-* may appear instead in *wedai-*, *widai-* 'bring', cf. 10.62.

While it avoids these formal problems, Čop's connection with Skt. *vyáthate* 'totter, stagger', Goth. *wiþon* 'shake' < IE *H_1wit-H- 'shake' (*Indogermanica minora* 39-40) is semantically improbable. Cf. T 272-73.

9.34 — SPREAD OUT, STREW — Verbal forms are *ispar(r)-*, *isparriya-* (Luw. *par[r]iya-*), *isparnu-*. Of the two PIE quasi-synonyms **ster-(H-)* and **sper-(H-)*, only the latter survived in Hittite, absorbing the meanings of both, thus 'strew, spread, scatter' (Skt. *str̥nóti*, Gk. στόρνῡμι, Lat. *sternō*, Goth. *straujan*, OIr. *sernad* (< **st-*) vs. Gk. σπείρω, Arm. *spʿrem*, OE *sprǣdan*, etc.) and also 'spray' (OHG *sprīzan*) and 'stretch' (cf. *ispar[r]uzzi-* [9.32] : Lat. *sparus*, NE *spear, spar*). A further group of words meaning 'kick' and related notions (Ved. *sphuráti*, OE *spurnan*, Lat. *spernō*, Lith. *spìrti*) is probably also involved (cf. 10.51), as is **(s)per-* 'fly' (< 'spread [wings]'); see P 441-47.

ishuwa(i)- 'scatter, throw, shed, pour' is likely related to Skt. *isnati, isitá-* 'impel' (IE **$E_1[e]y$-s-A_1-*), via a noun **ishu(wa)-* (Skt. *ísu-*, Av. *išu-*, Gk. ἰός < **ἰσϝός* 'arrow'); cf. P 404-9.

suhha- is still obscure, Oettinger's attempt (*Stammb.* 503) to derive it from *ishuwai-* being unclear.

suniya-, see 8.31 and 9.35.

9.342 — PRESS — *sai-, siya-* (also 'seal', cf. *siyattariya-*, denom. fr. *siyattar* 'seal') has 'press' as a common meaning beside 'throw; shoot'. For derivation (< IE **sē-*) see 8.31 and Laroche, *BSL* 58 (1963): 73-76. Pal. *si-* 'prod, urge; sting' (Melchert, *KZ* 94 [1984]: 25-27).

damas-, dames- 'press; oppress' has long been recognized (cf. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 101, 124, 136) as a cognate of Gk. δαμάω, Skt. *dāmyati*, Lat. *domō*, OIr. (3 sg.) *damnaid*, Goth. *gatamjan* < IE **demA_2-* 'tame' (*IEW* 199).

wesuriya- 'oppress' (*HWb.* 253-54), from an unknown **wesur-*?

9.35 — POUR — Hitt. *lahhu(wai)-* preserves the original sense 'pour' of IE **leA₁-w-*, **loA₁-w-*, which became 'bathe' in Gk. λούω (Myc. adj. *re-wo-te-re-yo* [λϝοτρειος]), Lat. *lavō,* Arm. *loganem,* and 'basin' in e.g. OIr. *loathar,* Gk. λοετρόν (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*¹ 138; Benveniste, *HIE* 14-15). Related Hitt. forms are *lah-* and reduplicated *lilhuwai-; CHD* 3.4, 13-15, 59-60.

suniya-, secondarily 'scatter; sow', should be kept apart from *sunnai-* 'fill' (Laroche, *RHA* 31 [1973]: 91-93), but is otherwise obscure.

sip(p)and- (also spelled *ispant-*) is 'to pour a libation', whence also 'sacrifice', matching Gk. σπένδω, σπονδή, Lat *spondeō* (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*¹ 76), and seen also in the Arm. loanword *spand* 'sacrifice' (Schultheiss, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 225).

ishuwai- and *suhha-*, 9.34.

9.36 — WASH — The generic term *arr(a)-, arriya-* is cognate with Toch. A *yär-* 'bathe' (Couvreur, *Hett. Ḫ* 97; P 111-16).

Apart from *arr(a)-*, more specific terms abound. *war(a)p-* 'scrub, bathe' can be compared with OE *sweorfan* 'scrub', MHG *swerben;* W. *chwerfu* 'whirl around, swirl', etc., IE **(s)werbh-*, **(s)wr̥bh-* (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*² 30, 46, 64).

tattarai- 'scour' may be from IE **ter-* 'rub', Gk. τείρω, τρίβω; cf. 9.31.

sanh- 'flush, wash down' is from IE **senA₁-* or **sn̥A₁-*, with **sneA₁-* in Skt. *snā́ti,* Av. *snayeitē* 'bathe', Lat. *nā-* 'swim', OIr. *snáid* 'swims' (Puhvel, *Florilegium Anatolicum* 299-300 = *AI* 367-68).

mutai- refers to ritual flushing, often with mud or urine. This basic meaning of IE **mew-d-*, **mew-H-* (*IEW* 741-43) comes through also in OCS *myti,* Lith. *máudyti* 'wash, bathe', Gk. μυδάω 'be wet', Czech *mýdlo* 'soap', Skt. *mū́tram,* Av. *mūθra-,* OIr. *mún* 'urine', *múr,*

NE *mud;* Lat. *mundus* 'washed'; cf. *AI* 338-44. Cf. here also Hitt. *mūdan* 'garbage, offal', specified as food for pigs (Goetze, *JCS* 16 [1962]: 30, 33-34; Pisani, *Paideia* 22 [1967]: 404; P s.v.).

Further terms are *hurnai-* 'spray' < *H_1wrn-yo-*, matching Gk. ῥαίνω (W. Petersen, *JAOS* 59 [1939]: 178-79; T 305-6), and *pappars-* 'sprinkle' : Toch. AB *pärs-* (Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 142; Puhvel, *Florilegium Anatolicum* 299-300 = *AI* 367-68).

9.37 — SWEEP — *war(a)s-, warsiya-* is related to Lat. *verrō* 'sweep, brush, scrape', ORuss. *vrěšti* 'thresh', Toch. A *wsār* 'grain-heap' and other forms (IE *wers-*); cf. Benveniste, *BSL* 33 (1932): 137; *AI* 246-48.

The source of *an(a)s-, an(as)siya-* 'wipe' is unknown; P 74-76.

9.42 — ARTISAN, CRAFTSMAN — A lengthy and not altogether clear derivational trail leads from the root noun *hant-* 'front' (: Gk. ἀντί, Lat. *ante,* etc.; cf. e.g. Gusmani, *Lessico* 22), via adv. *handa* 'correspondingly, accordingly' (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 28 [1970]: 37), *handai-* 'arrange, order, fit together', part. *handant-* 'arranged, built', and denom. *handantiya-* 'put together, build' to deverb. *ha(n)dantiyalli-* 'craftsman'.

Ideographic expressions are BĒL ᴳᴵˢTUKUL 'tool master', BĒL QĀTI 'hand-master', ᴸᵁ*UMMEA.*

9.422 — TOOL — ᴳᴵˢTUKUL.

9.43 — CARPENTER — ᴸᵁNAGAR is the basic term for 'smith, wright, serving for 'carpenter' when unmarked or as ᴸᵁNAGAR *IṢṢĪ* 'wood-wright'.

On Gk. τέκτων, Skt. *tákṣan*, etc. see 6.33.

9.44 — BUILD — The source of *wede-* is probably *u-/we-* 'hither' (cf. *HIE* 32-33) + IE **dheE₁-* 'place', with sense like that of Engl. 'put together' or Rum. *cladĭ* (e.g. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.²* 62; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 130 and n. 84-86). A competing derivation from IE **H₂wedh-* 'fasten, bind', Goth. *gawidan,* etc. (e.g. Pedersen, *Hitt.* 118; cf. Y. Arbeitman, *RHA* 31 [1973]: 103-4) is semantically unsatisfactory, as **(H)wedh-* means basically 'to yoke' and is probably ultimately identical with **(H₂)wedh-* 'lead; marry' (cf. the many senses of NE *wed* and *marry*); this root is seen in H. *uwate-* 'bring' (10.62) and *pehute-* 'send' (10.63). Other likely Anatolian kin of H. *wede-* are synonyms in Pal. *wete-,* Hier. *usa-,* Lyd. *vi -* (cf. Arbeitman, loc. cit.; Heubeck, *Lydiaka* 53).

Late Hitt. *parnawai-* is presumably borrowed from a Luw. *parnawayi-* (cf. Lyc. *prñnawa-* 'build', Hier. *parnawayi-* 'serve'; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 382), denominative from *parn-* 'house' (7.12) in the manner of Lat. *aedi-ficare* or Gk. οἰκοδομέω.

9.48 — SAW — ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁ*ardala-* (also ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁ*kuruzzi-* < *kuer-* 'cut', 9.22) is the mythological ancient saw, used to cut apart heaven and earth in the myth of Ullikummi. With the help of the Hesiodic parallel (*Theogony* 180) ἅρπην καρχαρόδοντα, a cogent comparison of the verbal root *ard-* can be made with Ved. *rádati* 'cut through, open; gnaw', Lat. *rōdō* 'gnaw' and *rādō* 'scrape, scratch', from an IE **Hér-d-*, **Hr-éd-* (Puhvel, P 175; *Bi. Or.* 36 [1979]: 58).

9.49 — HAMMER — NÍG.GUL.

9.50 — NAIL — *tarma-* (Luw. *tarmi-*) is a wooden peg or plug (ᴳᴵˢGAG), **tr̥-mo-* fr. **ter(-A)-* 'go through, cross over' (*IEW* 1074, 1075; likely the same as **ter-* 'drill, wear out', *IEW* 1071). Cf. Gk. τόρμος 'socket; peg, pivot', τείρω. The zero-grade form is seen also in OHG *drum* 'Endstück', and with different suffixes and

complementary meanings in OE *þyrel* 'hole' and *þurh* 'through', with many other synonyms, notably Lat. *terminus*, Gk. τέρμα 'boundary' (Laroche, *RHA* 11 [1951]: 66-68). A denom. *tarmai-* means 'hammer; fasten; stop, plug up' (*HWb.* 215).

As an alternative to this etymology, Puhvel (P s.v.) adduces Skt. *dhárman-* 'support', Lat. *firmus* (IE **dher[-A₂]-* 'fasten, support' [*IEW* 252-55]), comparing the ritual expression *tarmai- mitai-* 'nail (and) fasten' with Lat. *castra mētāri* 'pitch camp'.

9.51 — BEAM — GIŠ.MAH.

9.53 — MASON — ᴸᵁNAGAR NA₄.

9.54 — BRICK — SIG₄ 'brick, tile' has been tentatively read as **kalpassana-*, on the basis of the possible allographic pair ᵁᴿᵁSIG₄-*nahila-* = ᵁᴿᵁ*Kalpassanahila-* (Goetze, *JCS* 18 [1964]: 92; *EHGl.* 29, n. 36; T 470); no etymology is offered.

9.55 — MORTAR — *salwina-*, of unknown origin, is guessed to be 'Mörtel aus Lehm und Häcksel' (*HWb.* 180).

9.60 — SMITH — Several sorts of ideographic designation are used: besides ᴸᵁSIMUG 'gold- and silver-smith' and ᴸᵁKÙ.DÍM 'gold-smith' (Akk. *kudimmu*), the term ᴸᵁNAGAR 'wright' is used alone and in combinations ᴸᵁNAGAR *ŠA* KÙ.BABBAR 'silversmith', ᴸᵁURUDU.NAGAR 'coppersmith'. *EHGl.* 82.

A possible cognate of NE *smith,* etc. is H. *summittant-* 'axe', 9.25.

9.64 — GOLD — GUŠKIN (Akk. *hurāṣu*).

9.65 — SILVER — Phonetic complements occurring with Sum. KÙ.BABBAR indicate a possible Hitt. reading *harkant-*, reflecting IE *$A_1r\hat{g}$-nt-om*, originally 'shining (metal)', with cognates such as Avest. *ərəzatəm*, OIr. *argat, airget*, MW *ariant*, Lat. *argentum* 'silver' and Ossetic *ærzæt* 'bronze' (cf. *EHGl.* 80-81, n. 154; thorough discussion in J. P. Mallory – M. E. Huld, *KZ* 94 [1984]: 1-6).

9.66 — COPPER, BRONZE — The ideogram URUDU is generally read URUDU*ku(wa)nnan-* (cf. *HWb.* 300; Laroche, *RHA* 24 [1966]: 18-81), though the relationship of this term to NA4*kuwanna(n)-* 'jewel; lapis lazuli' (6.72) is unclear. Perhaps *kuwanna(n)-* refers primarily to the dark blue or blue-green colors of lazurite, copper carbonate, copper oxide, etc.; cf. Gk. κύανος, κυάνεος.

A separate term ZABAR denotes 'bronze', the Hitt. *harasu-* possibly from Akk. *hurāṣu* 'gold' (T 172).

9.67 — IRON — *hapalki-* (AN.BAR), an areal culture-word appearing also in Hurrian, Phoenician, and Akkadian, may also be related to Gk. χαλκός; cf. the city name URU*Hawalkina-* and Cretan καυκός (T 160-61; Laroche, *RHA* 15 [1957]: 9-11).

NA4 KA.GI.NA 'hematite' may be Hitt. *lulluri-*, cf. Laroche, *RHA* 24 (1966): 177, 180, 184.

9.68 — LEAD — *sulai-, suliya-* (A.GAR5) is best taken from IE *(s)lī-* 'bluish, blue color', seen e.g. in Lat. *līveō* 'be blue, shimmer', OIr. *lí* 'color, sheen', OCS *sliva* 'plum', OE *slāh*, NE *sloe* (*IEW* 965), and applied to the metal secondarily in Hittite and Germanic (OHG *blio*, NHG *blei* 'lead' : Lith. *blývas* 'violet' or *blaĩvas* 'whitish'). Cf. Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4 (1959): 41; Neumann, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 347-49. A dissenting vote is cast by Laroche (*RHA* 24 [1966]: 163, n. 8), rejecting Hitt. *suli-* < *slī-* (cf. Oettinger, *MSS* 35 [1976]: 101)

and adducing instead Gk. σόλος 'lump of iron' (adopted also by Gusmani, *Studi … V. Pisani* 509).

9.69 — T<small>IN</small> — For the name of this metal (AN.NA, NAGGA, Akk. *anāku*) Hitt. used the nominalized adj. *dankui-* 'dark' (15.63); cf. Laroche, *RHA* 24 (1966): 180.

9.71 — P<small>OTTER</small> — *huprala-* (^{LÚ}BAHÁR) is formed from the vessel-name *huppar* 'pot' (5.26) with action-noun suffix *-alla-*.

9.72 — M<small>OLD</small> — An unexplained verb *epar-*, posited in Neu, *Interpretation* 24, is read rather *ep-* 'smear, mold' in P 272-73, and compared with Gk. οἴφω, Skt. *yábhati*, Russ. *jebú* 'defile, pollute'.

9.73 — C<small>LAY</small> — Tischler (*HDW* 66) glosses *purut-*, *purutessar* as 'Lehm, Kalk, Mörtel', referring essentially to clay used as plaster or whitewash, with semantics as in NHG *Lehm*, NE *loam*, ON *leir*, Lat. *līmus* vs. NE *(bird)lime*, NHG *(vogel)leim.* Various possible cognates have been suggested. A connection with Lith. *pur̃vas* was advocated by Bomhard (*RHA* 31 [1973]: 112), and Puhvel (P 273) favors Gk. φύρω 'mix dry with wet', φῡράω 'mix dough', cf. Aeschylus γῆν φυράσειν φόνῳ. The *-t-* stem formation is unclear, "abweichend von den eigentlichen *t*-Bildungen" (*EHS* 256); N. Mkrtc'yan (*Acta Antiqua* 22 [1974]: 316-17) adduced Arm. *brut* 'potter', but here the possibility of a loan from Hittite cannot be ruled out.

halina- seems to echo the nasal-present stem in Hes. ἀλίνειν · ἀλείφειν and Lat. *linō* (pf. *lēvī*) 'smear', though the precise form (*A_1llino-*, *A_1lino-*) is uncertain (G. Neumann, *IF* 76 [1971]: 265; P s.v.).

H. *wilan(a)-* remains obscure, possibly of non-IE origin.

9.74 — GLASS — *zapzagai-* (also *zapzaki-*, *zapzigi-*) refers to the material 'glass' and vessels made from it. A culture-word of unknown ultimate origin, it resembles e.g. Ugar. *spsg* 'molten glass' and Hebr. **spsg* 'glaze' (*HWb.* 260).

Certain of the materials added to the basic sand to add color to the glass are known, e.g. URUDU 'copper' and *lulluri-* 'iron', but other names for ingredients and aspects of the glass-making process (e.g. *kirnuzi-* or *pisnuzi-*, *miyani-*, *muhlai-*, *tarzidu*; cf. *HDW* 120) are as yet unidentified.

9.75 — PLAIT — *(anda) talupp-* seems to mean 'plait' or 'wrap', etym. (and relation to *tarupp-* 'bring together', Oettinger, *Stammb.* 227-29) unclear; cf. *EHS* 479.

9.76 — BASKET — ᴳᴵˢ*erhui-*, *irhui-* (ᴳᴵˢMA.SÁ.AB) is usually viewed as a Hurrian loanword (*HWb.* 84). But IE origin is defended by Puhvel (*AI* 353-55, P 283-84), deriving it from IE *ṛH₁ú-* and comparing *arha-*, *irha-* 'line, boundary; row, circuit', etc., Lat. *ōra*, with a common denominator of 'edge, rim' and 'basket' in the notion of circularity, cf. Gk. κάλαθος 'basket' : H. *kaluti-* 'circle' (12.82).

ᴳᴵ*pattar* and ᴳᴵˢ*paddur*, although woven or plaited of reeds or wood strips, denote a shallow dish or bucket (5.31).

9.82 — SCULPTOR — ᴸᵁNAGAR NA₄.

9.83 — STATUE — *esri-* (ALAM) is 'shape, form, likeness, image' (cf. OCS *tělo*), from IE **es-* 'be' + noun-forming *-ri-*, and appears also as ˢᴵᴳ*es(sa)ri-* '(wool)shape, fleece' (6.22); cf. P 313-15.

Luw. ALAM-*sa* = Luw. *tarusa(nt)-*, Hier. *tarusa* (Laroche, *RHA* 23 [1965]: 49); fr. *taru-* 'wood'?

sena- 'icon, puppet, model' or the like, etym. unknown.

9.85 — PAINT — *guls-* corresponds in usage to Akk. *eṣēru* 'draw', commonly done with paint or (colored) pastes (*EHGl.* 51, n. 85). The IE root is plausibly **gʷel-* 'prick' (Hom. βελόνη 'point, needle', Lith. *gélti* 'sting', etc.; Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 34-38), with semantics as in Gk. γράφω 'scratch' > 'draw, write', γραφεύς 'painter', or Skt. *likh-* 'scratch, write, draw, engrave, paint'. See further T 627-30.

9.87 — PAINTING, PICTURE — *gulzi-* is from *guls-* 'draw' (9.85), possibly *gul(s)-* + *-ti-* (Oettinger, *Stammb.* 203-4), sumerographically GIŠ.HUR (Akk. *uṣurtu; EHGl.* 51, n. 85).

9.90 — THING — *uttar* (INIM) reflects **uk-t-r-* < IE **wek-t-(i-)*, cognate with OCS *vešti*, Goth. *waíhts* 'thing', ON *véttr* (NE *wight*), OE *wikt* 'being', OHG *ni-wiht* > NHG *nicht* 'no-thing, not (at all)'; cf. Marstrander, *Caractère* 141-42; Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[2] 71; *VLFH* 134; *AI* 221-22. It means also 'matter for discussion, affair', and finally 'word', with semantic shift exactly the reverse of *memiya(n)-* 'word; thing' fr. *memai-* 'speak' (18.21, 18.26). Cf. Pol. *rzecz* 'thing' : OCS *rěčĭ* 'speech', NHG *sache* : OE *sacu* 'lawsuit', NE *thing* : ON *þing* 'judicial assembly'; also Lat. *causa* vs. Ital., Sp. *cosa*, Fr. *chose;* Lat. *res.* Cf. also *kallar uttar* 'evil spirit, demon', 22.35.

9.91 — BE — Of the two IE roots for 'be', the Anatolian languages inherited only **es-*, which survives in Hitt. *es-*, Pal. *as-*, Luw. *as-*, Hier. *as-*, Lyc. *es-*, Lyd. *-im.* P 285-91, T 109-19.

9.92 — BECOME — *kis-*, iter. *kikkis-*, functions as the passive to *iya-* 'make', and seems best compared with Lat. *gerō* 'carry out, do, make' < **ges-* (cf. *res gestae*) (Laroche, *BSL* 53 [1958]: 179, n. 4). Less

probable connections with Gk. κίω 'go away', Lat. *cieō* 'set in motion', and others are discussed T 585-86.

The process of 'becoming' is productively expressed by the inchoative suffix *-es-*, e.g. *parkues-* 'become clean' < *parkui-* 'clean', *salles-* 'grow large' < *salli-* 'large'. The Latin inchoative *-ēscō*, etc. corresponds formally to the Hitt. iterative in *-ski-*.

No trace of IE **bheu-*, **bhu-* survives in Hittite.

9.94 — OUGHT, MUST — Modal auxiliaries of any kind are lacking in Hitt., and the notion of obligation is expressed with the simple indicative mood (e.g. ŠEŠ-[*SU*] NIN-*ZU* ᔆᴬᴸ*ānninniyamin Ú.UL* [*dāi*] 'a brother does not take his sister or cousin') or the imperative (DUMU-*YA-ya kuin* ᴰUTU-*ŠI temi kūn-wa-za hūmanza sākdu* '[acknowledge] my son, [of] whom I, my Majesty, say "Let all recognize him!"').

9.942 — DUTY — Although a concise terminology for the concept does not seem to exist, the existence of an obligation is emphatically signalled in the texts (e.g. in treaties) by such statements as *nu-tta kāsa kie uddār ŠAPAL NIŠ* DINGIR-*LIM* (= *linkiai kattan*) *tehhun* 'Lo, I have placed these terms under oath (lit. 'life of the gods') for you'.

9.95 — CAN, MAY — *tarra-* (midd.) 'be able' is allied with *tarh-* 'overcome, conquer' (4.81), from **terA₁-o-* matching Skt. *tárate* 'cross, overcome', etc.; cf. *Stammb.* 299.

9.97 — DIFFICULT — *hatku-* may have this as a secondary meaning of 'tight, narrow' (12.62) fr. *hatk-* 'shut' (12.25); cf. NE "dire straits."

9.99 — ATTEMPT, ENDEAVOR — 'Strive (for)' is one of the attendant senses of *sanh-, sah(h)-*, basically 'seek, go after' (11.31; *AI* 367).

9.993 — HAPPEN — *kis-* is 'occur' as well as 'become', thus 'come to pass' (cf. Lat. *ēvenīre*, NHG *eintreffen*), 9.92.

Another verb with secondary sense 'occur' is *ar-*, primarily 'stand, be stationed, be present', etc. (12.15), fr. IE **er-, *or-* 'move, stir'.

MOTION; LOCOMOTION, TRANSPORTATION, NAVIGATION

10.11 — MOVE — *halāi-* 'set in motion, thrust', from **H₁lloy-* (pf. stem of root **H₁ley-*), corresponds to Gk. ἰάλλω 'send forth' (*AI* 252-62).

Transitive *arnu-*, 10.61.

10.12-10.13 — TURN; TURN AROUND — *nai-, niya-, neya-* 'lead, send, turn', also mpsv. 'turn, direct oneself', see 10.64.

Intrans. *weh-* (iter. *weheski-*), caus.-trans. *wahnu-* are best derived from IE **weyH₁-* 'turn', cf. Skt. *váyati* 'plait', *vyáyati* (*vī-*) 'wind', Hes. υἱήν · ἄμπελον, Lat. *vieō* 'plait, bend', Lith. *výti* 'turn', etc. (cf. Eichner, *MSS* 31 [1973]: 54; Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 74; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 115).

IE **wert-* has an indirect reflex in Hitt. *(aika)wartanna-* '(one) turn', a technical hippological term, probably from Indic-speaking Mitanni through Hurrian, matching Skt. *(éka-)vártana-;* cf. also Ossetic *äwwärdyn* 'train horses' (P 14).

A Hitt. cognate of Lat. *torqueō* 'twist', Toch. B *tärk-* 'turn' is H. *tarku(wai)-* 'dance' (10.44).

10.14 — WIND, WRAP — *hul(a)-* 'wind, twist' reflects an IE root **H₁wel(-H₂)-* denoting the twisting of wool-thread in spinning, as shown by its derivatives meaning 'wool' (6.22) and by ᴳᴵˢ*hulali-* 'distaff'. Further verbal relatives include Gk. εἰλέω, Lat. *volvere*,

Goth. *-walwjan* (: NE *wallow*), OCS *valiti,* Arm. *gelum,* etc. 'roll; wind; wrap' (*DSS* 665).

10.21 — RISE — *arai-, ariya-* renders an intransitive pf. (*$E_1róy[H_2]$-*) of IE *E_1r-éy-(H_2)-* 'stir, rouse', etc., cf. Gk. ὀρΐνω 'arouse, move', Arm. *ari* 'stand up!'. This *-hi-*conjugation form contrasts with the originally causative *-mi-*forms meaning 'raise' (10.22; Puhvel, *JAOS* 102 [1982]: 178; P 123-27).

Also in this semantic area are deadjectival *parkiya-* and inch. *pargawes-, parkes-* < *parku-* 'high' (12.31); the underlying *park-* matches Toch. A *pärk-* 'rise' (Puhvel, *Gedenkschrift Kronasser* 181).

The rising of the sun and moon is expressed by *(sarā) upzi,* with *upp-* possibly from IE *$(H_2)up(o)$-*; Skt. *upa-* 'up, hither', Gk. ὑπό 'under', etc. (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[2] 39). In a similar construction occurs *(sarā) tiya-,* lit. 'step up' (*tiya-* 'step, walk', 10.45).

10.22 — RAISE, LIFT — *arai-, ariya-* (3 sg. pres. *araizzi*) appears to be etymologically causative (*$E_1roy[H_2]$-éye-ti*) from the same verb reflected intransitively in *arai-* 'rise' (10.21), like Goth. *ur-raisjan* (NE *rear,* ON *reisa,* NE *raise*) vs. *urreisan* (ON *rísa,* NE *rise*), Lith. *kélti* vs. *kìlti,* or Skt. *ut-thāpaya-* vs. *ut-thā-.* P 123-27.

Another causative (factitive) is *parkanu-,* fr. *parku-* 'high' (12.31).

sarā ep(p)-, ser ep(p)- 'pick up', cf. *HWb.* 41-42 and 11.14.

karp- 'pick up, lift; carry off; finish; finish off' (cf. Lat. *tollō*), probably < IE *$g̑r̥bh$-* 'grab', cf. Skt. *gr̥bhnắti,* NE *grab,* OCS *grabiti* 'rob' (*IEW* 455; Sommer, in *HWb.* 101; T 513-14).

10.23 — FALL — The Hitt. verb is *mau(s)-, mu(wa)-.* It has been compared (e.g. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 103-4; Eichner, *Flexion und Wortbildung* 84) with Lat. *movēre,* thus IE *$mewE_1(-s)$-* (or

*$A_2mewE_1[-s]$-?; cf. Gk. ἀμεύσασθαι 'make progress'), thus perhaps preserving an early nuance of the PIE verb.

zappanu- and zappiya- 'fall drop by drop, drip' point to a verb zapp(a)-, as noted by Laroche (RHA 11 [1951]: 64-66), though his comparison with Gk. τήκω, Lat. tābescō 'melt away' is unlikely.

10.25 — THROW — pessiya- appears to be formed from pe- 'away' + siya- 'press, shoot', etc. 8.31; cf. Knobloch, Kratylos 4 [1959]: 40; Eichner, Flexion und Wortbildung 92; Oettinger, Stammb. 347-48). A different derivation, from a root *ens-, meets with the uncertainty of the purported Skt. cognate ásyati 'throws' (Pedersen, Hitt. 151; cf. Walde - P. 1.134-35).

10.31 — BOIL — Intrans. zeya-, 5.21.

NHG sieden, NE seethe, etc. have been linked with Hitt. suwa- 'swell'; cf. 13.21.

10.32 — FLOW — ar(a)s-, Hitt. and Luw. arsiya-, are to be compared (since Sturtevant, Lg. 8 [1932]: 120) with Skt. árṣati 'flow', rása- 'liquid', etc. Gk. ἀπ-εράω 'pour out' helps specify the IE form as *$E_1ér-s-$, *$E_1r-és-$ (P 170-72, T 66-67). Derived forms include caus. ar(as)sanu- and nouns arsanu- 'flow', arsarsur- 'stream' (1.36).

Skt. sárati, sísarti are echoed in Hitt. *sesar-, found in sesariya- 'strain, filter' and sesarul 'strainer' (Goetze, Lg. 30 [1954]: 403).

10.36 — SAIL — To refer to the notion of sailing, for which mode of transportation the Hittites would seem to have had little use, we have only the expression arunan pariyan (or parranda) pai- 'go beyond the sea'.

10.37 — FLY — IE *petE₁- survives in Hitt. *piddai-* 'run, flee, fly', with e.g. 3 sg. pres. *pittaizzi* < *p(e)t(H)-āye-ti, piddai* < pf. *ptóEʸe-* (Puhvel, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 212 = *AI* 359).

Other terms which might have been used secondarily for 'fly' are *isparr-* 'spread' (9.34) and *liliwahh-* 'hurry' (*CHD* 3.61, compared with Gk. λιλαίομαι 'long for, crave' in Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 206-7).

10.38 — BLOW — *parai-*, iter. *pariparai-* 'blow, breathe', 4.51.

10.43 — JUMP, LEAP — *watku-* may represent /watkʷ-/, formed from a preverb *wo-* (Eichner, *Untersuchungen zur hethitischen Deklination*, Dissertation: Teildruck [Erlangen, 1974], p. 59) + IE *tekʷ-* 'run, rush' (Čop, *RHA* 13 [1955]: 69). Root-relations could include skt. *tákti*, Av. *tačaiti* 'rush', OIr. *techim* 'I flee', Lith. *tekù*, OCS *teko* 'run', Goth. *þius*, OE *þeow* 'servant' (lit. 'runner'; cf. Skt. *takváḥ*), etc. (*IEW* 1060).

10.44 — DANCE — The Hitt. term is very plausibly *tarku(wai)-* < IE *terkʷ-* 'twist, turn' seen in Lat. *torqueō* 'twist', Toch. B *tärk-* 'turn', or perhaps *tr̥k-u-* (Skt. *tarkú-*, Gk. ἄτρακτος 'spindle'); cf. Oettinger, *Stammb.* 223-26; *AI* 263). *taruwai*, if it means the same thing, may be a Luwianism (Götze, *Lg.* 15 [1939]: 117-18), though it is kept separate by Oettinger, loc. cit.

Gk. ὀρχέομαι is echoed in Hitt. *ark-* 'copulate', 4.67.

10.45 — WALK — For the usual *iya-* and *pai-*, see 10.47.

'Walk' or 'step' is rendered by *tiya-*, apparently from IE *(s)teA₂-* 'stand; place' (Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 69-70), specifically *(s)tA₂-(i)yé-* (Watkins, *Idg. Gr.* III/1 57); cf. *Stammb.* 350.

10.46 — RUN — The most likely reconstruction for *huwai-*, *huya-* is *$*A_1w$-éy(-H_2)-* (cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 50 [1930]: 128), pf. *$*A_1$wóye* (> 3 sg. *huwāi*), cognate with Skt. *véti* 'set out for', Gk. ἵεμαι 'rush', etc. (*IEW* 1123-24). An ultimate connection with *$*A_1w$-eE_1-* 'blow' (cf. *huwant-* 'wind', 1.72) is problematic; cf. T 321-23. Related Anatolian forms are Pal. *huya-*, Luw. *huiya-*, Hier. 3 pl. pret. *hwaya(n)ta* or *hu(i)ya(n)ta*.

piddai- 'run, flee, fly', 10.37.

10.47 — GO — IE *$*ey$-*, *$*i$-* yields *i-*, known in Hitt. and Luw., e.g. 3 sg. pres. *iti*, imper. *idu* (cf. Skt. *éti*, *étu*). In Hitt. the originally iterative-durative *iyan(n)a-*, *iyan(n)iya-* also serves as a basic verb of motion (P 328).

The verb *iya-*, inflected mediopassively, largely replaces *i-* in Hitt. Though it has long been considered the Hitt. reflex of IE *$*yā$-* (Hrozný, *SH* 39, so *DSS* 693; cf. T 343-44), the exceptionless spelling *i-ya-* (never *i-ya-a-*) argues against this approach (e.g. P 334-35), in favor of a thematic, deponential *$*eye$-to- < *$*i$-* (cf. Ved. *ayate*).

Very common in Hittite are *pai-* 'go' and *ui-*, *uwa-* 'come', from *i-* plus the preverbs *pe-* 'thither, "hin"' and *u-*, *we-* 'hither, "her"' (cf. e.g. *HIE* 32-33; Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4 [1959]: 33). A parallel opposition can be seen in Russ. *pojtí* vs. *ujtí*, with unmarked *idtí*.

10.48 — COME — *ui-*, *uwa-*, with corresponding Luw. *awi-*; see 10.47.

10.49 — GO AWAY — The sense is expressed literally by *pai-*, 10.47. Other expressions are compounds, e.g. *arha ar-* 'get away' (*ar-*, 10.55).

10.51 — FLEE — A likely comparison for *pars-* is with Lat. *festīnō* 'hurry' (Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4 [1959]: 34), the latter apparently denominative from a **fers-tiōn*, with further cognates in MIr. *bras* 'quick' (**bhr̥s-to-s*), W. *brys* 'haste', and possibly OCS *brŭzo* (**bhr̥s-ós*), Russ. *bórzyj* 'quick' (*IEW* 143).

huwai- 'run' (10.46) and *piddai-* (etymologically 'fly', 10.37) are also commonly used for 'flee', just as Engl. "run away" and "take flight."

The object of flight, namely 'to escape', is denoted by Hitt. *ispart(iya)-*, IE **spr̥-dh-*; cf. Arm. *sprdem* 'escape', Skt. *spárdhate* 'compete', Goth. *spaúrds*, OE *spyrd* 'race (course), track', Gk. σπυρθίζω 'kick up', Lith. *spárdyti* 'kick' (P 449-50, refs.). The basic sense is thus '(out)stretch', IE **sper-* (9.34).

10.52 — FOLLOW — *appan tiya-* is literally 'walk behind' (10.45), *appan pai-* 'go after' (10.47).

10.53 — PURSUE — For Hitt. *parh-*, Oettinger (*Stammb.* 213-14) reconstructs **bh(e)rA₁-*, as a transitive counterpart to intrans. Ved. *bhuráti* 'jump about, twitch, tremble', etc., rejecting an old comarison with Gk. πορεύω 'convey, traverse' (Hrozný, *HKB* 110, n. 1) < IE **per(-A)-* 'lead, pass over'. Semantically the latter still seems preferable, though not entirely convincing; cf. e.g. Arm. *hord* 'step on or in', Goth. and OE *faran* 'travel, get across', Lat. *portō*, Gk. περάω 'carry (across or through)', Skt. *píparti* 'lead, excel' (*IEW* 816).

The sense of 'chase' inheres in *hurna-* 'hunt', 3.79.

Another expression is *appan ki-*, lit. 'lie behind', cf. 12.13.

10.54 — OVERTAKE — *appan ep(p)-*, literally 'seize from behind' (cf. Gk. καταλαμβάνω), 11.13.

10.55 — ARRIVE — *ar-*, *er-* is originally an intransitive perfect of IE **er-* 'move, stir', etc. (*IEW* 326-29), thus corresponding to the Ved. 3 sg. pf. *ắra.* The iter. *araski-*, *arsaki-* (/arski-/) may match Ved. *r̥ccháti* 'go to', OPers. *rasatiy* 'come to, arrive at' (cf. P 108-10).

Also very common are compounds of preverbs and verbs of motion, including *uwa-* 'come' (10.48; cf. *HWb.* 238) and *tiya-* 'step' (10.45; cf. *HWb.* 223-34).

10.56 — APPROACH — The usual terminology employs the adverb *maninkuwan* 'near' (12.43), in composition with verbs *pai-* or *tiya-* 'go', or factitively as *maninkuwahh-.*

Also attested is the verb *salik-* 'approach, touch', etymology unknown.

10.57 — ENTER — As with most verbs of motion, the basic expressions are verbal phrases like *anda iya-*, *anda pai-* 'go in', *anda tiya-* 'step in'.

10.61 — CARRY — A basic sense 'transport, (re)move, deliver' etc. underlies the many shades of meaning apparent in *arnu-*, a caus. (**r̥-new-/r̥-nu-*) to IE **er-* 'move', matching Skt. *r̥nóti* 'arise', Av. *ərənoiti*, Gk. ὄρνῡμι 'rouse, set in motion'. Also important is the deriv. *arnuwala-* 'displaced person, deportee'. P 162-67.

In most cases the notion of 'carrying' is expressed by the more directionally explicit verbs for 'bring', 10.62.

10.62 — BRING — The directional preverbs *u-* (*we-*, *wa-*) 'hither' and *pe-* 'thither' are much in evidence in pairs of verbs for 'bring (here)' and 'send (away)'.

The basis of *uda-* 'bring' and *peda-* 'take away' is probably *dā-* 'take' (11.13; *HWb.* 168-69), less likely *dai-* 'set, place' (*HWb.* 236-37).

uwate- and its opposite *pehute-* can be analyzed as the same preverbs + IE **Hwedh-, *Hudh-* 'lead' (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 131; Benveniste, *HIE* 38-39); OIr. *fedid,* Lith. *vedù,* OCS *vesti,* etc. (*IEW* 1115-16). This approach is rejected by others (e.g. Watkins, *Idg. Gr.* III/1 69), who prefer multiple preverbs (*pe-*)*hu-* + the verb *dai-* 'place' (12.12); discussion in Oettinger, *Stammb.* 125-26; Arbeitman, *RHA* 31 [1973]: 101-9.

wedai-, widai- may be a nonprefixed version of *uwate-* and *pehute-* < **(H)wedh-* (*Stammb.* 373-74), if not simply a variant of *uda-* (*HWb.* 256); cf. 9.33.

'Bring' is also a secondary sense of *piddai-*, primarily 'hand over, deliver, pay', etc.; see 11.21.

10.63 — SEND — *pehute-* and *peda-* are counterparts of *uwate-* and *uda-*, 10.62.

Another pair oppositionally marked with *pe-/u-* is *piya-* 'send away', *uya-* 'send hither' (*-mi-*conj.). The underlying verb may be IE **yē-* 'throw' : Gk. ἵημι (Gusmani, *Parola del passato* 16 [1961]: 107-12; Stammb. 348).

uppiya- also formed with preverb *u-* but lacking the opposite number with *pe-*, is derived on conjugational grounds (*hi-*conj.) from *pai-, piya-* 'give', 11.21 (*Stammb.* 489 and n. 80).

10.64 — LEAD — Hitt. *nai-, neya-* forms part of a Hittite-Indo-Iranian isogloss reflecting IE **ney-* (Skt. and Av. *nī-, nay-*). The original meaning was 'lead, conduct', as opposed to **(H)wedh-* (in Hitt. *uwate-, pehute-;* 10.62) 'take away by force' (and often 'marry'); cf. the detailed investigation in Benveniste, *HIE* 33-40.

Verbal compounds of *nai-* with *pe-* and *u-* mean 'drive away' and 'drive hither', 10.65.

10.65 — DRIVE — *penna-* 'drive away' and *unna-* 'drive hither' are from *nai-* 'lead' (10.64), as is the reduplicated (iterative) *nanniya-* 'drive' (*HWb.* 148-49), generally used of animals.

'To drive a chariot' may be the meaning of Luw. *tars(a)i-* (*DLL* 94) or *tarsyai-* (*Stammb.* 383), source unknown.

elaniya- is glossed 'drive (to extremities), assail, plague' in P 268-69, formed from an action noun **elatar* (parallel to *tiyaniya-* < **tiya-tn-iya-* < *dai-*, *tiya-*, lit. 'beset'), postulating a verb **el(a)-* corresponding to Gk. ἐλάω, ἐλαύνω, both 'drive' and 'persecute, plague' (cf. Benveniste, *Origines* 112).

10.67 — PUSH, SHOVE — *suwai-* 'push, push out, expel' is usually compared with Skt. *suváti*, Av. *hav-* 'set in motion, impel', IE **sew(-H₂)-* (e.g. *Stammb.* 297-98 and refs.).

A connection of *hurutai-* 'knock over' with IE **(H)wert-* 'turn' is possible (T 314, 312-313); the meaning would be '(over)turn'.

Several quasi-synonyms may also be mentioned, e.g. *sai-*, *siya-* 'press, seal; shoot' (8.31; cf. ON *þrysta*), *pessiya-* 'throw' (10.25), and *elaniya-* 'drive, assail', etc. (10.65).

10.71 — ROAD — *itar* (KASKAL, Akk. *harrānu*) is an ancient heteroclitic neut. **i-tr̥*, matching Lat. *iter* and Toch. A *ytār* 'way' (Benveniste, *Origines* 10, 104; P 493-94).

10.72 — PATH — KA.GÌR. *urki-* 'track(, path?)' was derived from IE **wer-* 'find' (*IEW* 1160) by Kronasser (*EHS* 211).

10.73 — STREET — KASKAL GAL.

10.74 — BRIDGE — *armizzi-* (denom. *armizziya-*) has so far been provided with no definitive etymology. Tischler (T 63-64) opts for areal culture-word status, comparing Neo-Babylonian *arammu*

'Erddamm, Landungssteg' (with "Hurrian" *-izzi-*), and abandoning his promising earlier adduction (*KZ* 86 [1972]: 277) of IE **rem-* 'support, rest on', OHG *rama* 'prop', Norw. *rand* 'crossbeam', *rande* 'embankment' (*IEW* 864), with parallels in OCS *mostŭ* 'bridge' : ON *mastr* 'pole' and ON *brú* 'bridge' : OCS *brŭvŭno* 'beam' (P 161-62). Further suggestions ibid.

For a reinterpretation of Gk. γέφῡρα and connection with Hitt. *epurai-* 'besiege, dam up' see *AI* 293-99, P 282-83.

10.75 — CARRIAGE, WAGON — ᴳᴵˢ*huluganni-* apparently refers to the royal 'coach', and is a foreign technical loanword, to judge from OAssyr. *hu/ilukannum* (T 283).

ᴳᴵˢ*ṭiyarit-* (ᴳᴵˢMAR.GÍD[.DA], Akk. *ṣumbu*) is a 'wagon' for carrying loads (*HWb.* 285), formally unexplained, though a connection with *tiya-* 'step' seems likely; cf. also ᴳᴵˢGIGIR.HI.A *tiyauwas* 'standing-chariots', ᴳᴵˢ*asannas* 'sitting(-chariot)', ᴳᴵˢ*asnateyawas* 'sitting-/standing-chariot' (P 296, T 84-85).

The war-chariot is ᴳᴵˢGIGIR (Akk. *narkabtu*), Hitt. reading unknown.

10.76 — WHEEL — ᴳᴵˢ*hurki-* (ᴳᴵˢDUBBIN, ᴳᴵˢUMBIN) is from *$*H_1wr\text{-}g\text{-}$*, IE *$*H_1wer\text{-}$* 'wind, twist, turn' (*IEW* 1154-55), cognate with Skt. *vrj-* 'twist', OE *wrencan* 'wind', etc. (*AI* 218, T 303-4). Cf. 21.15.

10.78 — YOKE — *iuga-* (ŠUDUN), nom.-acc. sg. *iugan*, faithfully reflects IE **yugóm* and matches Skt. *yugám*, Lat. *iugum*, Goth. *juk,* Gk. ζυγόν; OCS *igo* 'gate', etc.; cf. also Toch. A *yokäm* 'gate, door' (P 495-96, T 448-49). An etymologically identical homonym is *iuga-* 'yearling', *tāiuga-* 'two-year-old', also adj. *iugassa-;* see P 496-99 and T 449-52.

10.81 — SHIP — ᴳᴵˢMÁ (Akk. *eleppu*).

10.83 — BOAT — ᴳᴵˢ̌MÁ.TUR.

10.86 — RUDDER — Virtually the only maritime terminology that survives in the texts of these largely land-bound people (besides *winat,* of unknown meaning) is the (Luwian?) word (acc. pl.?) *pintanza,* probably 'tiller': *n-at-kan* [2]-*el-us-pat ANA* ᴳᴵˢ̌MÁ *sarā pāir* ᴰGIŠ.GIM-*as* ᴵUR.ŠA.NA.BI-*iss-a nu* ᴵUR.ŠA.NA.BI-*is "pintanza"* ŠU-*za epta* 'the two boarded the ship, Gilgameš and Uršanabi, and U. took the *p.* in his hand'. Intriguingly, it recalls the Engl. nautical term *pintle* 'rudder-pin' < IE **bend-* (*IEW* 96).

POSSESSION, PROPERTY, AND COMMERCE

11.11-11.12 — HAVE; POSSESS — *har(k)-* 'have, hold' also functions as the auxiliary verb in the formation of periphrastic perfect and pluperfect tenses. Long connected with Gk. ἀρκέω 'ward off', Lat. *arceō* 'shut in', Lith. *rakìnti* 'shut', etc. (*IEW* 65-66; e.g. Sturtevant, *Lg.* 6 [1930]: 215), it reflects IE *A_1erk-* (cf. T 173-74). The reflexive *-za har(k)-* is 'have by or with oneself, possess' (*HWb.* 56).

The common IE dative(-locative) of possession occurs in Hitt., as does an ethical dative; possession is also indicated by the genitive case; cf. Friedrich, *Elementarbuch* 121.

11.13 — TAKE — Hitt. *dā-*, Hier. *ta-* belong etymologically with Gk. δίδωμι, Lat. *dō*, OCS *dati*, Skt. *dā-*, Arm. *tam*, Alb. *dhanë*, etc. 'give' (11.21), all from IE *deA^w_2-* (Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 68; cf. e.g. Puhvel, *Evidence* 89 = *AI* 135). On the reciprocal nature of gift-giving among the Indo-Europeans see Benveniste, *L'année sociologique*, 3ème série (1951): 7-20.

11.14 — SEIZE, GRASP — *ep(p)-, ap(p)-* is almost universally derived from an IE *Eep-*, and compared with Skt. *āpnóti* 'reach, obtain', Lat. *apīscor* 'attain', *co-ēpī* 'began', etc. (*IEW* 50-51, T 107-8). Rejecting this etymology, Puhvel (P 281-82) connects *apīscor* rather with Hitt. *hap(p)-* 'join, attach' (12.22), and reconstructs for *ep(p)-* simply IE *ep-*.

Constructions with preverbs serve for more nuanced expressions, e.g. *anda ep(p)-* 'capture', lit. 'take in'.

11.15 — HOLD — *har(k)-*, 11.11.

11.16 — GET, OBTAIN — *arha ep(p)-* is a secondary meaning from literal 'take away'; cf. also *sarā dā-* 'take up, take possession of' (*HWb.* 202).
   Doubts on the relationship of Skt. *āp-*, Av. *ap-*, and especially Lat. *apīscor* (> *adipīscor*), are voiced in P 281-82.

11.17 — KEEP, RETAIN — *kurk-* 'preserve, retain' may be from IE **k̂ur(-k)-*; Avest. *surī* 'skin', Lith. *šárvas* 'armor', from **k̂wor-* seen in ON *hvarmr* 'eyelid'; cf. Hitt. *kurkessar* 'surface'? (Čop, *Ling.* 2 [1956]: 20-22; T 649-50), although neither semantically nor formally compelling.

11.21 — GIVE — With the specialization of IE **deA^w_2-* to 'take' in Hitt. *dā-* (11.13), the vacated semantic slot was filled by *pai-*, *piya-* (Hier. *pa-*), perhaps from *pe-* 'away' + an **ai-* (**H_2ey-*) as in Toch. *ai-* 'give' (Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 63). Addition of the deverbative suffix *-anniya-* yields *piyanniya-* 'beschenken' (*Stammb.* 81).
   A further derived form is *piddai-* 'deliver, pay' (11.65).

11.22 — GIVE BACK, RETURN — *appa pai-*, lit. 'give back'.

11.23 — RESTORE — *appa taninu-* 'set back in order, reestablish', etc., fr. *taninu-* 'arrange, set in order'. Oettinger (*Stammb.* 29, n. 24) considers it a possible (causative) derivative of *taniya-* (of unknown meaning), but makes no attempt at an etymology. A

connection with IE *ten- 'stretch, extend, last', etc. (*IEW* 1065) might be considered; cf. Lat. *tenēre* 'keep, preserve, maintain', etc.

   anda sarnink- and *parā sarnink-* 'set right, compensate', with *sarnink-* 'atone for, make good', corresponding to noninfixed Lat. *sarciō* 'mend, make good' (*noxiam sarcire*); Juret, *RHA* 2 [1933-34]: 251).

   11.24 — PRESERVE, KEEP SAFE — *pahs-* 'protect' is from IE *peA₁-, cognate with Skt. *pā-* 'protect', Lat. *pascō* 'feed, support', Goth. *fōdjan,* OE *fēdan* 'feed' (also Gk. ποιμήν, Lith. *piemuõ* 'shepherd', Skt. *pāyú-* 'protector', Gk. πῶϋ 'flock' < *poA₁-i-; cf. *IEW* 787), with *-s-*extension (or originally *s-*aorist) in Lat. *pāstor* 'shepherd' and OCS *pasti* 'put to pasture' (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 187; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 212). *HWb.* 153.

   sakuwai- 'watch over', 15.52.

   11.25 — SAVE, RESCUE — *huisnu-* is causative from *huis-* 'live' (4.74), meaning basically 'make live, bring to life'.

   huldalai- 'schonen, verschonen' is read as denom. to a *huldala- (*EHS* 480) seen in ᴸᵁ*huldala-,* speculatively 'protector, watcher' (T 282). The underlying *huld-* was compared by W. Petersen (*JAOS* 59 [1939]: 179) with Gk. ἔλδομαι 'wish, long for', thus *H₁w(e)ld-.

   11.27 — DESTROY — *harganu-* (iter. *harganuski-*) is a causative to intrans. *hark-* 'perish', cf. 4.75.

   hallanniya- 'lay waste, ravage' is from a stem *hall(a)-,* reflecting *halna- < *Aʷ₂l-n-éAʷ₁- and comparable with Gk. ὄλλῡμι < *ὀλ-νυ- (P s.v.; cf. A. Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüística* 3 [1973]: 435-36). Further connection of ὄλλῡμι with Hitt. *hulla-* 'strike' (9.21) is unlikely.

   The Hitt. and Luw. military term *hasp(a)-* 'destroy, pillage' is etymologically obscure; cf. *DLL* 44, *EHS* 408, 589.

karap- 'devour; destroy', 5.11.

11.28 — HARM, INJURE, DAMAGE — *hunink-* is derived from *huek-* 'slaughter' (4.76), cf. Lat. *nocēre* : *necāre*.

Athematic *huwap(p)-, hup(p)-* 'treat badly' could be from the same IE *H_1wop- seen in Goth. *ubils* 'evil' (*H_1up-*élo-*; Juret, *Vocabulaire* 58; Watkins, *Idg. Gr.* III/1 30).

The factitive *idalawahh-* 'treat badly', fr. *idalu-* 'bad' (16.72), parallels such usages as Fr. *faire mal*, as does *idālu iya-* (cf. Engl. "do someone wrong").

11.29 — SPOIL — A verb *kurkuriya-* 'verstümmeln', from the verbal abstract *kurkurai-* 'wound, injury' (Laroche, *BSL* 52 [1967]: 76; *EHS* 204-5), seems to be based on the (reduplicated) root *kuer-/kur-* (9.22; T 652).

11.31 — SEEK — *sanh-* is from IE *$sen-A^w_2$-, seen also in Skt. *sanóti* 'gain' and Gk. ἀνύω 'achieve' (*IEW* 906; Kuryłowicz, *Études* 73; Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 133; Pedersen, *Hitt.* 185; cf. Puhvel, *Evidence* 91 = *AI* 137; *Florilegium Anatolicum* 299 = *AI* 367), with the Hitt. verb perhaps testifying to an original nuance. Corollary meanings of *sanh-* are matched in the cognate OHG *sinnan* 'strive for' and OE *sinnan* 'care about' (T. L. Eichman, *KZ* 87 [1973]: 269-71). Possibly borrowed in Arm. *šah-* 'win, gain' (Schultheiss, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 221).

11.32 — FIND — A suggested analysis of *wemiya-* is *u-* 'hither' + the *em- of Lat. *emō*, Lith. *emù* 'take' (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 82).

11.34 — RELEASE — Notions like 'untie, unbind, detach, set free; remove' are expressed by *lā-, lai-* (DU₈; *CHD* 3.1-4). Some

connection with IE *lew(-s)- (Gk. λύω; OE *lēas* 'loose', etc., *IEW* 681) seems possible.

For *tarna-* 'let, allow, permit, st loose', etc. and *tala-, daliya-* 'leave (alone)' see 12.18.

tattaluski- may be specifically 'release' or 'ransom', used of prisoners; *HWb.* 219).

11.41 — Property — 'Property, valuables, wealth', among other things, is denoted by *assu-,* nominalized adj. *assu-* 'good, dear, agreeable, favorable, valuable' (16.28 and 16.71; P 199-202), thus equivalent to Lat. *bona,* Fr. *biens;* NE *goods.*

11.42 — Wealth, Riches — *assu-,* see 11.41.

iyatar, an abstract noun from *iya-* 'go' (10.47), represents 'plenty, prosperity' in the sense of 'fertility'; cf. Puhvel, *AJPh.* 104 (1983): 226-27; P 351-52.

Luw. *happinatt-,* see 11.51.

Lat. *ops, opēs,* see 11.51.

11.43 — Money — The standard medium of exchange was silver, hence the name of this metal (9.65) and that of 'currency' were equivalent—cf. Gk. ἄργυρος. The prices of varous commodities (livestock, meat and skins, land and produce, textiles, and copper) are fixed in terms of the silver standard, and recorded in the Laws; cf. Gurney, *The Hittites* 84-87.

11.44 — Coin — Rather than coinage, trade in early Anatolia was carried on with silver bars or rings, measured by weight by the shekel (GÍN).

11.45 — Purse — A leather bag or pouch (ᴷᵁˢA.GÁ.LÁ) may have served to carry small amounts of money, as did the 'purse'

denoted by Lat. *bursa*, Fr. *bourse*, MHG *burse*, etc.; cf. Hitt. ᴷᵁˢ*kursa-* (4.12).

11.48 — HEIR — IBILA (Akk. *aplu*).

A term for legally assigned (as opposed to natural) 'inheritance' or 'dowry' is *iwaru-*, probably akin to (Nuzi) Akk. *ewuru* 'heir' (E. Speiser, *JAOS* 55 [1935]: 436); cf. P 502-4.

11.51 — RICH — *happina(nt)-* matches Lat. *opulentus* (with dissimilation) < IE **H₁op-en-o-(nt-)*, from the stem seen in Lat. *ops*, RV *ápnas-* 'wealth', Av. *afnahvant-* 'wealthy', ON *efni* 'substance' (pl. 'means'), Gk. ὄμπνη 'nourishment', possibly ἄφενος 'wealth', etc. (*IEW* 780; refs. T 157-58). Derivs. *happinahh-* 'enrich', *happines-* 'get rich'; also related are Luw. *happinatt-* 'wealth' and Hitt. *happir-* 'trade; payment, price' (11.87), *happarai-* 'trade, sell' (11.83), *happir(iy)a-* 'town' (19.15).

Lat. *dīves* is cognate with Hitt. *asiwant-* 'poor' (11.52).

11.52 — POOR — Like many of its IE synonyms, Hitt. *asiwant-* 'poor' (*asiwante[s]-* 'become poor', *asiwantatar*, Luw. *āssiwantattanassi-* 'poverty') means literally 'un-rich', reflecting **n̥-dyew-* + *-ant-* (thus roughly /adžiwant-/ or /ažiwant-/) 'not divinely endowed'; cf. Lat. *dīves* 'rich' (Jucquois, *RHA* 22 [1964]: 87-89; *AI* 266 and n. 34-35; P 211-12). An apt semantic parallel is OCS *ubogŭ*, *nebogŭ* 'poor' vs. *bogŭ* 'god'; cf. OPers. *baga* 'god', Ved. *bhága-* 'good fortune; dispenser'.

11.53 — BEGGAR — In sufficiently dire straits the ᴸᵁ*asiwant-* 'poor man' (ᴸᵁMAŠ.EN.KAK, ᴸᵁMAŠDÁ) could no doubt be forced to take up this occupation; cf. OE *wǣdla*, Lith. *ùbagas*, Russ. *niščij*, Skt. *dáridra-*.

11.56-11.57 — STEAL; THIEF — *tāya-* belongs with the group of words for 'thief' from IE *(s)teA₂-y-*, Skt. *(s)tāyú-*, *stená-*, Av. *tāyu-*, OCS *tati*, OIr. *táid*, with OCS *tajiti* 'hide', etc. (*DSS* 790; *HWb.* 203). *tayaz(z)il-* and *dayawar* are 'theft, larceny'.

'Thief' is expressed by the genitive *tayazilas* '(person) of theft'.

11.65 — PAY — *piddai-* 'pay; hand over; bring', etc. is denominative from *pitta* 'gift, giving; grant', neut. pl. of an action noun **piyatt-* from *pai-*, *piya-* 'give' (11.21; Puhvel, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 213-14 = *AI* 360-61).

A root **kus-* is suggested by *kussan-* 'wages' and derivs. (11.78), and may appear in 1 sg. pret. *kushahat* (cf. T 672).

sarnink- 'settle (i.e. accounts)', 11.23.

11.66 — ACCOUNT, RECKONING — *kappuwawar* 'counting, reckoning', neut. abstract from *kappuwai-* 'count; take into account'. The latter's origin is disputed; perhaps (with Pisani, *Paideia* 8 [1953]: 307-8) *katt(a)* + **puwa-* 'mark, designate' (as in *puwatti-* 'label, mark of ownership'; cf. *EHGl.* 56-57, n. 103; Hoffner, *JAOS* 87 [1967]: 300-3), thus 'mark off, tally, count'. Somewhat less plausible is a comparison of a *u*-stem **kapu-* with ON *kópa* 'stare, gape', OE *cēpan* 'regard, desire, care for' (NE *keep*), Russ. *zabota* 'care, trouble', IE **ĝeHb-* (*IEW* 349; Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPS* 1946: 77, comparing for meaning Skt. *cáṣṭe* 'appear, show' : Av. *ahaxšta-* 'innumerable', Toch. A *kaś*, B *keś* 'number'). Further suggestions T 494-96.

11.67 — SECURITY, SURETY — To 'seize as surety, distrain' is *appat(a)riya-*, from *appatar* 'seizure' < *ep(p)-* 'seize' (11.14); similarly Lat. *pignoriscapio* 'distraint' < *capere*, OIr. *athgabál* 'id.' < *gab-* (P 98-99).

11.69 — TAX — The verbal noun *taksessar* is 'tax, tariff' < *'agreement', from *takk(e)s-* 'agree' (6.33).

11.71 — INCOME — *MELKITU*, see 8.41.

11.76-11.77 — RENT, LEASE; HIRE — *kussaniya-* is denominative from the *n*-stem *kussan-* 'wages, pay' (11.78), semantically matching Gk. μισθοῦμαι, NGk. μισθώνω, and possibly providing an etymology for OE *hy̆rian*, MHG *hūren*, etc. (11.78).

11.78 — WAGES, PAY — *kussan-* 'wages, pay; price' is best compared with OE *hy̆rian*, *hy̆r*, MLG *hūren*, *hūre*, etc. '(to) hire' < *hūz-ijōn*, IE *kuHs-* (cf. Goetze, *Lg.* 30 [1954]: 403; Čop, *Die Sprache* 3 [1954]: 135-38; Bomhard, *RHA* 31 [1973]: 113).

IE *ĝews-* 'choose, enjoy' does not plausibly belong here, but it may be the source of Hitt. *kusata-* 'bride-price', often connected with *kussan-* (cf. T 673-74; see 2.63 and Weitenberg, *IF* 80 [1975]: 66-70).

Derivs. are *kussaniya-* 'hire' and *kussan(iy)atalla-* 'soldier, mercenary' (20.17); cf. also Lyc. *qehñ*.

11.81 — BUY — *was-* reflects the IE verbal root *wes-* 'buy' (*IEW* 1173) on which are formed Skt. *vasná-*, Lat. acc. *vēnum* (*wés-no-*), Hom. ὦνος (*wos-no-*), Lesb. ὄννᾱ (*wes-neA-*) 'price'; *DSS* 818.

11.82 — SELL — *us(sa)niya-* < *w(e)sne-yé-*, corresponding to Skt. *vasnayáti* 'bargain, dicker' (Puhvel, p.c., comparing Lat. *vendō* 'put up for sale' < *wesnom + dhē-*, with Hitt. *wa-* ~ *u-* of inner-Hitt. relevance, like *iyazi* ~ *īzzi*; cf. Oettinger, *Stammb.* 430).

11.83 — TRADE — *hap(pa)rai-*, *happirai-*, *hap(pa)riya-* (cf. Lyc. *epirije-* 'sell') is denominative from *happir-*, *happar-* 'business, trade',

also 'price, payment', from the stem *H_1op- found in *happina(nt)-,* Lat. *opulentus,* etc. 'rich' (see 11.51). Nominal parallels are Ved. *ápas-* 'deed', Lat. *opus* 'work'; cf. E. Sapir, *Lg.* 12 (1936): 179; T 161-62.

happar iya- 'ply trade' is quotable as well; cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36 (1979): 56-57.

11.84 — MERCHANT, TRADESMAN — *unattalla-* (ᴸᚁDAM.GÀR, Akk. *damqaru*) probably represents an agent noun in *-*tel-yo-* or *-*ter-lo-* from *unna-* 'drive' (> 'bring towards') (*EHS* 175-76).

11.85 — MARKET(PLACE) — KI.LAM.
'Market, place of trade' was the original meaning of *happir(iy)a-* 'town' (19.15).

11.87 — PRICE — *kussan-* 'wages, payment' (11.78) easily shades over into this meaning; cf. OIr. *lóg* : Goth. *laun* 'wages'; Skt. *arghá-,* Av. *arəjah-,* NPers. *arz* : Lith. *algà* 'wages'.

happir- 'business, trade', also 'compensation, price' (11.83, P s.v.).

SPATIAL RELATIONS: PLACE, FORM, SIZE

12.11 — PLACE (sb.) — *peda-* (KI, Akk. *ašru*) matches Gk. πέδον 'ground', cf. OCS *podŭ* 'ground', Lith. *pãdas* 'sole', etc. (*IEW* 790; *HWb.* 168).

12.12 — PUT (PLACE, SET, LAY) — The pf. stem **dhoE₁-* < IE **dheE₁-* (Hitt. *tiya-*, Gk. τίθημι, Lith. *padeti*, Skt. *dhā-*, Toch. A *tā(s)-*, B *tes-*, etc.) yields Hitt. *dai-* (cf. e.g. Puhvel, *Evidence* 91-92 = AI 137-38; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 482-83); Hier. *duwa-*, Lyc. *ta-*. From the zero-grade root **dhE₁-ske-* comes iter. *zikki-* (plus resuffixed *zikkiski-*) 'lay (to), set (to), begin' (*HWb.* 260-61; cf. Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 214, reconstructing **dhē-k-* and comparing Lat. *fēcī*, Gk. ἔθηκα).

tittanu- 'set in, install', if not from IE **dheE₁-* (**dhi-dhE₁-*; cf. Watkins, *Flexion und Wortbildung* 376 and Gk. τίθημι, Skt. *dádhāmi*), may alternatively reflect IE **(s)teA₂-* 'stand' (ἵστημι, *tíṣṭhāmi*; Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*¹ 78), causative like Goth. *(ga)satjan*, *(ga)lagjan* (NE *set, lay*) or NHG *stellen* < **stall-jan* < IE **stel-*. Other, inner-Hittite explanations derive it from *tittiya-* 'set up, establish' (< **dhi-dhE₁-ye-* or reduplicative fr. *tiya-*; Van Brock, *RHA* 22 [1964]: 142-44, 152; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 350, 347) or by reduplication from **ta-* (*EHS* 459).

asas-, ases- (caus. *asesanu-*) is literally 'make sit', causative from *es-* 'sit' < IE **ēs-* (12.13), cf. Goth. *(ga)satjan*, NE *set*; P 207-11, *EHS* 570. Cf. also Hier. *asanuwa-/isanuwa-*, 12.13.

sazki- is iter. from a **sat-*, **sad-*, which was derived from **sod-éye-* 'make sit' < IE **sed-* by Eichner (apud Oettinger, *Stammb.* 329); although the text (*HAB* II 58-59, quoted ibid.) seems to indicate a meaning more like 'push' (cf. *HWb.* 189), the etymology might still be valid.

12.13 — SIT — IE **ēs-* (**E₁e[E₁]s-*) survives in Hitt. stative *es-, as-* 'sit', (esp. *-za es-*) 'sit down', also trans. 'settle, inhabit' (Hier. *as-* vs. caus. *asanuwa-/isanuwa-* 'establish, install'), with numerous derivs.; T 110-11, P 291-300.

The complementary IE root **sed-* may appear in Hitt. *sisd-* 'rest', if from *si-sd-e-* (O. Carruba in *HWb.* Erg. 3 s.v.; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 216).

12.14 — LIE — Stative *ki-* (Pal. *kī-*) functions as passive to *dai-* 'put' (12.12), as its cognate Gk. κεῖται (= Skt. *śéte*) does to τίθημι, in a suppletive relationship limited to those IE branches (Anatolian, Greek, Indo-Iranian) that also exhibit the root **ēs-* 'sit' (Hrozný, *SH* 35; cf. Gusmani, *Lessico* 47, refs. T 568-69).

A survival of IE **legh-* is probably Hitt. *lak-* 'fall over' and 'turn', especially in phrases such as *istamanan (parā) lagan hark,* lit. 'hold (your) ear turned toward', i.e. 'listen!'; cf. caus. *laknu-* 'knock over, fell, bend', etc., *lilak-* 'fell, cut down', *lagan* 'bent, inclination, disposition' (*CHD* 3.17-18, 19-20, 58; Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 118).

12.15 — STAND — Stative/intrans. 'stand' is expressed in Hitt. by the middle verb *ar-* < IE **er-* 'move, stir, raise', e.g. pres. *arta* < **r̥-to* (augmented in Gk. ὦρτο 'moved, rose', Ved. *ārta* 'went'). P 104-8; cf. *ar-* 'arrive' (10.55), *arai-* '(a)rise' (10.21), *ariya-* 'raise' (10.22).

IE **steA₂-* may have a cognate in Hitt. *tittanu-* 'install', 12.12.

12.16 — REMAIN, STAY; WAIT — The sense 'stay, remain in place' is included in *es-, as-* 'sit, reside', etc. (12.13), and also in *ar-* 'stand (by), be stationed' (12.15).

huski- 'wait (for), await' is variously analyzed. Connection with Skt. *ávati* 'observe, notice', Gk. ἀΐω 'perceive', Lat. *aveō,* etc. (Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 51) is precluded because the latter belong rather with Hitt. *au(s)-* 'see', *A_2ew- (15.51). An etymology based on IE *A_1ows- 'ear' (Gk. οὖς, OIr. *au,* Goth. *ausō,* Lat. *auris,* Lith. *ausìs,* OCS *ucho,* Avest. *uši,* Arm. *unkn,* etc.) is workable (cf. Eichner, *MSS* 31 [1973]: 87; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 328; perhaps *$A_1[e]w$- 'listen', PAnat. *h[e]u-ski-* 'keep listening [for]' = 'wait for'), but it is undermined by the Anatolian loss of *A_1ows- in favor of *istaman-* (4.22). T. Schultheiss (*KZ* 77 [1961]: 221) compares instead Arm. *hskem* 'look after, wait on, attend to', thus *A^w_2sk-.

12.17 — REMAIN — A connection of *as(s)-* 'be left over, remain' (only secondarily 'stay') with *es-* 'be' or *es-* 'sit' (Bechtel, *Hittite Verbs* 92-93; T 75) is unlikely on formal grounds (P 189). The only other suggestions so far proffered are tentative comparisons with Lat. *inānis* 'empty' (*in-ās-no-;* Čop, *Ling.* 9 [1969]: 196) and Skt. *ā́sa-* 'ashes', Lat. *āridus* 'dry' (*Stammb.* 187).

12.18 — LEAVE — *tarna-* 'abandon, turn loose', compared early on with Toch. A *tärnāṣ,* B *tärkanam* 'leave' (Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 142; cf. *LIEV* 26), is now most commonly reconstructed *$tr̥$-ne-A-, from IE *ter-A_1-, *tr-eA_1- seen also in Hitt. *tarh-* 'overcome' (see 4.81), though the semantic development is not clear (cf. Hrozný, *HKB* 77, n. 9; Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen* 67; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 155).

The standard etymology for *tala-, daliya-* 'leave (alone)' is IE *tel-A_2- 'endure, bear, suffer' : Lat. *tollō,* esp. *$tl̥A_2$- as in Gk. τλῆναι, Goth. *þulan,* Latv. *iz-tilt* 'suffer', W. *tlawd* 'poor, wretched'

(Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 210). Unconvincingly rejecting this comparison ("Die Verbindung mit *$telh_2$- … wird den heth. Lautverhältnissen nicht gerecht"), Oettinger and Eichner (*Stammb.* 487-88 and n. 78) offer an analysis as a (nonexistent) preverb *da-* (: Lat *dē*) + *lā-* 'release' (11.34).

(arha) pittalai- 'set free, leave alone, neglect' is apparently denominative from a *$pitta-la$- 'renderer' or *$pi(ya)tt-ala$- 'grantor', based on *pi(y)ett-, pitt-* 'gift, grant' (cf. *piddai-* 'pay', 11.65) fr. *pai-* 'give', 11.21 (Puhvel, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 214 = *AI* 361).

12.19 — QUIET — The adverb *duddumili* 'quietly, silently' seems to be related to *duddumi-* 'deaf', *duddu* 'silence!' (4.95), thus perhaps 'so as not to be heard' (cf. also Goth. *dumbs*, NE *dumb*); *HWb.* 230-31.

12.21 — COLLECT, GATHER — IE *les- (Goth. *lisan* 'pick, gather' [NHG *lesen* also 'read'], Lith. *lèsti* 'pick up', etc., *IEW* 680) yields also Hitt. *less-, liss-, lisai-* 'pick, gather' (P s.v.).

Intrans. *tarupp-* 'gather, assemble; wind or twist together', possibly the source of Gk. τολύπη 'ball of yarn', may be from IE *$(s)trew-p$-, parallel to *$(s)trew-d$- > NHG *strotzen* 'abound in, teem with' (Tischler, *Kratylos* 20 [1975 (1977)]: 213-14); discussion of this and other suggestions in B. D. Joseph, *Glotta* 60 (1982): 230-34.

12.22 — JOIN, UNITE — *hap(p)-* 'join, attach', also impers. 'work out, succeed', is reconstructed *A_1ep- and connected with Lat. *apere* 'seize, arrest', *aptus* 'joined, fitted', *cōpula* 'bond' (*$co-apula$), *apīscor* 'attain', etc. by Puhvel (P 282), thus rejecting the standard connection of the latter with *ep(p)-, ap(p)-* 'seize' (contrast 11.14). Cf. also *happessar* (ᵁᶻᵁÚR) 'joint, limb, body part' (like Skt. *páruḥ* 'knot, joint, limb').

damenk- 'fasten, attach' can reflect a **tm̥-n-(e)k-*, seen also in Skt. *tanákti* 'contract, congeal', root **tem-k-* (**tm̥-k-*) in *takrám* 'curdled milk', Av. *taxma-* 'solid', etc. (*IEW* 1068; cf. Van Brock - MacGregor, *RHA* 20 [1962]: 32-33; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 144-46), similar to *hamenk-* 'bind' (9.16).

For *takk(e)s-* 'join together, weave', etc. see 6.33.

12.23 — SEPARATE — The verb *harp-* appears to mean both trans. 'separate, remove' and medial-intrans. 'join up with' or similar. If homonymous roots are not involved, some common base-meaning must be assumed, e.g. 'pile up separately' or 'pick out and set aside' (cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 49-50; T 179-80), taking into account the ostensibly related noun *harpa-* 'heap, pile'. The attendant uncertainty obscures precise meaning-relationships among the Hitt. forms and the widely accepted cognates Gk. ὀρφανός, Lat. *orbus* 'bereft', Arm. *orb*, IE **H₁orbh(-o)-* or **Aʷ₁rbh(-o)-* (E. Polomé, *Ogam* 6 [1954]: 159-60). The usual further adduction of Skt. *árbha-* 'small; young, weak' was rejected on semantic grounds by Benveniste (*HIE* 11-12); also to be kept apart are Hitt. *arpa-*, *arpu-* 'bad luck, misfortune' : Ved. *raphitá-* 'overcome, wretched' (cf. P 168-70).

tuhs- 'cut apart', see 9.22.

12.232 — DIVIDE — The basic meaning of *sarra-* seems to be 'divide, part', though it takes on various other senses, e.g. midd. 'transgress an oath' (cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 152-54; they are assigned to separate verb stems in *EHS* 531-33). A connection with **sarhu-* 'thieving' (in *sarhuntalli-* 'id.') < **sr̥A-* and comparison with Gk. ῥώομαι 'move quickly or violently' (**sroA-*), IE **ser(-A)-* (*Stammb.* 288-90) is unconvincing. Perhaps *sarra-* represents **sor-éye-* < IE **ser-* 'set in a row, line up', Gk. εἴρω, Lat. *serō*, Osc. *aserum*; Lat. *seriēs*, OIr. *sreth* (**sr̥-tā*; cf. Lat. *sors, sortis* 'lot') 'row', Goth. pl.

sarwa 'armament', ON *sørvi* 'string of beads', etc. (*IEW* 911; cf. Eichner apud Oettinger, *Stammb.* 290, n. 63).

The probable sense 'mark off, set apart' of *ark-* (separate from *ark-* 'mount, copulate', 4.67) leads to comparison with Hes. ἔρχατος · φραγμός, town name Ἐρχομενός, Ὀρχομενός; ὄρχατος 'garden, plantation', etc., IE **ergh-*, **orgh-* (*AI* 290-91, P 140-42, T 58-59).

mark- 'divide, apportion, distribute; butcher' is used particularly in connection with animal sacrifice, appearing often in association with *ark-* 'mark off' (cf. *CHD* 3.187-88). Comparison with Skt. *marcáyati* 'destroy' (*Stammb.* 425-26) proceeds from an incorrect base-meaning 'zerwirken'. More apposite are OE *mearc*, Goth. *marka* (LLat. *marca*) 'border, boundary', Lat. *margō* 'margin', ON *mǫrk* (OFr. *marche*), Avest. *marəza-*, OIr. *mruig*, W., Corn. *bro* (**mrog[i]-*) '(border) region', etc. (*IEW* 738).

12.24 — OPEN — No agreement has been reached on an etymology for *has(s)-*, *hes(s)-* (iter. *haski-*, intensive *hashas-*). Most commonly adduced are Hitt. *has-* 'beget, give birth', Toch. B *ās-* 'bring forth' (Kronasser, *VLFH* 222, T 194) and, little better, Lat. *ōs* 'mouth' (e.g. Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 203; Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüística* 3 [1973]: 425-26). Puhvel (P s.v.) suggests instead Skt. *ásyati* 'throw (open)', toch. A *āsuk* 'widely, beyond'.

As opposed to the nuance of normal, legitimate 'opening' in *has(s)-*, *kenu-/kinu-* usually connotes forced or illegal entry (Laroche, *BSL* 58.1 [1963]: 58-59). Causative 'make gape' from **ki-* 'be open', it reflects IE **ĝheyA₂-*, **ĝhy-eA₂-* 'stand open', Lat. *hiāre* 'gape' (functionally parallel, vs. *patēre*), OE *ginan*, *geonian* 'yawn', Gk. χαίνω 'gape' (**ĝhA₂-n-y-*), χάσμα 'chasm' (**ĝhA₂-s-mn̥*) and extended forms (*IEW* 419-21; Laroche, loc. cit.; T 579 and refs.)

12.25 — SHUT, CLOSE — *istap(p)-* 'shut (in), plug up', etc. (caus. *istappinu-*, deverb. *istappulli-* 'lid, stopper') is from IE **step-* (OCS *stǫpiti* 'tread', *stopa* 'footstep'), with variants **stebh-* (Gk. στέφω 'entwine', ἀστεμφής 'firm', Skt. *stabh-* 'support, make firm', *stámbha-* 'post, pillar', Lith. *stābas* 'post', *staĩbas* 'stump', OE *stæf* 'staff', ON *stefja* 'restrain, stem') and **steb-* (OE *steppan, stempan*; Gk. στέμβω 'kick around'); cf. Benveniste, *BSL* 33 (1932): 139; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 419-20; T 432-33; P 471-75.

The source of *hatk-* 'close; squeeze' (with adj. *hatku-* 'narrow' and further derivs., 12.62) is uncertain; Benveniste (*Origines* 156) reconstructed **Héd-* 'enclose, contain', comparing Skt. *átka-* 'mantle', Av. *aδka-*. His further connection of Gk. δέκομαι and Lat. *decet* is more questionable. T 225-226.

sah- 'plug, clog, stop up; cram' (with neut. abstract *sahessar*, concretized 'closed area; fortress, stronghold') may be related to *sehur* 'urine', etc.; see 4.65.

12.26 — COVER (VB.) — A cogent etymology for *kariya-* 'cover, hide' (iter. *kāriski-*) compares Skt. *cárman-* 'skin, hide', Lat. *cortex* 'bark, rind', *corium* 'leather', *scorium* 'hide', OHG *skirm* 'cover(ing), shelter', from IE **(s)ker-* 'cover, hide', homonymous with **(s)ker-* 'cut' (Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 38 [1981]: 353). Earlier attempts in T 504-5.

istap(p)-, see 12.25.

12.27 — HIDE, CONCEAL — A comparison of *munnai-* with Gk. μύω 'close one's eyes' (as **mu-néAʷ- < *mewAʷ-; Stammb.* 161-62) is semantically tortured. Cf. rather Skt. *móṣati, muṣṇāti* 'steal', Gk. ἀμύνω 'fend off', midd. 'defend oneself', Frank. (*Lex salica*) *chrēo-mōsido* 'corpse-robbery' < **(A₂)m(e)uE₁-s-* (Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 208), and Eichner's connection with Hitt. *maus-* 'fall' (*Flexion und Wortbildung* 84).

With *sanna-* (***sṇ-n-A-*), Oettinger (*Stammb.* 159-60) compares Gk. ἄνευ 'without' (**sṇA-ew) and Skt. *sanutár* 'aside' (***sṇA-u-*), Lat. *sine* 'without' (***senA-[e]i*) and OIr. *sain* 'different' (***sṇA-i-*), with a root ***sen-A-* but difficult semantics.

kariya- 'cover, hide', 12.26.

12.31 — HIGH — *parku-* matches Arm. *barjr* as a u-stem adj. (cf. Puhvel, *Gedenkschrift Kronasser* 181), from IE ***bherĝh-* 'high', Skt. *bṛhant-*, Av. *bərəzant-*, MW *bry* 'high, great', MIr. *brí*, W. *bera*, OE *beorg*, NE *barrow* 'hill, mound', ON *berg*, etc. (*IEW* 140; cf. *HWb.* 161). Luw. *parrai-, parri-*.

aru- is from IE ***er-, *or-* 'move, raise', etc. (***ṛrú-*?); cf. 10.21 and P 177-78. It occurs mainly in the phrase *aru(-)suwaru-* 'high-and-mighty'; cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36 (1979): 57, *JAOS* 101 (1981): 214.

12.32 — LOW — *kattera-* (adj.) 'lower' is from *katta(n)* 'down, under' (+ IE comparative ***-ero-*); cf. Gk. κατά, κάτω, etc. (*IEW* 534; cf. T 545-46, 539-42).

Suffixless loc. *dagan* 'on the ground', cf. 1.212.

12.33 — TOP — Skt. *ágra-* (or Gk. ἄκρον, ὄκρις) may have a cognate in Hitt. ᴺᴬ⁴*hekur* '(mountain) peak' (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 183), IE ***E₂eg-r-* (***E₂-* suggested in Puhvel, *Evidence* 88, 92 = *AI* 134, 138); cf. discussion and refs. T 235-37.

12.352 — POINT — *dampu-* 'pointed' may be from a primary 'rough', 15.76.

12.353 — EDGE — *arha-, irha-* is 'edge, rim, boundary, etc., from an original sense 'line' (cf. 19.17); cf. also *erhui-* 'basket', 9.76.

12.36 — SIDE — *tapu(wa)s-* 'rib; side', with adv. and postpos. *tapusa, tapusza* 'sideways, beside', remains unexplained (*EHS* 260, 328, 341-42, 343).

Luw. *parta-/i-* 'side, part' is compared by Ivanov (*Etimologija* 1977: 145) with Lat. *pars* < **parts.*

12.37 — MIDDLE — *istarniya-*, from adv. *istarna, istarni* 'between, among'. The standard comparison (Hrozný, *SH* 96) with Lat. *sternō*, Skt. *stṛṇắti* 'spread', Gk. στέρνον 'breast', OCS *strana* 'area', OHG *stirna* 'forehead' (IE **ster-H2-*) is semantically weak, and is not helped by unrelated and secondary examples like ŠÀ 'middle' vs. Akk. *libbu* 'heart, middle', OCS *srěda* vs. *srŭdice,* Brit. *kreiz* vs. OIr. *cride,* etc. (cf. T 436). Instead it should be retired in favor of the connection with Lat. *inter,* IE **en(s)-ter* (P 482), with more convincing parallels in usage.

For the noun *taksan* cf. 6.33.

12.41 — RIGHT — Besides the basic sense of 'right hand' (e.g. *kunnas kessaras*), *kunna-* (ZAG-*a-*) intimates 'rightness, correctness, strength, success', etc., like Gk. δεξιός, Russ. *právyj,* the Gmc. words (NE *right,* NHG *recht,* etc.), and most of the IE terms (*DSS* 865), supporting a comparison with Avest. *spənta-,* Lith. *šveñtas,* OCS *svętŭ* 'holy' (Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPhS.* 1946: 89-90; Bomhard, *RHA* 31 [1973]: 113; T 632). Particularly common in personal names, e.g. *Kuna-, Kunni-, Kuniya-ziti-,* ᴰ*Kuniyawani-.* also compare the derivs. *kunnes-, kunnahh-* 'be successful', ZAG-*(na)tar* 'correctness', etc.

Luwian employs the term *isarwili-* from *issari-* 'hand' (4.33), lit. 'pertaining to the (sc. right) hand'.

12.42 — LEFT — The full form of the Hitt. *l*-stem reading of GÙB-*la-* is unknown.

12.43 — NEAR — *maninku(want)-* 'near, close' represents a specialization of the primary meaning 'short'; cf. NGk. κοντά < κοντός 'short'.

12.44 — FAR — *tūwa-* (adj. *dūwala-*) belongs with Skt. *dūvá-* (comp. and superl. *dávīyas-, dáviṣṭha-*), Av. *dūvaē*, OPers. *duvaiy* < IE *$dewA_2$- (Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 71; Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 142-43). Further cognates include Gk. δήν 'long' (< *δϝᾱν), Lat. *dūdum* 'long ago', OCS *davĕ* 'once upon a time', OIr. *doe* 'slowly', MHG *zouwen* 'hurry', etc.

12.45 — EAST — *ṢĒT* ᴰUTU-*as* (= *Istanuwas*), lit. 'start(ing place) of the sun'. The Hitt. allographic reading may be *marri-*, if the Akkadian (*ṢI-TUM, ṢI-TI*) is read as *ṣītu* 'rising', with the solar reference understood by implied opposition to ŠÚ.A ᴰUTU-*as* 'sun's setting' = 'west' (cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 60-61, 90; CHD 3.185-86; P 376), though an etymological identity for *marri* is unknown.

The east wind and its direction are IM KUR.RA, lit. 'mountain wind' (Akk. IM *šadū*).

12.46 — WEST — *ipat(t)arma(yan)-* can be dissected into *-tarma* 'nail, peg; point' (9.50) + *ipa-* (Hier. *ipami-*) 'west', comparable with Gk. ζόφος 'dusk, (north)west' (cf. Ζέφυρος 'west wind') as *A_2ibho-* vs. *A_2yobho-* (Puhvel, *AJPh.* 104 [1983]: 224-26; P 365-77).

The competing designation is ŠÚ.A ᴰUTU-*as* 'seat (setting place of the sun' (cf. ᴳᴵˢŠÚ.A-*hi-* = Hitt. *kishi-* 'chair', 7.43).

IM MAR.TU (Akk. *amurrū*) 'west (wind)'.

12.47 — NORTH — IM SI(.SÁ), Akk. IM *ELTĀNU* 'north (wind)'.

12.48 — SOUTH — IM GAL stands for IM GÀL(.LU) 'south (wind)', Akk. IM *šūtu;* cf. *EHGl.* 35, n. 44.

12.51 — FORM, SHAPE — *es(sa)ri-* is from *es-* 'be' (9.91) plus the verbal noun-forming suffix *-ri-* seen also in *edri-* 'eating, food', *auri-* 'lookout, watch' < *au(s)-* 'see, look' (15.51), etc.; cf. P 313-15. It commonly appears as ^{SÍG}*es(sa)ri-* 'fleece', lit. 'wool-shape'; see 6.22.

12.52 — SIZE — *sallatar,* verbal abstract fr. *salli-* 'large', 12.55.

12.53 — GROW — The basic notion 'to grow in size' is expressed by *parkiya-* < *park-* 'rise' (10.21) and *salli- kis-* 'become large' (12.55). *huwai-,* primarily 'run' (10.46), commonly means 'spread, grow profusely' when used of vegetation.
mai-, miya- (inch. *miess-,* iter. *meski-*) connotes 'ripen, grow to maturity', used of plants, animals, and human beings, with numerous derivs.: e.g. ^{LÚ}*mayant-* 'grown man, mature youth', *mayantes-* 'grow to manhood', *mayandatar* 'mature strength', *miyahuwantes-* 'grow old', *miyahuwandatar* 'old age', *miyant-* 'ripe, in bloom', *m(i)essa- 'thrive'.* The standard etymology (E. Risch, *Corolla Linguistica* 195, *Flexion und Wortbildung* 253; Puhvel, *LIEV* 55) connects IE *mE_1-* 'measure' (Skt., Av. *mā-,* Gk. μέτρον, Lat. *mētior,* etc.; *IEW* 703) and *meE_1-ro-, *moE_1-ro-* 'large' (Gk. -μωρος, OIr. *mór,* W. *mawr* 'great', OE *mǣre,* Slav. *[Vladi-]měrŭ* 'fame', etc.; *IEW* 704), and the basic sense is 'attain full measure, maturity'. An alternative (suggested by Puhvel, p.c.) derives *mai-* < *$mā$-* and compares Lat. *mātūrus,* a good semantic match. See also 14.11.
A comparison with Toch. B *maiyyā* 'strength', *maiwe* 'young man' is also possible (Gusmani, *Lessico* 59, following Bailey, *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists* [London, 1956], p. 227), but further connection of Skt., Av. *māyā-* '(magical)

power (IE *meA-) is less plausible. Derivations of *mai-*, *miya-* from
meyH- 'mild' (e.g. Eichner, *MSS* 31 [1973]: 57-60; Oettinger,
Stammb. 471-72) arise from confusion with the homonymous *miess-*
'be soft, mild, gentle' (15.75; cf. *CHD* 3.115).

IE *Aweg-*, *Aug-* (Lat. *augēre*, Gk. αὐξάνω, OE *weaxan*, Toch. A
oks-, B *aukṣu-*, etc.) is reflected in both Hitt. *ukturi-* 'firm, lasting'
(14.252) and *hatuka-* 'terrible' (16.53).

12.54 — MEASURE — IE *meE₁-* 'measure' is shifted to 'grow' in
Hitt. *mai-*, *miya-* (12.53).

12.55 — LARGE, BIG — *salli-* (GAL) corresponds apparently to
Lat. *soli-dus* 'heavy, massive', *salvus*, OIr. *slán*, Arm. *orj* 'whole,
hale, healthy', Skt. *sárva-*, Av. *haurva-*, Gk. ὅλος, Ion. οὖλος, OLat.
sollus, OIr. *uile,* etc. 'whole, entire' (e.g. *EHS* 204).

A complementary conception of 'bigness' appears in *ura-*
(Luw. *ura-*, cf. Laroche, *RHA* 11 [1950]: 43-45), cf. Skt. *urú-*, Av.
vouru-, Gk. εὐρύς 'wide' (e.g. Gusmani, *Lessico* 51, 106).

12.56 — SMALL — *am(m)iyant-* is lit. 'not grown, immature',
from *ṇ- + -miya-* (*mai-* 'grow', 12.53) + *-nt-* (P 47-48).

kappi- (TUR) has been compared with Avest. *kamna-*, Sogd.
kβn, NPers. *kam* 'small, few'; Anat. **kṃbh-i-* vs. Iran. **kṃbh-na-*
(Szemerényi, *Die Sprache* 12 [1966]: 27 and n. 94); consistent *-pp-*
points rather to IE **-p-* (though not as far as IE **kapro-*, Lat. *caper*
'he-goat', etc., adduced by Sturtevant, *Lg.* 10 [1934]: 266). T 491. A
deriv. may be *kappant-*, if 'diminished, waned' (referring to the
moon); cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 38 (1981): 353.

tepu- 'small, insignificant' matches Skt. *á-dbhu-ta-* 'not to be
slighted'; cf. Hitt. *tepnu-* 'to slight, make small' : Skt. *dabhnóti*
'damage' (Gusmani, *Lessico* 96).

12.57 — LONG — The main IE form is *dlA^w-gh-(o-), as shown by Hitt. *daluki-*, Gk. δολιχός, Skt. *dīrghá-*, Av. *darəga-*, with OCS *dlŭgŭ*, Lith. *ìlgas*, etc.; cf. Petersen, *Mélanges H. Pedersen* 474; Puhvel, *Studies … Whatmough* 235 = *AI* 37, *Evidence* 90 = *AI* 136. *dalukes-* 'be(come) long', *daluganu-* 'lengthen'.

12.59 — SHORT — *maninku(want)-*, Luw. *mannahuwan-* 'near; short', compared with OHG *mangōn* 'lack', MHG *manc* 'deficiency', Lat. *mancus* 'defective, crippled', noninfixed OE *mæger*, ON *magr*, OHG *magar* (Goetze, *Lg.* 30 [1954]: 403) suggests an original meaning 'scant, lean, (long and) thin; short, lacking' for IE *meAk-, *mA-n-k-(u-)* (*IEW* 699). Cf. *maninkwes-* 'grow short', *maninkuwa(nda)hh-* 'shorten'.

12.61 — WIDE, BROAD — *palhi-* is clearly from IE *pel-A_1-, corresponding to *pl-eA_1-(no-)* in Lat. *plānus*, Latv. *plãns* 'flat' (cf. Gaul. *Mediolānum*), Lith. *plónas* 'thin', and to *pl̥-t-* in Hitt. *paltana-* 'shoulder' (4.30) and *palzasha-* 'base, stand' (/paltsha/, P s.v.), Gk. πλατύς, OIr. *lethan*, Lith. *platùs*, Skt. *pr̥thú-*, Av. *pərəθu-* 'wide', etc.; cf. e.g. Benveniste, *Origines* 151; Kuryłowicz, *Études* 73; Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36 (1979): 58. 'Width' and 'breadth' are variously referred to by *palhatar, palhessar, palhasti-*, and cf. Luw. *palhai-* 'widen, extend'.

12.62 — NARROW — *hatku-* is the *u*-stem adj. from *hatk-* 'close, squeeze' (12.52), and signifies 'narrow, tight' and metaphorically 'difficult, pressing' (like NE *strait*); cf. *hatkues-* 'become difficult', *hatkiesnu-* 'beset'.

12.64 — THICK (IN DENSITY) — Lat. *dēnsus* and Gk. δασύς are matched by Hitt. *dassu(want)-* 'strong, solid, heavy, difficult', see 4.81.

12.65-12.66 — THIN — From a basic meaning 'thin, light' (referring e.g. to olive oil), *pittalwa(nt)-* also means 'plain, mere, unseasoned' and the like. It can be compared with OLat. *petilus* 'slender, meager' and Gk. πέταλον, IE **petA-l(w)o-*, from the root **petA-* 'spread' (Gk. πετάννυμι, Lat. *patere*, OE *fæþm*, etc., *IEW* 824), with semantics ('spread [thin]') paralleling the group of Lat. *tenuis*, OIr. *tana*, OE *þynne*, OCS *tĭnŭkŭ*, Skt. *tanu-*, etc., lit. 'stretched (thin)' < **ten-* 'stretch'. Cf. Puhvel, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 210-11 = *AI* 357-58.

maklant- 'thin, emaciated' (vbl. abstract *maklatar*; *CHD* 3.121-22), if cognate with Lat. *macer*, Gk. μακρός (Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 140), probably belongs further with Hitt. *maninku(want)-* 'short', etc. (12.59), thus here **mAk-ro-, *mAk-lo-*.

12.67 — DEEP — *halluwa-*, both 'hollow' and 'deep' (*halluwanu-* 'deepen, lower'), matches Lat. *alveus* 'hollow, cavity', *alvus* 'bowels, womb', IE **A₁l-wo-* vs. **A₁ul-ó-* in Gk. αὐλός 'pipe', αὐλών 'hollow place' (Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 32-33). Not related to *halluwai-* 'quarrel, strife'; cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36 (1979): 57.

12.71 — FLAT — *taksan* 'level, even, equal', *taksatar* 'flat, level surface, plain', see 6.33.

'To flatten' is *istalk(iya)-* < **stel-g-*, cognate with OCS *stĭlati* 'spread', Lat. *lātus* 'wide' (< **stlāto-*); P 451-52.

12.72 — HOLLOW — *halluwa-* 'hollow' and 'deep', 12.67.

12.73 — STRAIGHT — *handant-*, primarily 'right, upright, true', etc., 16.73.

12.74 — CROOKED — *lak-*, midd., 'fall over, be out of line', etc.; 9.14.

12.75 — HOOK — Skt. *áṅkas-*, Gk. ἄγκος 'bend', and Gk. ὄγκος 'barb' = Lat. *uncus* 'hook' match the Hitt. plant-name *ankis-* (P 73).

12.76 — CORNER — *halhaltumar(i)-* 'corner', by extension also 'corner of the universe, cardinal direction', is most likely a parallel form to *halhalzana-* 'shoulder' (4.30), as *$(H_ul-)H_ult$-w̥ vs. *$(H_ul-)H_ult$-no-*. So P s.v., comparing for meaning Gk. γωνίᾱ 'corner, angle' : γόνυ 'knee', Lat. *angulus*, OCS ǫglŭ, Arm. *ankiun* 'angle, corner, nook' : OHG *anchal* 'heel, knuckle, ankle'.

12.82 — CIRCLE — Words for 'circle' in Hittite are those with primary meanings of 'line, limit, boundary', etc.; see *kaluti-* 12.84 (cf. Gk. κάλαθος 'basket') and *arha-, irha-* 'boundary' 19.17 (cf. *erhui-* 'basket', 9.76; and *arahza, arahzanda* 'around; outside', *irhai-* 'circulate, make the rounds', etc. [P 129-35, *AI* 353-55]).

12.84 — LINE — *kaluti-*, also 'row, series; circle, group' shows the same semantic development as the widespread Lat. *līnea,* from an original sense 'thread, spun line', as shown by the comparison with Gk. κλώθω 'spin', κλῶσις, κλωστήρ 'line', IE *klA^w_2-dhi-* (Puhvel, *Studies … Whatmough* 235 = AI 37, *Evidence* 90 = *AI* 136, *AI* 353-55.

12.85 — HOLE — *pattessar* is probably to be read *petessar*, in view of its identity as a verbal noun fr. *pè-da-* 'dig' (8.22), formerly read *padda-;* cf. Puhvel, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 214-16 = *AI* 361-63.

Another original verbal abstract is *hattessar, hantessar,* fr. *hattai-* 'chop' (9.22), thus referring to holes in things other than the ground.

'Pits' for specific purposes are also mentioned, eg. the Hurrian-derived (< Akk. *apu*) *api-* 'sacrificial pit' used to call upon infernal beings (P 99-102, T 47), and *akkus(s)a-*, a pit for trapping animals, etymologically obscure (P 25, T 12).

12.91 — EQUAL — *taksan sarra-* 'split equally, in half', see 6.33.
'Of equal rank' is *annawali-, annauli-*, from demonstrative *anna-* 'self, same' (P 51-55) + *-wali-* (cf. *walliwalli-* 'strong') and comparable with Lat. *aequi-valens,* lit. 'of the same strength' (P 64-65); cf. 16.79

12.92 — LIKE, SIMILAR — The notion of 'similarity' can be found in *tākk-* 'resemble, correspond, conform to', probably causative from IE **dek-* 'accept, take on'; cf. Gk. δέχομαι 'accept', δοκέω, Lat. *decet* 'be fitting' (E. Tichy, *Glotta* 54 [1976]: 71-73; Watkins, *Idg. Gr.* III/1 117; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 427-28.

12.93 — CHANGE — 'Change' or 'falsify', used of words, is *wahnu-*, primarily 'turn' (10.12), thus 'turn into something else' (cf. Engl. "twist someone's words").
The strange-looking *tameuma-*, usually glossed 'changed; different; foreign', etc. (cf. *damai-* 'other'?), e.g. *HWb.* 208, yields factitive *tameumahh-* (trans.) and inch. *tameumes-* (intrans.) 'change, alter' (?); the form is unexplained.

13

QUANTITY AND NUMBER

13.12 — NUMBER — The closest approximation is *kappuwawar* 'counting, reckoning', 11.66.

mekki- 'many, great in number', 13.15.

13.13 — WHOLE — Besides the obscure *dapiya(nt)-*, which most closely matches the collective sense of Gk. ὅλος, etc., *humant-* is commonly used; see 13.14.

The etymon of Gk. ὅλος, Lat. *sollus*, *salvus*, OIr. *uile*, Skt. *sárva-*, Arm. *ołj*, Toch. A *salu*, B *solme*, etc. becomes Hitt. *salli-* 'large', 12.55.

Opinion is divided on the etymology of *panku-* 'total, united; general, in common; each', also noun 'totality'. From a formal point of view the simplest comparison is Skt. *bahú-* 'much, abundant', Gk. παχύς 'fat, thick', IE *bhn̥ghu-* (*HWb.* 157). The notion of totality or completeness, together with the social class designation *panku-*, variously interpreted as a 'body of nobility' or the like (Goetze, *Kleinasien* 86-88), has led several scholars to connect it instead with IE *penkʷe* 'five', seeing an ancient link between 'five' and 'totality', originating in the PIE system of counting on the fingers and applied widely to social groupings such as the Indic *pañca jánās*, OIr. *coiced*, Umbr. *puntis*, and the five Spartan demes. For discussion see e.g. E. Polomé, *Pratidānam* 98-101, *RBPhH* 44 (1966): 229-33; W. P. Lehmann, *Indo-European and*

Indo-Europeans 3-10 and refs.; F. Crevatin, *Incontri linguistici* 4 (1978): 7-11.

13.14 — EVERY; ALL — *humant-* 'each, every', also collective 'all'. A comparison with the isolated Lat. *omnis* is semantically plausible, perhaps IE *A^w_1m-n-* vs. *$A^w_1ém$-ni-?* (cf. refs. T 284-85). An alternative connection is Goth. *iumjōns* 'crowd', OHG *wiuman* 'swarm' (*we-wm-*), IE *E_2wem-, *E_2um-* (Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4 [1959]: 35).

kuissa- 'every, any' (Pal. *kuis-a*, Luw. *kuisha-* 'whoever', neut. Lyd. *qida* 'whatever', Hitt. *kuitta* 'everything') is the relative-interrogative pronoun *kuis* (IE *k^wis) + enclitic *-a* 'and', thus an exact parallel to Lat. *quisque* (T 614-15).

13.15 — MUCH; MANY — *mekki-* is cognate with Goth. *mikils*, OE *micel*, NE *much*, and Toch. A *māk*, B *māka*, thus 'large (in number)' fr. IE *$me\hat{g}h$-*, Skt. *mah-*, Av. *maz-*, Arm. *mec*, Alb. *madh* (*DSS* 878-79). The Luwian equivalent is *mai-* < *makki-* (Laroche, *BSL* 58 [1963]: 77-78).

13.17 — FEW; LITTLE — *kappuwant-* may be the participle of *kappuwai-* 'count' (*EHS* 257; see 11.66), thus 'countably few' vs. *mekki-* 'beyond number', or perhaps < *kapp-* (: *kappi-* 'small' [12.56]) + denom. *-want*.

tepu-, see 12.56.

13.19 — MULTITUDE, CROWD — *pangarit*, instr. sg. 'with a crowd, in force' may be from a *pangar-* 'crowd', vbl. noun from *panku-* 'whole, together, collective', 13.13 (*HWb.* 157).

13.21 — FULL — The basic adj. is *sū-*, with deriv. verbs *suwai-* (Hier. *suwa-*, *susu-*) and (nasal-infixed) *sunnai-* 'fill' yielding

participial adjs. *suwant-*, *sunnant-* 'filled'. These forms plus mpsv. *suwa-* 'swell' and *sumrai-* 'be pregnant' (cf. 4.73) suggest IE **sew(H₂)-* 'be full, swell, be pregnant' (cf. *IEW* 913-14; *HWb.* 197-98, 200-1; Laroche, *RHA* 31 [1973]: 91-93; Watkins, *Flexion und Wortbildung* 378 [**sewAʷ-*, **suAʷ-u-*]; *Stammb.* 159, 298). Cf. also *suttati* 'swell' (< **su-to-* < **suH₂-to-*; Oettinger, *Eide* 12, 114). Neumann (*Die Sprache* 8 [1961]: 206, n. 6) may have been ultimately right to tie in also NHG *sieden* (ON *sjóða*, NE *seethe*) < **seu(-t)-*, which might be interpreted 'bubble, boil, effervesce' (cf. *IEW* 914-15).

13.22 — EMPTY — *dannara-* and *dannatta-*, *dannatti-* (Hier. *tanata-*) point to a stem **danna-* (*EHS* 186, 190, 249) of unknown origin; perhaps **dhṇ-no-*; cf. Skt. *dhánvan-* 'desert, wasteland'? (Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4 [1959]: 35).

sannapili-, traditionally glossed 'empty; alone; unmarried, single' (*HWb.* 181), is from **sannapi* (*sannapi sannapi*) 'scattered, isolated, here and there') < *sani-* (or *sanna-*?) 'one and the same' (*HWb.* 181, 182; Goetze, *Lg.* 11 [1935]: 185-90); see 13.33.

13.23 — PART — *sarra-* (HA.LA, Akk. *zittu*) would seem to belong with the verb *sarra-* 'to part, divide', 12.232.

Lat. *pars* has been compared with Luw. *parta-/i-* 'side, part', 12.36.

13.24 — HALF — *taksan sarra-* 'equal part', cf. 13.23 and 6.33; ideogr. MAŠ.

13.31 — NOTE ON NUMERALS — Though most of the numerals in Hitt. texts are hidden beneath logographic symbols, the few recoverable details are mostly consistent with extra-Anatolian data. An interesting exception seems to be *meu-* (nom. *meyawas*),

Luw. *mauwa-* 'four', possibly connected with Gk. μείων, Lat. *minor*, OCS *mĭnĭsĭ* 'less, smaller', as 'less than the full hand' in counting (cf. Heubeck, *Die Sprache* 9 [1963]: 201-2).

On attestations of 'two' in Hitt. (basic form *dā-* < **dwoyo-*) see *AI* 389-98, and on Hitt. numerals generally *EHS* 362-65; Friedrich, *Elementarbuch* 71-73 and *HWb.* 301-4. To the bibliography on the IE numeral system should now be added O. Szemerényi, *Studies in the Indo-European System of Numerals* (Heidelberg, 1960).

13.32 — ONE — The reading of 1-*as*, gen. 1-*ēl* is not known for certain. Götze (*AO* 17.1 [1949]: 296-97) argued for *āsma*, which was connected with IE **sem-* (Gk. εἷς, Toch. A *sas*, Skt. *sama-*, Lat. *semel*, etc.) as **o-smo-* by Neu (*Anitta-Text* 98). Any interpretation of *āsma* as 'one', 'first', or 'firstly' (cf. T 84) is, however, firmly rejected by Puhvel (P 216-18), in favor of 'lo, behold', **asa-ma* fr. demonstrative *a-*. On Götze's earlier reading as *sanna-* cf. 13.33.

The IE stem **oi-ko-* appears in Hitt. *aika-wartanna-*, but from an Indic (Mitannian) source and not inherited (P 14, T 6).

13.33 — ALONE — *minu-* may be an original *u*-stem from IE **men-* 'small; isolated'; cf. Arm. *manr*, gen. *manu* 'small', Hes. μάνυ · πικρόν (for μικρόν; Weise, *BB* 6 [1881]: 233), μαναύεται · παρέλκεται, Att. μόνος, Dor. μῶνος, Ion. μοῦνος < **μονϝ-ος 'alone'.

*sannapi- 'alone, single' (in *sannapi sannapi* 'isolated, scattered') < **sani-* or **sanna-* < **sm̥-ni-*, **sm̥-no-(bhi-)* 'one and the same', a likely cognate of Skt. *sama-*, Lat. *semel*, Goth. *sama*, Gk. εἷς, etc. (*DSS* 937). Cf. Götze, *Lg.* 11 (1935): 185-90, taking *sanna-* as 'one', = 1-*as.*

wannumiya- 'widowed' and 'orphaned', hence primarily 'bereft, alone', 2.75; cf. also Güterbock, *IF* 60 (1950): 205, n. 1.

13.34 — FIRST — *hantezzi(ya)-* is most probably formed from a suffix *-tyo-* (cf. *appezzi-* 'last', 13.35) on the stem *hanti-*, dat.-loc. *$A_1(e)ntei$* of *A_1ent-* 'front' (cf. *hant-* 'front; forehead', 4.205 [T 155-56]), semantically parallel to Gk. πρῶτος, Skt. *prathamá-*, OCS *prǔvǔ*, Lith. *pìrmas*, OE *fyrmest, forma*, ON *fyrstr*, etc. With NHG *fürst* 'prince' cf. Lyc. *χñtawata* 'leader'.

13.35 — LAST — Analogous to *hantezzi(ya)-* 'first' is *appizzi(ya)-*, *appezzi-*, etc. 'last'. The IE suffix *-tyo-* is added to *appa* (EGIR[-*pa*]) 'behind, after, back', etc., cognate with Myc. *o-pi*, Gk. ἐπί; thus *appizziya-* = Gk. ὀπίσ(σ)ω 'backwards; hereafter' (P 91-94, T 46-47). Cf. Goth. *aftumists*; SCr. *zadnji*; Skt. *uttamá-*, Gk. ὕστατος; Fr. *dernier* fr. *derrière* (< *dē retrō*), etc. (*DSS* 940-41).

13.41 — THREE — Together with nom. 3-*es*, the attested gen. *teriyas* /triyas/ bears witness to the inheritance of IE **treyes* (> **tres*), gen. **triyos*.

13.42 — THIRD — 3-*anna* is read *teriyanna* /triyanna/, with the regular ordinal form x-*anna* < **o-no-* vs. **-to-* or **-tyo-* elsewhere in IE (?; otherwise *EHS* 365).

A derivative ᴸᵁ*tarriyanalli-* means 'third in command' (cf. Lat. *triārius* 'third-rank soldier'), as ᴸᵁ*duyanalli-* is 'second officer'; cf. *AI* 390 and n. 3 (with refs.; add Kronasser, *Studi … V. Pisani* 615-18).

13.44 — THREE TIMES — 3-*is*, 3-*kis*, with 1-*anki-*, 2-*anki-*, 5-*anki-*, etc., point to a regular multiplicative *-(a)nki(s)*, cognate with Gk. -άκις (Rosenkranz, *KZ* 63 [1936]: 249; Sommer, *Zum Zahlwort* 21-22).

TIME

14.11 — TIME — Hittite *mehur* is clearly to be compared with time-words such as Goth. *mēl* 'time', Lith. *mẽtas,* Alb. *mot* 'year, season', and probably IE **mēn(es)-, *mēnot-,* etc. 'moon, month', from **mē-* (e.g. Kretschmer apud Hrozný, *SH* 70, n. 3; Sturtevant, *Lg.* 7 [1931]: 119). The ancient base-meaning is generally taken to be 'measure(ment)', thus tying in Indo-Iranian *mā-,* Lat. *mētior,* Gk. μέτρον, etc. (*IEW* 703) as well as -μωρος, OIr. *mór,* W. *mawr* 'great', OE *mǣre* 'fame', etc. < **mē-ro-, *mō-ro-* (*IEW* 704). Yet this standard view conflicts with the derivation of *mai-, miya-* 'grow, ripen, mature' < **meE₁-* 'measure' (see 12.53), as it is difficult to see how **meE₁-* (i.e. [*mexʸ-]) could yield *mai-* in one case but **meh-* in the other. As the IE form **mē-* is secured by the cognate forms from other branches, and the Hitt. spelling with single *-h-* suggests voiced *-E₂-* (unless graphic for *-hh-* after long *-ē-;* cf. Pedersen, *Hitt.* 189), it may be preferable either to derive the IE time-words from a separate **meE₂-* meaning either 'measure' or simply 'time' (reinterpreting **meE₁-* > *mai-,* -μωρος, OIr. *mór* etc. as '[be] great', 'attain full measure'), or perhaps to reassign *mai-* (< **mā-*) to **meA-,* comparing Lat. *mātūrus* (cf. 12.53 and Eichner, *MSS* 31 [1973]: 53-107) and preserving IE **meE₁-* 'measure'.

14.12 — AGE — *miyahuwandatar* 'old age', fr. *mai-* 'grow, mature', 12.53.

14.13 — NEW — IE *newo- (Skt., Av. nava-, Gk. νέος; Toch. A ñu, OCS novŭ, Lat. novus) yields Hitt. newa- (GIBIL), fact. newahh- (cf. Lat. novāre); HWb. 150-51.

14.14 — YOUNG — The strong resemblance of Hitt. huelpi- to IE *gʷelbh- fuels repeated attempts to connect it with Skt. gárbha-, Gk. δελφύς 'womb', etc. (thus Hrozný, SH 111, n. 5; cf. T 259-60), despite the unexplained initial phonetics. The possible existence of a parallel stem *kʷelbh- in ON hvelpr, OHG welf 'young pup, whelp' complicates the picture, and the weakness and labiality of gutturals in Luwian (cf. mannahunna-, mai-, issari- : Hitt. maninkuwant-, mekki-, kessar) emphasizes the need for better understanding of Anatolian and Indo-European labiovelars, as already well known from Germanic, Celtic, and Italic data. An alternative comparison with Gk. (ϝ)έλπω 'cause to hope', Lat. volup 'pleasantly', lepōs 'pleasantness' is formally plausible; the root would be *H₁wel-p- or *E₂wel-p- (cf. Benveniste, Origines 155 and Van Windekens, BHD … Kerns 339-40).

ummiyant- is glossed 'young' at P 48, presumably reading *up- (10.21) + miyant- (< mai-), lit. '(barely) grown up'.

14.15 — OLD — wezzapant-, wizzapant- is an embedded nominative wizza panza 'the year (is) gone', used attributively as a possessive compound (cf. Stammb. 392). Possibly Luw. waspant- (P. Meriggi, OLZ 1962: 259).

*miyahuwant- 'old' is inferrable from miyahuwandatar 'old age' and miyahuwantes- 'grow old', fr. mai-, miya- 'grow', 12.53.

14.16 — EARLY — The central meaning of karū (Hier. ruwan) is 'formerly, previously, of old; already, hitherto', and of adj. karuwili- 'former, ancient'. A connection with karuwariwar 'at

dawn, early in the morning' (14.43) is generally assumed, prompting comparisons such as that with ON *grýjandi* 'dawn', OSwed. *gry* 'to dawn', etc., with Hitt. *karū* < IE **ghrēw* (Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 5-6). T 526-28 records several other suggestions.

14.18 — NOW — *kinun* represents IE **ki-* 'this' (or loc. **kei*) + **nū* 'now' (Gk. νῦν, OE *nū*, Lith. *nù*, OCS *nyně*, Skt. *nū[nam]*, Av. *nū* [Toch. A *nū*, B *no* 'but']), lit. 'this now'. Analogues are found in SCr. *sada* (OCS *sǐ* 'this') and OIr. *indorsa* (**ind ór-sa*), and an exact match, with elements reversed, in Lat. *nunc* < **num-ce* (*DSS* 962-63, T 480-81). The Luw. equivalent *nanun* is similarly formed (*DLL* 74), with obscure *na-*.

14.19 — SOON; IMMEDIATELY — *lammar* 'this moment, right away' is an adverbial specialization of the primary meaning 'hour, instant', much like its cognate OLat. *numerō* 'in time, right away'; see 14.51 (cf. Puhvel, *Kratylos* 25 [1980]: 135-36).
    hudak 'immediately', adv. from *huda-* 'haste', is most likely related somehow to *huya-, huwai-* 'run' (10.46), though the details are unexplained (T 318-19).
    1-*anki* 'once' parallels Engl. "at once"; cf. 13.44 for formation.
    hantezzi 'right away, first (thing)', cf. 13.34.

14.21 — SWIFT, FAST, QUICK — *piddalli-, pittiyali-* 'swift, quick, fleet' (e.g. *pittiyalis* GÌR-*as* 'fleet of foot') is from *pittai-* 'run, flee, fly' (10.37), with a nuance of speed or agility in escaping (cf. ᴸᴾ*pittiyant-* 'fugitive'); see Puhvel, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 212 = *AI* 359.
    Adj. *nuntariya-*, cf. 14.23.
    liliwant- 'swiftly flying' is from *liliwahh-* 'go quickly, hasten; fly' (*CHD* 3.61-62), of unknown origin.

14.23 — HASTEN, HURRY — *nuntariya-* and caus. *nuntarnu-*, with adj. *nuntariya-* 'swift' and the adverbial gen. sg. *nuntaras* 'quickly', arise from *nuntar-* 'haste', possibly *$*nun-tṛ-$ from *nun* 'now' as in *kinun* (14.18; *EHS* 274).

14.24 — DELAY — *istantai-* 'linger, delay, put off' (caus. *istantanu-*) is from IE $*steA_2-$ 'stand', probably via a noun $*stA_2-nt-$ like OE, ON *stund* 'while', and thus parallel to NHG *stunden* (P 464-65).

zalukess-, dalukess-, caus.-trans. *zalug(a)nu-*, factitive from *daluki-* 'long' (12.57) and cognate with Czech *prodlévati* 'delay', cf. OCS *prodĭliti* 'prolong', *dlŭgŭ* 'long'.

14.25 — BEGIN — 'To begin' doing something is expressed by the supine of the verb (normally the iterative-durative stem) plus *dai-*, e.g. *memiskiuwan dais* 'he began speaking'.

14.252 — LAST (vb.) — A verb is lacking; the notion appears in *ukturi-* 'firm, (ever)lasting, durable' from IE $*Aéw-g-$ 'be strong, grow', Skt. *ójas-*, Lat. $*augus-$ 'strength', Skt. and Av. *ugra-* 'strong', etc.; cf. *AI* 224.

maz(z)-, manz- 'withstand, endure, offer resistance' (*CHD* 3.213-14), etym. unknown.

14.27 — FINISH — 'To finish, bring to an end' is a secondary development of the basic sense 'pick up, carry off, carry out' of *karp-*, 10.22.

zinna- 'stop, cease; finish', 14.28.

14.28 — CEASE — *zinna-* (iter. *zinniski-*), used especially with inf. for 'stop, cease' doing something; also absolutely 'be finished,

be ready'; cf. *EHS* 567. Comparison with Lat. *sinere* 'let alone, allow; cease' (Eichner apud Oettinger, *Stammb.* 151-52), as a nasal-infixed form from IE **seyE₁-*, is conceivable. Also to be considered is Skt. *kṣ̌ināti, kṣinṓti* 'destroy', Gk. φθίνω 'wane, decay, perish; destroy', φθινόπωρον 'autumn' (Petersen, *Mélanges H. Pedersen* 471). Still other suggested cognates include IE **sen-* 'grow old' (Benveniste, *BSL* 50 [1954]: 33-34), Gk. θανεῖν 'die' < IE **dhwen-* 'expire, disintegrate' (Carnoy, *Orbis* 1 [1952]: 426), and Gk. σίνομαι 'damage; rob, plunder', OE *þwīnan* 'grow soft, fade away' < **twin-y-* (Georgiev, *KZ* 92 [1978]: 94-96, positing general IE **tw-* > Hitt. *z-*).

14.31 — ALWAYS — *kuwapiya-* 'always, everywhere' is formed from *kuwapi* 'when; where' plus the "generalizing" enclitic *-a* 'and' (cf. Lat. *-que* in *quisque,* etc.; *EHS* 349, 351). *kuwapi* in turn comprises IE **kʷo-* (Lat. *qui,* Osc. *púi,* etc., *IEW* 648) and the adverbial suffix **-bhi,* thus paralleling Osc. *puf* 'where; when' (= Lat. *ubi,* by false division in *alicubi, sicubi,* etc.); cf. T 693-94.

14.32 — OFTEN — The sense of frequent or repetitive action is regularly given by the iterative morpheme *-ski-* (e.g. *apiez-kan uddanaz arha akkiskanzi* 'on account of that matter people are often killed'), from IE **-sk-* seen in Skt. *gácchati,* Gk. βάσκω; Lat. *crēscō.*

14.34 — NEVER — *nūmān, nūwān,* etym. ?

14.35 — AGAIN — *appa,* adverb, postpos. and preverb 'back; behind; after(wards); again', etc. (EGIR[-*pa*]); Luw. *appa(n)-,* Hier. *apa(n),* Lyc. *epñ.* From IE **epi-, *opi-* (Gk. ἐπί, Myc. *o-pi*), with final variation as in Hitt. *katta(n)* (Gk. κατά) vs. *katti-* (κασι-); cf. Skt. *ápi* 'also', Gk. ὄπισθε(ν) 'behind, after', etc. (*IEW* 323-25, P 91-94, T 41-43).

14.41 — DAY — The Anatolian representative of IE *dyēw-, *diw- (Lat. diēs, Iū-piter, Gk. Ζεύς, Skt. dyắus, diva-, OIr. dia, Arm. tiw; Lith. dienà, OCS dĭnĭ, Goth. sin-teins, etc.) is Hitt. siwat(t)- 'day', Luw. Tiwat-, Pal. Tiyaz 'sun, sun-god', *dyew- with abstract-forming suffix -at(t)- (HWb. 195). The fateful connotations of (attas) annas siwaz '(father's and) mother's day' = 'day of death' are discussed by Puhvel in Studia … A. Pagliaro 3.169-75 = AI 198-204 and AI 205-9.

14.42 — NIGHT — Hitt. ispant- (and deified ᴰIspant-, ᴰIspanzasepa-), the normal term for 'night' (GE₆[.KAM]), is thought to reflect *(k)spn̥t- or *(k)spon-t-, comparable with Skt. kṣap-, Av., OPers. xšap-, NPers. šab (*ksep-), Av. xšapar-, xšapan-, xšafn- (*ks[e]pr-/n-), and possibly also Lat. vesper, Gk. ἑσπέρα, W. ucher, OCS večerŭ, Arm. gišer 'night, evening' (e.g. Götze - Pedersen, MS 60; Goetze, Lg. 30 [1954]: 357; E. P. Hamp, Revue des études arméniennes N.S. 3 [1966]: 13.15). While agreement on the root is general, further formational details are in dispute; cf. P 431-35, T 409-11 and refs.

The large group including Lat. nox, OIr. nocht, W. -noeth, Goth. nahts, Lith. naktìs, Gk. νύξ, Alb. natë, Ved. nakt-, etc. is joined by Hitt. nekuz, indicating IE *nekʷt-, *nokʷt-, and occurring in the petrified phrase nekuz mehur 'night', lit. 'the time (is) night' (DSS 992), nekuzzi 'evening falls'.

14.43 — DAWN — The most convincing analysis of the neut. kariwariwar 'daybreak, early morning' (also commonly adverbial 'at daybreak') is *kariw- (< *ghrēw-, see 14.16) + denom. -ariya- (cf. gimmandariya- 'spend the winter') + abstract -war (P s.v.) Folk-etymology based on karū 'early, former(ly)' and arai- 'rise'

produced variants such as *karuwar(i)war* and *karū ar(r)iwar*, interpreted as 'early rising'.

Other explanations, taking the forms with *karu-* as primary (e.g. Hrozný, *SH* 79, n. 5) or comparing RV *śárvarī* 'dusk, night' (Benveniste, *BSL* 50.1 [1954]: 41), fail to account for *kariwariwar* (T 530-31, P s.v.).

Beneath adverbial *lukat, luk(k)attar, luk(k)at(t)i* 'at dawn, toward daybreak' (directional dat.-loc. forms) lies a **lukkat-* < **lewkot-* (cf. *siwat-*), matching Goth. *liuhaþ* 'light' and cognate with Skt. *roc-* 'shine', Gk. λευκός 'bright', Lat. *lūx*, etc.; cf. Hitt. *luk(k)-* 'grow bright, dawn' and for meaning SCr. *svanuće*, Pol. *świt* 'dawn' : OCS *světŭ* 'light' (*CHD* 3.74-79; Puhvel, *Kratylos* 25 [1980]: 138).

14.44 — MORNING — *lukat, lukkatta*, etc.; see 14.43.

14.45 — NOON — Adv. UD.HI.A-*ti istarna pidi*, lit. 'on the day at mid-point'; similarly *istarna* UD.HI.A-*ti* and *istarni* UD.KAM-*ti*; cf. P 480-81.

'It is mid-day' appears as UD-*az taksan tiyazzi*, lit. 'the day approaches the mid-point' (see 6.33); cf. Lat. *merīdiēs*, OIr. *medón lái*, OE *middæg*, Gk. μεσημβρία, etc., and esp. Latv. *dienasvidus* 'day's middle' (*DSS* 996).

14.46 — EVENING — See 'night', 14.42.

14.47 — TODAY — Hittite forms two compounds of demonstrative pron. + *siwat(t)-* 'day'. With the oblique stem *ked-* of *ki-* 'this' is *kedani siwatti*, matching Gk. σήμερον, Lith. *šiañdie(n)*, OCS *dĭnĭsĭ*, NHG *heute*, Goth. *himma daga*. Hitt. *anna-, ani-* 'that' < IE **ono-* + (suffixless) loc. gives *anisiwat* and *a-ni*-UD.KAM-*ti* (*KBo* XXIV 126 Vs. 27); cf. Skt. *adyā́*, OIr. *indiu* (T 563-64, P 51-52).

14.48 — TOMORROW — *lukat, luk(k)atta,* etc. 'at daybreak' can mean by extension 'on the morrow, (early) the next day', see 14.43 (*CHD* 3.76-77), as in Sp. *mañana,* OE *tō morgen,* Lith. *rytój,* Pol. *jutro,* etc. (*DSS* 999).

parā siwatt- 'next day' (cf. Skt. *pra-dívi* 'forever') and *appasiwatt-* 'after-day, the future' provide clues to the Hittites' conceptions of the directionality of time; cf. Puhvel, *Kratylos* 25 (1980): 138; *JAOS* 100 (1980): 168; P 97-98.

14.49 — YESTERDAY — Interestingly enough, there is no attested Hittite expression for 'yesterday' or 'the day before', despite the existence of a common PIE *(dh)ĝh(y)es.*

14.51 — HOUR — *lammar* denotes a small unit of time, less than a whole day, something from 'hour' to 'moment' (cf. the adverbial use *lammar* 'momentarily, on the instant'), much like e.g. Goth. *hweila* or ON *stund.* It also means 'appointed time' (cf. *lammar handai-* 'fix the hour'), and *lammar lammar* is approximately 'every minute' or 'constantly' (cf. *CHD* 3.36-37; Puhvel, *Kratylos* 25 [1980]: 135-36). The form itself is from IE *$nóm\d{r}$* (with dissimilation as in *laman-* 'name' [18.28]); cf. Lat. *numerus* 'number, measure, time' (*IEW* 763-64; cf. e.g. Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPhS* 1946: 85).

14.52 — MINUTE, SECOND — In addition to *lammar* 'moment, minute; hour' (14.51), Hitt. had *pantala-* to indicate a very short interval or instant of time, or perhaps 'Zeitpunkt' vs. a measurable time-span. To derive this from *pant-,* part. of *pai-* 'go' (as N. Van Brock, *RHA* 20 [1962]: 92; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 392) is unconvincing. Also to be considered is a connection with Lat. *pend-* 'hang (on scales, weigh)', comparing *mōmentum* 'decisive movement, dipping of scales' (P s.v.).

14.71 — MONTH — The general term is the same as that for 'moon', *arma-* (1.53), Sum. ITU. Lyc. *rm̃mazata* 'monthly prestation (?)' probably belongs here, but Lyd. *ora* 'month' (Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.* 61-62, 178) is not cognate (cf. P 153).

14.72 — NAMES OF THE MONTHS — The names of several months are attested, but only ideographically: ᴵᵀᵁBÁR.ZAG.GAR (the 'first month' of the year in spring, Akk. *Nisannu* [*Alimenta* 61]), ᴵᵀᵁŠU.NUMUN.NA, ᴵᵀᵁNE.NE.GAR, ᴵᵀᵁKIN.ᴰINANNA, ᴵᵀᵁDU₆.KÙ (*EHGl.* 59).

14.73 — YEAR — *witt-* (MU[.KAM]) attests the PIE root noun **wet-*, found peripherally in Skt. *par-út* 'last year', Gk. πέρυσι, and extended to an *s*-stem in ἔτος, Lat. *vetus*, Alb. *vit*, *vjet*, etc. (Gusmani, *Lessico* 22). The variant *wettant-* may contain a nuance something like that of Fr. *année* vs. *an*; cf. also H. *gem-*, *gimmant-* 'winter', *hamesha-*, *hameshant-* 'spring', *zena-*, *zenant-* 'autumn'.

14.74 — WINTER — Gk. χειμών, Skt. *hemantá-* are matched by H. *gimmant-* (ŠE₁₂, *KUṢṢĪ*), with a short form *gem-* corresponding to Avest. *zyam-*, Lat. *hiems*, OIr. *gem-red*, Lith. *žiemà*, OCS *zima*, etc. (*HWb.* 109).

'To spend the winter', referring to troops, was OHitt. denom. *gemiya-*, classical *gimmandariya-* (*Alimenta* 13, 50).

14.75 — SPRING — *hamesh(a)-*, *hameshant-* (also *hameskant-*; ideogr. Ú.BURU₇, TE-ŠI = Akk. *dīšu*) has steadfastly resisted all attempts at explication. Connection with Gk. ἔαρ, Lat. *vēr*, Skt. *vasantá-*, etc. (e.g. Pedersen, *Hitt.* 197) requires a reconstruction on the lines of **hmesh-n̥-* < **H₁wes(H₁)-r̥-*, with questionable shift of *-w-* to *-m-*. Phonetic difficulties are only multiplied by the assumption

of a *hant-wesha-* (Goetze, *Lg.* 27 [1951]: 469-71), and while Hoffner (*Alimenta* 15) adduces Akk. *pān šattim* in support of the prefix *hant-*, his own suggestion *hant-miyasha-* fr. *mai-, miya-* 'grow' does not escape them. Comparison with Gk. ἀμάω, Lat. *metō,* OHG *māen* 'harvest, mow' (e.g. Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4 [1928]: 163; Benveniste, *Origines* 157), if correct, would make this month equivalent to the harvest season, BURU$_x$ (contrast *Alimenta* 15-16), indicating a three-season system of autumn, winter, and planting/harvest. See T 143-44.

14.76 — SUMMER — The summer season was designated with the sumerogram for 'harvest', BURU$_x$-*a-* (cf. *Alimenta* 24-30); see 14.75.

14.77 — AUTUMN — *zena-, zenant-,* cf. IE *sen-* 'grow old' (Benveniste, *BSL* 50 [1954]: 33-34) or IE *es-en-, *os-en-* 'harvest-time' (Russ. *ósen',* etc.; *IEW* 343) (Puhvel, p.c.).

14.78 — SEASON — *mehur* 'time', 14.11.

SENSE PERCEPTION

15.11 — PERCEIVE — The underlying meaning of Hitt. *istanh-* < IE **stem-H₁-* is 'perceive with the senses', as shown by its specialization in several different directions: cf. *istanh-* 'taste', Gk. στόμα 'mouth', etc. vs. H. *istaman(a)-* 'ear' and IGI.HI.A-*as istamassuwar* 'eyesight' (see 4.22).

The nearest thing to an Anatolian terminology for the physical senses may be found in such designations as ᴰ*Istamanassas* and ᴰ*Sakuwassas*, deities of hearing and vision (P 459).

15.25 — FRAGRANT — Probably *sanezzi-* 'sweet', 15.35 (*HWb.* 181).

15.31 — TASTE — The only quotable Hitt. form is *ista(n)h-*, used solely in the "subjective" sense, and seemingly more that of NHG *kosten* than *schmecken* (P 463-64), and ˢᴬᴸ*istahatalli-* 'taster'. For etym. see 4.22 and T 420-21.

15.35 — SWEET — A suffix **-tyo-* seems assured for *sanezzi-*, *sanizzi-*, as suggested by Lohmann, *IF* 51 (1933): 324-26 and *EHS* 168-169. The identity of the first part depends on the precise meaning; a proposed 'first class, excellent; extraordinary' prompts comparisons with *sannapi-* 'alone, single' (13.33; cf. *EHS* 168) or Skt. *sanutár*, Goth. *sundrō*, OIr. *sain* 'apart, separate', Gk. ἄτερ, ἄνευ, Lat. *sine* 'without' (cf. Lohmann, loc. cit.).

maliddu-, adj. from *milit-* 'honey' (5.84); cf. W *melys* (> OIr. *milis*) fr. *mel*, also Skt. *madhurá-* < *madhu-*.

15.38 — ACID, SOUR — Akk. *emṣu* (*HWb.* 308, *Alimenta* 197).

15.41-15.42 — HEAR; LISTEN — *istamas(s)-, isdammas(s)-* 'hear, listen', also 'obey', Luw. *tumma(n)tai-, tum(m)anti(ya)-* 'hear', are related to the words for 'ear' from a verbal root **stemH₁-* 'perceive' (see 4.22).

15.43 — HEARING — *istamass(uw)ar*, vbl. noun fr. *istamas-* 'hear', 15.41, also means 'obedience'.

15.51 — SEE — *au(s)-, u(wa)-* (*AMĀRU*) is 'see, look, observe, inspect', also 'read'. The *mi*-conjugation forms with *aus-* (e.g. 3 sg. pres. *auszi*) and further iter. *uski(ya)-* arose from paradigmatic restructuring of an original *au-/u-* < **A₂ew-/A₂u-*; cognates are Skt. *ávati* 'observe, notice' and *āvís*, Av. *āviš*, OCS *javě* 'openly, clearly', Gk. ἀΐω 'perceive', OCS *umǔ* 'intelligence' (*IEW* 78; cf T 95-98, P 234-44). Iter. *uski-* may have been borrowed as Arm. *skem* 'guard, watch' (Schultheiss, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 222).

15.52 — LOOK — Besides *au(s)-, u(wa)-* (15.51) is also used *sakuwai-* 'to eye, watch (over)', denominative from *sakuwa-* 'eye' (4.21); cf. Gk. fut. ὄψομαι, Avest. *aiwi-akš-* 'watch over' < **okʷ-*.
For *suwaya-* 'peer, look out' (*HWb.* 200), Oettinger (*Stammb.* 296-97, 396) posits **swA₂-yé-*, root-connection ?

15.53 — SIGHT — *uwatar*, vbl. abstract fr. *au(s)-, uwa-* 'see', 15.51.

15.55 — SHOW — Comparison of *tekkussai-*, *tekkus(sa)nu-* 'show, present' with Lat. *dīcō*, Skt. *diśáti*, etc. < IE **deyk̂-* 'point, show' (*HWb.* 220) is unconvincingly defended (*Stammb.* 354-55) by calling it an *-us*-stem and comparing *nakkussiya-* 'be unclean' (< 'stigmatized'). A more cogent approach compares Avest. *daxš-* 'teach', *daxšta-* 'sign, characteristic' (Goetze, *Lg.* 27 [1951]: 471; *AI* 263).

15.56 — SHINE — The basic IE **lewk-* (Lat. *lūcēre*, OE *leohtan*, Skt. *roc-*, *ruc-*, etc.) is reflected also in H. *luk(k)-* 'grow bright' and especially the reduplicated derivs. *lalukki-* 'be luminous' (cf. *lalukkima-* 'source of light', 1.61), *lalukkes-* and *lalukkesnu-* 'shine, glow, gleam', etc. (*CHD* 3.28-30, 74-76). Cf. Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4 (1959): 38.

misriwess- (fact. *misriwahh-*), fr. participial adj. *misriwant-* 'shining' (*Stammb.* 241 and n. 5), may be from an IE **meys-* 'glimmer, shimmer' (*IEW* 714; cf. Skt. *miṣáti* 'open one's eyes', LG *mīs* 'cloudy, rainy weather', possibly ON *mistr*, OE *mist* 'fog, mist') + *-ri-* (Neumann, *KZ* 75 [1957]: 88).

15.57 — BRIGHT — *lalukkiwant-* and *misriwant-* 'shining'; see 15.56.

asara- and *harki-* 'white', see 15.64.

15.63 — DARK — The basic term is *dankui-* 'dark, black' (GE₆), cognate with NHG *dunkel,* ON *dǫkkr* (NE *dank*), etc.; cf. 1.62. Verbal derivs. include intrans. *dankues-*, *dankuiski-*, and trans. *dankunu-*, *dankunai-*.

kappant-, meaning 'dark' when referring to the moon, is best interpreted as 'waning' and derived from *kappi-* 'small', 12.56; cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 38 (1981): 353 vs. T 489.

15.64 — WHITE — With *harki-* 'white, bright' (BABBAR) are to be compared Gk. ἀργός, ἀργι-, Skt. *árjuna-*, Toch. A *ārki*, B *ārkwi*, etc. (IE *$A_1r[e]g$-, *IEW* 64-65; standard since Sturtevant, *Lg.* 6 [1930]: 127-28), and also many of the IE words for 'silver' (9.65). Regular derivatives are inch. *harkes-* 'turn white', caus. *harganu-* 'whiten'. T 177.

asara-, *esara-* 'white, bright', referring specifically to strands of wool, has been reconstructed *$ays(k)$-ro-* (with common *-ro-* color suffix) and compared with OCS *iskra* 'spark', Lith. *áiškus*, *iškùs*, OCS *jasnŭ* (< *$ays[k]$-no-*) 'clear' < *$ays(k)$-* 'bright, clear' (Puhvel, *JAOS* 100 [1980]: 167, *BHD … Kerns* 239, P 206-7); cf. 17.34.

15.65 — BLACK — *dankui-*, see 15.63.

A supposed *hanzana-* 'black' (e.g. Laroche, *RA* 47 [1953]: 41) is dismissed by Puhvel, *BHD … Kerns* 237-40.

15.66 — RED — The Hitt. pronunciation of SA$_5$, *mida-/midi-*, is probably a Mediterranean culture-word, as shown by the $d \sim l \sim n$ variation in Gk. μίλτος and Lat. *minium* 'red ochre' (Puhvel, *BHD … Kerns* 238).

Adj. *ēsharuil*, *isharuil* (qualifying KUŠ 'hide') refers to the familiar dark red color of blood (4.15), cf. *esharu-*, **isharu-* 'bloodiness, blood-color' > denom. *isharwai-*, *isharwiya-* 'to bloody, redden', part. *isharwant-* (P 311-12).

15.67 — BLUE — *antara-* (ZA.GÌN), with frequent color-suffix *-ro-*, belongs with SCr. *modar*, Cz.-Slovak *modrý*, being from *$md(h)$-ró-* (V. Machek, *AO* 17.2 [1949]: 131-32). A variant *antarant-* also exists, as do denom. *antariya-*, *antareski-* 'make blue'. P 77-78, T 35.

15.68-15.69 — GREEN; YELLOW — This middle range of the visible spectrum is designated *hahlawant-, hahliwant-* (SIG₇[.SIG₇]), *HAZERTI*) from a basic adj. *hahli-/hahla-* (cf. *midi-/mida-* 'red'), connected with *hahhal-* 'greenery, vegetation' (*hahhaluwant-* 'verdant'), of unknown origin (T 121-22).

15.71 — TOUCH — Possibly *salik-*, etym. unknown.

15.74 — HARD — The sense is included in *ukturi-* 'firm, durable', 14.252.

15.75 — SOFT — *miu-* (and redupl. *miumiu-*) is approximately 'smooth, soft, mild; supple', etc. (cf. *HWb.* 144, *EHGl.* 82), though Kronasser (*EHS* 121) preferred simply 'smooth'. Etymology unknown.

15.76 — ROUGH — The most generic term is *warhui-* (*HWb.* 245). Etym. unknown—none of the many variations of IE **wer(H)-* seems to offer possibilities.
  A basic sense 'rough, untreated' developed into 'prickly, sharp; pointed' and also 'unrefined, uncouth' in *dampu-* (and *dampupi-*) according to Puhvel, *AI* 345-48, who revitalizes the comparison (by M. Popko, *JCS* 26 [1974]: 181-82) with OCS *tǫpŭ*, Russ. *tupój* 'blunt, dull, stupid', also originally 'rough, uncouth'.

15.77 — SMOOTH — *alpu-* 'smooth, rounded, dull, blunt' (inch. *alpue[s]-* 'become blunt') matches Lith. *alpùs* 'weak', which preserves the original meaning also in the verb *al̃pti* 'become weak, swoon'; cf. the Hitt. part. *alpant-* 'weakened, swooned', also 'mild' (of cheese). See Puhvel, *AI* 345-48, *Gedenkschrift Kronasser* 181, P 39-41.
  miu(miu)-, 15.75.

15.78 — SHARP — *dampu-*, see 15.76.

Skt. *tigma-*, Av. *tiγra-*, etc. < IE **(s)teyg-* are cognate with H. *tēkan* 'hoe'; cf. 8.25.

15.79 — BLUNT, DULL — *alpu-*, 15.77.

On OCS *tǫpŭ*, Pol. *tępu*, Russ. *tupój*, etc. see 15.76.

15.81 — HEAVY — *nakki-* (DUGUD, Akk. *kabtu*) means 'heavy' and by extension 'difficult' and 'important' (Luw. *nahhuwa-* 'consider important'), with corresponding verbal senses in inch. *nakkes-* and fact. *nakkiyahh-* (act. and mpsv.) and the abstr. *nakkiyatar* 'weight, importance' (*HWb.* 148). The source is unidentified, beyond Kronasser's tentative connection (*EHS* 210) with *ninink-* 'raise'.

A more archaic and basic term is *suwaru-*, adj. 'heavy, weighty, mighty' and adv. 'heavily, mightily, greatly', preserved perhaps through Palaic influence and cognate with OE *swǣr*, NHG *schwer*, Lith. *svarùs* (with matching *u*-stem) 'heavy', *sverti* 'weigh', Goth. *swērs* 'honored', Lat. *sērius* 'grave, serious' (Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36 [1979]: 57; *JAOS* 101.1 [1981]: 213-14).

'Heavy; difficult' is also a secondary meaning of *dassu-* 'solid', etc.; 4.81.

15.82 — LIGHT — Hitt. uses *pittalwa(nt)-* 'thin, light'; see 12.65-12.66.

15.83 — WET, DAMP — Though the adj. is masked by the akkadograph *LABKU*, inherited terminology survives in verbs for 'wet, moisten, sprinkle'. *hurnai-*, *hurniya-* (Pal. *huwarninai-*) and *hurnu-* match Gk. ῥαίνω 'sprinkle' < IE **H₁wr-n-*, fr. the root **H₁wer-* seen in Ved. *vā́r* 'rain', Toch. A *wär*, B *war*, ON *vari* 'water',

úr 'drizzle', etc. (*IEW* 80-81), and also in H. *warsa-*, Skt. *varṣám* 'rain', Gk. ἔρση 'dew' (1.75).

hapai- 'wet, moisten' or similar is likely connected with *hapa-* 'river' (1.36), as T 160.

15.84 — DRY — *A_1ed-* 'dry' (Lat. *ador* 'far tostum') appears in *hat-* 'be dry', inch. *hates-*, caus. *hatnu-* 'dry up', and *hadant(i)-* 'dry land, shore' (1.26).

tepsu- (verbs *tepsawes-*, *tepsanu-*) is not likely allied with *tepu-* 'small' (*EHS* 252), but perhaps IE **tep-* 'warm'; cf. OIr. *tess* 'heat' < **teps-tu-* (*DSS* 1077).

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15.85 — HOT, WARM — *ānt-*, participial adj. of *ā-*, *ay-*, *ē-* 'be hot' (inch. *ayis-*, caus. *enu-*), from IE **ay-(dh-)* 'burn, be hot' and akin to Gk. αἴθω, Skt. *inddhē* 'kindle', etc., *IEW* 11 (Sturtevant, *Lg.* 14 [1938]: 70; T 3-4, P 10-12).

wantai- (and *wantes-*) 'be hot', also 'be angry', forms *wantais* 'heat' and *wantiwant-*, *wantemma-*, etc. 'lightning' (1.55). Positing a base-meaning 'scorch, dry up (with hot coals)' for the reconstruct IE **wendh-*, Carruthers (*Lg.* 9 [1933]: 158-59) compared OCS *uvędati* 'wither', Skt. *vandhya-* 'unfruitful' as well as Gk. ἄνθραξ 'coal, ember' (< **ϝανθ-ρο-ακ-*) and ἄνθρυσκον, ἀνθγίσκος 'wild chervil', also considering OE *wundor* (originally *'glowing, dazzling object'?).

The synonym *hantai-* (with *handais* 'heat'; *handaisi mehuni* 'in the hot time' = 'during the day') was compared with OIr. *and-* 'kindle' by Pedersen (*Hitt.* 48), but may be merely a rhyme-word to *wantai-*.

15.86 — COLD — The adj. *ekuna(nt)-* (*KAṢŪ*), noun *ekunima-*, and verbs *egai-, ikunes-, ikunahh-,* are all from *eka-* 'ice, frost, cold' < IE **yeg-;* 1.77.

15.87 — CLEAN — *parkui-* (vbl. noun *parkuessar,* inch. *parkues-*) reflects IE **bhrHĝ-w(e)i-* fr. the root **bherH-ĝ-, *bhreH-ĝ-* 'white, shining' (*IEW* 139), seen in e.g. Skt. *bhrájate* 'shine, glimmer', Lith. *brĕksti* 'break (of the day)', Goth. *baírhts,* ON *bjartr,* OE *beorht,* NE *bright,* etc., and in the name of the birch tree (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 122). Similar semantic development can be found in Ital. *netto,* Fr. *net* fr. Lat. *nitidus* 'polished, shining' and possibly OE *clǣne* : OIr. *gel* 'bright', Gk. γλήνη 'eyeball'.

halali- is a Luwianism, from a Semitic source as in Akk. *ellum* 'clean', Hebr. *hll* 'shine' (Laroche, *DLL* 38, *RHA* 23 [1965]: 45; Otten, *Bestimmung* 110-11; T 126).

suppi-, suppiyant- '(ritually) pure', with vbl. abstract *suppiyatar,* factitive *suppiyahh-* (> Arm. *šphem* 'rub, cleanse', Schultheiss, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 222); origin unknown.

15.88 — DIRTY — *saknuwant-* 'filthy, (ritually) unclean, befouled' is denom. from *sakkar* 'excrement' (4.66).

iskunant- (referring to stained cloths in GAD.HI.A *iskunanta*), part. from a verb variously attested as *ishuna(hh)-, iskuna(hh)-* 'stain, stigmatize, demean', etc. and possibly 'demote', from an original meaning 'make ugly', and thus both a formal and semantic match for Gk. αἰσχύνω 'dishonor, put to shame' < **'make ugly'* (Puhvel, *AI* 373-78 + 417-18; *Bi. Or.* 38 [1981]: 350-52; *Gedenkschrift Kronasser* 181, 183; P 426-28).

EMOTION; TEMPERAMENTAL, MORAL, AND AESTHETIC NOTIONS

16.11 — SOUL, SPIRIT — For *istanza(n)-* (ZI), a reconstructed IE **s(t)ent-to-*, similar to **sent-no-* in OHG *sin(n)* 'sense, mind', Lith. *sintėti* 'think' and **sent-tu-* in Lat. *sensus* (IEW 908), provides the best available etymology (P 471), a comparison compelling enough to overcome the phonological peculiarity of **st-* vs. **s-* (P 471) and supersede previous suggestions (as in T 431-32). The range of meanings is wide; besides 'soul, spirit; mind; will', i.e. the seat of both emotions and intellect, it is also used in pl. for 'living things, persons' (like Russ. *dúši* and NE *souls*).

16.14 — CARE (sb.) — Perhaps the closest Hitt. equivalent to the notion of 'serious mental attention, concern' is the verb *hantiyai-*, from adv. *hanti* 'firstly, especially' or the like (cf. *hantezziya-* 'first', 13.34 and *hant-* 'forehead', 4.205), with a base-meaning 'grant priority, attach importance to'.

16.18 — GOOD FORTUNE — 'Good fortune' was for the Hittites the natural by-product of the 'favor of the gods' (or the king!), *siunas assul* (SILIM-*ul* *ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM*), with *assul(a)-* 'favor, friendship; greetings; well-being' < 'good(ness), well-being, wealth' < *ass-, assiya-* 'be favored, dear, good' (16.71; cf. P 202-4). A more generic term for 'fortune, fate, luck', good or bad, has not been found, and is not reflected in the Hitt. terminology for (good

vs. bad) luck as it is e.g. in NE (*good* vs. *mis-*)*fortune* (cf. *DSS* 1096-99).

16.19 — MISFORTUNE — In this meaning are found several derivatives of a single basic root, the primary form being *arpa-* 'bad luck, misfortune, setback' (denom. *arpai-* 'be unlucky, turn out badly'), with parallel **arpu-* seen in *arpuwai-* 'be unlucky, troublesome, or hazardous', Luw. *arpuwan(n)i-* 'unlucky', and further related forms Hier. ^{MOUNT}*Arputawanas* 'living on Mt. Arpuwant', epithet of a storm-god, and possibly Lyc. *erbbe* 'defeat' (see P 168-69). The underlying *arp-* points to an IE **H₂(e)rp-*, with the alternate form **H₂rep-* found in Ved. *rápas-* 'defect, injury', *raphitá-* 'overcome, wretched' (Couvreur, *Hett. Ḫ* 105); the question of a further link with IE **rep-* 'snatch', Lat. *rapere* (*IEW* 865) remains open (cf. *KEWA* 3.41 vs. T 65-66).

16.21 — PLEASE — The sense of 'be pleasing' is central to H. *ass-*, *assiya-*, and especially caus. *as(sa)nu-*, *assiyanu-*, and is also expressed as *assus es-* 'be pleasing, be favorable'; cf. P 189-204 and 16.71 below.

16.22 — JOY — *dusgaratt-* and *dusgaratar*, verbal abstracts fr. *duski-* 'be happy' < **t(e)us-ski-*, cognate with Skt. *túṣyati* 'be delighted with' < IE **t(e)us-* (Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 211; Sommer, *HH* 73) but separate from *tūṣṇî̄m* 'quietly', Russ. *tušít'* 'extinguish', Lith. *tausýtis* 'die down' (of wind), OSw. *thyster* 'silent', OIr. *tuae* 'silence', MW *taw* 'be quiet!', H. *tuhus(s)iya-* 'look on quietly' < **tuH₁-s-* (*Stammb.* 326).

16.23 — JOYFUL, GLAD — *duskarawant-*, fr. *dusgaratar* 'joy', 16.22.

16.24 — HAPPY; HAPPINESS — The modern Engl. senses are rendered by H. *duskarawant-* and *dusgaratar* (16.22-16.23), while the older meaning 'fortunate, favored' is found in such Hitt. forms as *assiyant-*, *as(s)anuwant-*, *asnu(w)ant-* 'dear (to the gods)'; cf. 16.18, 16.71.

16.25 — LAUGH; SMILE — *hahhars-* is clearly imitative in origin, and may be ultimately related to Gk. καχάζω, Skt. *kákhati*, Lat. *cachinnō*, OHG *kachazzen* (*IEW* 634; cf. T 122-23 and refs.). The caus. part. *hahharsanant-* 'scoundrel; bad' (*EHS* 258, 395, 561) apparently prompts the gloss 'höhnisch lachen' (*HDW* 136), cf. classical Gk. γελάω > NGk. γελῶ 'cheat', via 'laugh at, deride, despise' (*DSS* 1106).

16.26 — PLAY — The source of *hinganiya-*, iter. *hinganiski-*, vbl. noun *hinganiyawar* 'play' (Akk. *mēlultu*) is uncertain. A connection with *henkan* 'death', via 'fated death' (cf. Benveniste, *Origines* 155; Puhvel, *AI* 203-4) > 'allotment' > 'property' > 'enjoyment' (R. Anttila, *Die Sprache* 18 [1972]: 43, comparing NHG *genug* : *Vergnügen*) is far-fetched; slightly less so is derivation from *hink-* 'bow, show reverence', caus. *hinganu-* (9.14; T 251).

16.27 — LOVE — *genzu-* 'love, friendship', denom. *genzuwai-* 'love, be friendly to', metonymically from *genzu-* 'lap, womb' (4.47).
The vbl. noun *assiyatar* < *assiya-* 'be dear', etc. (16.71) refers to conjugal love and related meanings, as in *ŠA* ᴸᵁ*MUDI* D(A)M *āssiyatar* 'love of husband (and) wife' (P 190-91); cf. also *āssiyauwant-* 'lover'.
ON *unna* and *ást* are probably to be compared with H. *ass-*, 16.71.

16.28 — DEAR — This is the basic sense of *assu-*, *assiyant-* 'good, favored', etc.; see 16.71 and Puhvel, *KZ* 94 (1980): 65-70; P 189-206.

16.29 — KISS — *kuwas-*, iter. *kuwaski-* has been connected for some time (since Sommer, *OLZ* 33 [1930]: 755 and Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 139; cf. *DSS* 1112) with ON *kyssa,* OE *cyssan,* etc. and Gk. κυνέω, (Hom.) aor. κύσ(σ)αι, though the details and time-depth of the relationships are disputed; cf. discussions in T 695-96, Strunk, *IF* 78 (1973): 73-74.

16.31 — PAIN, SUFFERING — *a(y)i-* is primarily an interjection, concretized to mean 'pain', and appears especially in the rhyming phrase *ayin wayin* 'pain and woe' or the like; cf. Akk. *ai* (P 13-14).

maz(z)-, *manz-*, Luw. *mazzallasa-* 'endure, withstand, tolerate, suffer, condone', of unclear origin (*CHD* 3.213, 215). Laroche (*RHA* 23 [1965]: 51-52) compared Goth. *ga-motjan*, OE *mētan* 'meet' (IE **meHd-*), and for meaning Gk. ἀπαντάω 'meet, oppose; attempt'.

16.32 — GRIEF, SORROW — *uwai-*, a frequent rhyming partner of *ai-*, *a(y)i-* (16.31), is plausibly likewise an original expressive interjection, like Lat. *uae*, Goth. *wai*, etc. (*HWb.* 239).

hazziyassar, vbl. noun 'affliction' from *hazziya-* 'strike, afflict' (*EHS* 289), from *hattai-* 'chop, strike' (9.22), probably *A_1ét-ye-* (Oettinger, *MSS* 34 [1976]: 125; T 231-32).

Also here is Luw. *luppasti-*, *lumpasti-* (*DLL* 64), connected with Gk. λύπη by Hoffner (*EHGl.* 76-77, n. 148; *JNES* 27 [1968]: 65, n. 31).

A possible ideographic reading is DIRIG (Akk. *ašuštu*); cf. *EHGl.* 77, n. 149).

16.33 — ANXIETY — *pittuliya-* is explained as a noun corresponding to denominative *pittuliya-* 'constrict, cramp, make anxious' < *pittula-* 'noose' from a **pittul-*, and compared with Goth. *faþa* 'fence', IE **pet-(A-)*, **pot-(A-)* by Puhvel (*Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 211 = AI 358), rejecting a tie-in with OE *fetel* 'belt', OHG *fezzil* 'fetter', Lat. *pedica* 'shackle' (by Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPhS* 1946: 83). The semantics parallel Lat. *anxius* 'anxious', *angere* 'throttle, torment', *angustus* 'narrow'; OE *angnes,* OHG *angust* : OE *ange,* OHG *angi* 'narrow'; SCr. *tjeskoba* : *tijesan* 'narrow, tight'; Czech *úzkost* : *úzký* 'id.' (*DSS* 1121-22).

16.35 — PITY — Avest. *maržoika-, mərəždika-* 'pity; compassionate' (Skt. *mṛḍīka-* 'favor'), *mərəžda-* 'pardon' might be considered as possible cognates of Hitt. *maz(z)-,* Luw. *mazzallasa-* 'tolerate, endure' (16.31); cf. e.g. Cz. *útrpnost* 'pity', *(u)trpěti* 'suffer, endure' and Du. *medelijden,* NHG *mitleiden* : *leiden* 'suffer'.

16.36 — SAD — Perhaps closest to the meaning is *pittuliyawant-* 'depressed, oppressed, anxious', part. of *pittuliya-* 'make anxious, oppress' (16.33).
(anda) impai- 'be depressed, be burdened' is denom. from *(a)impa-* 'weight, burden', comparable with Gk. ἶπος 'weight', fut. ἴψομαι 'oppress, vex, harm', of unknown ultimate origin (P 14-15).
Cf. also the terms for 'sorrow, grief', 16.32.

16.37 — CRY, WEEP — Denom. *ishahru(w)ai-* fr. *ishahru-* 'tear(s), weeping' (16.38), as Gk. δακρύω, Lat. *lacrimāre.*
Cf. also *wāi-, wiyai-, wiwiya-,* 18.13.

16.38 — TEAR — Attempts to link *ishahru-* 'tear(s), weeping' with IE **dak̂ru-*, **drak̂u-* require positing a shift **-k- > -h-* (e.g. *Stammb.* 367) and reconstructions with initial-variation **s-A₁k̂ru-*

(Hitt. *ishahru-*), **d-A₁k̑ru-* (Gk. δάκρυ, OLat. *dacruma*, Goth. *tagr*, OIr. *dér*, W. *dagr*, etc.), **∅-A₁k̑ru-* (Skt. *aśru-*, Lith. *ašarà*, Toch. A *ākär*, etc.), the latter perhaps ultimately related to **ak̑ri-*, **ak̑ro-* 'sharp, pointed', i.e. 'bitter' (P 390-94).

16.41 — HATE — A **kappila-* 'hatred' or 'rage' seems to underlie *kappilahh-* 'be furious', *kappilai-* 'incite, instigate', with *kappilalli-* 'hated' (Hier. *kapilali-* 'enemy, inimical'). Probably to be compared with Skt. *śápati* 'curse' (Eichner, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 61), pace T 493 ("semantisch bedenklich") and Čop, *Ling.* 2 (1956): 19.

Something like 'hatefulness' resides in *pukkanumar*, from the caus. *pukkanu-* to *pukk-* 'be hated' (*HDW* 65). Petersen (*AO* 9 [1937]: 208) derived it from an originally expressive **pū-(k-)* and compared Skt. *pū́yati* 'stink', Gk. πύθομαι 'become rotten', Skt. *pū́tiḥ*, Lat. *pūtidus*, Goth. *fūls* 'rotten, foul'.

sawar 'anger; hatred', 16.42.

Lat. *odium* is comparable with H. *hatuka-* 'terrible', 16.58.

16.42 — ANGER — *kartimmiyatt-* (TUKU[.TUKU]-*att*), from *kartimmiya-* 'be angry', is patently related to *ker, kard-* 'heart' (4.44), in a relationship seen in many languages; cf. Russ. *serdít'cja* 'be angry' : *sérdce*, Lith. *širdýtis* : *širdìs*, Alb. *zëmëronem* 'anger' : *zëmëre*, Arm. *sart-num* 'be angered' : *sirt*, Akk. *libbātu* 'rage' : *libbu* (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 40; *DSS* 1137; T 524-26). The form is generally thought to be denom. to a **kartimma-*, a midd. part. **karti-mna-* of *kard-* (thus Pedersen and *EHS* 179) or deverb. from a *kartai-* or *kartiya-* (P s.v.). Another possibility might be **karti + miya* 'grow in the heart'; cf. OHG *belgan* 'swell', refl. 'be angry', OE, OS *belgan* 'be angry' : OIr. *bolgaim* 'I swell'.

sawar 'anger, ill will' is from *sai-* 'be angry at, resent', from IE **séA₂-y-*, **sA₂-éy-*, compared with Lat. *saevus* 'raging', Latv. *sievs*

'biting, harsh', ON *sárr* 'painful', OIr. *sáeth* 'affliction' (P s.v.; cf. Juret, *Vocabulaire* 52; Čop, *Ling.* 10 [1970]: 100-1; Eichner, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 61).

karpi- 'anger, rage', *karpes-* 'get angry', *karpiya-* 'be angry' is compared with Skt. *kŕpate* 'lament' or Gk. καρπάλιμος 'swift, impetuous' by Puhvel, P s.v.

harsallant- 'angry' (Hier. ANGER-*i-* 'be angry'), etym. unknown.

16.43 — RAGE, FURY — The only attested noun is *karpi-* 'anger, rage'; see 16.42.

argatiya- is in origin a compound meaning 'stoop to rage, come to violence', from *tiya-* 'step, go' (10.45) plus a dat.-loc. **arga* 'frenzy, passion', related to *ark-* 'mount, copulate' (4.67) and hence cognate with Skt. *rágha-* 'anger, rage', *r̥ghāyáte* 'rage, be impetuous', etc. (P 147-48).

lelaniya- 'become furious, become enraged' (*CHD* 3.58-59) is unexplained.

16.44 — ENVY, JEALOUSY — The etymon of Skt. *īrṣyā̆-*, Av. *ərəši-*, *araska-* is found in H. *arsaniya-* 'envy, begrudge; be angry at', *arsanant-* 'angry, envious', IE **E₁(e)rE₁-s-*; also cognate are OE *eorsian* 'wish ill', *yrre* 'angry', Hom ἀρειή 'threats' (= Skt. *irasyā̆* 'ill will'), Arm. *heṙ* 'anger, envy', Toch. A *rse*, B *rser* 'hatred' (Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 139; cf. P 172-73; T 67-68).

With Goth. *aljan* 'ζῆλος' Puhvel compares *halwammar* 'zeal' (P s.v.). Cf. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 24 (1978): 69.

16.45 — SHAME — *tepnumar*, vbl. noun < *tepnu-* 'humiliate, make small', from *tepu-* 'small' (12.56).

kusduwai- 'disdain, scorn; slander' is compared with Avest. *gaoš-* 'hear' and derived from an IE **ghéws-tu-* by Eichner

(*Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 55, n. 42), dubiously positing a meaning roughly '(bad) reputation'; besides the semantic difficulty, Tischler (T 675) notes the problematically unusual *-tu-* suffix.

The basic meaning of Gk. αἰσχύνη is 'ugliness', αἰσχύνω 'make ugly', cf. 15.88.

16.46 — HONOR — Terms for 'to honor' in Hitt. are from verbs meaning 'know', in the sense 'recognize (the authority of)', *sak-* and *kanes-* (17.17). A common locution, e.g. in treaties, is *(assuli) pahs-* 'protect (in friendship)', applying reciprocally to lords and vasals, as well as to oaths.

16.48 — PROUD — *sallakartant-*, part. of denom. *sallakartai-* to *sallakarta-* 'arrogance, pride' in a negative and harmful sense, from *salli-* 'big' (12.55) + *kard* 'heart' (4.44) (details of formation unclear), like e.g. Goth. *haúhhaírts*, OE *hēahheort* 'pride', with negative connotations as in Goth. *mikilþūhts* ὑπερήφανος', OE *ofer-mōdig,* NHG *hochmütig.* Cf. Güterbock, *Corolla Linguistica* 65-68; Gusmani, *Studi … V. Pisani* 514.

16.51 — DARE — The source of *handalliya-* is most probably *hant-* 'front, fore' (cf. *hantezzi[ya]-* 'first', 13.34), via an adj. **handalli-* 'foremost' and meaning 'go first, be foremost' (T 154-55); cf. ON *frami* 'boldness, courage' < *fram* 'forward' < **pro-mo-.*

maz(z)- 'tolerate, endure, suffer', etc. (16.31) develops an offshoot in this direction, via 'withstand' (*CHD* 3.214); cf. Gk. τολμάω 'bear' beside τλῆναι 'bear, suffer, undergo' : Lat. *tollō,* Goth. *þulan.*

16.52 — BRAVE — *tarhuili-* 'strong, mighty, brave, masculine', etc.; 4.81.

An adjectival sense 'strong, sturdy, brave' underlies *hastali-* 'hero', fr. *hastai-* 'bone'; cf. 4.81 and 4.16.

16.53 — FEAR, FRIGHT — With a meaning distinction perhaps resembling that of Gk. δεῖμα 'fear, terror' vs. φόβος 'fright', Hitt. has the pair *nahsarat-* and *weritema-* (cf. *AI* 379-82). For the former, a vbl. noun *nahsar-* produced the further nominal deriv. *nahsarat-* along with *nahsariya-* 'to fear', and arose in turn from *nahh-* 'be afraid, be timid', with both root *neA_1- and suffix *-sr-* comparable with MIr. *nár* 'modest' (*neA_1-sr-o-), *náire* 'shame, modesty' (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 187; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 411-12).

weritema- 'fright', from *weritē-* 'be frightened', probably formed of elements corresponding to Lat. *vereor* 'watch fearfully', OE *warian* 'beware', Gk. οὖρος 'watcher, lookout', etc. (widely attested IE *wer-, *IEW* 1164; Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 138) plus IE *$dheE_1$- 'put, set, place' (12.12; see Eichner, *Flexion und Wortbildung* 88).

Luwoid *kuwayati-*, vbl. noun from *kuwaya-* 'be afraid', has been linked with IE *dwey- (Gk. δείδω, δεῖμα 'fear', Avest. *dvaēθā* 'threat', *IEW* 227), via a "Lycianism" *dwey- (or *dwoy-; cf. δείδω < *δέ-δϝοι-α) > *kwai-[1] (Laroche, *DLL* 78-79, *BSL* 62 [1967]: 50); T 685-86.

hatugatar 'terror' is from *hatuk-* 'be terrible'; cf. *hatuka-* 'terrible, fearsome', *hatukes-* 'become terrible', *hatuganu-* 'terrify'. The verb matches Hom. ὀδύσσασθαι 'be wroth' and Crim. Goth. *atochta* 'malum', and is analyzed by Puhvel (*Bi. Or.* 37 [1980]: 203) as IE *A^w_2ed- (Lat. *odium, ōdī*, Arm. *ateam* 'hate', OE *atol* 'fierce, terrible', etc.; *IEW* 773) + *Aug- 'grow' (*$Aéw$-g-; Lat. *augeō*, Goth. *aukan*, NE *eke*, Lith. *áugu*, Gk. αὔξω, etc.; *IEW* 84), thus 'grow in terror'; cf.

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1. A parallel to this sound-shift is NHG *Quark* < MHG *twarc, zwarc* (Russ. *tvorog*); NHG *quer* < MHG *twër* (Swed. *tvär*).

Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 50-51; Tischler, *KZ* 92 (1978): 108-11, T 227-29.

16.54 — DANGER — *harga-*, primarily 'ruin, destruction', 4.75.

16.61 — WILL, WISH — *wek-* 'wish, ask for, desire' is cognate with Skt. *vaś-* and Gk. ἑκών 'willing' (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 89), providing an Indo-Greco-Anatolian isogloss. Intensive reduplication yields *wewakk-* 'demand; long for' (*HWb.* 254).

16.62 — DESIRE — An early connection of *ilaliya-* with Gk. λιλαίομαι (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 22) is phonetically insupportable (cf. T 354); some native expressive origin must be assumed—P 356-57 points out Gk. ἐλελίζω, ἀλαλάζω, ὀλολύζω. It appears commonly in personal names; cf. *Ilalia-, Ilaliashu-*, divine names ᴰ*Ilaliyandus,* Pal. ᴰ*Ilaliyantikes*, perhaps Lyc. *Eliyãna,* and possibly as Hier. *alana-* 'covet' (F. Steinherr, *MSS* 32 [1974]: 108).
   wewakk-, 16.61.

16.65 — FAITHFUL — Perhaps the nearest equivalent of Engl. 'faithful' is *handant-* 'ordered, true, straight, upright', etc. (16.73); cf. the vbl. abstract *handat-* 'fidelity, loyalty' (T 154).
   alsant- 'allied, loyal', part. of *als-* 'owe fealty, give allegiance', derived from *$A_2\acute{e}l$-s-* or *$H_2\acute{o}l$-s-* and compared with Ved. *ra̐snā* 'girdle' (cf. H. *ishanittarātar* '[marriage] alliance' < *ishai-* 'bind', 2.81, 9.16) in Puhvel, *JAOS* 97 (1977): 599 and P 41.
   A meaning 'be loyal' is suggested for *anda aus-*, lit. 'look inward', vs. *damedani aus-* 'look towards another, be disloyal' by Hoffner (*EHGl.* 56, n. 101), noting Akk. *pānī dagālu* 'be obedient, respectful'. A similar notion resides in *sakuwassara-* (*sakuwa-* 'eye', 4.21) 'full, complete, right, righteous, legal, loyal', *sakuwassarit* ZI-*it* 'in loyaler Gesinnung' (*HWb.* 178).

16.66 — TRUE — *asanza-*, part. of *es-* 'be', lit. 'existing, real', equivalent to Skt. *satyá-*, Goth. *sunjis*, ON *sannr*, OE *sōð*, ME *(for)sooth*, Gk. ἐτεός 'true' (*DSS* 1169, P 289).

karsi- 'honest, frank, uninhibited', possibly from *kars-* 'cut', 9.22 (Sturtevant, *Lg.* 10 [1934]: 267; Laroche, *RHA* 28 [1970]: 54).

handant-, cf. 16.73.

16.67 — LIE (sb.) — *marsatar* 'fraud, treachery, deception, deceit, dishonesty' (*CHD* 3.199) is from *marsa(nt)-* 'unholy; false, treacherous, dangerous' or the like (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 10 [1949-50]: 23-25; Goetze, *JCS* 13 [1959]: 68); cf. also verbal *marsahh-* 'make false', *marses-* 'become false', *marsai-* 'be false'. The adj. can be compared with Skt. adv. *mṛṣā-* 'falsely', as in T. Burrow, *Archivum Linguisticum* 16 (1964): 76 (Watkins [*TPS* 1971: 74, n. 25] also connected *mṛṣyate* 'forget', explicitly kept apart by Burrow, thus tying in Goth. *marzjan* 'anger', OE *mierran* 'disturb', Lith. *mar̃šas* 'forgetting', Arm. *moṙanem*, Toch. *märs-* 'forget').

16.68 — DECEIT — *marsatar*, 16.67.

astayarat(t)ar is interpreted 'deceit, guile, trickery, fraudulence' in P 219, linking it with *marsastarri-* 'religious fraud' and supporting Neumann's comparison (in T 86) with Lat. *astus* 'craftiness, cunning, guile', *astūtus* 'crafty, tricky'.

Luw. *kukupalatar* is most probably an abstract formed on an agent noun **kukupalla-* (Čop, *Die Sprache* 3 [1957]: 147-48; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 204; T 618). For the basic verb (here reduplicated) *kup-* 'plan, plot' three etymologies have been proposed, all formally plausible but none semantically compelling. Best may be an IE **kewb-*, **kub-* seen in Germanic, e.g. OE *hopa* 'hope', *hopian* 'hope, expect, trust' (Čop, *Die Sprache* 3 [1956]: 146-47); also of interest are IE **kw-ep-*, **ku-p-* in Lat. *cupiō* 'desire', OIr.

ad-cobra 'wish', *milchobor* 'bear', Skt. *kupyati* 'be agitated' (e.g. Pedersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 205) and IE **ghewb(h)-, *ghub(h)-,* cf. Lith. *gaubiù* 'cover up', OCS *gunoti* 'fold' (Trautmann, *Baltisch-Slavisches Wb.* 100-1). T 638-40.

    appali dai- and denom. *appalai-* 'set a trap, ensnare' (*appala-* 'trap' 3.79), also 'trick, mislead, deceive' (P 95).

    16.69 — FORGIVE — *haratar lā-* 'release, let go an offense' (*haratar* 'fault, offense; guilt', 16.76; *lā-* 'release', 11.34), semantically like terms for 'forgive' in other languages; cf. Lith. *atléisti < léisti* 'let go', Goth. *af-lētan,* Lat. *dī-, re-mittere,* Gk. ἀφίημι.
    parkunu-, 21.34.

    16.71 — GOOD — Friedrich's connection of *assu-* with Skt. *su-,* Av. *hu-,* OCS *sŭ-,* OIr. *so-,* Gk. εὖ < IE **(e)sú-* (*IF* 41 [1923]: 370-72; cited in *DSS* 1176) should now be retired. The consistent *-ss-* and base-meaning of the primary verb *ass-, assiya-* 'be favored, be dear' (parts. *assuwant-, assiyant-*) support instead a derivation from IE **ans-, n̥s-* (cf. *dassu- < *dn̥su-* [4.81]) and comparison with Goth. *ansts* 'grace, favor', ON *ást* 'love, affection', *unna,* OE, OHG *unnan* 'grant, bestow, be ungrudging' (*IEW* 47; cf. G. Jucquois, *RHA* 22 [1964]: 89-91; Puhvel, *KZ* 94 [1980]: 65-70; P 189-206). *assu-, assuwant-, assiyant-* is centrally 'favored, dear; agreeable; good' (like Lat. *bonus < *duenos* vs. *beātus < *dweyā-,* Ved. *dúvas-* 'favor') (SIG₅), vs. 'inherently good, sound' (DÙG.GA) in the obscure *lazz(a)i-,* denom. *lazziya-* 'set straight; be good; recover', etc. (*CHD* 3.50-53).

    Skt. *vásu-,* Av. *vaŋhu-, vohu-,* Gmc. *Wisi-[Gothae],* Gaul. *[Bello-, Sigo]-vesus* 'good', OIr. **feb* 'excellence' (dat. sg. *feib < *weswāi*), W. *gwych* 'fine, splendid', etc., on the other hand, are cognate with Pal. *wasu-* 'well', Luw. *wasu-,* Hier. *wasu* 'well-being', similar in meaning to Hitt. *assu-* but etymologically separate. Cf. Puhvel's

refinement of this etymology (*KZ* 94 [1980]: 69-70), comparing Ved. *vas-* 'shine', Lith. *aũšta* 'it dawns', OCS *veselŭ* 'joyous' fr. an IE **Aw-és-*, **Aéw-s-* 'shine, be radiant' (cf. *KEWA* 3.173-74; Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 169-70, n. 3).

16.72 — BAD — *idalu-* (HUL) (Luw. *adduwali-*) forms numerous derivatives, e.g. nouns *idalawant-*, Luw. *adduwal-*, abstr. Hitt. *idalawatar*, Luw. *adduwalahit*, Hier. *atuwati-*, *aduwari-*, inch. *idalawes-*, fact. *idalawahh-*. The basic Hitt. and Luw. forms provide for a reconstruction (Laroche, *RHA* 23 [1965]: 41-42) from PAnat. **edwal* (with *-d-* < **-dw-* as in *ta-* 'two' < **dwo-*), IE heteroclitic **edwl̥* vs. **edwn̥-*, **edun-* in Gk. ὀδύναι 'pain, distress', Arm. *erkn*, OIr. *idain* '(birth) pangs', and further analysis **ed-wl̥* 'eating, gnawing (pain, trouble)' < **ed-* 'eat' (P 493).

huwappa- 'bad', cf. *huwap(p)-*, *hup(p)-* 'treat badly', 11.28.

marsa- 'false, treacherous', etc., 16.67.

hahharsanant-, possibly 'contemptuous' or the like, fr. *hahhars-* 'laugh (derisively?)', 16.25.

kallar(a)- 'inauspicious, monstrous', 'bad' in the sense of 'nefarious' (NU.SIG₅), cf. *kallaratar* 'unfavorable oracle', may be related to OIr. *galar* 'disease' (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 29, 46), with ON *galli* 'defect, flaw', Lith. *žalà* 'damage, destruction', etc. (*IEW* 411; cf. T 464 and refs.). Other suggestions have been Gk. κηλέω 'charm, bewitch', Lat. *calvor* 'scheme, deceive', Goth. *hōlōn* 'defame, slander' (Goetze, *Lg.* 30 [1954]: 403) and Lat. *clādēs* 'destruction' (Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüística* 3 [1973]: 436). A later survival is Lesb. Γέλλω, a female evil spirit; cf. Hitt. *kallar uttar* 'evil spirit' and the cognate NHG *bösewicht*.

16.73 — RIGHT — The negative *ŪL āra* (*natta āra*) 'not right, impermissible, socially unacceptable' contains *ara-*, *āra-* 'proper, acceptable, correct', seen also in nominal *ara-* 'comrade, peer,

friend' and *aral(l)ai-* 'join, associate', with further *arawa-* 'free' (Lyc. *arawã*), *arawes-* 'become free', *arawahh-* 'make free', etc. It belongs with Ved. *r̥tá-* 'right, suitable', *r̥tám* '(social) order' (Av. *arəta-*), *arí-*, *aryá-* 'righteous, loyal', *ārya-*, Av. *airyō* 'belonging to the community, Aryan', etc.; cf. Puhvel, *Études mithriaques* (Leiden, 1978), p. 336-41 = *AI* 323-289, comparing OIr. *aire* 'noble, free', *Eremon,* Gaul. *Ariomanus,* with further discussion. The root is thus IE **ar-* 'fit, arrange' (Gk. ἀραρίσκω; Ved. *áram,* Av. *arəm* 'fittingly', etc.; *IEW* 55-61), with very wide morphological and semantic ramifications. Cf. Laroche, *Hommages à Georges Dumézil* 124-28; Benveniste, *HIE* 108-10; Gusmani, *Lessico* 51-52; P 116-21.

The sense of moral rectitude is included among the connotations of *handant-* 'right, upright, just, true, straight', etc., probably part. of *handai-* 'set in order arrange', ultimately f. *hant-* 'front' (cf. *hant-* 'forehead', 4.205) via adverbial and postpos. (orig. directional dat.) 'in front, opposite; correspondingly, in order' (T 149-53). Cf. also *menahhanda* 'opposite', 4.204.

16.74 — WRONG — *ŪL āra* 'not right, antisocial', etc., with *āra* (16.73), is similar in meaning to cognate Skt. *ánārya-* 'indecent, vulgar, vile, base, not respectable, un- or non-Aryan'.

16.75 — SIN — The primary meaning of *wasta(i)-* 'sin', with substantive *wastul, wasdumar,* is 'fail, fall short, miss the mark' (like Gk. ἁμαρτάνω), cf. *sallis wastais* 'great vacancy' or 'desolation' = 'death of the king'. Hence the comparison is with Lat. *vāstus,* OIr. *fáss,* OHG *wuosti,* OE *wēste,* NE *waste* 'empty, desolate' (Laroche, *RA* 67.2 [1973]: 119-21). A 'capital offense' is SAG.DU-*as wastul,* with SAG.DU 'head' (4.20).

hurkel 'crime, serious offense', 21.41.
haratar 'fault, guilt', 16.76.

16.76 — FAULT, GUILT — Hitt. and Luw. *haratar, harātar* appears mostly in the phrase *ŪL haratar* '(there is) no offense', and means basically 'offense' or 'outrage' with emphasis on culpability. It has the appearance of an abstract noun from *harr-* 'crush, ruin, destroy' (5.56), although the (possibly Luwian) nonassimilation in obl. *haratn-* and *haratnant-* 'scandal' plus the somewhat unclear semantic development leave room for doubt (as in *EHS* 296); T 172, P s.v.

16.77 — MISTAKE, ERROR — *wastul*, 16.75.

16.78 — BLAME — Luw. *hanhaniya-*, possibly 'to blame', has been compared with isolated Gk. ὄνομαι 'blame, find fault with, reject' (Van Brock, *RHA* 22 [1964]: 139-41) or less probably (αν)αἴνομαι 'refuse, deny' (Čop, *KZ* 85 [1971]: 26-30); the probable reduplication makes likely a relation to *hanna-* 'decide, judge' (21.162); T 148-49.

16.79 — PRAISE — *sarlatt-* 'praise, exaltation (ceremony)', from *sarlai-* (Hier. *sasarla-*) 'praise, honor' (lit. 'elevate, exalt', as in parts. *sarlant-*, Luw. *sarlaim(m)i-* 'exalted'), denom. from *sarli-* 'higher, upper' < *ser, sarā* 'up, above, on top of' (Laroche, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 291-95; cf. Oettinger, *Stammb.* 379-80), perhaps related to Gk. ὅρίον 'peak, promontory' (*ser̥-o-* vs. *sr-iyo-?; A. Heubeck, *Orbis* 13 [1964]: 264-66; Gusmani, *Lessico* 86).

walliyatar, fr. *walliya-* (Luw. *walli*), *walla-* (also *wallu-* [< *walnu-*?]) 'to praise', possibly related to *(walli)walli(ya)-* 'strong', cf. lat. *valeō* 'be strong', Osc. *valaimo-* 'best', Goth. *waldan* 'rule', OIr. *flaith* 'dominion', Toch. B *walo* 'king', etc., *IEW* 1111-12 (*Stammb.* 490-91).

16.81 — BEAUTIFUL — Perhaps *misriwant-* (15.56), *EHGl.* 21.

16.82 — UGLY — Gk. αἰσχρός is cognate with H. *iskunahh-* 'stain'; cf. 15.88.

MIND, THOUGHT

17.11 — M<small>IND</small> — *istanza(n)-* (ZI), 16.11; cognate with NHG *sinn.*

17.12 — I<small>NTELLIGENCE</small>, R<small>EASON</small> — *hattatar,* vbl. abstract of *hatta-* 'think, understand' (17.13).

hazzizzi- 'understanding', also 'ear', borrowed from and congruent in meaning with Akk. *hasīsu* (T 233-34).

17.13 — T<small>HINK</small> (R<small>EFLECT</small>) — A **hatta-* 'think, understand' is inferred from *hattatar* 'wisdom, intelligence', part. *hattant-* 'wise', fact. *hattahh-* 'make wise'. Conceivably identical to *hattai-* 'cut, chop', etc. (9.22); cf. NE *discern* < OFr. < Lat. *dis-cernere* 'sift apart', also NE "be incisive," "be sharp," etc.; T 214-15.

kappuwai- 'think about, take into account', 11.66.

17.15 — B<small>ELIEVE</small> — *hai-* was linked to Lat. *ōmen* (**A^w e-mn̥*) by Benveniste (*HIE* 10-11, reading *hā-*), stressing the necessity of belief in such signs for their efficacy (*ōmen accipere*); cf. also Oettinger, *Stammb.* 361 and n. 212 (**A₁eA^w-*). Reconstructing **hay-āye-* < IE **A^w₂ey-*, Puhvel (P s.v.) compares rather Goth. *áiþs,* OIr. *óeth* 'oath', with original sense 'trust, have faith in'.

17.16 — U<small>NDERSTAND</small> — *hatta(i)-* 'think, understand', 17.13.

17.17 — KNOW — The root of *kanes-* (/gnes-/) 'know, recognize, discover' is evidently IE **gn(e)H-*, **genH-*, attested in nearly all branches (*IEW* 376-78, *DSS* 1209-10). The origin of the unique Hitt. *-s-* is disputed, but it is most generally thought to be an original aorist marker (e.g. Laroche, *RHA* 19 [1961]: 27-29; further refs. T 478-80).

sak(k)-, sek(k)- 'know, recognize; learn', with *sagai-* 'sign, omen', *sakiya-* 'presage', *sakiyahh-* 'pronounce an oracle', is related to Lat. *sāgiō* 'have knowledge', Dor. ἀγέομαι 'lead', Goth. *sōkja*, OIr. *saigim* 'I seek'. IE **s(e)A₂g-* thus had connotations of preternatural wisdom, foreknowledge, second sight, etc. (cf. Lat. *sāga* 'prophetess, fortune teller'); Benveniste, *BSL* 33 (1932): 140-41.

17.21 — WISE — *hattant-* 'understanding, insightful' or the like, part. of *hatta-* 'think', 17.13. Verbal abstract *hattatar* 'knowledge, wisdom'.

For Gk. σοφός see *sakui-* 'eye', 4.21.

17.22 — FOOLISH, STUPID — *marlessant-* 'foolish, idiotic, demented' is a likely part. of inch. **marles-* from a **marla-* of the same meaning (Sommer, *AU* 184): cf. *marlant-* (ᴸᵁLIL) 'fool, idiot', *marlatar* 'foolishness, stupidity', possible *marlahh-* 'make foolish', and *marl(a)iski-* 'become crazed, go mad' (*CHD* 3.191-92). Origin unknown.

17.23 — INSANE, MAD, CRAZY — *marl(a)iski-*, lit. 'keep acting like an idiot', fr. **marla-* 'foolish', 17.22.

17.24 — LEARN — *sak(k)-*, 17.17.

17.25 — TEACH — *annanu-* 'train, educate', caus. to *an(n)iya-* 'work', 9.11 (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 145; P 59-62), cf. *annanuhha-* 'trained'.

walkissarahh- 'make expert', fact. fr. *walkissara-* 'skilled, expert' (*HWb.* 243), obscure.

17.28 — SCHOOL — É.DUB.BA.A 'tablet-house' (*HWb.* 270); cf. DUB = *tuppi-* 'tablet', 18.55.

17.31 — REMEMBER — *kappuwai-* 'think about, take note of', etc., 11.66.

17.32 — FORGET — Possibly *(arha) paskuwai-* (Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 20; *HWb.* 165).

17.34 — CLEAR, PLAIN — Lith. *áiškus*, OLith. *iškùs* may be cognate with H. *iskunahh-* 'proclaim' (like Lat. *dē-clārō*), if the latter is not to be translated rather 'demote, rusticate' (in which case cf. 15.88); see Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 38 (1981): 351-52, *Gedenkschrift Kronasser* 182 and n. 7, P 426-28. IE **ays(k)no-* 'clear, bright' also yields OCS *jasnŭ* 'clear', *iskra* 'spark', and parallel **ays(k)ro-* gives H. *asara-*, *esara-* 'white, bright'; cf. 15.64.

On Gk. σαφής 'clear', Hom. σάφα 'clearly', cf. H. *sakui-* 'eye' (4.21) and *AI* 265-66, 313-21.

17.36 — SECRET — Several attempts at an etymology for adj. *harwasi-* are recorded in T 190; the least objectionable relates it to Egypt. *ha-ra-ṡi-ṡ(i)* 'secret' (W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* [Wiesbaden, 1952], p. 565.

Adv. *munnanda* is from *munnai-* 'hide, conceal', 12.27.

Luw. *kugurniya-* 'secret'? (*DLL* 56, vs. T 618 'verleumden'), vbl. noun *kugurniyaman*, Hitt. *kuggurniyauwar;* obscure.

17.38 — EXPLAIN — *arkuwai-* 'plead, argue, explain oneself, make excuses', etc., is to be compared with Lat. *arguō* 'assert, accuse, prove' (cf. Laroche, *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences religieuses, Annuaire* 72 [1964-65]: 13-20; *RPh.* 42 [1968]: 242-43; von Schuler, *JCS* 22 [1968]: 4-5; Puhvel, *AI* 264, P 148-51).

17.42 — CAUSE — *uttar* (INIM) 'affair, matter, thing', etc., 9.90.
memiya(n)- 'speech, word, thing, matter', fr. *memai-* 'speak', 18.21.

VOCAL UTTERANCE, SPEECH; READING AND WRITING

18.12 — SING — *ishamiya-, ishamai-* 'sing' (SÌR-*RU, ZAMĀRU*), *ishamai-* 'song' (SÌR), *ishamatalla-* 'singer' (LÚSÌR, Akk. *zammaru*), all from an **ishama-,* from the same root as in *ishiya-* 'tie, bind' (9.16) and *ishiman(a)-, ishamin(a)-* 'cord, line, rope' (9.19). The semantic key to the connection lies in the sense of Gk. ῥαψῳδός 'weaver of songs' (ῥάπτω 'stitch together') and Skt. *sūtra-* 'thread; aphorism, rule, canon', Gk. ὕμνος. Thus while **sE₂-(o)m-* > Hitt. *ishama-,* Ved. *sáman-* 'song', **sE₂-oy-mo-* > Gk. (psilotic) οἶμος, οἴμη 'song', *sE₂-oy-tos > ON *seiðr* 'line, rope; magic (spell)' (*EHS* 178, T 378-80, P 394-95).

The reduplicated *galgalinai-* is undoubtedly related to *galgalturi-* 'cymbal, tambourine' or other metallic musical instrument. Imitative origin seems likely (*EHS* 481); cf. Arm. *geł-geł-el* 'trill, warble' (N. Mkrtč῾jan, *Acta Antiqua* 22 [1974]: 318, comparing also Hebr. *kilkel,* Arab. *qalqal/ǧalǧal;* T 467). Possibly of similar ultimate origin Lith. *gal̃sas* 'echo', OCS *glagolŭ* 'word', *glagolati* 'speak'.

LÚGALA 'singer' covers LÚ*halli(ya)ri-* and LÚ*sahtarili-,* both of Hattic origin (P s.v.).

18.13 — SHOUT, CRY OUT — *halzai-, halziya-* is 'call out, shout, exclaim', and secondarily 'proclaim, call on, summon, invoke; invite', etc., as in Lat. *clāmō, calō* (: H. *kalles-,* 18.41); OIr. *gairm, gáir*

'a cry', *gairim* 'I summon, name'. Reflecting *A₁lt-yó- fr. *A₁élt-, *A₁lét-, it is cognate with Goth. *laþōn,* OE *laðian* 'summon, invite', with the original sense perhaps maintained in OLat. *lessus* 'wailing, lamentation' (cf. Juret, *Vocabulaire* 20; Puhvel, *Evidence* 88 = *AI* 134; P s.v.; Čop, *Ling.* 10 [1970]: 96-97).

alalamniya-, whether derived from *alalam(ma)a-* 'rushing of water' (*EHS* 559, 571; doubtful, as *alalamma-* is probably 'ditch'; Puhvel, *JAOS* 97 [1977]: 598; P 28) or haplologically with *lamniya-* 'call, name' (18.42; P 27), attests the expressive vocable found in Gk. ἀλαλαί, ἐλελεῦ 'alas', ἀλαλάζω, ὀλολύζω 'cry out', Arm. *ałałak* 'cry, scream', RV *alalābhávantīr* 'loud-sounding (waters)'. Attestation may not be restricted to Eastern regions; cf. OE *walawa* (< *wā lā wā* 'woe!'), arch. NE *wellaway.*

wāi-, wiyai-, wiwiya-, wiwiski- are various verbalizations of the interjection **wai-* 'woe!' (*IEW* 1110).

taskupai- is obscure.

18.14 — Various Cries — The only animal noise suggested in the texts is *huntarnu-* 'grunt'; cf. *huntari-* 'swine' (3.31) and *huntariya-* 'fart' (4.64).

18.21 — Speak, Talk — *memai-* 'speak' (Luw. *mam[m]an[n]a-*), with *memiya(n)-* 'speech, word, matter, thing', etc. and denom. *memanu-, memiyanu-* 'cause to speak'. Compared with Ved. *mímāti* 'bellow', OCS *mĭmati* 'stammer, mumble', with original imitative origin (Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 140), and with ON *mál* 'speech' < *ma-tlom (Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 59).

A verb *lala(i)-* 'speak (clearly)', denom. from *lala-* 'tongue; speech' (4.26) is questionable; cf. *CHD* 3.25-26 and refs.

te-/tar- 'say, speak', 18.22.

18.22 — SAY — The suppletive Hitt. verb *te-/tar-* 'say' preserves two ancient and sparsely attested usages within Indo-European. The stem *te-*, whose etymon IE *$dheE_1$-* is practically ubiquitous in the meaning 'put; do' (including Hitt. *dai-*), mirrors the semantic shift seen otherwise only in Slavic: OCS *děti* 'put, say', Slovene *dem* 'I say' (= Hitt. *temi*), ORuss. *dě* 'he said' (H. *tet*). *tar-*, on the other hand (1 pl. pres. *tarweni*, 3 pl. *taranzi*, part. *tarant-*, iter. *taraski-, tarsik[k]i-*), attests a basic verb 'speak', as shown by Lith. *tariù, tarti* 'say', *tarmẽ* 'utterance', thus indicating an important Baltic-Anatolian isogloss. Cf. Puhvel, *Gedenkschrift Kronasser* 183-84).

18.23 — BE SILENT — *karussiya-* 'be silent, be indifferent', caus. *karussiyanu-* 'silence', as well as *kariya-* 'stop, pause, rest', caus. *kariyanu-*, reflect *$g^wr(-ew-s)-y$-* or similar, from an IE *g^wer-*. Cognates include Arm. (aor.) *koreay* 'die out', Toch. A *kur-*, B *kwär-* 'age, become enfeebled', Lith. *gùrstu* 'die down, subside', Goth. *qaírrus* 'gentle, meek', ON *kvirr* 'quiet, peaceful' (Čop, *Univerza v Ljubljani. Zbornik Filozofske Fakultete* 2 [1955]: 393-97; T 529-30; *AI* 263).

18.24 — LANGUAGE — Directions for an official or celebrant to speak in a particular language are given using the adj. suffix *-ili*, thus *luwili* 'in Luwian', *nesili, nāsili* 'in Hittite', etc.

18.26 — WORD — Whereas a meaning 'thing, matter', etc. developed secondarily from *memiya(n)-* 'word' (fr. *memai-* 'speak', 18.21), conversely *uttar* 'thing' came to mean also 'word'; see 9.90.

18.28 — NAME — *laman-* (MU, ŠUNU) reflects IE *$nōmn̥$-* (cf. Lat. *nōmen; DSS* 1264, *IEW* 321), with dissimilation as in *lammar* 'hour'.

18.31 — ASK (QUESTION, INQUIRE) — *punus-* 'ask, inquire; investigate', iter. *punuski-* (LI.TAR, Akk. *ša'ālu*). Connection is generally assumed (e.g. *IEW* 839, *GEW* 509, 566) with Gk. πέπνῡμαι 'be wise, prudent', πνέω 'breathe', OE *fnēosan* 'sneeze', etc. (unnecessarily split into two separate roots in *Stammb.* 214-15), IE **pnew-* 'pant, gasp, breathe; be conscious'; the sense of the Hitt. verb might be from something like 'come to, regain consciousness'.

18.32 — ANSWER (vb.) — *appa mema-* 'speak back' (cf. 18.21), like OIr. *fris-gair*, Lith. *atsakýti*, OCS *otŭ-věštati*, SCr. *ot-govoriti*, Skt. *prati-vac-*, *prati-bhāṣ-*, etc. (*DSS* 1266-67).

18.33 — ADMIT, CONFESS — Possibly *arkuwar iya-*, lit. 'make a plea', from *arkuwai-* 'plead, argue, explain oneself', 17.38 (P 149).

18.35 — ASK, REQUEST — *wek-*, 16.61.

18.36 — PROMISE — *mald-*, 22.17.

18.37 — REFUSE — *memma-*, *mimma-* is analyzable as a stative pf. **me-moE₁-* of a verb **meE₁-* 'hold back' or the like, the (suffixless) imperative of which gave prohibitive **mē* as in Gk. μή, Ved. *mā* (cf. *Stammb.* 497).
natta memai- 'say no', with *memai-* 'speak', 18.21.
markiya- 'disapprove, reject, refuse, find fault', etc., also 'forbid' (*CHD* 3.189-90), probably belongs with Corn. *moreth* 'anger', Bret. *morc'et* 'souci, malheur', IE **merk-* (*IEW* 740; Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4 [1959]: 39).

18.38 — FORBID — *markiya-*, 18.37.

18.41 — CALL (SUMMON) — *weriya-* 'call, summon' matches Gk. εἴϱω 'speak, tell' < IE *Hwer-yo-*, from a variably suffixed root seen e.g. in Goth. *waúrd,* OE *word,* Lat. *verbum,* Lith. *vařdas* 'name'; Avest. *urvāta-* 'prayer'; Gk. ῥῆμα 'word, phrase, speech' (Sturtevant, *JAOS* 50 [1930]: 128; T 308-12 and refs.). Cf. *hurt-* 'curse', 22.24.

halzai-, halziya-, see 18.13.

kalles- 'summon, invite' is comparable with Gk. καλέω, Lat. *clāmō* 'call', OE *hlōwan* 'roar, low' (*IEW* 548), with stem-final *-s-* perhaps an extension parallel to OPruss. *kelsāi-* 'read, sound out' (Neu, *Anitta-Text* 88). Cf. T 465-66 and refs., *Stammb.* 197.

18.42 — CALL (NAME) — *lamniya-, lammaniya-* 'name, call by name; appoint, assign' (*CHD* 3.37-39), denom. fr. *laman* 'name' (18.28) and hence analogous to Goth. *namnjan,* OE *nemnan,* NE *name,* Gk. ὀνομάζω.

18.43 — ANNOUNCE — *tarkummai-,* Luw. *tarkummiya-,* evidently a loanword; cf. Akk. *targumānu* 'interpreter' (*HWb.* 214).

isiya(hh)- 'announce, betoken, reveal'; cf. 22.47 and P 409-13.

18.45 — BOAST — *-za walla-,* with refl. *-za;* see *walla-* 'praise', 16.79.

18.51 — WRITE — The physical act of writing is expressed as *(tuppi) anniya-* 'inscribe, make (a tablet)', 9.11; cf. abl. *tuppiyaz anniya-/hatrai-* 'record by means of a tablet, put in writing'.

hatrai- 'write, communicate, decree' (*ŠAPĀRU*), iter. *hatreski-,* vbl. noun *hatressar* 'message, written order'. Seemingly denom. from an instrument-noun *hattra- < *hat-tro-,* derived from *hattai-* 'chop, cut' (9.22); cf. *tuppi hazziyan harzi* 'he has written (lit. "cut") a

tablet' (Čop, *Slav. Rev.* 11 [1958]: 52-54; Oettinger, *MSS* 34 [1976]: 126; T 226-27).

guls- 'paint, draw, inscribe', *gulzi-* 'drawing' (GIŠ.HUR), 9.85-9.86.

18.52 — HEAD — Simply *tuppi aus-* 'look at a tablet' (15.51), or *(tuppi) halzai-* (iter. *halzeski-*, durative *halzessa*) 'call out, read aloud' (18.13), analogous to Goth. *(us)siggwan* 'ἀναγιγνώσκω'.

18.54 — LETTER (EPISTLE) — Verbal nouns *hatressar* or *gulzatar* 'writing'; cf. 18.51.

18.55 — TABLET — *tuppi-* 'clay tablet' (DUB), Akk. *tuppu.*

A wooden tablet may be referred to by ᴳᴵŠ/ᴳᴵŠ·ᴴᵁᴿ*gurta-*, Akk. ᴳᴵŠ*LE-U* (T 661), though the etymology is obscure (cf. T 663 s.v. ᴳᴵŠ/ᴳᴵ*kurtal[li]-*).

IM.GÍD(.DA) 'long tablet' (*HWb.* 277-78); GIŠ.HUR 'picture'; cf. 9.87 and *EHGl.* 51, n. 85.

18.57 — PEN — 'Stylus' is ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁ*sepikkusta-* 'pin' (6.63) or GI É.DUB.BI (GI 'reed', cf. Gk. κάλαμος), according to *EHGl.* 85.

18.64 — PRINT — Vbl. noun *siyattal-* 'seal', denom. *siyattalliya-* 'to seal' (also *siyatar, siyattariya-*), a secondary meaning of *sai-, siya-* 'throw, shoot; press' < IE **sē-.*

TERRITORIAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS; SOCIAL
RELATIONS

19.11 — COUNTRY — Normally KUR; the Hitt. reading is *udne-*,
see 1.21.

19.12 — ONE'S NATIVE COUNTRY — As 19.11.

19.13 — COUNTRY (VS. TOWN) — *gim(ma)ra-*, 1.23.

19.14 — REGION, TERRITORY — KUR (Hitt. *udne-*), 1.21; cf. also
URU 'city' (*happira-*), 19.15.
    The plural of Hier. *arhi-* 'boundary' (19.17) may mean
'territory', like Lat. *fīnēs;* e.g. pl. *Atanwani*^CITY *arhī* 'the territory of
Adana' (P 134).
    maniyahhai- 'administrative district', fr. *maniyahh-* 'administer',
19.31.

19.15 — CITY, TOWN — *happira-*, *happiriya-* (URU), originally
adjectival fr. *happir-* 'business, trade' (see 11.82, meaning 'place of
trade, trading-post, market', etc. (*EHS* 186; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 106-9;
P s.v.). There is also URU-*riasessar*, probably *happiriya-* 'town' +
asessar 'settlement' < *asas-* 'settle' (12.12).

19.16 — VILLAGE — *happir(iy)a-* (URU), as 19.15.

19.17 — BOUNDARY — OHitt. *arha-* (Hier. *arhi-*), class. *irha-* 'line, rim, limit, boundary' (ZAG) is from *orH_1o- or *$r̥H_1o$- and cognate with Lat. *ōra* 'edge, boundary, coast, region; rope'. Numerous derivs. include *arhai-, irhai-* 'circulate; list; finish up', *arha* 'off, away, out of', *arahza, arahza(n)da-* 'around', *arahziya-* 'alien', *arahzena(nt)-* 'bordering, external, foreign', etc. Possibly Lat. *re(d)- < *rE_2e-* also belongs here. Cf. P 129-35, T 55-56.

19.21 — PEOPLE (POPULACE) — *antuhsatar* (UKÙ[IMEŠ]-*[a]tar*) and *antuhsannant-* (UKÙMEŠ-*annant-*), fr. *antuhsa-* 'man', 2.1.

19.23 — TRIBE, CLAN, FAMILY — *hassatar* 'family, clan', also 'procreation, generation; womb', is a verbal abstract from *has-* 'beget; give birth' (see 4.72), and the parallel *hassana-* 'familiaris' is a hypostatic thematic form from gen. *hassannas* (T 198). The *-n-* in variant *hansatar* is anticipatory or analogical; T 149.
     On *panku-* (perhaps 'community, collectivity') see 13.13.

19.31 — RULE, GOVERN — The primary sense of *maniyahh-* is 'hand over, distribute', whence 'allocate, administer, govern' (also *maniyahhai-*), with derivs. such as *maniyahha-*, LÚ*maniyahhatalla-* 'deputy, administrator, governor', etc., *maniyahhai-* 'administrative district; administration' (*EHS* 432, *CHD* 3.163-70). Denominative origin in *$m(a)n$-yé- < IE *mAn-* 'hand' (*IEW* 740) is plausible, cf. Oettinger, *Stammb.* 458 (comparing Lat. *mandāre* 'entrust, order').
     tapar-, tapariya- 'rule, govern', LÚ*tapariyalli-* 'commander' are obscure and thought to be of Luwian origin (*HWb.* 21-11; *Stammb.* 384). Cf. also the dynastic name *Tabarnas, Labarnas*.
     hassuwai- 'rule', denom. from *hassu-* 'king' (19.32); T 211.

19.32 — KING — Rather than an unsupported link with *has-* 'beget' (in Sommer, *Hethitisches* II [= *Boghazköi-Studien* 7 (Leipzig,

1922)], p. 9, n. 2; *EHS* 251; etc.; cf. T 207), the source of *hassu-* is best sought via a reconstruction *H_1onsu-* (cf. *dassu-* <*$d\d{n}su$-*), as in Polomé's comparison with ON *áss* (pl. *Æsir*, Run. *a[n]su-*) 'god', Avest. *ahū* 'lord', Skt. *ásura-*, Av. *ahura-* (*Études Germaniques* 8 [1953]: 36-38; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 24, n. 8). Usually written LUGAL.

19.33 — QUEEN — *hassusara-* (SAL.LUGAL), formed from *hassu-* 'king' with fem. suffix *-sara-* (T 210-11).

19.34 — EMPEROR — Cf. LUGAL.GAL 'great king'.

19.35 — PRINCE — DUMU.LUGAL (Akk. *mār šarri*) 'king's son'.

19.36 — NOBLE, NOBLEMAN — *isha-* (EN), 19.41.
panku- may be 'body of the nobility'; see 13.13.

19.37 — CITIZEN — The inhabitants of a town are referred to simply as e.g. LÚ[MEŠ URU]*Taptina* 'the men/people of T.'.

19.38 — SUBJECT — ÌR, 19.43.

19.41 — MASTER — *isha-*, *esha-* (EN, *BELU*, *BELTU*) 'master, lord', *ishassara-* 'lady, mistress' (GAŠAN), *ishizziya-* 'be lordly, dominate'. Etymology uncertain; suggested cognates have included Lat. *erus* < *esH_1o-* (from F. Ribezzo, *Rivista Indo-greco-italica* 4 [1920]: 128), Arm. *išxan* 'ruler, prince' (P. Jensen, *ZA* 36 [1925]: 82), and Hitt. *ishiya-* 'bind' (E. Forrer, *ZDMG* 76 [1922]: 217), although cogent objections can be raised to all these. The most satisfactory solution is a source in Hattic *shap/w-*, *ashap/w-* 'god', collective *washap/w-*, linking further Luw. *washai-*, *washa(n)t-*, Hier.

washa- 'master' and possibly Pal. *pashullasas, washullatiyas* (Laroche, *RA* 41 [1947]: 77-78; T 372-77; P 385-90).

19.42-19.43 — SLAVE; SERVANT — The Hitt. reading of ÌR (Akk. *ardu*) 'servant, slave, subject' is unknown; likewise ᴸᴾAMA.(A.)TU 'house slave', GEMÉ(-*assara-*) 'female slave, maidservant', SAG.GEME.ÌRᴹᴱˢ 'servants' (*HWb.* 265, 273, 278, 290).

19.44 — FREE — *arawanni-* is specifically the opposite of ÌR 'slave', from *arawa-* (Lyc. *arawã*) 'free' (*ELLU*), with widespread onomastic and toponymic attestation: e.g. Cappadocian personal names *Arawa, Arawahsu;* ᵁᴿᵁ*Araunna,* ᵁᴿᵁ*Arawanna,* etc.; Ἀρύηνις, daughter of the Lydian Alyattes (Herodotus 1.74); Steph. Byz. Ἐρευάτης: ἀπὸ Ἐρεύας τῆς καὶ Ἐλευθέρας. For etym. see *ara-* 'right', 16.73. T 53-55, P 119-21.

19.45 — COMMAND, ORDER — *hatrai-* 'decree', 18.51.
tapariya- 'rule, be in power', 19.31.
sesha- 'arrange, assign, order' is a reduplicated *se-sE_2-eA_2(-y)-*, corresponding to pf. *sE_2óye-* in *ishai-* 'bind' (9.16); cf. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 247.
watarnahh- 'commission, charge' or the like, possibly from IE *(A_2)wed- 'speak' (Skt. *vádati,* Gk. αὐδή 'voice', etc.; *IEW* 76), via a *(A_2)wod-ṛ-no-A_1- (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[2] 61; Oettinger, *Stammb.* 458).

19.46 — OBEY — *istamas-* and Luw. *tummantai-* 'obey' < 'hear, listen'; cf. 15.41-15.42, 4.22.

19.47 — LET, PERMIT — *tarna-*, 12.18.

19.48 — COMPEL — GEŠPU-*ahh*-, with GEŠPU 'strength, power;' restraint', lit. 'fist'; *HWb.* 273.

19.51 — FRIEND — ᴸᵁ/ˢᴬᴸ*ara*-, see 16.73.
sakkant- 'acquaintance', part. (variant of normal *sekkant*-) of *sakk*- 'know, recognize', 17.17.
Cf. also *genzu*- 'love, friendship', 16.27, 4.447.
ᴸᵁ*taksulas* 'ally', fr. *taksul* 'agreement', 12.92.

19.52 — ENEMY — ⁽ᴸᵁ⁾*kurur*, originally abstract 'animosity, hostility' (*kururiya*- 'be hostile to, fight with', *kururiyahh*- 'treat as an enemy'), may reflect **ghwr-wr* 'crookedness, trick' < IE **ghwer*- 'be crooked, bent' as in Skt. *hvárate* 'be crooked, go astray, awry', Av. *Zurah*- 'injustice, evil' (Eichner, *MSS* 31 [1973]: 75), or perhaps better **kwr-wr* 'division' : H. *kuer*- 'cut' (9.22); cf. *harpu*- 'hostile' < *harp*- 'separate' (12.23) (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*¹ 119, 148; Laroche, *BSL* 58 [1963]: 69). See also E. Neu, *Athenaeum* 47 (1979): 407-27; T 665-67.
harpanalli- (cf. *harpu*- 'hostile' and Luw. *harpana*- 'revolt') is from *harp*- 'separate (from)' (12.23); see Gusmani, *Lessico* 93; DLL 42; T 182.
ᴸᵁKÚR is usually read *kurur*, though this is rejected by Neu (loc. cit.).

19.53 — COMPANION — ᴸᵁ/ˢᴬᴸ*ara*-, 16.73.

19.55 — STRANGER — ᴸᵁ*arahzena*-, *arahzenas* UKÙ-*as* 'foreigner' fr. *arahza*-, *arahzena*- 'alien, foreign', lit. 'bordering'; cf. *arha*-, *irha*- 'border, boundary', 19.17 (P 133-34).

19.58 — HELP, AID — *(anda) warrai*- (also *waressa*-), denom. from a *warra*-, a dat.-loc. or early form of *warri*- 'aid, (military)

support' (*Stammb.* 504). The basic sense is 'mutual aid under treaty', and matches that of the cognate Hom. ἦρα, as shown by Gusmani (*SMEA* 6 [1968]: 17-22), comparing especially ἐρί-ηρες ἑταῖροι (: Myc. name *E-ri-we-ro*) and securing an important Greek-Anatolian isogloss.

Other expressions are *appa(n) es-* 'be behind, back up' (cf. Fr. *assister* < Lat. *adsistere*), *appan tiya-* 'get behind' (10.45), *appan huwai-* 'run behind' (10.46; cf. for meaning Gk. ἐπικουρέω and Lat. *succurrere* like *subvenīre.*

harp-, harpiya- 'join up with', 12.23.

19.61 — CUSTOM — *saklai-* 'custom, law, rite' is an abstract deriv. in *-lā-* or *-li-*, generally assumed to be related to Lat. *sacer* 'sacred', *sanciō* 'ordain', ON *sátt, sætt*, OE *seht* 'treaty' (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*¹ 87, *EHS* 206). Alternatively, the root could be Hitt. *sak-* 'know', thus *saklai-* '(traditional) knowledge, what is known or usual'; cf. NIr. *nós* 'custom' < OIr. *gnás* (W. *[g]naws*) 'nature, disposition', W. *gnawd* 'customary' : OIr. *gnáth* 'usual, known', Lat. *nōtus,* Gk. γνωτός, etc. 'known'.

19.62 — STRIFE, QUARREL — *halluwai-*, with denom. *halluwai-* 'fight, brawl, quarrel' and vbl. noun *halluwātar*, probably from the same *$A^w_2l-n-(e)A^w_1$-* as *hallanniya-* 'lay waste, ravage' : Gk. ὄλλῡμι (see 11.27). Thus P s.v., doubting the earlier comparison with Gk. ἀλύω 'be distraught, be beside oneself' (Benveniste, *Athenaeum* N.S. 47 [1969]: 30-31) on semantic grounds and assigning ἀλύω to Hitt. *alwanzatar*, etc. 'witchcraft' (22.42; P 43-47). Cf. also Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36 (1979): 57.

sulli- 'fight' with *sullatar* fr. the corresponding (denom.?) verb *sulla-*, invites a reconstruction from **sul(H)-*, but further root-relation is obscure (*EHS* 505, Oettinger, *Stammb.* 291-93). Schindler's identification of *sulla-* with *hulla-* 'strike' (*Die Sprache* 15

[1969]: 160), presumably via *s*-mobile, is unlikely; the initial *sh- would yield *ish- (*Stammb.* 293, n. 70).

sarupa-, etym. unknown (*EHS* 184).

Words for 'strike' can have 'fight, come to blows' as a secondary meaning; thus *kuen-, hulla-, walh-* (9.21). Cf. also *argatiya-*, 16.43.

19.63 — PLOT, CONSPIRACY — *kup-* 'to plan, plot', Luw. *kupiya-, kukupalatar* 'conspiracy'; see 16.68.

tastasiya- 'whisper; plot' may be onomatopoeic, with reduplicated **tas-* (Van Brock, *RHA* 22 [1964]: 158, n. 1).

Also note *appali dai-* 'set a trap' (16.68) and HUL-*lu takkes-* 'weave evil' (6.33).

19.65 — MEET — *anda wemiya-*, with *wemiya-* 'find' (11.32), lit. 'find in', like Bret. *en em gavout,* refl. of *kavout* 'find'.

hazziya- 'strike, hit (upon)' (9.21), cf. NHG *treffen.*

19.71 — PROFESSIONS, OCCUPATIONS — Terms for those involved in a large number of occupations are known, practically all in sumerographic form; cf. *EHGl.* 62-64.

19.72 — PROSTITUTE — ^{SAL}KAR.KID (Akk. *harimtu*) 'prostitute', SAL.SUHUR.LAL 'temple prostitute, hierodule'.

WARFARE

20.11 — FIGHT — The verbs for 'fight' are essentially those for 'strike', thus esp. *hulla-, (hul)hulliya-*, also *walh-; kuen-; zahh-, zahhiya-* (Lyc. *zχχãna* 'to conquer'); *lahiyai-*; 9.21. Cf. also *argatiya-* 'come to violence', 16.43, *kururiya-*, denom. from *kurur-* 'enemy' (19.52), and *halluwai-* 'brawl, quarrel' (19.62).

20.12 — BATTLE — Deverbative *hullanzatar, hullanza(i)-, hulhuli-* from *hulla-* 'strike down', *zahhai-* fr. *zahh-* (9.21).

20.13 — WAR — Besides the words for 'battle' (20.12), there is Hitt. *lahha-* 'war, military campaign; journey', usually in dat.-loc. *lahhi, lahha* and comparable with Hom. δαΐ 'in battle' (with areal *d-* ~ *l-* variation). Further related forms are Lyc. B *laka-*, H. *lahhiyala-* 'soldier; traveller'; cf. Hes. λαίλας · ὁ τύραννος ὑπὸ Λυδῶν (Gusmani, *SMEA* 6 [1968]: 14-28).

20.132 — ENEMY — See 19.52.

20.14 — PEACE — *taksul*, lit. 'agreement' < *takk(e)s-* 'agree, come to terms' (6.33), with *taksulai-, taksul iya-, taksul da-* 'make peace, conclude a treaty'.

20.15 — ARMY — *tuzzi(ya)-, tuzziyant-* (KARAŠ 'army', ERÍN.MEŠ 'troops') is from IE **tewti-*, cognate with WIE **teutā* 'the

people' as in Goth. *þiuda* (OE *þēod,* ON *þióð,* OHG *diutisc,* NHG *deutsch*), OIr. *túath* (W. *tud* 'country'), Osc. *touto,* Umbr. acc. *totam;* Latv. *tàuta,* OLith. *tautà* (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 155; *IEW* 1080).

Possibly also cognate is Luw. *kuwatna-* 'army (camp)', if from **twat-na-* (vs. Hitt. *tut-i-*) via "Lycianism" *tw- > kw-* (Laroche, *BSL* 62 [1967]: 50). Neumann (*KZ* 90 [1977]: 142-43, seconded T 620) prefers a hypostatic obl. form of a *kuwatar and comparison with OHG *houwan,* OE *hēawan,* ON *hǫggva* 'hew', Lith. *káuju* 'strike', Lat. *cūdō* 'strike' (IE **kāu-,* **kéAw-, IEW* 535).

A reading *kula-* (posited by Bossert, *Die Sprache* 4 [1958]: 115-26) is refuted at length in T 620-21.

20.17 — SOLDIER — *kussan(iy)atalla-* (LÚKAŠKAL-*la-*) is from *kussaniya-* 'hire' < *kussan-* 'wages, pay' (11.78), thus 'hireling, mercenary' (T 670-71); cf. Skt. *vasnika-* 'id.' from *vasnám* 'wages; price'; similarly Lat. *soldārius* and Romance derivs., from *solidus* 'gold coin'.

lahhiyala- 'soldier; traveller' fr. **lahhiya-* 'go to war; travel', 20.13.

20.18 — GENERAL — EN KARAŠ, EN ERÍN.MEŠ, perhaps GAL.GEŠTIN (an official, lit. 'wine-chief').

20.21 — WEAPONS, ARMS — GIŠTUKUL.HI.A 'weapons, implements, tools'.

20.22 — CLUB — Hitt. and Luw. *hattalla-,* fr. *hattai-* 'chop, strike', 9.22. For 'axe' see 9.25.

20.24 — BOW — GIŠBAN. Words for 'bowstring' are *ishunau-,* primarily 'sinew' (4.31) and *istagga(i)-,* comparable with OE *stæg,*

ON *stag* 'cable, hawser' (Neumann, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 79; Gusmani, *Lessico* 69; P 451).

20.25 — ARROW — The terms are *suhmili-* and *nata-/i-* (GI, ^{GI}KAK.Ú.TAG.GA), both etymologically obscure.

20.26 — SPEAR — Two types are referred to in the texts, designated *mari-* and *turi-* (probably = ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR); cf. *CHD* 3.183-84. Neither has been explicated.

20.27 — SWORD — The reading *malatti-*, hesitantly recorded in e.g. *HWb.* 133, *EHGl.* 96, *HDW* 49, is very doubtful: cf. *CHD* 3.128.

20.33 — HELMET — *gurpis(s)u-*, *gursip(p)u-*, fr. Akk. *qurpisu*, a type of head- and neck-protector for men or horses; T 653-54.

20.34 — SHIELD — Luw. *palahsa-* may belong with Skt. *phálakam* 'shield, board, plank', ON *fjǫl* 'board, plank', IE **p(h)el-(H₁-)*; Bomhard, *RHA* 31 (1973): 111.

20.35 — FORTRESS — *halzi-* (HALZI), Akk. *halṣu-*. Perhaps also related are Gk. Ἆλτις, the name of the temple precinct in Olympia, and ἄλσος (< **ἄλτι̯ος) 'glade, grove' (T 141, refs.; Petersen, *Lg.* 10 [1934]: 314).

sahessar (BÀD-*essar*) is a verbal noun fr. the same *sah-* 'clog, plug, stuff up' (IE **dhyóE₂-*) seen in *sehur*, Luw. *dūr* 'crap, urine', Lat. *faeces*, etc. (4.65), thus 'shut area; stronghold', and produces denom. *sahesnai-*, *sahesn(a)eski-* 'fortify, make into a stronghold' (AI 301).

Several possibilities exist for *gurta-* 'citadel'. Though labeled semantically wanting in T 659, Sturtevant's early derivation from *kuer-*, *kur-* 'cut (off)' (*Comp. Gr.*¹ 119, 157) remains conceivable.

Most plausible seems to be a comparison with numerous Aegean and Asian place-names; e.g. Cretan and Arcadian Γόρτυν, Γόρτυς (cf. Myc. dat.-loc. *ko-tu-we*, gen. *ko-tu-wo*), Thess. Γυρτών, Phrygian Γόρδιον, Γορδιεῖον (cf. P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 31 [1951]: 11, n. 1), though further connection with Skt. *gṛhá-*, Goth. *gards* 'house', Lith. *gaȓdas* 'fold, pen', OCS *gradŭ* 'city', or Lat. *hortus*, Gk. χόρτος 'feeding-place' (beginning with Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 139, further refs. T 659) is less likely. The Mitannian place-name *Gurta* also points in the direction of Skt. *kuṭa-* 'fortress' (T 661).

20.36 — TOWER — *auri-, awari-* is a 'watch-tower', with noun-forming suffix *-ri-* (cf. *edri-* 'food', *es[sa]ri-* 'shape; fleece') on *au(s)-* 'see, watch' (15.51), with derivs. *auriyala-, auriyatalla-* 'watchman, guard' (P 232-34).

20.41 — VICTORY — Probably *tarahhuwar*, vbl. noun from *tarh-* 'overcome, conquer, be mighty' (4.81).

Lyc. *zχχãna* 'to conquer', *zχχãte* 'they conquered' is cognate with H. *zahhiya-* 'fight' (9.21; Puhvel, *Evidence* 84 = *AI* 130); cf. also *hulla-, hulliya-* 'fight, strike down' (9.21) and *(-za) tarh-* 'conquer, overcome' (4.81).

20.42 — DEFEAT (sb.) — *arpa-*, see 16.19.

20.45 — RETREAT — The verb is *appa ep(p)-* 'pull back', 11.14 (P 273).

20.46 — SURRENDER — *hink-* 'turn over, give up; sacrifice'; seemingly the verb underlying *henkan-* 'death, disease, plague' < IE *$E_2enk̂$-* (see 4.75), although a relationship to *hink-* 'bow, show reverence' (*A_1enk-*; 9.14) is also conceivable. T 246-50.

20.47 — CAPTIVE, PRISONER — *appant-* (ŠU.DIB), part. of *ep(p-),* *ap(p)-* 'seize', 11.14.

arnuwala- (NAM.RA) 'displaced person, deportee', fr. *arnu-* 'move, remove, transport, bring', etc., caus. to *ar-* 'move, stir'; see 10.61.

The etymology of ᴸᵁ*hippara-* 'prisoner' (as a social class) is disputed; cf. T 251-52; Van Windekens, *BHD … Kerns* 337-38.

20.48 — BOOTY, SPOILS — *sāru-* (denom. *saruwai-* 'plunder') was connected by Gusmani (*Lessico* 100) with *sarra-* 'divide, break off', etc. (12.232).

20.49 — AMBUSH — Possibly *senahha-, sinahha-,* of unknown origin (*EHS* 166; *Alimenta* 125).

LAW

21.11 — LAW (GENERAL = LAT. *IŪS*) — The sense is included in the verbal noun *hannessar* fr. *hanna-* 'judge, decide', 21.16.

'Right, justice' are *handatar*, vbl. noun fr. *handai-*, and *āra-*; 16.73.

21.12 — LAW (SPECIAL = LAT. *LĒX*) — *ishiul*, lit. 'bond', fr. *ishai-*, *ishiya-* 'bind' (9.16), thus 'treaty, obligation' (P 400-1).

saklai- 'custom, law, rite', 19.61.

21.13 — LAWSUIT — *hannessar*, 21.16.

21.15 — COURT — *hurki-* 'court of law, legal machinery' is an extension of the primary meaning 'wheel' (10.76), reflected in the legal phrase *hurkin halenzi*, lit. 'they start the wheel turning' = 'they begin legal proceedings', also *ANA* GIŠ/DDUBBIN *lamniyat* 'summoned to the *hurki-*' (Puhvel, *AI* 217-19; *Bi. Or.* 37 [1980]: 204, comparing the Roman *Rota*).

tuliya- 'Ratsversammlung, Gerichtssetzung', obscure (*HWb.* 228, *EHS* 170).

21.16-21.162 — JUDGE; DECIDE — The verb *hanna-*, iter. *hanniski-*, *hassiki-* (cf. Lyc. *qan-*; *qas-*), may be connected with Gk. ὄνομαι 'blame, find fault with', as in redupl. Hitt. *hanhaniya-* 'blame' (16.78); Van Brock, *RHA* 22 [1964]: 139-41), IE *$A^w_1(\acute{e})n$-o-.

Comparison with Gk. ἀναίνομαι 'spurn, reject' (Čop, *KZ* 85 [1971]: 26-30) should be rejected in view of Puhvel's equation of the Gk. form with H. *enant-* 'tamed', IE **ain-* 'be agreeable' (P 271), while analysis as a caus. to *hai-* 'believe' (EHS 562) is morphologically questionable and semantically facile. Cf. also Hier. *haniyata* 'bad, evil', via 'condemned'? (T 146-48, refs.).

The verbal noun *hannessar*, with obl. *hannesna(nt)-* and further abstracted *hannesnatar*, covers such notions as 'law; court case, lawsuit; decision, verdict', etc., through its basic sense 'judgment' (*EHS* 289, 295; Laroche, *BSL* 57 [1962]: 38-39). Sum. DI, DI.KUD, DI-*essar*, Akk. *dīnu.*

21.17 — JUDGEMENT — *hannesnant-, hannessar*, etc., 21.16.

21.18 — JUDGE — The arbiter of justice seems generally to have been the king.

21.21 — PLAINTIFF — *hannitalw(na)-* 'legal opponent', probably formed with multiple suffixes on an agent-noun **hannitalla-* fr. *hanna-* 'judge'; *EHS* 182, 193; T 148.

hantitiyatalla- is likewise an agent-noun, from the verbal cpd. *hantitiya-* 'inform, accuse', 21.31.

The Akk. legal term *BEL AWATI* 'lord of the case' yields the Hitt. loan translation *uddanas isha-* (*EHGl.* 69); similarly *hannesnas ishas* 'lord of the judgment' = *BEL DINI.*

21.23 — WITNESS — *kutruwa(n)-* (Akk. *ŠIBU, ŠEBU*), with derivs. *kutruwai-* 'bear witness', *kutruwah(h)-* 'summon as a witness', vbl. noun *kutruwatar* 'witnessing'. An ingenious early etymology (by C. H. Carruthers, *Lg.* 9 [1933]: 151-52) derived the term (as *kutru-*) from IE **kʷtr-u-* 'fourth (party to a dispute)', comparing Lat. *testis* < **tris-tis,* but was quickly superseded by a

more cogent connection with Lith. *gudrùs* 'wise, clever', *gùsti* 'practice, become used to', with the sense of the thematized Hitt. *kutruwa(n)-* thus 'expert witness' as in Goth *weitwoþs*, etc. (*DSS* 1436; cf. Pedersen, *AO* 5 [1933]: 177-79; Puhvel, *Gedenkschrift Kronasser* 182 and P s.v.).

21.24 — SWEAR — *link-* (caus. *linganu-*) 'swear', also 'swear falsely, commit perjury', may be related to Lat. *ligāre* 'bind', NE *leech (line),* as IE **leyg-, *li-n-g-,* with the sense of legal obligation in Lith. *laigõnas* 'wife's brother' (like Gk. πενθερός 'father-in-law' < **bhendh-*), Hes. λοιγωντίαν · φρατρίαν, as well as Lat. *obligāre* (*IEW* 668; Pedersen, *Lg.* 9 [1933]: 10).

lingain iya- 'make (administer or take?) an oath', *linkiya kattan dai-* 'place (words, etc.) under oath', with *lingai-* 'oath'.

huek-/huk- (iter. *huk[k]iski-*) is traditionally glossed 'swear' and compared with IE **wekʷ-* 'speak, declare' (Sturtevant, *Lg.* 6 [1930]: 226) or better Gk. αὐχέω 'brag, boast' < IE **A₁w(e)gh-* (*IEW* 348; Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4 [1959]: 35; M. Peters apud Oettinger, *Stammb.* 103, n. 34a); cf. T 255-57. These etymologies are not inconsistent with the more precise definition 'conjure, utter incantations'. A comparison with Skt. *uśíj-,* title of a priest, appeared in T. Burrow, *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* 37, while J. Holt (*Festschrift J. Friedrich* 216-19) tried to connect Goth. *weihan* 'consecrate', Lat. *victima,* intimating an ultimate identity with the root of H. *huek-* 'slaughter' (4.76); the difficulties of this approach were anticipated already by Puhvel, *LIEV* 24-25.

21.31 — ACCUSE — *hantitiya-* 'inform on, bring to justice' (cf. *hantitiyatalla-* 'informer, plaintiff') is literally 'step forward' or 'confront' (*tiya-* + *hanti*), i.e. with evidence or charges; an interpretation as dat.-loc. 'step before the face (of the judge [or the

accused?])' < *hant-* 'forehead; (face)' (*EHS* 161, T 157) seems unnecessary.

(appa) isiya(hh)- 'disclose, expose, inform on, denounce', *ishiyahhiskattalla-* 'denouncer, informer', with *isiyahh-* (22.47; P 409-13).

21.32-21.33 — Condemn; Convict — *hanna-*, 21.16.

21.34 — ACQUIT — *parkunu-* 'acquit, absolve', lit. 'make clean', fr. *parkui-* 'clean' (15.87).

huldalai- 'spare', 11.25; *haratar lā-* 'forgive', 16.69.

duddunu- 'pardon, show mercy towards', from *duddu-* 'mercy' or 'be merciful' (via denom. **dudduwai-* according to *Stammb.* 167, n. 79); cf. also *duddumar* 'mercy, grace' (Goetze, *ANET* 400; *EHS* 305, 456); source ?

21.36 — INNOCENT — *parkui-*, lit. 'clean', 15.87.

Luw. *niwalli-, niwalla-*, etym. ? (Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1: 176; *ZA* N.F. 5 [1930]: 50; *HWb.* 152).

21.37-21.38 — PENALTY, PUNISHMENT; FINE — *zankilatar*, vbl. noun from *zankilai-*, unconvincingly compared with Lat. *sanciō* 'consecrate, confirm' (Umbr. divine epithet *Sansi*) in *Stammb.* 152, n. 40.

dammesha- 'damage, act of violence; punishment', denom. *dammeshai-*, formed from *damas-, tames-* 'press, oppress', 9.342 (*EHS* 166).

sarnikzel- 'compensation', with noun-forming *-el-* on *sarnikzi, sarnink-* 'atone for, make good', 11.23 (*EHS* 325).

Lyc. *qanuweti* and *qastti* 'punish' belong with H. *hannai-* and *hasskizzi* 'judge', 21.16 (Pedersen, *Lykisch und Hethitisch* [Copenhagen, 1945], p. 26-28, 46; Puhvel, *Evidence* 84 = *AI* 130).

21.39 — PRISON, JAIL — É *KĪLI, BĪT ṢIBITTI,* É EN.NU.UN? (read *lustani-* by Laroche, see 7.22); *HWb.* 270; *EHGl.* 71.

21.41 — CRIME — *hurkel* is best connected with OE *wyrgan,* OHG *wurgen* 'strangle', ON *virgill,* OE *wurgil* 'rope', Lith. *veržiù* 'constrict', IE *H_1wer-gh-. The meaning is 'hanging matter, capital crime, abomination', with LÚ.MEŠ *hurkilas* 'criminals, demons' analogous to OE *wearg,* OHG *warg* 'robber, criminal', ON *vargr* 'wolf; outlaw (who could be killed with impunity)'. Cf. Petersen, *JAOS* 59 (1939): 179; *AI* 216-19; Bomhard, *RHA* 31 (1973): 111.
   wastai- 'sin', 16.75; *haratar* 'guilt, offense', 16.l67.

21.42 — MURDER — *kunatar* and *kuennuwar,* verbal nouns 'killing' from *kuen-* 'kill' (4.76), hence parallel to Gk. φόνος and Avest. *jənərā-* (*DSS* 1454-56, T 604-6).
   ishanas uttar 'a matter of blood, case of murder', cf. *eshar iya-* 'commit murder', lit. 'make (shed) blood', like Akk. *dāmi epēšu* (Kronasser, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 275-76, 286; *EHS* 125; P 305-8).

21.43 — ADULTERY — Possibly *pupuwalatar,* fr. ᴸᵁ*pupu-* 'lover, paramour', compared as a "Lallwort" with Akk. *bubu* 'beloved' in *HWb.* 173.

21.44 — RAPE — *wen-* was compared with Skt. *vánati* 'wish, love, desire', Lat. *venus* 'love', etc. (IE *wen-* 'desire, strive for', *IEW* 1146) by Petersen, *AO* 9 [1937]: 213.

21.45 — THEFT — *dayawar, taya(z)ili-, tayazzilatar,* verbal nouns from *tāya-* 'steal', 11.56.

21.47 — PERJURY — *lingai-* 'oath' can also connote 'false oath, perjury'; likewise *link-* 'swear (falsely)' (21.24, 21.25; *CHD* 3.63, 69).

Luw. *lawarr-* 'despoil, strip', also 'transgress an oath' (9.26, *CHD* 3.49).

RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION

22.12 — GOD — To the lexical descendants of IE *dyew-, *deiw-o- Hittite adds *siu-* (DINGIR), with variants *siun(i)-*, *siwann(i)-*, *siwant-* and adj. *siunalli-* (= Lyd. *ŝiuvali-* [Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.* 93]). Cf. also Luw. *Tiyaz* 'sun, sun-god' = H. *siwat(t)-* 'day' (14.41). *HWb.* 194-95.

A separate stem, of obscure origin, is seen in Luw. *massani-*, *massana-*, Lyc. *mahãna-*, Hier. GOD-*ni/na-* (cf. Laroche, *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6 [1979]: 107-8).

On the many individual Hittite gods and the general aspect of Hittite religion see e.g. Gurney, *The Hittites* 132-69.

22.13 — TEMPLE — No compelling Indo-European etymology has been recorded for neut. ᴱ*karimmi-*, comm. ᴱ*karimna-* (É DINGIR[-*LIM*]). Suggestions include OCS *chramŭ* 'house', Skt. *harmyá-* 'palace, mansion' < IE *gr̥m-, *ghorm- (Machek, *Die Sprache* 4 [1958]: 74) and Lat. *caerimonia* 'holiness; reverence; sacred ceremony' (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 8); also Arm. *xoran* 'altar, tabernacle' (Jahukyan, *Hayerenə* 157); see T 507-8. Agent-noun ᴸᵁ*karimnala-* 'temple servant'.

22.14 — ALTAR — *istanana-* (ZAG.GAR.RA) is probably from IE *stā- 'stand', with nasal stem as in OCS *stanǫ*, Arm. *stanam*, Lat. *-stināre*, etc. 'place, stand, (af)fix' (*IEW* 1008) and *-no*-suffix, cf. Skt.

sthắnam, Av. *stāna-,* Lith. *stónas,* OCS *stanŭ* 'stand(ing place)'; P 461-63.

Lat. *āra-* matches H. *hassa-* 'hearth', 7.31.

22.15 — SACRIFICE, OFFERING — *ispanduzzi-* 'libation (vessel)', from *sippand-, ispand-* 'pour, libate', 9.35.

maltessar 'recitation, vow, votive offering', vbl. noun fr. *mald-* 'recite; vow' (22.17; *CHD* 3.132-35, 136-37).

22.16 — WORSHIP — *hink-* 'sacrifice', primarily 'hand over, surrender', see 20.46 and 4.75.

sippand-, ispand- 'pour a libation', 9.35.

22.17 — PRAY — *mūgāi-* matches Gk. μύζω 'murmur', Lat. *mūgiō* 'bellow, roar, rumble, groan' (Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 140); IE **m(e)wg-* or **mūg-,* perhaps ultimately of imitative origin.

mald-, malda- 'recite', also 'vow, promise' (*CHD* 3.132-35), compared with Lith. *meldžiù, meĺsti,* OCS *molsti* 'beg', *molitva* 'prayer', etc. (cf. *DSS* 1471) since Benveniste (*BSL* 33 [1932]: 133-35; cf. Laroche, *Prière hittite* 8-13), may be the source of Arm. *maĺthem* 'wish, pray' (Schultheiss, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 225).

22.18 — PRIEST — The generic term for the many types of priest is ᴸᵁ*sankunni(yant)-* (ᴸᵁSANGA), from Akk. *šangū.*

Lyc. *kumaza,* 22.19.

22.19 — HOLY, SACRED — Hittite words corresponding most closely to the modern sense of 'sacred' or 'holy' are mainly those for 'clean, pure', in ritual context; thus *suppi-, parkui-,* 15.87.

From Lycian come the terms *kumaza* 'ἰερεύς', *kumezi-* 'θύειν', *kumaha-* 'κατιερώθη', *kumehi-* 'ἰερεῖον', and *kumeziye* 'βωμός', corresponding to Luw. *kummai-* 'sacred, pure' (cf. Laroche,

Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendues des séances 1974: 723; *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6 [1979]: 98, 108-10). Etymology ?

OCS *svetŭ*, Lith. *šveñtas*, Avest. *spǝnta-* are cognate with Hitt. *kunna-* 'right, correct', etc., 12.41.

22.24 — CURSE — *hurt-, huwart-* 'to curse' (part. 'accursed', nominal *hurta-, hurtai-* 'a curse') is analogous to OPruss. *wert-* 'swear', Lat. *verbum*, Goth. *waurd*, NE *word*, from the IE root *H_1wer-* 'speak (solemnly), declare', etc. (*IEW* 1162-63), seen also in Hitt. *weriya-* 'call, summon' (18.41); cf. T 308-12. The preservation of the initial laryngeal in *hurt-* vs. its loss in *weriya-* is not easily explained, but may be comparable with *pe-hute* 'take away' vs. *u-wate* 'bring' (10.62).

22.31 — HEAVEN — *nepis(ant)-* 'sky, heavens' (AN, Akk. *šamū*), 1.51 (cf. Gusmani, *Studi … V. Pisani* 504-5 and n. 12).

22.32 — HELL — The polar opposite of *nepis-* was characterized as *dankui tekan* 'the dark earth', the abode of men (cf. Hoffner, *JNES* 27 [1968]: 65, n. 33-34).

22.35 — DEMON (EVIL SPIRIT) — *kallar uttar*, literally 'nefarious being', cf. *kallar-* 'monstrous' (16.72) and *uttar* 'thing' (9.90), shares an ancient nuance of the supernatural or maleficent in IE *wekt(i)-*, as shown by the cognate ON *véttr* '(supernatural) being', OE, OHG *wiht* (esp. OHG *lêda wihti*, NHG *bösewicht* 'villain'), a connotation which survives even into the Lesbian Γέλλω, an 'evil spirit' (*AI* 221-22).

tarpi- (Akk. *šēdu*), a usually malevolent spirit often invoked together with the mostly benign *annari-* (22.46), is of unknown origin, but traced as a loanword into Hebrew *terāphîm* by Hoffner, *JNES* 27 (1968): 61-68.

22.37 — IDOL — Images, models, and statues of divinities were ubiquitous in cult usage, and were commonly denoted by DINGIR-*LIM-tar* (= *siyuniyatar* 'godhead, deity', abstract noun from *siu[ni]-* 'god' [22.12]; cf. NHG *götze*). Cf. also *esri-* (ALAM) and *sena-*, 9.83.

22.42 — MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT, SORCERY — *alwanzatar* (UH₄-*tar*), *alwanzessar*, *alwanzahha-* 'sorcery, witchcraft', *alwanzena-*, *alwanzannas* LÚ-*as* 'sorcerer', *alwanzahh-* 'bewitch', all from a stem *alwanza-*. Connection with Gk. ἀλύω 'be beside oneself' (E. Polomé, *La Nouvelle Clio* 6 [1954]: 45-55, adducing also Latv. *aluôt* 'be distraught' and Runic *alu,* a magical term) is supported with reservations in P 43-46, suggesting a base-meaning 'possessed'; cf. also Puhvel, *JAOS* 97 (1977): 599.

uddaniya- and *utnalliya-, uddanalliya-* 'work magic', denominative from the oblique stem *uddan-, utn-* (and suffixed *utnalla-*) of *uttar* 'thing; matter; word, speech' (9.90); Oettinger, *Stammb.* 353).

22.43 — WITCH, SORCERESS — *alwanzenas* SAL 'woman of witchcraft'. A frequently encountered but not clearly understood magical practitioner is the ᔊᴬᴸŠU.GI, lit. 'old woman'.

22.45 — GHOST, SPECTER, PHANTOM — The 'spirit' or 'ghost' of a dead person is *akkant-* (GIDIM), part. of *ak(k)-* 'die; be killed', 4.75.

22.46 — GUARDIAN SPIRIT — Something analogous to Lat. *genius* 'generative force' or the like may be present in H. *annari-* (Akk. *lamassu-*), the personification of 'strength, vigor' with southern cultural influence indicated in the Luwian form *annari-*

vs. Hitt. *innara-* (4.81), seen in Hattic ᴰ*Inara-* = ᴰLAMA 'protector-god'; see P 62-63 and refs.

22.47 — OMEN — *sagai-* (IZKIM) fr. *sak(k)-* 'know', 17.17; cf. Ital. *presagio,* etc. (*DSS* 1504).

A verb *isiya-* 'appear, be revealed' is indicated by *isiyatar* 'sign, revelation' and fact. *isiyahh-* 'disclose, expose, reveal, announce; inform on'. The etymon may be IE **edh-yo-* (cf. Skt. *ắha,* Av. *āδa* 'spoke', OPers. *azdā* 'announcement', possibly also Gk. ὄσσα 'voice' < **odhyA$_2$*), or alternatively **E$_1$eĝyo-,* with cognates in Gk. ἦ 'he said', Lat. *aiō* 'affirm', *prōdigium* 'portent', *Aius* (*Locūtius*); cf. P 409-13.

An occasional alternate reading of IZKIM is H. *ilessar, ilissar, ilassar, elassar* 'sign', of unknown origin (P 357-58, T 355).

ariyasessar 'oracle', perhaps *ariya-* + *asessar* 'place, site', arises from *ariya-, arai-* 'consult an oracle' (generally accomplished by the observation of omina; cf. Gurney, *The Hittites* 156-60), probably related to Lat. *ōrō* (< *ōrāyō*) 'address the gods', *ōrāculum;* cf. P 136-38 and refs.

'To determine, find out' by means of an oracle is *handai-,* primarily 'arrange, set in order, set straight' (cf. 16.73).

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