THE NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE NEUTER PLURAL IN ANATOLIAN

Janet Elaine Gertz

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ABSTRACT

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James A. M.

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This investigation into the formations and history of the nominative-accusative neuter plural in the Anatolian branch of IE-Europeoan. The central five chapters contain presentations of neuter plurals, accompanied by philological discussion. Forms have been collected from all texts known to be from Old or Middle Hittite, from a sampling of Late Hittite texts, and, as far as possible, from Paleo- Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian, Lycian A, and Lydian. The Lycian data proved inconclusive for purposes of comparison.

In the final chapter comparison of the attested neuter plurals is carried out, with the following results.
This dissertation investigates the formations and history of the nominative-accusative neuter plural in the Anatolian branch of Indo-European. The central five chapters contain attestations of neuter plurals, accompanied by philological discussion. Forms have been collected from all texts identified by their ductus as Old or Middle Hittite, from a sampling of Late Hittite texts, and, insofar as possible, from Palaic, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian, Lycian A, and Lydian. The Lydian data proved inconclusive for purposes of comparison.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In writing this dissertation I have enjoyed the help and support of a number of people. I would like to express particular appreciation to Gary Beckman, who has been extremely generous of his time and knowledge, and to Anna Horpurg Davis and Stanley Issler, each of whom has provided invaluable instruction and assistance. My thanks are also due to Leon Serafim and Alexander Lehrman, whose encouragement and criticism have been warmly appreciated. Above all, I must thank Warren Cowgill, to whose guidance this dissertation owes its very existence.

Dedicated to my father.
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A. CORPUS OF THE HITTITE TEXTS STUDIED FOR THIS STUDY

B. HITITIAN LINGUISTIC UNITS WHICH ARE NOT NEUTER PLURAL

C. HITITIAN LINGUISTIC UNITS WHICH ARE NOT NEUTER SINGULAR
My aim in this dissertation is to investigate the formation and history of the nominative-accusative neuter plural in the Anatolian branch of Indo-European in order to ascertain what neuter plurals are attested, and, as far as possible, to explain the development of the neuter plural in terms either of Hittite or of Indo-European. The resulting PA forms have then been measured against those generally reconstructed for Indo-European as a whole, and, where discrepancies have arisen, a set of common reconstructions valid for both Anatolian and the other branches has been suggested.

The data obtained from each language have been compared to determine what formations can be reconstructed for Proto-Anatolian (*A), with particular attention being given to the ending -1, which has never received a satisfactory explanation in terms either of Hittite or of Indo-European. The

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Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

My aim in this dissertation is to investigate the formations and history of the nominative-accusative neuter plural in the Anatolian branch of Indo-European in order to ascertain what neuter plurals are attested, and, insofar as is possible, to explain their origins and development. To this end I have made synchronic analyses of the neuter plurals found in the better-known Anatolian languages, based on a close reading of as many of the extant texts as possible. In the case of Hittite, I have charted the development of the neuter plural from Old to Late Hittite by collecting and comparing forms from each historical period.

The data obtained from each language have been compared to determine what formations can be reconstructed for Proto-Anatolian (PA), with particular attention being given to the ending \(-i\)
, which has never received a satisfactory explanation in terms either of Hittite or of Indo-European. The resulting PA forms have then been measured against those generally reconstructed for Indo-European as a whole, and, where discrepancies have arisen, a set of common reconstructions valid for both Anatolian and the other branches has been suggested.
The Anatolian branch of Indo-European comprises Hittite (Hit.), Palaic (Pal.), Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian (CL and HL), Lycian (Lyc.), and Lydian (Lyd.), as well as other possibly related languages, such as Carian, which are still too poorly understood to provide useful information for a study of this nature. Of the six languages to be discussed here, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian and Lycian together form a separate sub-branch. Further details of the network of relationships among Hittite, Luwian, Palaic, and Lydian have yet to be fully worked out. There is a tendency on the part of some scholars to connect Palaic more closely to Luwian than to Hittite, but there is little consensus about the placement of Lydian. It may form a separate sub-branch, or it may perhaps show closer ties to Hittite.

Of the languages attested in the first millennium BC, Lycian is attested from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC in two dialects, of which Lycian A is considerably better understood than Lycian B. Most of the approximately 150 inscriptions, in the main grave inscriptions written in an

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1 For a recent discussion of Carian and other little known languages of Anatolia, see. B. Rosenkranz 1978. For bibliographies of Lycian, Lydian, Palaic, and Luwian see the relevant sections of Chapter 5.

2 See E. Laroche 1957a, 1960a, 1967; Ph. Houwink ten Cate 1961; J.D. Hawkins et al. 1973; Hawkins and A. Morpurgo Davies 1975. I use the term Luwian (Luw.) only to refer to that branch of Anatolian containing Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian and Lycian, and use the full names when referring to the individual languages.

epichoric alphabet, are in Lycian A. Both dialects were spoken in southwest Anatolia. Lydian, spoken in western Anatolia, is attested in the seventh to fourth centuries BC. Most of the 100 or so texts, written in an epichoric alphabet, are grave inscriptions, so that, as with Lycian, vocabulary and syntax are fairly limited. Lydian is in many ways aberrant compared with the other languages under discussion. The third language attested mostly in the first millennium is Hieroglyphic Luwian, also less accurately known as Hieroglyphic Hittite. Although seals and a few stone inscriptions from the second millennium are written in the same script, and presumably in the same language, they are difficult to interpret, and our real knowledge of Hieroglyphic Luwian comes from approximately 250 monumental inscriptions and half a dozen letters on lead strips dating from the tenth to the eighth centuries BC. As a result of the unique script many points about the language are still obscure, although recent investigation has clarified a number of matters. Hieroglyphic Luwian was spoken in south central Anatolia and northern Syria.

Of the second millennium languages, Cuneiform Luwian, spoken in south central Anatolia and recorded during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, is relatively well attested. Perhaps 1000 words are known from passages in ritual and mythological texts, some set within Hittite contexts, in addition to the so-called "glossenkeil words" used in isolation in Hittite texts. Due to the ritual and magi-
tival nature of the Cuneiform Luwian texts, the meaning of much of the vocabulary remains obscure. Palaic, attested from the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BC, was spoken in northern Anatolia. Only about a dozen cuneiform texts are extant, containing perhaps 300 words in all, and as the texts are of ritual nature, again much of the material is not well understood.

In contrast to these five languages, Hittite is both well attested and well understood, having a corpus of thousands of tablets representing a wide array of genres. Three historical periods have been distinguished, Old Hittite (OH, 17th-16th century BC), Middle Hittite (MH, 15th century), and Late Hittite (LH, 14th-13th century); a few names and other lexical items are attested at Kültepe from the nineteenth century. It is due to the limited quantity of materials from the other languages, and to the unfortunately low degree of our understanding of them, that the bulk of this dissertation deals with Hittite. Data from the other languages can frequently be used only through comparison with Hittite.

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For each of the six languages under discussion nominative-accusative neuter plurals have been cited. In the case of Hittite most types of neuter plural formations were already known to B. Hrozný in 1917, although a few types have been discovered since. In summarizing the results of more than sixty years of study we find the following methods of forming Hittite neuter plurals. (Forms are not separated here by period of attestation.) The plural of nouns and adjectives may be marked by an inflectional ending, by morphophonemic alternation in the stem, or by a combination of the two. It may also be left unmarked, that is, identical on the surface to the singular. Finally, a plural of any of these types may in writing carry the ideogram plural determinative "H.I.A" or "MEŠ." 

Two endings are used, -a ("a-plural") and -i ("i-plural"). The a-plural is used with u- and i-stem adjectives, where it follows the full grade of the stem suffix (āssaw-a, suppay-a, and by regular sound change suppa), and with u-stem nouns, where it follows the zero grade of the stem suffix (genuw-a). There is no parallel i-stem noun type *upatiy-a. Among the consonant stems, the a-plural is regularly used by both nouns and adjectives ending in stops (aniyatt-a, humant-a), and occasionally by those ending in resonants (saramn-a, huhupal-a, tahtumar-a); however, it

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5 In broad transcription of Akkadian and Sumerian I distinguish š from Š, but in transcribing Hittite, Palaic, and Cuneiform Luwian broadly I use only š, since there is no phonologic distinction between ş and š in these languages. I write h for ħ throughout.
never occurs with r/n-stems.

The ending -i is of much less general use. It occurs only with t-, l-, r-, and r/n-stems (aniyatt-i, ishiul-i, kurur-i, arkuwarr-i). A few nt-stem forms such as appant-i are also cited in the literature.

The morphophonemic marking of the neuter plural consists in plene spelling of the stem-final syllable of the word ("plene plural"), thus ut-tar sg. but ud-da-a-ar pl. This formation is used for r- and r/n-stems, e.g. tahatumar, uddār. In one case a change in the root vocalism accompanies the plene plural, viz. wätar sg. but widār pl. A single u-stem also forms its plural in this way, āssū contrasting with singular āssu.

It is also possible for morphophonemic marking to cooccur with an ending. Plene plus ending is found in kallār-a, hūppār-i, while zero grade of the stem suffix plus the ending -a is found in saramn-a, singular saraman.

Many neuter plurals carry no marking at all, but rather are identical to the bare stem of the word. This is the regular formation for a-stems, which on the surface can be analyzed as stem plus zero, thus dannatta-ū. The plural is distinguished from the singular by the singular ending -n, e.g. dannatta-n. The a-stems are the only neuters with a marking in the singular; all other unmarked plurals are identical with their singulars. They occur with i- and u-stems (suppi, genu), resonant stems (wastul, kallar, asawar, maskan) and with a few nt-stems (wetan).

Neuter plural pronoun formations are of two types. In
the first the plural is identical with the singular. This is true of the enclitic -at, used for the plural and for the common gender after the Old Hittite period, the enclitic possessives -met, -tet, -set, and -smet, and the partially pronominally inflected tamai. The second type ends in -e, and includes the enclitic -e, ke, ape, kue, and kuekka/kuekki. In the case of ka- the singular ki can in Late Hittite interchange with the plural ke, so that in effect either form can be used for either number. ke/kü, ape, and kue also may be used as common gender forms.

None of the other Anatolian languages shows as wide a range of forms for the neuter plural as does Hittite, due at least in part to the small amount of material preserved. The a-stems, as in Hittite, end in -a-0; the only other widely attested ending is -a. In Palaic only -a is well established as a neuter plural marker for nouns and adjectives, but then only a- and nt-stems are securely attested in the neuter plural, e.g. pulasina, suwanta. Attested pronoun forms are the enclitic -e and perhaps apa. In Cuneiform Luwian -a is the only ending for nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. Examples of attested forms include a-stem uwarsa, i-stem adjective kisamma, u-stem noun taparuwa, nt-stem āssanta, n-stem tatariyamna, pronoun zā. Hieroglyphic Luwian offers a wider spectrum of formations. Nouns and adjectives differ, i-stem adjectives ending in either -a or -aya, while nouns of all classes end in -a,
except for a few n-stems which end in -i. Examples include a-stem adjective *tatiya*, i-stem noun *tumiyâ* and adjective *sanawa/sanawayâ*, nt-stem REL-ša(n)ta, n-stem *parna/parni*, and pronouns -ata, zaya.

The data from the remaining two languages are not easy to interpret. The Lycian neuter plural appears to end in -a in all instances, e.g. a-stem *mara*, i-stem adjective *ttarâha*, consonant-stem *hrûmada*, pronouns *ebeija, kbiya*. In Lydian there is a small class of nouns which end in -a in the nominative and perhaps the accusative, and it is claimed that these nouns are, or are derived from, neuter plurals. Pronouns which agree with these nouns are endingless. Examples include *anlola, labta*, endingless pronoun *es*.

We find, then, at least a nominative-accusative neuter plural ending -a proposed for all six languages, with wider possibilities provided by Hittite and to a lesser extent Hieroglyphic Luwian. These formations are all examined in detail in the succeeding chapters, and compared with reconstructed Indo-European forms in Chapter 6. That the Anatolian neuter plural is closely related to the Indo-European neuter plural is shown not only by great resemblance in shape (compare Hit. a-stem *alpa* to Lat. *iuga*, OCS *iga*; nt-stem *hûmanta* to Gk. *phêronta*, etc.), but also in usage. J. Schmidt in 1889 demonstrated that the Indo-European neuter plural was in origin a singular collective, basing his

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6 For details see Chapter 6.
argument on, among other things, the development of old collectives into singul ars (Gk. ἰἀδός, σκόρ, Go. nāmō, wato) as well as plurals, and by the agreement of the neuter plural in some languages with singular verbs (Gk. πάντα rheî). The latter phenomenon is also characteristic of the Anatolian languages; consider Hit. nu kūrūri HIL. "Kuit meggāvā nininkan esta 'And since many enemies had arisen ...', Pal. ῥήλια ἡάρι 'The ῥήλια are warm', CL wārsa-tta zīla ID-i anda nāwa iti 'The drops henceforth do not go to the river'.

However, before the times of attestation of the Indo-European languages these old collectives had become true plurals, as shown by the use of the same oblique case endings as the masculine and feminine plural rather than singular (e.g. Lat. nominibus, Gk. onōmasi, Skt. namābhis). Only lexically bound traces of collectivity remain, such as Lat. loca 'region' versus loci '(individual) places' and Gk. mēra 'mass of thigh bones covered with fat' versus merōi '(individual) thighs'.

In general, Anatolian, like the other Indo-European languages, seems to have given up the original collective sense of the neuter plural. The old collective has adopted plural endings; thus Hit. genuwas, Pal. wulāsinas, HL DOMUS-nanza, all dative plural. It can be used with nu-

7 The Lycian and Lydian data are too unclear to determine whether they follow this rule. Hieroglyphic Luwian does not distinguish in spelling between the third person singular and plural of verbs.
merals where it is clear that we are dealing with a number of individuals and not with a number of collectivities. On the other hand, semantically it is not always clear whether a given neuter plural is really plural. hastai can as easily mean 'skeleton' as 'bones', and alpa can as easily mean 'cloud mass' as '(individual) clouds'. In other cases any difference in meaning between the singular and plural is very small, as when uttar sg. and uddār pl. are used indifferently in sentences such as 'He heard my word(s)'.

Further, real derivational collectives similar to Lat. loca have been cited, e.g. aniyatta and alpa, where a neuter and a common gender noun to the same stem coexist, although in most cases it is not readily apparent that there is any semantic difference between the two. aniyaz 'performance' and aniyatta 'adornment' are the major exception, but in this case a neuter singular aniyat also exists, so we may simply have two separate derivatives from the verb, rather than a collective and a non-collective.

However, the neuter plural is a true plural in instances such as wedār kue ANA URULIM arahza nat udatten sarākan kuit wātar nat lē udatteni 'Bring the waters which are outside the city! Do not bring the water which is up (in the city)! where the single city water source is clearly contrasted with the numerous sources of water outside the city (see no. 278.c). We may say then that the Anatolian neuter plural, like that of the other Indo-European languages, has

become a true plural, but that it retains strong traces of its collective origin, perhaps somewhat stronger than in Greek, Latin, and other Indo-European languages.

One other aspect of the neuter plural may be mentioned in this connection. A number of scholars⁹ maintain that the neuter gender was gradually being lost, and that as part of this process the distinction between singular and plural neuter was being given up. It is true that in certain classes of Hittite neuters the singular and plural are identical as the result of various phonological changes; cf. telipuri, minumar, -met, all both singular and plural. However, wherever a distinction between the numbers survived into Hittite (e.g. uddār vs. uttar, meggaya vs. mekki, kue vs. kuit), that distinction was maintained throughout the history of Hittite. In fact, several times LH copies of earlier texts replace unmarked plurals by marked ones (see nos. 51.a.2, 56), although the opposite might be expected if number distinctions were being lost. In Palaic and Luwian all securely attested neuter plurals are marked vis à vis their singulars. It is clear that whatever other changes occurred in Anatolian, loss of number in the neuter was not one of them.

The nominative-accusative neuter plurals which I have found in my survey of Palaic, Luwian, and Lydian are discussed in Chapter 5, while the forms found in Hittite texts -------

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⁹ E.g., H. Pedersen 1938:19; J. Friedrich 1960:43; H. Kronasser 1962:110. See also no. 262.
are discussed in Chapters 2 through 4. Chapter 2 treats texts written in the old ductus, Chapter 3 texts written in the middle ductus, both those composed in the Old Hittite period and those composed in the Middle Hittite period, and Chapter 4 treats all texts written in neither the old nor the middle ductus, regardless of the original date of the composition. The latter chapter contains not only texts of known date of composition, but also texts whose original date of composition is unknown and whose script is neither old nor middle ductus. In other words, my basic criterion for dating any given tablet is the time at which it was inscribed and not the time at which its contents were first composed. This eliminates the danger of mistaking later forms for early ones due to scribes’ use of contemporary forms when copying old compositions. It of course cannot prevent us from mistaking long dead forms as still active where scribes have simply copied older compositions verbatim. However, the latter risk is considerably less important in investigating the origins and development of neuter plural forms.

10 The contents may of course have been composed during the Old Hittite period or at some earlier date.

11 I use the following designations: OH = a tablet in old ductus; MH = one in middle ductus; LH = one not in old or middle ductus; LMH = one from the end of the MH period; ELH = one from the beginning of the LH period; MH* = a copy in middle ductus of an OH composition; LH* = a copy in late ductus of an OH composition; LH** = a copy in late ductus of a MH composition.

In my survey of the Hittite material I have endeavored to include every known text written in the old or middle ductus, basing my corpora on those of F. Starke [1977:10-11] and E. Neu [1980a] for Old Hittite, and G. Beckman [personal communication] for Middle Hittite. In the case of Late Hittite, however, I have made no attempt to be exhaustive, due to the sheer bulk of material available. Rather, I have limited my research to those texts readily obtainable in transliteration, especially historical texts which can be assigned dates of composition in the Late Hittite period. Even with this limitation my Late Hittite corpus far outweighs those of Old and Middle Hittite combined. Nevertheless, it is the material from the earlier periods which is of particular importance for this study.

I employ several criteria for considering a word to be a nominative-accusative neuter plural. First, the word may have a marked form of the type discussed above, e.g. assawa, widar. Second, given that it is known to be neuter through use of the same form as both nominative and accusative and through failure to use common gender endings, it may be identified as plural if marked with HI.A or MEŠ, or if it occurs in a context which clearly demands a plural. Third, it may agree with a neuter plural identified in one of these manners.

This leaves a number of ambiguous forms. If a case can

13 A complete list of tablets read for this study can be found in Appendix A.
be made for their being neuter plurals, I have included them in the chapters below. Also discussed are a number of forms which have been cited in the literature as neuter plurals but which I judge to be in fact singular or common gender, or both (see Appendix B). Within each chapter words are dealt with by stem class, following the order used in J. Friedrich 1960, ending with a section for words whose stem class cannot be determined (I have numbered consecutively all the words discussed, ignoring chapter and section divisions). For each word every attestation is given in full, in the order of texts provided in E. Laroche's Catalogue (CTH) [1971]. Where a given sentence must be cited more than once, cross-references to the first citation are provided and the sentence is not repeated. Transliteration and translations are my own if no other source is cited in the discussion or in the full listing of the corpus in Appendix A. Numbering of texts and identifications of duplicates (cited within parentheses following the main citation) is in accord with CTH as modified in Laroche 1972:94-133, E. Neu 1980a, and the various fascicles of KUB and KBo published after CTH.
2.1 I-STEMS

nouns:

1. uktūri - 'eternal'

a. CTH 416 KBo XVII 1 III 1-2 ma-a-a[h-ha-an-da ḫUTU-uış
DIM-aš ne-e-pī-iš te-e-[kán-na ar] uk-tu-u-ri-th.'As the sun god, the storm god, the sky [and] the earth (are) eternal...''

(OH KBo XVII 3+ II 15'-III 1 ma-a-an ḫUTU DIM ne-e-pī-iš te-e-kán-na [uk-tu-u-]ri-e-eš)

Originally KBo XVII 1+, like KBo XVII 3+, had nominative plural common uktūriōs, agreeing with the common gender nouns, but the last two signs have been erased. The scribe may have felt that it should agree with the nearest word or words, nēpis tēkanna, in which case uktūri is either neuter singular agreeing with tēkan or plural agreeing with both, or the scribe may be using the neuter singular collectively with a group of nouns in both genders, as is often done with pronouns (cf. no. 27). If plural, uktūri contrasts with āsū (no. 5) in having a short final vowel. uktūri deviates from normal Hittite adjective inflection

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in having zero grade of the stem throughout its paradigm; compare adjective salli, sallayas but noun upati, upatiyas to uktūri, uktūrias. Is uktūri in fact a noun? There are a number of contexts where it clearly has a meaning 'pyre' or the like and is arguably a noun (cf. Otten 1958b:141, von Schuler 1965:174, and see no. 177). Further, in the sentence above and in the other attestation which I have found where uktūri agrees with neuters (see no. 91), it is predicative, leaving open the possibility that it is a noun standing in apposition rather than a predicative adjective. Arguing against its being a noun are the facts that uktūri is attested in both genders and that it acts as an adverb (see Otten 1958b:141, 144). These are both characteristics of adjectives. However, since it formally follows the noun pattern, and since it appears to be a noun in at least some contexts, I will here treat uktūri among the nouns.

adjectives:

2. mekki- 'much, many'

a. CTH 291 sect. 47b KBo VI 2 II 45-46 ták-ku LŪ GİŞ TUKUL-aš A.ŠAHI.Ĥ-ŠU hu-u-ma-an-da-an ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši lu-uz-zi ka[r-pī]-iz-zi ták-ku A.ŠAHI.Ĥ-na me-ik-ki-i wa-a-ši 'If someone buys all of a worker's field, he carries out the compulsory service. But if he only buys a lot of the field...'

C. Watkins [1981 forthcoming] takes mekki as plural 'lots' rather than as singular 'a lot' based on its final long vowel. He assumes that since the final plene vowel of āssū...
(no. 5) marks the plural in contrast to singular āssu, so also should it mark plural mekkī in contrast to singular mekki. However, later in the same text mekki is used in the same type of context but without the final plene (IV 42-43, 46 takku mekki taįzzi 'If he steals a lot'), as is tēpu (ibid. takku tēpu taįzzi 'If he steals a little'), again without the plene. Since A.ŠAH.A is singular in every attestation in the OH copy of the Laws, interpreting mekkī as plural carries even less weight than it might if we could take the phrase as 'many of the fields'. The supposed parallel that Watkins presents of plural meggaya with a singular noun (see no. 183) is not in fact parallel at all since the noun in question, Ḫ-NU-TEH.A, is frequently found in agreement with neuter plurals and since the context is quite different. mekkī therefore seems unlikely to be plural. It may be remembered that the use of the plene is not entirely consistent even in Old Hittite; cf. OH hāssi beside hassī.  

3. (DUG) palhi- 'kettle'

a. CTH 733 KUB XXXI 143 II 22-23 GAL šu-ūṣ-ki-ši
   pal-ha-e-á HI.A GAL šu-ūṣ-ki-ši 'You keep filling large [ ] (And) you keep filling large kettles.'

According to E. Laroche [1947:206] palhi- exhibits both a- and i-stem forms, and both neuter and common gender:

palhan  acc. sg. c. (agreeing with hūmandan, LH KUB XVII 5

This unique a-stem form of palhi- may be due to misinterpretation by the copyist of i-stem neuter plural palha as a-stem.
I 11); palhi acc. sg. ntr. (KBo III 7 16 ff.); palhaes nom. pl. c. (MH* KUB XXXIII 66 II 9); palhies nom. pl. c. (LH** KUB XXXIII 54+ III 5); palhiesnom. pl. c. (LH** KUB XXXIII 8 III 7-8); palhi nom-acc. ntr. pl. (MH KUB XVII 10 IV 15); palha19 acc. pl. ntr.? (LH KUB XVII 6 I 6). To Laroche’s list may be added: palhIs?20 nom. sg. c. (KUB XLIV 56 Rs. 8); palhin acc. sg. c. (ibid. Rs. 11).

Laroche transliterates the OH attestation pal-ha-eA HI.A GAL. In form palhae is irregular as both an i- and an a-stem nominative-accusative plural, but would be proper for an ai-stem. The bulk of the other attestations are i-stem in form; only palhaes is interpretable as ai-stem, but even this is a permissible i-stem adjective form (cf. meggaeas, sallaes). Further, I know of no other combination of Hittite and Sumerian parallel to palhaeA HI.A GAL, but only palhiHI.A or DUGHI.A. Therefore I read palhaeaHI.A with Friedrich [1954:156], and take <-aea> as -aya with <e> for <ya>, as in <a-ap-pa-e-a> for appaya (OH

17 Laroche calls this singular, but judging from the plural verb and the use of -smit it ought to be plural. (For this infrequent i-stem adjective plural, cf. Friedrich 1960:47). Since in the LH** duplicate KUB XXXIII 4+ IV 11 the verb is not singular as it should be with a neuter subject, palhi there is no doubt an error for palhis.

18 Again Laroche calls the form singular despite the use of -smet which shows it to be plural.

19 This duplicate of KUB XVII 5 I 11 above is broken and preserves only palha humano[- (actually huma[ma]n[-)]. palha may be a scribal error for palhan agreeing with humano[dan] or plural agreeing with humano[da]. Three kettles are mentioned earlier in the text.

I interpret this -aya as the adjectival neuter plural ending rather than as -a plus -ya 'and' because I know of no parallels for the use of H.I.A after the enclitic.

4. *suppi-* 'holy; ritually pure (meat)'

a. CTH 627 KBo XVI 71

1. IV 18° GUD.MAH 10 UDUHI.A šu-up-pa-aš-mi-it an-[da-ma]
   bulls, ten sheep, their meat [']

2. IIII 9° x šu-up-pa-e-a zi[-

Since the context is broken, it is impossible to determine whether this is *suppa* followed by -ya 'and', but it seems likely since (UZU) *suppa* is attested three other times in the text. ²¹

3. IV 20°] 2 GUD.MAH 10 UDUHI.A šu-up-pa-aš!'-me-it
   an-[da-ma] 'Two bulls, ten sheep, their meat ['

b. CTH 631 KBo XVII 11

1. IV 24° LÜ.MEŠ MUHALDIM an-da ú-en-zi ta šu-up-pa
d[a-an-zi] 'The cooks come in. And they [take] the
   meat.'

   (LH* KBo XVII 74+ IV 31°-32° šu-up-pa)

2. IV 29° UGULA LÜ.MEŠ MUHALDIM ū LÜ.MEŠ MUHALDIM šu-up-pa
ti-an-zi 'The head cook and the cooks set down the
   meat.'

   (LH* KBo XVII 74+ IV 36° š]u-up-pa)

²¹ On the spelling <aea> for aya see no. 3 above, and note that <a-ap-pa-e-a> also has -ya 'and' after a word ending in -a.
c. CTH 665 ABoT 35+ Vs. 5' nu šu-up-pa ut-ta-a-ar [And
holy words [°a-]

d. no CTH number KBo XXV 24 Vs? 12' UDU]HI. A-aš šu-up-pa
t[a-] the meat of [sheep]
UZU suppā is i-stem at least in Late Hittite (cf. gen. pl.
UZU suppayaś). However, I have found no oblique cases in any
OH text. There remains a slight possibility, therefore,
that suppā in the meaning 'pure meat' was originally an a-
or perhaps consonant-stem noun related to the adjective
suppi- 'pure' and later was reinterpreted as i-stem based on
the ambiguity of i-stem adjective forms with -a- from -aya-.
neuter plural" to the adjective suppi-.

2.2 U-STEMS

nouns:

5. āssu- 'goods, property'
a. CTH 2 KUB XXXVI 99 Rs. 5' ša-an tu-ut-tu-ut
   a-aš-šu-uš-še-[it] '?

b. CTH 291 KBo VI 2
   1. sect. 5 I 4-5 tak-ku I-NA KUR lu-ú-i-ya na-aš-ma I-NA
      KUR URU pa-la-a 1 ME [MA.N]A KU.BABBAR pa-a-i
      a-aš-šu-uš-še-it-ta šar-ni-ik-zi 'If (it is) in Luiya or
      Pala, he pays 100 [minas] of silver. And he replaces
      his goods.'
(ELH* KBo VI 3+ I 12 a-aš-šu-uš-še-it-ta)
2. sect. "32a" II 3-4 ták-ku ḫR-aš SAL-n[a-an da-a-i nu-uz-za (gap)] a-aš-šu-uš-še-me-[it ha-an-ti ha-an-ti š]ar-ra-an-zi 'If a slave [takes] a woman [and ] they divide their goods.'

3. II 7-8 ták-ku ḫR-aš GEME-an da-a-i nu-uz-za [(gap)] a-aš-šu-uš-še-me-it ha-an-ti h[a-an-ti] šar-r[a-an-zi 'If a slave takes a slave woman and [ ] they divide their goods.'

c. no CTH number KBo XXV 122 II 9'-12' D ka-at-te-Š-ha-wi i URU ha-at-[tu-ša-a]t kat-ta a-aš-šu-u ū-tir na-at kat-ta KI.L[AM-na ū-tir] GALHI.A SIG₅-an-da GUŠKIN-an SIG₅-an-da-[an ū-tir] na-at kat-ta KI.LAM-na Ġ[-tir 'Katteshawi! King.' They brought property down from Hattusa. And [they brought] it down to the market. [They brought] good beakers (and) good gold. And they brought it down to the market.'

Note the collective use of -at with neuter plural nouns. Assu is listed among the nouns because it follows noun inflection in the main, e.g. ELH assuit (KUB XIX 20 Vs. 10), LH* assuwas (KBo VI 4 I 4), and LH SIG₅-uwa (no. 197), all meaning 'goods'. In Old and Middle Hittite no case except the nominative-accusative plural is attested to my knowledge. C. Watkins [1979:273-80] does point out a few LH instances in which adjectival forms are used for 'goods', specifically assawit, assawaz in KBo X 2, but even here we find also assuwazza. Watkins assumes a change in usage, with the adjectival forms belonging to the younger system.
None of this rules out the possibility that originally āssu was an adjective which adopted noun inflection because it was regularly used as a substantive.

Old and Middle Hittite consistently distinguish āssu "goods" from āssu "goodness". This distinction has largely been given up in Late Hittite.\(^{22}\)

6. GIŠ-ru- "tree"

a. CTH 832 KBo XVII 23 Rs? 6'-7' (-)ne-e-ku-wa-an-da
   GIŠ-ru še-[Ú?]̣-uk GIŠH.\(\overset{A}{\cdot}\) a-ri-ya-[n(-)]′?

The grammatical function of (-)nēkuwanda is not ascertainable. It could be an adjective modifying GIŠ-ru, which should then be plural, or it could be a noun conjoined to GIŠ-ru, which would then not be specified for number. Or, since Old Hittite does not always employ sentence particles, (-)nēkuwanda could be a verb and GIŠ-ru the first word of the next sentence. Given the broken context, we cannot determine whether GIŠ-ru and GIŠH.\(\overset{A}{\cdot}\) have the same referent and number. However, the plural of GIŠ-ru is normally marked with HI.\(\overset{A}{\cdot}\), perhaps implying that GIŠ-ru is the spelling of the singular.

2.3 T-STEMS

nouns:

7. aniyat- ‘adornment’
   a. CTH 631, KBo XVII 11+ IV 20’-21’ LUGAL-][u[š-za a-ni-y][a[-at]-ta-še-it [da-a-i] ‘The king takes] his adornments [for himself.’
   E. Neu [1970:56] suggests that aniyatta may be in origin a collective to common gender aniyaz ‘performance’ (see Chapter 1).

2.4 NT-STEMS

adjectives:

8. hımant- ‘all’
   a. CTH 1, KBo III 22 Vs. 38 ut-ne-e hu-u-ma-an-da URU za-al-pu-az an-da a-ru-na-az[ ] ‘All the lands between Zalpuwa and the sea’
   b. CTH 416, KBo XVII 3

23 H. C. Melchert [1977:156] suggests ‘all the lands from Zalp(uwa)-on-the-sea’ with the ablative expressing direction and with anda arunaz in apposition to zalpuwaz.
24 For the restorations see H. Otten 1971a:30 and E. Neu 1980a:16.
of barley (are) bound and the heads of [spelt] (are) bound. All these I place on a tray. And I place them at the head of the king and queen.'

(OK Bo XVII 1 IV 19'-21' har-ša-[a]-ar iš-hi-ya-an-da ... har-ša-a-ar iš-hi-ya-an-da ki-[e]-ša-an hu-u-ma-an-d[a] ... ne)

c. CTH 752 KBo VIII 74+ III 10-11' nu-uš-ša-an ki-e hu-u-ma-an-ta GIŠ pad-da-[(gap)]x ha-aš-ši-i te-eh-hé 'And all these baskets[ ] I place on the hearth.' (or 'and all these in a basket[ ] I place...') The referent of hūmanta is not clear. patta[ could as well be dative as nominative-accusative.)

9. ishaskant- 'bloodspotted'
a. CTH 416 KBo XVII 1+ I 24' ša-a-ku-wa-aš-me-it iš-ha-aš-kān-ta 'Their eyes (are) blood-spotted.'

10. ishivant- 'bound'
a. CTH 416 KBo XVII 3+ IV 15-18 iš-hi-ya-an-da; see no. 8.b.2

(OK Bo XVII 1+ IV 19'-20' iš-hi-ya-an-da)

11. isgarant- 'fixed, placed'
a. CTH 416 KBo XVII 1+ I 19'-20' ka-lu-u-lu-pi-iš-mi-ta-aš-ta iš-g[a-ra]-an-ta da-a-i [n]e-en ki-iš-ša-ri-iš-mi da-a-i 'He takes away the fixed things with their finger and places them in their hand.'

(OK Bo XVII 3+ I 14' iš-ga-ra-an-da)

ne-en is analyzed by H. Otten and V. Souček [1969:82] as nu-e-an, i.e. 'and', 'them', and sentence particle -an.
12. (-)nēkuwant-?
a. CTH 832 KBo XVII 23 Rs? 6' (-)ne-e-ku-wa-an-da; see no. 6
If it is a complete word, nēkuwanda is unidentified. If it is not complete, H. Hoffner [personal communication] offers as one possibility ma)nēkuwanda 'short (trees/pieces of wood)' with omission of n before k.

13. tarnant- 'loosed'
a. CTH 25 KUB XXXVI 108.6-7 DUTU-ŠI ú-i-ta-an-tu-uš URUDIDILI.HI.ŠU₄₃ ku-i-[uš KUR.KURHI.A?] ku-e ar-ha tar-na-an-ta nu DUTU-ŠI li-[ 'Which fortified cities I my majesty [ ] The [lands?] which (are) loosed. And I my majesty x[ ]

14. wetant- 'built, fortified'
This is the only OH instance of a neuter participle without the a-plural standing in agreement with a marked plural, in this case -e. It is interesting to note that 8-ir wetan agrees once with -e and once with -at. G. Beckman [1977: 217-18] demonstrates that the Hittite plural is often used with terms for buildings even when a single building is clearly meant, as well as for single items of furniture, and suggests that the Hittites viewed them as in effect collections of their constituent parts; thus a building is a collection of rooms. Under such conditions a fluctuation in the use of the singular and plural could easily occur.

There are, however, other cases of apparently plural neuter participles without the -a, specifically MH hādan (no. 56), ELH** parsivan (no. 154), and LH zeyan (no. 249), if the scribes in each case have not accidentally omitted <da>. As correctly spelled plurals in agreement with plural nouns, these forms could be reflexes of the old lengthened-grade neuter plural in *-ōn(t) (see Chapter 6, section 5).

15. SIG₅-ant- 'good'
a. no CTH number KBo XXV 122 II 9'-12' SIG₅-an-da; see no. 5.c


For attribution of KBo XXV 31+ and its duplicates to CTH 649, see E. Neu 1980a:98.

Use of a numeral does not in itself guarantee that the noun is plural, since in Hittite both numbers can be used with numerals (cf. J. Friedrich 1960:117).
2.5 N-STEMS

16. sarāman- type of bread

a. CTH 649

1. KBo XX 27 Rs? 9' ]NINDAša-ra-a-ma da-[ 

2. KBo XXV 31 III 9' 1]5 NINDAša-ra-a-ma LUMEŠ 

GIŠBANSUR ū-da-an-zí The waiters bring 15 sarāman 
loaves'27 
(LH* KBo XX 32 II 1-2, LH* KBo XXV 47 Rs. 14' 
NINDAša-ra-a-ma; LH* Bo 2599+ Vs. II 26' 
NINDAša-ra-a-ma) 

3. III 12'-13' NINDAša-ra]-a-ma da-an-zi LŪ.M[EŠ(gap) 
NINDAša-ra-a-ma x[ 'They take sarāman loaves. (The 
people[ ]sarāman loaves [ ' 
(LH* KBo XX 32 II 6 NINDAša-ra-a-ma) 

b. CTH 669 KBo XX 10 

1. I 6 ša-ra-ma h[al]-zi-ya 'sarāman loaves are called 
for.'

2. II 2 NINDAša-ra-a-ma [hal-z]i-ya

c. CTH 670 KBo XVII 13+ I 14'-16' NINDAša-ra-a-ma ka-ru-ū 
uš-pa[-(gap)-]i NINDAša-ra-a-ma A-NA LŪ[G[UĐU DINGIR[LIM] 
LŪSILASU.ĐUG 3 NINDAša-ra-a-[ma ́]sarāman loaves al-

—-------------------


26 For attribution of KBo XXV 31+ and its duplicates to CTH 649, see E. Neu 1980a:78.

27 Use of a numeral does not in itself guarantee that the 
noun is plural, since in Hittite both numbers can be used 
OLD HITTITE: n-stems

ready x[ sarma]m loaves to the ["anointed priest"] of the [god] (and) the cupbearer 3 sarma loaves ["d. no CTH number KBo XXV 23 Rs. x+1-2 ]x-za

NINDA-sa-ra-a-ma [(gap) NINDA]s]a-ra-a-ma EGIR LŪ.MEŠ.SANGA[

This word is clearly n-stem in Old Hittite. Attested forms include saramnas (KBo XVI 71+ I 18', 26'; KBo XVII 29+ IV 2; KBo XX 2+ I 7') and saramnit (KBo XVII 29+ II 10'). Only one OH form is not n-stem, saramas (KBo XX 27 Rs? 10'), which has apparently been remade as an a-stem based on the nominative-accusative plural.

The singular saraman is attested in Late Hittite (2/i 12', 13'), as are several other n-stem forms (saramni KUB XLIX 95 I 5 and saramnas KUB XXV 12 V 9), including plural saramna (KUB XXXIX 7 II 5, IBoT I 29 I 54). A-stem forms sarammas (KUB XX 28 II 5, 10, KUB XXV 2 II 6) and saramma (KUB XXX 23+ III 43, etc.) are attested in Late Hittite, as are two forms showing yet a third stem: sarammanas (KBo IV 9 IV 48) and sarammana (KUB XXV 12 V 21; see no. 252).

Judging from the OH and most of the LH forms, a man-stem with an ablaut pattern like that of lāman, (lāmi dat-loc. sg.) can be set up. Since loss of the final -n of the stem is never known in the singular -- we always have tēka and never *tēka -- sarma should be the plural rather than the singular to this stem. In form it could reflect the old

lengthened-grade plural formation in *-\(\ddot{o}(n)\) (see Chapter 6, section 5). In LH saramna, which partly replaces the older formation, the stem-final consonant is preserved on the surface by adding the -a characteristic of nt-stems to the stem.

The LH forms saramma, sarammas may have arisen through sporadic assimilation of mn to mm (in KUB XXXIX 7 saramna in II 5 alternates with saramma in II 40)\(^{29}\) resulting in an a-stem. The coexistence of the n-stem and the new a-stem may have led to the formation of the mixed type sarammana, sarammanas with the stem formant -n- added to the a-stem.

3. IV 28-29 ka-lu-lu-pi-tī-mi hu-la-li-an ku-i-ta ar-da-

2.6 R-STEMS

17. tahattumar- 'incense'
a. CTH 627 KBo XVII 21+ Vs. 5 I]š-TU ĝH.I.A NA₄

Despite lack of agreement with any marked plural, this form can be identified as neuter plural by the plene ending. Also attested are tahdumarra, i.e. tahdumar nom-acc. sg. plus -a 'and' (LH Bo 3117 Rs. III 8), and tahš̉umārit inst. (103/p V 34).\(^{30}\)

\(^{29}\) Cf. Friedrich 1960:34.

\(^{30}\) These two forms are cited in E. Neu 1970:70.
2.7 R/N-STEMS

nouns:

18. harsar/n- 'head'

a. CTH 416

1. KBo XVII 1+ I 22'-23' har-kân-zi-ma-an

D ha-an-ta-še-pî-eš an-du-uh-ša-aš har-ša-a-ar-ra

GIŠ-ŠUKUR <HI.>A-ya 'Moreover, the Hantasepa gods hold

the heads of men and lances.'

(OH KBo XVII 3+ I 17'-18' har-ša-ar-ra)

2. KBo XVII 3+ IV 15-18 har-ša-a-ar; see no. 9.8.1

(OH KBo XVII 1+ IV 19'-20' har-ša-a-ar)

3. IV 28-29 ka-lu-lu-pî-iš-mi hu-la-li-an ku-i-ta an-da

hal-ki-ya-ša ZIZHI.A-ša har-ša-a-ar-ra nu a-pa-at-ta

GÎR-ŠU-NU ki-it-ta 'But that which (is) wound on their

finger, and heads of both barley and spelt, that also

lies at their foot.'

(OH KBo XVII 1+ IV 33' har-ša-a-ar-ra)

4. KBo XVII 7+ IV 2' ZIZHI.A-ša har-ša-a-ar

ha-ará-n)a-an pár-tu-u-[n]i-uš-ša [ ] heads also [of

spelt, an eagle], and partûnius [ ]

H. Otten and V. Souček [1969:46] judge from the alternation

of har-ša-a-ar and har-ša-ar in no. a.1 that "die Plene-

schreibung hier keine funktionelle Bedeutung hatte". How-

ever, since har-ša-ar occurs only once, in a text which

three times has har-ša-a-ar in the same tablet and in every

instance in the OH duplicate, the aberrant har-ša-ar is more

likely due to scribal omission of <a>. That it is plural is

clear from agreement with hûmanta, ishiyanta.
J. Friedrich [1954:59, 60] splits the word between two stems, harsan(a?)- and harsar, which should properly be combined into one r/n-stem; harsanis nom. sg. c. is a secondary stem formed to it. 31

19. huitar/n- 'creature'

a. CTH 627

1. KBo XVII 9+ II 15'-17' IŠ-TU ĒD]i-na-ar
šu-up-pi-š-tu-wa-a-re-eš [ú-en-zi hu-i-t]a-a-ar
še-me-en-zi pi-e-ri-eš ū-iz-zi [I-NA UD 2 KAM
pi]-e-ri-eš hu-i-ta-a-ar-ra NU.GAL 'From the temple of] Inar the adorned(?) ones [come]. The creatures vanish.

The peres comes. [On the second day] the peres and the creatures are not present.' 31

2. KBo XVII 21+ Vs. 13-15 IŠ-TU ĒD]i-na-ar [hu-i]-ta-ar
KÙ.BABBAR ū-da-an-zi 1 hu-pár GESTIN A-NA UG.TUR 1
hu-pár GESTIN A-NA ŠAH.NITÁ la-hu-an-zi [hu-]i-ta-ar
ša-mi-nu-an-zi 'They bring the creatures of silver from the temple of Inar. They pour one cup of wine on the leopard (and) one cup of wine on the boar. They remove the creatures.'

2.8. NOUNS OF IRREGULAR INFLection

22. per/parr- 'house'

Noteworthy is the alternation of the ending. Since a sign <tar> is available, the spelling <-ta-ar> is not likely to indicate the singular, especially since the parallel text has the plural. We have here either repeated accidental omission of <a> or a variant spelling reminiscent of har-ša-ar (no. 18.a).

20. uddar/n- 'word, matter'
   a. CTH 1 KBo III 22 Vs. 33 ki-e ud-d[a]-a-ar [tup-pí-ya-a]z I-NA KÁ.GAL-YA x[...]. These words from a [tablet] on my city gate x[...].
   b. CTH 27 KUB XXXVI 106 Rs. 5 tu)p-pí-aš ut-ta-a-ar šar-ri-it `He broke the words of the tablet.'
   c. CTH 665 ABoI 35+ Vs. 5² ut-ta-a-ar; see no. 4.c

21. wātar/n- 'water'
   a. CTH 752
      1. KBo XXV 139+ Rs. 2² ON te-eš-šum-mi-ya ū-i-da-a-ar [...]
      2. KBo VIII 74+ II 10 nu ū-i-[ta]-a-ar da-a-ah-hi `And I take the waters.'
      3. II 15 -a]n ū-i-ta-a-ar kat-ta DUG GİR.KIŠ-ya la-hu-e-ni x we pour the waters down into a GIR.KIŠ vessel.'

2.8 NOUNS OF IRREGULAR INFLection

22. per/parn- 'house'
   a. CTH 820 KUB XXXVI 110 Rs. 13⁰-20⁰ É-ir; see no. 14
   This word has a suppletive paradigm parallel to that of ker/kard- (no. 72), consisting of stems pí-ir- (spelled out phonetically only in the compound persahhannas MH KBo V 7 II
The nominative-accusative singular and plural are always spelled \( \varepsilon\text{-}i\text{-}r \), which by analogy to \( \text{ki} \text{-}i\text{-}r \) should stand for \( \text{pi} \text{-}i\text{-}r \). The vowel timbre of \( \text{ki} \text{-}i\text{-}r \) is likely to have been \( e \) given the etymology and occasional spellings \( \text{gi} \text{-}i\text{-}r \), since \( <\text{gi}> \) always has \( e \) timbre. On the basis of Gk. \( \text{k}\text{e}\text{r} \) it has been assumed that \( \text{ki} \text{-}i\text{-}r \) should be read \( \text{ker} \), although no spelling such as \( \ast \text{ki}\text{-}e\text{-}i\text{-}r \) is attested. As we have no evidence that the \( e \) was long, \( \text{ki} \text{-}i\text{-}r/\text{gi} \text{-}i\text{-}r \) is best read \( \text{ker} \). On analogy to this, \( \text{pi} \text{-}i\text{-}r \) may perhaps be read \( \text{per} \), although it has no IE etymology to support the reading.

OH and MH attestations of the stem \( \text{per} \) include \( \varepsilon\text{-}i\text{-}r \) nom-acc. sg. (OH KBo VI 2+ IV 40), \( \varepsilon\text{-}ri \) dat-loc. sg. (OH KBo XXV 15 I? 3'), \( \varepsilon\text{-}i\text{r} \) loc. sg. (MH KUB XVII 10 IV 21), \( \varepsilon\text{-}ir\text{za} \) abl. sg. (OH KBo XX 5 Rs? 6'). Attestations of the stem \( \text{parn} \) include \( \varepsilon\text{-}nas \) gen. sg. (OH KBo XXV 68 Rs. 1), \( \text{parnas} \) gen. sg. (MH* KUB XXXIII 62 II 18), \( \varepsilon\text{-}na \) dir. sg. (OH KBo XXV 68 Rs. 16), \( \text{parna} \) dir. sg. (OH KBo VI 2+ II 35), \( \text{parni} \) dat-loc. sg. (ELH* KBo VI 3+ II 56), \( \text{parnassea} \) (form unclear, OH KBo VI 2+ I 2').

LH \( \text{parnas} \) nom. sg. c. (KUB VII 41 I 17, 26)

---

34 E. Laroche [1965a:52-54] derives \( \text{parn} \) from an \(-n\)-enlargement of an original root \( \ast \text{per}\text{-}\text{rock} \) (cf. Hit. \( \text{peruna} \)), \( \ast \text{per}\text{-}n\)-becoming \( \text{parn} \)-through change of \( e \) to \( a \) before \( \text{r} \) in a closed syllable, as proposed by E. Sturtevant [1951:30]. However, as none of Sturtevant's examples are secure, this part of Laroche's suggestion lacks strong support. A pre-form \( \ast \text{pr}\text{-}n\)-would give \( \text{parn} \)-.
is identified by H. Otten [1961:143] as a secondary a-stem built to the original neuter suppletive. Conceivably one or more of the many LH forms of parn- belong to this new stem.

23. utne land
  a. CTH 1 KBo III 22 Vs. 38 ut-ne-e; see no. 8.a
  b. CTH 733 KUB XLIII 27 I 5' ut-ne-e LUGAL-aš x[(gap)]
     pa-ra-a ut-ni-i-aš[ 
     
     utne should be plural, given dat-loc. pl. utnias in the following line. 36

E. Neu [1969:239 n. 11; 1974:109-114] derives utne from *utni-yā with the "collective" suffix *-ā just as he derives kē from *ki-ā, and kue from *kui-ā. He compares the latter to Lat. quia, but this is a replacement of *kwi by *kwi- plus -ā and not the inherited IE form (cf. Skt. tri, Lat. tri-ginta but remodelled tria). Even if the Hittite pronouns had undergone a parallel innovation, the i-stem nouns use only -ā for the neuter plural, never -a (e.g. MH telipuriHI.A), and no -iya ending is known at all. Therefore, should utne be an inherited i-stem, it still ought not to have ended in *-iya. The failure of regular assimilation of tn to nn 37 may well indicate that utne is a recent loan

37 Friedrich 1960:34. J. Puhvel [1972:111-15] explains the lack of assimilation by a rule that only *tn assimilates to nn while *dn remains unassimilated. As all three of his examples, utne being the third, have insecure ety-
into Hittite. For further discussion, see Chapter 6, section 5.

2.9 NOUNS WHOSE STEM CLASS IS UNCERTAIN

24. sākuwa 'eyes'

a. CTH 416 KBo XVII 1 I 24 ša-a-ku-wa-aš-me-it; see no. 9

The stem class of sākuwa is uncertain because its oblique is equally appropriate for an a-, u-, or kw-stem. Attested forms are sākuwas gen. pl. (LH KBo XV 25 Vs. 11), sākuwas dat-loc. pl. (LH KUB XXIX 9 I 5), IGIIIA-waz abl. pl. (LH KUB VIII 36 II 10), and sākuit inst. pl. (MH KUB XXIII 72 I 19). The one thing sākuwa cannot be is an i-stem noun, since the correct i-stem oblique would be *sākuwi- (gen. *sākuwiyas, etc.).

What connection then exists between sākuwa and common gender IGIIIA-i-? The latter is attested three times: idālus IGIIIA-is (LH** KUB XXXIV 85+ 7); uwandan IGIIIA-in (LH KUB IX 34 III 35, 38); and IGIIIA-in (LH KUB XXXIII 87+ I 24', 25'). In context with uwandan it must mean 'eye' or the like. H. Güterbock [1952:39] suggests menin 'face' but in fact mene elsewhere is neuter. Friedrich [1961:21] offers sākui- 'spring', citing a Semitic parallel for the semantic connection, but sākui- is attested

mologies, and since he predicts the reverse of the expected situation where the voiced stop would more readily assimilate to the following nasal, Puhvel's suggestion does not convince me.

38 J. Friedrich 1954:141.
only once (LH KUB XII 58+ I 12) and there A. Goetze and E. Sturtevant [1938:64] emend it to sākunis because the latter word and its derived verb recur in the passage. There is no reason why IGIHI.A-i cannot also be read sākuni-, and sākui- eliminated. sākuwa and sākuni- are no doubt derived from the same root, but there is no easy etymology because derivation from *(s)okw-'eye' or *sekw-'follow' fails to take account of Sturtevant's Law. See also nos. 386, 430.

25. tarusha harness part? 

a. CTH 291 sect. 78 KBo VI 2+ IV 10-11 ták-ku GUD-an ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-iz-zi nu-uš-še-an KUS hu-ša-an na-aš-ma KUS ta-ru-uš-ha an-da da-a-i 'If someone hires an ox and on it puts a husan or tarusha.' Since no other forms are attested, the stem class and number cannot be definitively determined. H. Kronasser [1966:167] considers it an a-stem with a -sha- suffix. As regards number, harness parts frequently come in pairs.

2.10 PRONOUNS AND NUMERALS

26. -a- anaphoric third person enclitic

a. CTH 416

1. KBo XVII 1+ I 19'-20' ne-en; see no. 11.a

2. KBo XVII 3+ IV 15-18 ne; see no. 8.b.2

(Oh KBo XVII 1+ IV 21'-7 ne)


My translation follows Friedrich 1959:43. F. Starke [1977:145] translates the verb as 'takes'.
OLD HITTITE: pronouns and numerals

b. CTH 733 KBo XXV 122 II 9'-12' na-at; see no. 5.c
- at is here twice used in its collective sense of 'the material' rather than plural 'them'.
c. CTH 820 KUB XXXVI 110 Rs. 13'-16' ne-eš-ša-an; see no. 14)

27. apa- 'that'
a. CTH 416 KBo XVII 3+ IV 27-29 a-pa-at-ta; see no. 18.a.3

Neuter singular pronouns often act as collectives referring to a group of nouns in both genders and/or numbers.

28. ka- 'this'
a. CTH 1 KBo III 22 Vs. 3 ki-e; see no. 20.a
b. CTH 416

1. KBo XVII 1+ III 4 a-ap-pa-an-an-da-ma-aš-še ki-e me-e-ma-ah-hi 'Moreover afterwards I say these things to him.'

(Oh KBo XVII 3+ III 3 ki-e)
ke is assumed to be plural because Old and Middle Hittite both consistently use ki-e only as plural and ki-i only as singular in all cases where context renders the number unambiguous.

2. KBo XVII 3+ IV 15-18 ki-e-ša-an; see no. 8.b.2
c. CTH 752 KBo VIII 74+ III ki-e; see no. 8.c

29. kui- 'which'
a. CTH 25 KUB XXXVI 108.6-7 ku-e; see no. 13

30. -set third person singular possessive
a. CTH 2 KUB XXXVI 99 Rs. 4'-5' a-aš-šu-uš-še-it; see no. 5.a
b. CTH 291 KBo VI 2+ I 4-5 a-aš-šu-uš-še-it-ta; see no. 5.b.1
(ELH* KBo VI 3+ I 11-12 a-aš-šu-še-it-ta)
c. CTH 820 KUB XXXVI 110 Rs. 13'-16' E-ir-še-it; see no. 14

This pronoun is regularly spelled with a double as after vowels in Old Hittite.

31. -sme₃ third person plural possessive
a. CTH 291 sect. "32" KBo VI 2+ II 3-4, 7-8 a-aš-šu-uš-še-me-it; see no. 5.b
b. CTH 416 KBo XVII 1+ I 24' ša-a-ku-wa-aš-me-it; see no. 9.a
c. CTH 627 KBo XX 16
1. Vs. 3' šu-up-pa-aš-mi-it; see no. 4.a.1
2. Vs. 5' šu-up-pa-aš-me-it; see no. 4.a.2

The change in the spelling of the vowel here within three lines is interesting.
32. 2-е 'two'


(E. Neu suggests [1970:39] that 2-е is nominative-accusative neuter dual, i.e. that the old dual ending *-oi (giving -е) remains with the numeral 'two'. However, since the dual *-oi would give the same outcome as the neuter plural *-a-i of the pronouns (see Chapter 6, section 8), it is impossible to determine whether 2-e is indeed a relic of the dual or simply has the pronominal plural ending. C. Watkins [1975b: 368-70] concludes that 2-e has the plural ending, noting that the genitive and dative of 'two' have clearly pronominal form, and takes 2-ahhi to be the real reflex of the dualized "collective" *duwex-ī. Neu takes it as a verb 'he doubles' or the like. While this is hardly compelling, it is far from clear that Watkins is right, especially since the gender of the word modified by 2-ahhi, NINDA wagātas, is not certain. 42

41 It should be noted that Neu later [1979a:194] omits all reference to 2-e in discussing the dual. This may indicate that he has reconsidered his analysis of the latter form.

2.11 SUMMARY

Table I contains the more securely identified OH nominative-accusative neuter plurals. No a- or i-stem nouns are securely attested in the neuter plural in Old Hittite. The only attested u-stem neuter plural noun is ḫassû, the final plene of which contrasts with the -a and -ava of the i-stem adjectives suppa and palhaea. Since the number of uktûri is uncertain, it cannot offer evidence here.

Among the consonant stems, r- and r/n-stems show only the plene ending, while all the t- and nt-stems except one end in -a. The one exceptional nt-stem and the one n-stem may reflect an IE plural formation in *-o(C).

Unattested stem classes are a-, ai-, and 1-stems. Unattested parts of speech are nt-stem nouns, r- and u-stem adjectives. Unattested ending types are -i among the i-stems, -u, -uwa, and -awa among the u-stems, and the i-plural among the consonant stems. However, the r- and r/n- stems whose nominative-accusative plurals are attested in Old Hittite never take the i-plural at any later stage of Hittite either, although the t-stem aniyat- does sometimes use the i-plural in Late Hittite.

Among the pronouns, -e and -at both function as the neuter plural of the anaphoric enclitic, although -e is the more frequent. kî is never used as a plural. In all but one of the occurrences of the enclitic possessives -set and -smet the vowel is spelled -e.

Comparison of the OH texts with later copies provides
little information about the evolution of the nominative-accusative plural because so few neuter plurals are preserved in both. The one changed form is ELH* assuset, contrasting with OH assusset (no. 30.b), where the Middle and Late Hittite failure to consistently spell -set with ss after vowels is demonstrated.

**TABLE I**

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<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>assu</td>
<td>humanta isgaranta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>aniyatta</td>
<td>ishaskanta tarnanta</td>
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<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td></td>
<td>ishiyanda wetan</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SIG₅-anda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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**NEUTER PLURALS ATTESTED IN OLD HITTITE**
Chapter III
MIDDLE HITTITE

3.1 MIDDLE HITTITE COPIES OF OLD HITTITE COMPOSITIONS

3.1.1 nouns whose stem class is uncertain

33. sākuwa "eyes"

a. CTH 330 KUB XXXIII 62 II 11'-12'

kar-di-mi-ya-at-ta-an-ma ar-ha tar-na
kar-di-mi-ya-at-ta-as IGI HA-wa kar-pi-wa-a-la ha-an-ta

"But dismiss anger!" (And) set right the raging eyes of anger!

See no. 24 for a discussion of the stem class.

3.1.2 adjectives whose stem class is uncertain

34. karpiwāla "raging"

a. CTH 330 KUB XXXIII 62 II 11'-12' kar-pi-wa-a-la; see no. 33

This hapax legomenon could belong to an a-, i-, or l-stem.
3.2 MIDDLE HITTITE TEXTS

3.2.1 i-stems

nouns:

35. **huwasi** - 'stele'

a. CTH 404

1. KUB XXXII 115+ III 55 nu-]{kán is-}{tar-na 7 NA4 hi-wa-si is-ga-ra-an-zi 'And they set up 7 steles in the middle.'

The word may be either number since both can occur with numerals; see no. 16.a.2.

2. IV 5 nu-]{kán 2 BE-EL SISKUR SISKUR NA4 hu-u-wa-si HI.A GIR-a[z la-a-k-nu-wa-an-zi 'And the 2 patrons of the rite [make] the steles [rock] with their feet.'

(LH** KBo II 3 III 23-24 NA4 hi-wa-a-si HI.A; LH** KUB XII 59+ III 13 NA4 hu-u-wa-si HI.A)

3. KBo XXIV I I 13' nu-]{kán NA4 hi-wa-si HI.A GIR-az la-ga-a-ri 'And the steles rock from (her) feet.'

36. **ispanduzi** - 'wine jug'

a. CTH 375 KUB XXXI 124

1. I 12-21 LMH NINDA.KUR4.RA HI.A is-pa-an-du-zi-ta [ku-e pi-eš-kir 'The thick loaves] (and) jugs of wine [which they offered...'" (LH** KUB XXXI 117+ II 3-5 iš-pa-an-du-zi-ta k]u-e)

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43 For **lagāru** in the meaning 'sich neigen, wanken', see E. Neu 1968:104.
2. I 16-17 NINDA.KUR₄.RA DUG is-pa-an-du-z[i]-ya
    SIG₅-an-ta [EGIR-pa pî-eš-ga-u-el]-ni 'The thick loaves
    and good [jugs of wine] we [offer again].'
    SIG₅-anTa may refer to both nouns and not only to
    ispanduzi. -ya is the conjunction 'and'.
    The -ta ending is of foreign origin, and is used optionally
    with nouns, especially loan words. 44

37. kurtal(i) - type of container
a. CTH 430 KBo XVII 61 Vs. 16-18 nu GIS₉ kur-ta-al-li HI.A
    ki-it-ta [ ] x e-ik-za iš-pár-ra-an-za na-aš-ta DUMU-an
    GIS₉ kur-ta-li-aš [ ] pár-ku-nu-mi 'The kurtali con-
    tainers lie (there).[ ] the net (is) spread out. And on
    the kurtali containers the child [ ] I cleanse.'
    This, the only securely plural attestation of the word, must
    be i-stem given kurtalías in the following line. Other i-
    stem forms include kurtalin acc. sg. c. and kurtaliza abl.
    sg. 45
    There are also l-stem forms, e.g. kurtál ntr. sg.
    (LH** KUB XXIV 9+ IV 37, LH KBo X 45 III 7). E. Neu and C.
    Rüster [1973:231 n. 33] suggest that the l-stem is in fact a
    later innovation and that the i-stem is older.

44 Cf. Friedrich 1960:59-60; Carruba 1967:151-6; Brosman

45 See L. Jakob-Rost 1972:58.
38. \textit{telipuri} - 'administrative district'.
\hspace{1em}a. CTH 28 KBo XVI 47 Vs. 28 \] ti-li-pu-riHI.A pa-iš\[ \]
he gave the administrative districts.

Singular \textit{telipuri} (MH KUB XXI 47+ I 16') confirms that the word is an i-stem.

39. \textit{wassi} - 'ingredient'.
\hspace{1em}a. CTH 402 KBo XXI 8 III 4' \]} ni-zi nu-uš-ša-an

\hspace{1em}wa-aš-ša HI.A I-NA x[

See no. 178 for discussion.

\textbf{adjectives:}

40. \textit{hatuki} - 'terrible'.
\hspace{1em}a. CTH 433 KBo XVII 105 III 6-8 na-aš-ta an-da ki-iš-ša-an
me-ma-i i-da-a-la-u-wa ha-du-ga ku-e ud-da-a-ar na-at-kán
pa-ra-a pa-it-a n-da-ma-kán a-aš-ša-u-wa mi-i-ya-u-wa
ha-at-[t]a-an-ta ū-i[t] 'And she speaks as follows. "The evil, terrible words which (there were), they went forth.

Moreover, good, mild, wise (words) came in."

That \textit{haduga} is i-stem here is shown by \textit{haduga}es nom. pl. c. in III 31.

41. \textit{(DUG) palhi} - 'kettle'.
\hspace{1em}a. CTH 324 KUB XVII 10 IV 15 da-an-ku-i ták-ni-i

\hspace{1em}ZABAR pal-hi ar-ta iš-tap-pu-ul-li-iš-me-it A.BAR-aš 'The kettles of bronze stand in the dark earth. Their lids (are) of lead.'

\hspace{1em}(MH KUB XXXIII 3 IV 6 pal-hi)

\hspace{1em}------------------------------

\textit{Cf. E. Laroche 1954b:45-49.}
The form here is plural, as shown by the use of -sme₂t. See also no. 3.

42. parkui- 'clean'

a. CTH 375 KUB XVII 21 I 2-3 LMH
   SISKUR.SISKUR₃.a-š-ma-aš pár-ku-i ša-ne-iz-zi
   URU ha-at-tu-ša-aš-pát KUR-ya pi-š-ša-u-e-ni 'To you we
give clean, large, good tasting offerings in the land of
Hattusa.'

b. CTH 480 KUB XXIX 7+ Rs. 64 ?ki]-e ud-da-a-ar pár-ku-i
   ši-iš-ši-ya-an-na [e-]eš-tu 'Let [these?] words be clean
   and innocent(?).'

43. salli- 'large'

a. CTH 375 KUB XVII 21 I 2-3 LMH šal-li; see no. 42.a

44. sanezzi- 'good tasting'

a. CTH 375 KUB XVII 21 I 2-3 LMH ša-ne-iz-zi; see no. 42.a

45. suppi- 'holy; ritually pure (meat)'

a. CTH 258 KUB XIII 7 I 6 LMH ši-iš-ta šu-up-pa ar-ha
da-an-zi 'they take away the meat.'

b. CTH 443 KBo XV 10+ III 69-70 LMH nu šu-up-pa
   UZU NIG.GIG₃A UZU ZAG.UDU₃A ha-ap-pi-ni-it za-nu-ir
   'And they cooked the meat — the intestines(?) (and) the
shoilders — in the flame.'

c. CTH 701 KBo XXI 33
   1. II 16'-18' nu-us-ši-kán UZUšu-up-pa UZU GAB ... (list
      of body parts)... SAG.DU UDU-ya-kán l GİR UDU-ya
da-an-z[i 'And for him they take the meat — the breast
... and the head of a sheep and one foot of a sheep.'
2. III 24°-25° ma-ah-ha-an-ma šA DUG TU₇ UZU šu-up-pa zé-e-ya-ri na-at-kán ša-ra-a da-an-zí. 'But when the meat of a stew is cooked they take it up.'

3. III 33° nu ma-a-an šA DUG TU₇ UZU šu-up-pa iš-ta-an-da-an zé-e-ya-ri. 'And if the meat of a stew is cooked slowly...'

See no. 4 for a discussion of the stem class.

3.2.2 u-stems

46. assu— goods, property

a. CTH 138 KUB XXIII 77+ Rs. 52-54 ma-a-an-kán IŠ-TU KUR URU ha-at-tí] pít-te-ya-an-za I-NA KUR URU ka-aš-ga ták-šu-la-aš URU-ya Ğ-i-zí [na-aš ma-a-an ĞR-aš nu] šA [BE-LI-ŠU] a-aš-šu-u ú-da-i na-aš-ma-aš ĞUĜIŠTÜKUL nu šA ĞU TAP-PI-ŠU a-aš-šu-u ú-da-<i> If a fugitive [from the land of Hatti] comes to a Gasga city which has a treaty, [if he is a slave and] he brings the goods [of his mas­ter,] or he is a worker and he brings the goods of his as­ sociate...''

b. CTH 147 KUB XIV 1

NAM.RA HI.A-ZU-NU a-la šu-ya hu-u-ma-an-ta-pät da-a-aš
And for himself] he sent back to [the rock] the wives
of Madduwatta, his [children], their captives, and
goods. And Kupanta D.KAL [ ] back. And he seized his
house(hold) [ ] from him. And he took his wives, [his
children, their captives,] and all the goods.

2. Vs. 54-55 na-aš]-ta ŠA 1ma-[ad]-du-wa-at-ta
[DAM] MEŠ-ŠU NAM.RA HI.A-ZU-NU a-aš-šu-ya še-e-ir
URU šal-la-u-wa-aš-ši ū-e-[mi-e-ir] na-at-ši a-ap-[pa
pí-i-e-]]ir ŠA 1ku-pa-an-ta D[KAL]-ya-ya-[kán
DAM] MEŠ-ŠU NAM.RA HI.A-ZU a-aš-šu-ya še-ir
URU šal-la-u-wa-aš-ši ū-[e-mi-e-ir-pät] nu a-p[a-at]-ta
[A-NA 1ma-ad]-du-wa-at-[ta pí-i-e-]ir 'And [they] found
[the wives] of Madduwatta, their captives and goods, up
in Sallawassi. And [they gave] them back to him.
[They] also found the wives of Kupanta D.KAL, his
children, his captives and goods up in Sallawassi. And
that also they gave to Madduwatta.'

c. CTH 261 KUB XXVI 17 II 12 na-aš-m]a ŠA BE-LUM a-aš-šu-u
[na-at pí-le] har-zi 'Or] the goods of the master. [And
them] he withholds.'

d. CTH 375 KUB XVII 21 I 11-13 LMH nu-za šu-me-en-za-an ŠA
[DINGIR] MEŠ] a-aš-šu-u KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN BI-IB-RI HI.A
TŪGH HI.A an-zi-el i-w[a-]ar EGIR-an ŠUL ku-iš-ki
kap-pu-u-wa-an har-ta 'And the goods of you [gods] --
silver, gold, rhyta, clothes -- no one concerned himself
with (them) like us.'

In only one case does assu not seem to mean 'goods' or 'good things':


G. Beckman [1977:48] proposes that the 'goods' of a boy or girl might be "the classic Hittite symbols for masculinity and femininity, that is, bow and arrows on the one hand, and spindle (with or without an accompanying distaff) on the other. Such articles might have been presented to the child upon his birth in order to confer upon him ritually his proper sex role."
freundlich erhöre das Wört." C. Watkins, in contrast, calls it interjectional, like duwaddu in the succeeding sentences [1981 forthcoming]: "Hail! Incline your eyes, lift the thousand eyelids, and gaze well on the king. Incline your ears, and hear the good word!" In favor of Watkins' interpretation is the fact that the clearly adverbial assu later in the passage immediately precedes its verb. This would allow parallel sentences GEŠTUGHI.A-KA lāk, IGİ-HI.-A-KA lāk. Opposing his interpretation is the fact that assu elsewhere functions only as a concrete noun. Further, duwaddu throughout the text always immediately precedes the name or title of the addressee, while assu is associated with no noun.

An alternative solution would be to take assu here simply as a scribal error for the adjective plural Assu 'good (eyes)'. It may be noted that in Old Hittite there is one case of an apparently singular adjective spelled with a final long vowel, mekkî (no. 2). See also no. 5.

47. genu- 'knee'

a. CTH 430 KBo XVII 61.16' gi-(e?)]-nu-kān gi-nu-wa-āš KI.MIN 'The knees ditto (= are fixed) to the knees.' The plurality of genu here is guaranteed by plural genuwas, since the passage contains a number of body parts in parallel sentences with dative singular or plural used depending on the number of the noun.

b. CTH 443 KBo XV 10+ I 24-25 LMH ŠA-ŠU gi-en-zu-še-it [gi]-e-nu-uš-še-it QA-TI-ŠU GİRHI.-A-ŠU har-kān-du 'Let...
them hold her heart, her genitalia, her knees, her hands, her feet.

genu-set is taken as plural because 'hands' and 'feet', which also come in pairs, are marked as plural here.

48. genu- 'genitalia'

a. CTH 443 KBo XV 10+ I 24-25 LMH gi-en-zu-še-it; see no. 47.

47.b

This word may be a plurale tantum; see no. 97.

49. GIŠ-ru- 'tree'

a. CTH 324 KUB XVII 10 I 16 nu H]UR.SAG.DIDLI.HI.A ha-at-te-ir GIŠH]I.A]-ru ha-a-az-ta 'And' the mountains dried up. The trees dried up.'

adjectives:

50. assu- 'good'

a. CTH 433 KBo XVII 105 III 6-8 a-aš-ša-u-wa; see no. 40

51. idalu- 'evil'

a. CTH 404

1. KBo XXIV 1+ I 18'-20' ki-e-da-ni UD-ti ku-e [ud-da-a-ar a-ni-ya-u-en nu-wa-ták-kán i-da-a-lu ud-da-a-ar kat-ta [ ]-ma wa-ar-ša-an e-eš-tu 'Which evil words we made on this day, now for you let the evil words [ ] be wiped away.'

2. KUB XXXII 15+ IV 19-20 kat-ta-wa-ra-aš-ma-aš-kán wa-ar-ša-an e-eš-tu i-da-a-lu ud-da-a-ar KAXU-aš EME-aš 'And for you let the evil words of mouth (and) tongue be

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48 The neuter singular participle is normally used with es- for neuter nouns of both numbers, the plural participle infrequently; cf. Friedrich 1960:118.
wiped away.

(LH** KBo IX 106 III 34 i-da-a-lu ud-da-a-ar; LH* KBo II 3 III 42-44 i-da-a-la-u-wa ud-da-a-ar)

Note the substitution of idalawa for idalu.

b. CTH 433 KBo XVII 105 III 6-8 i-da-a-la-u-wa; see no. 40

c. CTH 443 KBo XV 10+ LMH

1. I 18-19 nu i-da-a-lu ku-e IT-T[I] 1du-ut-ha-li-y[a ū]
   "And the evil things which she spoke against Tuthaliya
   [and] Nikalmati, (and) against their children...

2. II 15-16, III 57-58 nu ŠA SAL zi al-wa-an-zar-še-it
   i-da-a-lu ud-da-a-ar-še-it QA-TAM-MA [har-a]k-du
   na-ta-pa EGIR-pa li-e ū-iz-zi ˇAnd] let the magic of
   Zi(plantawiya) (and) her evil words perish likewise.
   And let them not come back.

   d. CTH 480 KUB XXIX 7+ Rs. 58-59 nu-kān i-da-a-lu
   ud-da-a-ar pa-ri-ya-an ne-ya-an e-eš-tu nu ID-aš
   ma-a-ah-ha-an EGIR-pa Ū-UL ar-šī-e-iz-zi ki-e-ya
   i-da-a-la-u-wa ud-da-a-ar pa-ra-a QA-TAM-MA pī-e-da-ū
   ˇAnd let the evil words be led astray. And as the river
   does not flow back, let it thus carry forth these evil
   words also.

   Note the interchange of idalu and idalawa.

52. miu- ˇmil’d

a. CTH 433 KBo XVII 105 III 6-8 mi-i-ya-u-wa; see no. 40
53. **tarru-** 'on one's stomach, on all fours?'

a. CTH 138 KUB XXXI 105.8' ]-ni [k]i-e-da-ni tar-ru-u ar-ta-ri ' therefore(?) it stands on all fours(?)'.

The meaning of this word is not entirely clear; for a discussion see C. Watkins 1981 forthcoming, n. 17. Because it alternates with LH tarrawa (no. 208), Watkins interprets tarru as neuter plural. The final -u he takes to be the same as that of assu (no. 5), i.e. he derives it from *-u-x. However, since both singular and plural neuter nominative-accusatives are used as adverbs in Hittite -- both hūman (LH KBo IV 2 I 62) and hūmanta (MH KUB XXX 10 Vs. 11; no. 58.c) mean 'entirely' or the like -- the interchange of tarru with formally plural tarrawa need not imply that tarru is also plural. Further, the plene -u of tarru is not necessarily comparable to that of assu. Assu always has plene of the initial vowel, implying initial accent, while tarru never has plene of the first vowel, suggesting that it has final accent instead, and that the plene indicates this accent. This is certainly the source of the consistent plene -i of nakki-, as Watkins himself points out. The identification of tarru as plural is thus quite tentative.

3.2.3 nt-stems

adjectives:

54. **amiant-** 'small'
   a. CTH 324 KUB XVII 10 I 38 pá]r-ta-u-wa!-aš-še-it-wa
     a-mi-ya-an-ta 'His wings (are) small.'
     (MH KUB XXXIII 5 II 13 pár-t]a-a-u-wa-aš-ši-it-wa
     a-mi-ya-an-da)

55. **asānt-** 'being, existing, true'
   a. CTH 147 KUB XIV 1+ Rs. 29 E[GIR]-az ŠA DUTU-ŠI nam-ma
     a-ša-[a-a]n-ta KUR.KUR TIM da-a-ša 'Moreover, he took the
     lands belonging to my majesty back.'

56. **hādan-** 'dried'
   a. CTH 701 KBo XXI 33+ I 12 nam-ma-aš-ša-an
       DUG hu-u-up-ru-uš-hi GİŞHI.A ha-a-da-an wa-ar-[...
       'Moreover, [he/they?] burn dried wood on a huprushi.'
   (LH** KBo XXIII 44 I 11 GİŞHI.A ha-da-a-an-da)
   hādan appears to be formed like OH wedan (no. 14), i.e. it
   may have -an from *-ōn(t). Interesting is the replacement
   of the endingless plural by the usual formation in -a in the
   LH** copy.

57. **hattant-** 'wise'
   a. CTH 433 KBo XVII 105 III 6-8 ha-at-ta-an-ta; see no. 40

58. **humant-** 'all'
   a. CTH 146 KUB XXIII 72+Rs. 2-3 ]ku-e ud-da-a-ar
      ti-ya-[an] e-eš-ta a-pa-a-ša-at-kān [ ] hu-u-ma-an-ta
      šar-ra-aš 'The words which were set up, that man [ ]
      broke them all.'
b. CTH 147 KUB XIV 1+ Vs. 49-50 hu-u-ma-an-ta; see no. 46.b.1

c. CTH 373 KUB XXX 10 Vs. 11 LMH nu-za- ŠA DINGIR-YA du-ud-du-mar ha-at-ta-ta hu-u-ma-an-ta ša-ki-n[u ]-un 'And I acknowledged completely the power (and) wisdom of my god.'

The neuter plural here may be used adverbially, or may possibly be plural with the conjoined nouns.

d. CTH 404 KUB XXXII 115

1. IV 12-13 nu-wa-as-m[a-as] hu-u-ma-an-da ud-da-ar IS-TU [EME] HI.A-KU-NU ar-[ 'And for you all words from your [tongues]...'

The first break occurs in the unpublished fragments joined to this tablet; unfortunately L. Jakob-Rost's treatment [1953:36] omits indication of where the break ends. Judging from her translation, however ("[<So> sollen euch] alle Worte..."), it apparently ends after nuwa smasās.

2. IV 15-16 tu-wa-ar-na-at-ta-ru-wa-ra-at [hu-u-ma]-an-da u[d-da-]a-ar hu-ur-ta-a-uš-ša 'Let them all, words and curses, be broken.'

59. issanawant- 'doughy'

a. CTH 330 KBo XV 33+ II 19'-20' LU MEŠ NINDA DU.DU-ma ku-a-da-ni ū-i-te-ni QA-TE MEŠ-ŠU-NU is-ša-na-u-wa-an-ta an-da ša-li-ki-an-ta na-at-kān pa-ra-a Ū-UL-pāt pī-da-an-zi 'But the waters into which the bakers plunged their doughy hands, them they do not take away.'
This sentence shows that kessar- was neuter for at least some speakers of Middle Hittite.  

60. kurant- 'cut up'  
   a. CTH 330 KBo XV 33+ IV 30 ]ÜZUšA ku-ra-an-ta [ 'The hearts (are) cut up ['.

Since neuter plural subjects require singular verbs, kuranta should not be a finite verb if ÜZUšA is the subject, and indeed E. Neu [1968] does not identify kuranta as a finite medio-passive verb in his collection of such forms.

61. sakkant- 'known'  

62. uwant- 'seen'  
   a. CTH 209 KBo XII 62 Rs. 14'-16' ū-wa-an-da; see no. 61

63. wezzapant- 'old'  
   a. CTH 375 KUB XVII 21 I 14-18 LMH nam-ma š[u]-me-en-za-an DINGIRMES-aš ku-e ALAMHI.-KU-NU ŠA KÜ.BABBAR GUŠKIN nu-uš-ša-an [k]u-e-da-ni DINGIR-LIM-ni ku-it tu-e-ik-ki-iš-ši an-da ū-iz-[a-p]a-an DINGIRMES-ša ku-e Ü-NU-TEMES ū-iz-za-pa-an-ta na-at an-[i-]el i-wa-ar EGIR-pa Ü-UL ku-iš-ki ne-u-wa-ah-ha-a[n har-t]a 'Moreover, whichever statues of silver (and) gold of you gods (were old), and for any god whatever (was) old in his image, and whatever utensils of the gods (were) old, no

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50 See E. Neu and C. Rüster 1973:238 n. 52.
one had made them new again like us.'

64. "cooked"
- CTH 483 KUB XV 34 IV 20 nu ŠA SILA UZUNIG.GIG UZUŠA zé-e-a-[an]-ta [ú-da-an-zi] 'And [they bring] the liver (and) heart of a lamb cooked.'

65. SIG₅ant- 'good'
- CTH 375 KUB XXXI 124 I 16-17 LMH SIG₅-an-ta; see no. 36.a.2

3.2.4 l-stems
nouns:

66. ishiul- 'regulation'
- CTH 251 KBo XVI 25+ I 40' na]-aš ki-e DU[TU]-ŠI ku-e iš-hi-ú-ul iš-hi-iš-ki-mi 'And] these regulations which I my majesty keep decreeing...'

This is the only certain MH plural of ishiul. The word occurs earlier in the same text, but with inadequate context to determine its number.

67. wasdul- 'sin'
- CTH 373 KUB XXX 10 Vs. 24-25, 26, 28 LMH nu-mu wa-aš-du-ul-mi-it te-id-du ne-za-an ga-ni-eš-mi 'And let him tell me my sins, and I will acknowledge them.'

51 Use of the neuter singular participle is the rule with hark- regardless of the gender or number of the noun modified; cf. Friedrich 1960:137.

52 I 30-31 Š]A NINDA ERINSUT tar ki'-it-pa-an-da-la-az iš-hi-ú-ul ka[t?-
wasdul may be identified as plural through agreement with -e-, provided that analysis of ne-za-an as nu-e-za-an or nu-e-z(a)-san is correct. -za- is presumably the reflexive, and -an or -san the sentence particle.

3.2.5 r-stems

nouns:

68. halhaltūmar- 'corner'

a. CTH 374 KUB XXXI 130 Vs. 6 LMH ]x 4 hal-hal-tu-u-mar tu-uk-páti iš-ša-[r]i-it-ti [ti-ya-an har-zi 'He has put] the 4 corners in your hand.'

halhaltūmar can be formally r-stem singular or plural following a numeral. Also attested are i-stem forms such as halhaltumariēs nom. pl. c. (KBo IV 1 Vs. 14-15), halhaltumariya dat-loc. (KUB VII 41 I 7 LH). Possibly both a neuter r-stem and a common i-stem existed, but it is also possible that an older r-stem has been replaced by a LH i-stem. The stem class of LH* halhaldumari (no. 115) cannot be determined.

3.2.6 r/n-stems

nouns:

69. partawar/n- 'wing'

a. CTH 324 KUB XVII 10 I 38 pár-ta-u-wa-aš-še-it; see no. 54.a

partawas exhibits sporadic assimilation of final r to the s of the enclitic.
b. CTH 701 KBo XXI 33+ III 17'-18' nu NINDA.SIG.HI.A

OA-TAM-MA pár-ši-an-na-i MUŠEN.HI.A-ma
pár-ta-a-wa-ar-še-<me>-it an-da OA-TAM-MA
ú-i-šu-u-ri-iš-ki-iz-zi.'And he breaks thin loaves likewise, and he presses the birds together likewise with respect to their wings.'

Several birds are mentioned in the text. The scribe has accidentally omitted the sign <me> from -smet.

70. uddar/n- 'word, matter'
As this word appears with great frequency in the texts, I here only provide references to sentences containing other neuter plurals. The spelling is ud-da-a-ar unless otherwise noted. See nos. 40; 42.b; 51.a, b; 58.a, d; 61; 77.b; 79.a, b; 81.a; 83.b (ut-ta-a-ar); 86.

71. watar/n- 'water'

a. CTH 480 KUB XXIX 7+ Vs. 58 nam-ma a-pi-e-da-ni-pat
[UD]-ti LÛ SANGA DINIGIR.LIM GE₆ ne-ku-uz me-hur
še-hé-el-li-ya-aš ú-i-da-a-ar da-a-i 'Moreover, on that [day] the priest of the dark god at evening takes the waters of purification.'

b. CTH 777 KUB XXIX 8
1. II 5 ] ú-i-da-a-ar ša-ra-a pa-

2. II 14-16 nu LÜ AZU ku-iš še-e-hí-el-li-ya ú-i-da-a-ar ar-ha-yá-an har-zi 'And the seer who holds the waters of purity besides...'

For a discussion of sehelliya, see Appendix B, no. 497.
3.2.7 nouns of irregular inflection

72. ker/kard- 'heart'

a. CTH 139 KBo VIII 35 II 20'-21' GIHI-A-KU-NU-ma-kān
   a-ap-pa [na-a-]ū nu šu-me-in-za-an-pāt ki-ir-še-me-it
   iš-kar-ra-an-ni-an-[du? 'But let him send back your
   arrows. Let them keep piercing your hearts.'

(MH KBo XVI 29+ II 9' ŠAHI.A-KU-NU)

That ker is plural is implied by the duplicate and perhaps
by the use of -smet. However, it is also true that the
singular can be used in speaking of body parts of more than
one person; consider the interchange of singular
kalulupi-smi with plural kalulupus-smus in OH KBo XVII 1 IV
26, 31.

For the reading ker rather than kir, see no. 22. ker has
a suppletive paradigm parallel to that of per. Attested OH
forms include karti dat-loc. (KBo XXII 2 Vs. 13; KBo XVII 7+
I 12') and kartaz abl. (KBo XVII 7+ IV 6'). Attested in
Late Hittite are ki-ir nom-acc. sg. (KBo XII 18 I 9-12);
kirti loc. (KBo III 21 III 12); karta dir. (VBoT 58 I 13,
KBo IV 12 Vs. 32); ŠA-az abl. (KUB V 24 I 27, KUB V 11 I 9);
ŠA-it inst. (KUB XVII 10 II 19-20); kardivas gen. (KUB I 16+
II 53, KBo III 7 I 26); kardianza abl. (KUB VIII 43.3).55

54 See E. Neu 1980b:32; and see O. Szemerényi 1975:337 for
the possibility that this form represents original
*kerd-i.
55 Both kardivas and kardianza are secondary i-stem forms
built to the older consonant stem, and not inherited
doublets; cf. O. Szemerényi 1970b:516.
3.2.8 Nouns whose stem class is uncertain

73. pītta ‘grants, allotments of land’
   a. CTH 430 LMH KUB XXX 29 Vs. 9 DING]IRMEDŠ-na-as 
      pī-i-e-it-ta pī-iš-kán-zi ‘To [the gods] they keep giving
      grants.’

Judging from the ablative pittaz (LH KUB XXVIII 6 I 9), this
word may be either an a- or a t-stem.

74. sākuwa ‘eyes’
   a. CTH 261
   1. KUB XL 56+ IV 3]hal-ku-e-es-na-as-ša IGILHI.A-wa
      har-du ‘Let him keep (his) eyes on [the slaves] and the
      taxes.’
   2. KUB XIII 1+ III 70 nu-usš-ma-as-aš-ša-an ú-e-tum-ma-as
      ud-[a-n]-i IGILHI.A-wa har-ak, ‘And keep (your) eyes on
      them in the matter of building.’
   b. CTH 324 KUB XVII 10 III 6 da-a-ah-hu-un-za pát-tar 1
      LI-IM IGILHI.A-wa ‘I took for myself a sieve of one
      thousand eyes (i.e. holes).’
   c. CTH 483 KUB XV 34 II 2 A-NA LUGAL-ma-kán SAL.L[UGAL]
      IGILHI.A-wa an-da [aš-šu-li na-iš-ten ‘But [turn (your)]
      eyes on the king (and) queen [for good purpose]!’

56 For the translation see M. Popko 1974:181-82.
d. no CTH number Mšt. 75/43 Vs. 24-25 nam-ma-aš-ša-an A-NA ḤE-YA IG[II]I.A-wa har-ak�Moreover, keep (your) eyes on my house!
See no. 24 for a discussion of the stem class.

75. zapzagaya 'glass' 57

a. CTH 777 KUB XXIX 8 I 32-35 nu EGIR-an-da za-ap-za-ga-ya KÙ.BABBAR GUŞKIN NA₄ ḤI.A hu-u-ma-an-te-es 'And afterwards (pieces of) glass, gold, silver, all stones...'
A normal i-stem nominative-accusative singular zapzaki is attested in LH* KUB XXIX 1 II 14 and duplicate KUB XXIX 2 II 5-6. Other attestations look like ai-stem forms, thus zapzagaya nom-acc. pl. (LH KUB XXX 24a+ I 7, IBoT III 148 III 8-9, KUB VII 37.11; see no. 297), and zapzagai(ya) sg. (LH KBo V 1 I 52-53), where -ya may well be the enclitic 'and' rather than part of the ending. Fitting poorly with either kind of stem is zapzagaya dat-loc. (LH KUB XV 31 III 40, KUB XV 32 IV 2, KBo XV 24 II 37, VBoT 37.3). 58 The word is manifestly of foreign origin (compare for instance Ugaritic spsg 'glaze') and has perhaps been adopted by different Hittite speakers with different inflections. Most of the attestations imply a non-ablauting stem zapzagai-similar to the au-stems such as harnau-, most if not all of which also seem to be loan words.

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3.2.9 pronouns

76. -a- third person anaphoric enclitic

The form -a- occurs in one text:

a. CTH 373 KUB XXX 10 I 28, 24-25, 26 LMH ne-za-an; see no. 67

Elsewhere -at is used:

b. CTH 146 KUB XXIII 72+ Rs. 2-3 see no. 58.a

c. CTH 147 KUB XIV 1+ Vs. 54-55 see no. 46.b.2

d. CTH 259 KUB XIII 20 I 32 LMH DI-NAM HI.A KURT'I ku-e ha-an-ne-iš-kat-te-e-ni na-at SIG₅-in ha-ni-iš-ki-it-ten 'The lawsuits of the country which you decide, decide them well!'

e. CTH 261 KUB XXXI 87+ II 14-15 EHI.A LUGAL E GUD HI.A E NA₄[KIŠIBHI.A E] tar-nu-e-eš ku-e ka-ru-ú-i-li] na-at ar-ua-ar-ri-ra-an-[du 'The houses of the king, the cattle barns, the [storage houses(?)], the outer walls, whichever (are) old], let them scrape them off.' (LH** KUB XIII 2+ II 14-15 ku-e ka-ru-u-[i-1]i na-at)

f. CTH 375 KUB XVII 21 I 14-18 LMH see no. 63

g. CTH 404 KUB XXXII 115

1. II 7-9 ŠU HI.A iš-na-ša-aš-ma-aš-ša-an EMÉ HI.A iš-na-aš ku-e I-NA SAG.DU HI.A-ŠU-NU ki-an-da na-at-ša-ma-aš-kán ŠALŠU GI ar-ha da-a-i 'The hands of dough (and) the tongues of dough which lie on their heads, them the old woman takes away from them.'

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2. IV 6-7 nu TUG[IG.LAM]MES ku-e wa-äš-ša-an har-kän-zi [n]a-at-za ar-ha pí-eš-[i-ya-an-zi 'And the robes which they have put on, them [they] discard.'
3. IV 15-16 see no. 58.d.2
4. KBo XXIV I I 15' nu TUGHI.A ku-e wa-äš-ša-an h[ar]-zi na-at-wa-kän SALGI ar-ha da-a-i 'And the clothes which he has worn, them the old woman takes away.'

77. apa- 'that'
   a. CTH 200 ABoT 60 Vs. 3-6 ]me-mi-an ka-ru-ú [TU]P-PAHI.A [h]a-[at-r]a-a-nu-un nu-kän ma-a-ah-ha-an a-pí-e DUB.BAHI.A MA-[AR] DUTU-ŠI BE-LI-YA pa-ra-a ne-eh-hu-u[n 'formerly I wrote the word on the tablets, and as I handed over those tablets to his majesty, my lord...'
   b. CTH 433 KBo XVII 105 II 71 ]-pát a-pí-e ud-da-a-ar m[e-

78. apinissuwant- 'such'
   a. CTH 209 KBo XII 62 Rs. 14'-15' a-pí-ni-iš-šu-wa-an-da; see no. 61.a

79. ka- 'this'
   a. CTH 146 KUB XXIII 72+ Rs. 25 ma-a-an LU^MES URU pa-ah-hu-wa-ma ki-e [u]d-da-a-ar U-UL i-en-zi 'And if the people of Pahhuwa do not accomplish these matters...
b. CTH 147 KUB XIV 1

1. Vs. 13 nu-u[t-ta] li-in-ki-ya [kat]-ta-an ki-e ud-da-a-ar da-iš 'And [for you] he put these matters under oath.'

2. Vs. 27 nu-za ki-e ud-da-a-ar ŠA-PAL NI-IŠ DINGIR[LIM] [da-i]š-ta 'And he put these matters under oath for himself.'

3. Vs. 79 nu-wa A-NA 1 ma-[ad-d]u-wa-at-ta 1 ku-pa-an-ta-DKAL-aš ki-e-ma me-na-ah-ha-an-ta li-in-ga-an har-zi 'And Kupanta DKAL has sworn the following things, moreover, in regard to Madduwatta.'

c. CTH 251 KBo XVI 25+ I 40 ki-e; see no. 66.a

d. CTH 480 KUB XXIX 7+ Rs. 58-59 ki-e; see no. 51.d

80. kui- 'which, what'
The plural of this word is always spelled ku-e. See nos. 40; 51.a-c; 58.a; 63; 66; 76.e, g.

81. kuekki 'some'
a. CTH 147 KUB XIV 1+ Rs. 37 nu]-kán ta-ma-a-i ku-e-ik-ki ud-da-a-ar [ha-a-at-ra-a-ši nu-u]n-na-aš EGIR-pa ta-ma-a-i ud-da-a-ar ha-at-ri-eš-ki 'And [you write] some other words. And do you keep writing other words back to us!'

82. -mit first person singular possessive
a. CTH 373 KUB XXX 10 I 24-25, 26, 28 LMH wa-aš-du-ul-mi-it; see no. 67

83. -set third person singular possessive
a. CTH 324 KUB XVII 10 I 38 pár-ta-u-wa-aš-še-it; see no. 69.a
b. CTH 373 KUB XXX 10 Vs. 5 LMH šA 1k[án]-tu-zi-li
   ut-ta-a-ar-se-it a-ap-pa tar-ku-mi-ya-i "Proclaim again
   the words of Kantuzili."

c. CTH 443 KBo XV 10
   1. I 24-25 gi-e-nu-uš-še-it; see no. 47
   2. I 24-25 gi-en-zu-še-it; see no. 48
   3. II 15-16, III 57-58 ud-da-a-ar-še-it; see no. 51.c.2

d. CTH 701 KBo XXI 33+ III 17-18’ pár-ta-a-wa-ar-še-it;
   see no. 69

84. -smet second person plural possessive
   a. CTH 139 KBo VIII 35 II 20-21 ki-ir-še-me-it; see no. 72

85. tamai- ‘other’
   a. CTH 147 KUB XIV 1+ Rs. 37 ta-ma-a-i; see no. 81
   There is no distinction in spelling between the singular and
   the plural nominative-accusative of this word; thus we have
   singular tamai KUR-e in line 43 of the same text.

86. -tet second person singular possessive
   a. CTH 275 KUB XXIII 76 IV 15-16 nu-za ku-ış [ ]-e
   ud-da-a-ar-te-it šar-ra[-i] And whoever breaks your
   words[

3.2.10 summary
   In Table II forms found only in MH and LMH copies of OH
   texts are marked *; those found both in MH* and in MH are
   marked **, and those found only in MH are unmarked. Only
   forms which seem securely plural have been listed. There
   are no contrasts between MH and MH* plural formations. In
neither stage is any neuter plural a-, n-, t-, or nt-stem noun, or r-stem adjective attested. A wider range of forms is nevertheless available in Middle than in Old Hittite, including u-stem adjectives and l-stem nouns.

The i-stem noun neuter plurals end in -i, while the adjectives end either in -i or -a (from *-aya). Most of the u-stem nouns end in -u, but ḫṣṣū (and tarrū, should the latter actually be plural) has final -ū. The adjectival endings -awa and -u are attested as well.

The nt-stems use -a in all but one instance; the one exception, ḫādan, appears comparable to OH wetan (no. 14). The l-stems and one of the r/n-stems also use the endingless plural, while the other r/n-stems use the plene-plural. The i-plural is completely unattested in Middle as in Old Hittite, although ishiūl- can take the i-plural in Late Hittite.

MH pronouns show one major contrast with those of Old Hittite: the use of -at in the plural as well as the singular on a regular basis, a feature Middle Hittite shares with Late Hittite. The old plural -e is retained in only one instance in Middle Hittite. On the other hand, Middle Hittite agrees with Old Hittite in using kē only as plural and kī only as singular, while Late Hittite uses the two indiscriminately. One other contrast between Middle and Old Hittite is the use of -sit for -set, the only OH spelling. Old Hittite does, however, have -smit once for -smet.

Only two neuter plurals preserved in both MH and LH** co-
Pies show differences between the original and the copy.

The MH adjective *idālu* is replaced once by the marked LH** plural *idalawa*, and the same is true of MH *hādan*, which LH *hadanda* replaces.

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<th>Stem</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
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<td>appinissuwanta kuekki -smet -tet</td>
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Chapter IV

LATE HITTITE

4.1 LATE HITTITE COPIES OF OLD HITTITE TEXTS

4.1.1 a-stems

nouns:

87. sawītra- ‘horn’ 60

a. CTH 665 KBo XXV 138 x+1 LŪ.MEŠₐ-ṣu-ṣa-ta][l]-lu-uṣ ṣa-ū-i-ḫ-it-ra GIS₉[u- ‘The temple] workers [hold?] the horns and the [lutes?]’.

(Oh KBo XX 17+ I 9’-10’ ṣa-a-ū-i-ḫ-it-ra-an [(gap)] hu-hu-pa-al-la. It is not clear whether these are duplicate or only parallel passages.)

That the word is an a-stem is clear from the OH singular. LH* sawītra could be a plural or an n-less singular, but the form is attested several times in Late Hittite where there are no OH parallels implying the singular.

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60 Cf. N. Oettinger 1979a:197 ff.
88. wera-/ura- 'tablet'.

1. Vs. 16 EGIR-ŠU-kán GIŠ ū-e-ra šu-uh-ha-za GAM pí-e-da-i 'Afterwards he brings the tablets(?) down from the roof.'

2. Vs. 18 LUGAL-uŠ EGIR-ŠU šu-uh-{hu}-hi ū-iz-zi GIŠ ū-ra(-)[-] ah-zi 'Afterwards the king comes to the roof. He [-] s the tablets(?).'

The two stem shapes wera- and ura- alternate freely. Attested are weras (KBo XI 32 Rs. 60, IBoT III 93+ I 9) and uras (KBo XI 5 VI 7) nom. sg. c., weran (LH** KBo XII 96 IV 23) and uran (KBo VIII 72 I 7) acc. sg. c., weri (Bo 2372 I 15) dat-loc. sg. Since wera and ura are both attested only in the sentences given above, it is possible that <an> has been omitted from the common accusative singular and that no neuter actually existed.

adjectives:

89. dannatta- 'empty'


GIN KUB.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-iz-zi
[ták-ku] UL-ma tág-ga-li-ya-an-da nu GIŠ ma-ah-la-an
ta-a-i-[ya-zi 'If a man allows sheep into a cultivated
vineyard and he damages (it by so doing), if (it is)
producing, he pays 10 shekels of silver for one iku and ?
If (it is) empty, however, he pays 3 shekels of silver.
If someone steals a vine from a fenced-in vineyard, if
(there are) 100 branches, he pays [6] shekels of silver
and ?. [If] (it is) not fenced in, and he steals a
vine...

(LH* KBo VI 10+ I 17 tá][g-ga-li-ya-an-da; LH* KBo VI 12 I
27 mli-ya-an-da-(an]; LH* KUB XXIX 23.5 ta-an-na-ta-ma;
LH* KBo XIX 9.7' t/d]a-an-na-an-da-ma)62

We expect neuter plural with GIŠ SAR.GEŠTIN, and find the
correct forms tannata in KUB XXIX 23, t/danna(n)da in KBo
XIX 9.7', mianda in KBo VI 11, and taggaliyanda in KBo VI 11
and 10+. Scribal errors have been made in KBo VI 11
(dannattan for dannatta) and KUB XXIX 23 (miyandana
for miyanda).

' holy; ritually pure (meat)'

62 On the unexpected n before the d of t/dannanda, see J.
4.1.2 i-stems

nouns:

90. harsiyalli- 'pithos'
a. CTH 631 KBo XVII 74+ I 6'-7' har-ši-ya-a[l-1]i-ma; see no. 32

Since the word occurs with a numeral it could be either number.

91. uktūri- 'eternal'
a. CTH 414 KUB XXIX 1 IV 20-21 ud-da-a-ar-aš-ma-aš

QA-TAM-MA uk-tu-u-ri e-eš-du 'Let the words likewise be eternal for them.'

See no. 1 for further discussion.

adjectives:

92. salli- 'great'
a. CTH 6 KUB I 16 II 66-67 šal-al-la E-[ir ku-e ne na-at-ta [pár-ku-nu-ut-ta-ti] zi-ga pár-ku-ya-a-tar i-ya 'the palaces which (there were), they [were] not [purified]. You perform the purification!'

93. suppi- 'holy; ritually pure (meat)'
a. CTH 631 KBo XVII 74+ IV 31'-32', 36' šù-up-pa; see no. 4.b sect. 5. I 11-12 a-aš-šu-še-it-ra; see no. 5.b.1

4.1.3 ai-stems

nouns:

94. hastai- 'bone'
a-da-an-zi ha-aš-ta-e-ma A-NA E MUHALDIM pí-e-da-an-zi 'I take a piglet, and I carry it into the inner chamber. And the SUHUR.LAL women eat it. Moreover, they carry the bones to the kitchen.' hastae could be a true plural 'bones', or it could be a collective 'skeleton'. See no. 192 for further discussion.

hastae could be a true plural 'bones', or it could be a collective 'skeleton'. See no. 192 for further discussion.

4.1.4 u-stems

nouns:

95. āssu- 'goods, property'

a. CTH 4 KBo X 2 III 8-12 a-aš-šu-ma-aš-ši ša-ra-a-da-ah-hu-un na-at URU ha-at-tu-ši URU-ri-mi-it ar-ha ú-da-ah-hu-un 2 TA-PAL GIŠ MAR.GID.DA MEŠ īš-TU KÙ.BABBAR ta-a-įš-ti-ya-an e-eš-ta 'Moreover, I took up the goods from him. And I brought them away to Hattusa, to my city. 2 pairs of wagons were loaded with silver.'

b. CTH 19 KBo III 1+ 28-29, 30-31 nu URU hal-pa-aš NAM.RA MEŠ a-aš-šu-uš-še-it [URU] ha-at-tu-ši ú-da-aš 'And he brought the captives (and) goods of Aleppo to Hattusa.'

c. CTH 291 KBo VI 3 127

1. sect. 5 11-12 a-aš-šu-še-it-ta; see no. 5.b.1

2. sect. 27 II 1-2 (nu LŪ-aš] a-aš-šu-še-it wa-ar-nu-an-zi 'And] they burn [the man's] goods.'

For use of -mit as dative, see Ph. Houwink ten Cate 1966a:123-32; F. Starke 1977:133, 177, 181 ff.
LATE COPIES OF OLD HITTITE: u-stems

(LH* KUB XXVI 56 II 8 a-aš-šu-<še->it; LH* KBo VI 5 II 7 a-aš-šu-še-it)

d. CTH 457 KUB XLIII 60 I 22-24 nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ku-e a-aš-šu-u 9-an-da-aš ha-ap-pí-eš-na-aš še-ir ha-a-aš-ša-an ne [wa-]al-ha-an-za e-eš-du 'And for her the good things which are born on the 9 members, let them be struck.'

Although Late Hittite in most instances has lost the Old and Middle Hittite distinction between aššu 'goods' and aššu 'good', in no. d it is retained, perhaps under the influence of the OH exemplar. See no. 5 for further discussion.

96. genu- 'knee'
a. CTH 412 KUB XLIII 53 I 14' gi-nu-še-ta gi-nu-aš da-a-ak-ki 'And his knees correspond to the knees.'

Since in parallel sentences in the text other nominative plurals of body parts are paired with their dative plurals, the plural genuwas guarantees that genu is plural.

97. genzu- 'genitalia; mercy'
a. CTH 372 KUB XXXI 127

1. I 4-5 zi-ik-pát ha-an-da-an-za an-da gi-en-zu-ú da-aš-ki-ši 'You (are) just, you are having mercy.'

2. I 8 nu gi-en-zu zi-ik-pát da-aš-ki-ši 'And you are having mercy.'

b. CTH 412 KUB XLIII 53 I 11' gi-en-zu-uš-še-ta gi-<en>-zu-wa-aš da-[a]-ak-ki 'And his genitalia correspond to the genitalia.'
As with no. 96, the plural dative assures the plurality of genzu in b. I know of no other unambiguous plural instance of genzu, but it seems reasonable that it should be the same number throughout when referring to a single individual. It may be a plurale tantum, as suggested by C. Watkins [1981 forthcoming]. Other attestations occur in Late Hittite but as none offers evidence to the number of genzu, I shall not cite them.

Watkins claims that the -ū of genzu, like that of āsū, indicates plurality. However, as the spelling <gi-en-zu-ū> occurs only once (a.1), where it is followed three lines later by <gi-en-zu>, and since the only MH attestation is <gi-en-zu-še-it> (no. 48), little weight can be put on the one plene spelling. One might also note that <u> is used for āsū and <ū> for genzu.

adjectives:

98. idālu- 'evil'

a. CTH 19 KBo III 1+ II 61 ki-i-ma i-da-a-la-u-wa ud-da-a-ar ku-i-e-eš e-eš-ša-an-zi '(Those) who do these evil matters, however...'

b. CTH 414 KUB XXIX 1 II 20-21 an-tu-uh-ša-aš i-da-a-lu INIMMEŠ-ar da-at-tin 'Take away the evil words of men!'

For a list of attestations see K. Riemschneider 1973:278.
99. tarru- 'on one's stomach, on all fours?'

a. no CTH number Bo 2489+ II 6-8 KUR URU ha-at-ti-y[a-kā]n la-ba-ar-na-aš SAL ta-wa-an-na-[an-n]a-aš ki-iš-ša-ri-i tar-r̄u-u ū-[e-ši]-it-ta-ru 'Let the land of Hatti graze on all fours(?) in the hand of the Labarna and the Tawannanna. See no. 53 for discussion.

4.1.5 t-stems 'and he makes the foetus abort.'

nouns:

100. aniyat- 'adornment'

a. CTH 12 KUB XXXI 64+ IV 8 [a-ni-ya-at-ta ma-ak-nu-uš-ki a] keep accumulating adornments!' See sect. 77a III 78, 80 nu sar-hu-wa-an-da-

b. CTH 631 KBo XVII 74


4.1.6 nt-stems

nouns:

101. sarhuwanta- 'foetus'

a. CTH 291 KBo VI 3

ILATE COPIES OF OLD HITTITE: nt-stems

(LH* KBo VI 5 I 20-21 SAL-an EL-LAM šar-hu-u-wa-an-da;
LH* KBo VI 4 I 40-41 SALTI EL-LI šar-hu-u-wa-an-da-an)

2. sect 18 I 43 ták-ku GEME-aš šar-hu-wa-an-du-uš-šu-uš
ku-iš-ki pí-eš-ši-ya-zi 'If anyone makes the foetus of
a slave woman abort...

(LH* KBo VI 5 I 23 GEME-an šar-hu-u-wa-an-da; LH* KBo
VI 4 I 42-43 GEME-an šar-hu-wa-an-da-an)

3. sect. 77a III 78, 80 nu šar-hu-wa-an-da
pí-eš-ši-ya-zi 'And he makes the foetus abort.'

(Oh KBo VI 2+ IV 6 ŠA ŠABLYŠA)

KBo VI 3+ uses common plural when referring to humans (nos.
a.1-2) and neuter plural when referring to animals (no.
a.3). KBo VI 5 uses only the neuter plural and VI 4 uses
only common singular. Once in LH** KBo VI 34 III 18 the
common singular is used referring to a human, and once in LH
KUB VII 53+ I 4-5 the neuter plural referring to a human.

H. Eichner [1979:48] suggests that sarhuwanda is a col-
lective formed to common gender sarhuwant-, but does not
demonstrate any difference in meaning between them.

adjectives:

102. anda appant- 'packed?'

a. CTH 292 sect. 122 KBo VI 14+ I 15 ták-ku an-da
ap-pa-an-da GIS MAR.GID.DA ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-i[z-zi 'If
someone steals a packed wagon...

For this translation of the participle of ep- see J.
Friedrich 1959:106.
That the noun is neuter plural is shown also by the use of *taistianda*, no. 105.

103. *hümant-*  'all'
a. *CTH* 4 KBo X 2 I 25 nu-mu KUR.KUR^MESH hu-u-ma-an-da me-na-ah-ha-an-da ku-ru-ri-ah-hi-ir 'And all the lands made war against me.'

The unexpected plural verb with a neuter plural subject must be due to agreement with an underlying subject 'inhabitants' or the like.

104. *miant-*  'producing, flowering'
a. *CTH* 292 sect. 107 KBo VI 11 I 8-15 mi-an-da; see no. 89

105. *taistiant-*  'loaded'

106. *taggaliyant-*  'fenced in'
a. *CTH* 292 sect. 107 KBo VI 11 I 8-15 tāg-ga-li-ya-an-da; see no. 89

(LH* KBo VI 10+ I 17 tā)g-ga-li-ya-an-da; LH* KUB XXIX 23+ 5-11 ták-ka-li-an-da)

107. *tittiyant-*  'associated with, assigned to?'
a. *CTH* 19 KUB XI 1+ I 10-11 nu ut-ni-e ma-ni-ya-ah-hi-iš-ki-ir nu? URUDILHI.A RA-BU-U-TIM ti-it-tya-an-ta [ ] e-eš-ta 'And they kept managing the lands. And? the great cities [ ] were assigned(?)'.

4.1.7  n-stems  

nouns:  

108. sarāman- type of bread  

a. CTH 414  HT 38 II 9 ] ša-ra-a-ma-wa GIŠ ma-ah-la-an ši-[  
b. CTH 631  KBo XVII 74+ II 26', IV 33', 36'  

NINDA ša-r[a-am-n]a hal-zi-ya 'sarāma loaves are named.'  

For a discussion see no. 16.  

4.1.8  r-stems  

nouns:  

109. tahatumar- 'incense'  

a. CTH 631  KBo XVII 74+ II 40-41 LÜ.MEŠ ]x ĻŠ-TU E.NA 4  

da-ha-tu-ma-a-ar Ļ-da-an-zi 'The x people] bring  

(sticks/pieces of) incense from the mausoleum.'  

For discussion see no. 17.  

4.1.9  r/n-stems  

nouns:  

110. asawar/n- 'pen, fold'  

a. CTH 4  KBo X 2 I 7 nu ku-e k]u-e a-ša-u-wa-ar e-eš-[t]a  

'And] which[ever] pens there were...  

Why F. Imparati restores kue kue rather than simply kue  
[1965:44] is not clear. No Hittite duplicate preserves this  
passage, and the Akkadian is no help since, as A. Goetze  
[1962:24] demonstrates, the scribe has confused asawar and  
āssuwa, translating minam dumqam (for expected mimma dumqam)
all possessions'. Goetze translates the Hittite as 'the sheep(folds) that were', implying only kue and not kue kue but does not discuss his reasoning.

The spelling <-wa-ar> could be an error for <-wa-a-ar> as happens with harsar (no. 18), or it could be the correct spelling of the unmarked plural as it is for partawar (no. 69). As no other war/n-stem is securely attested with the plene plural, the latter is more likely to be correct. The noun is certainly plural since it agrees with (kue) kue.

111. uddar/n- 'word, matter'

As this word occurs frequently in LH* texts and never varies in spelling from <ud-da-a-ar>, I here give only cross-references to sentences with some other neuter plural. See nos. 91, 98, 121, 122.c, 125, 126.a.

112. watar/n- 'water'

a. CTH 752 KUB XXXII 117+ Rs. 7-8 x G-i-da-a-ar kat-t[a

4.1.10 nouns of irregular inflection

113. per-/parn- 'house'

a. CTH 6 KUB I 16 II 66-67 E-ir; see no. 92

See no. 22 for discussion of the stem.

114. utnē 'land'

a. CTH 16 KBo III 41+ Vs. 8-9 ta za-ah-hi-iš-ki-m[i

Cf. also A. Kammenhuber 1975:371.
Since several campaigns are referred to and several countries named, utne ought to be plural here.

b. CTH 19. KBo III I

1. I 7, 17, 27 nu ut-ni-e har-ni-in-ki-iš-ki-it nu ut-ni-e ar-ha tar-ra-nu-ut 'And he kept destroying the lands. And he made the lands exhausted.'

2. I 11 ut-ni-e; see no. 107

3. II 1-2 ut-ni-e-ma-aš-ši ku-u-ru-ri-e-it 'Moreover, the lands made war against him.'

In all three passages several countries are listed by name, implying that utne is plural throughout.

For a discussion of the stem see no. 23.

4.1.11 Nouns whose stem class is uncertain

115. halhaltumari 'corners'

a. CTH 372 KUB XXXI 127 I 22-23 DÉN.LÎL-aš at-ta-aš-te-[eš ut-ni-]le? 4 hal-hal-du-ma-ri tu-u[k-pál]t ki-iš-ri-it-ti ti[-ya-an har-zi 'Enlil, your father, [has] put the four corners [of the land?] into your own hand.' halhaltumari may be either number following a numeral. If plural it could belong either to the MH r-stem attested in no. 68 or to the LH i-stem attested in halhaltumariyas.

116. sakuwa 'eyes'

a. CTH 19 KBo III I+ II 29 nu-wa-ru-uš IGIH.I.A-wa mu-un-na-an-zi 'And they cover (their) eyes.'

b. CTH 414 KUB XXIX I II 18 ša-a-ku-wa-aš-še-it li-li-eš-ki-it-ten 'Soothe his eyes!'

For a discussion of the stem see no. 24.
117. suppala 'cattle'

a. CTH 292 KBo VI 26

1. sect. 163 I 22-23  tāk-ku šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-it kū-e-e-lq ė si-e-û-ni-ah-ta ta-at pār-ku-nu-zi 'If someone's cattle are struck by the god, and he lets them (run) free...

(LH* KBo VI 18+1-2 šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-it)

2. I 26-27 šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-it pl-en-na-a-i na-at a-ki 'He drives forth his cattle, and they die.'

Attested 1-stem forms of this word are suppala ntr. nom-acc. sg. (LH KUB XXXVI 55 II 30); supli dat-loc. sg. (LH** KBo VI 34 IV 15); supla nom-acc. ntr. pl. Common gender forms, which could belong either to an 1-stem -- in which case suppala- would be the unique Hit. common gender 1-stem -- or to an a-stem made from the old 1-stem, include suppalaš c. nom. sg. (LH* KBo III 60 II 1, KBo XII 3 IV 15); suppales c. nom. pl. (OH VBoT 124 I 6); suppalan c. gen. pl. (LH KUB XXXI 127 I 43; resumed by kues). If the neuter is always 1-stem, then suppala-set must be plural. If, however, the neuter also took a-stem inflection, then

---

69 A. Kammenhuber [1969:198] mentions "alt" suppala, suppalaš (nom. sg. c.), but cites no texts. Probably she is referring to the same forms which I here call LH.
70 A. Goetze [1966:128] cites this form without text reference. I have not found such a form in my corpus.
71 Since we have no other common gender 1-stem, we do not know whether to expect an endingless nominative singular parallel to kessar or one with an ending parallel to hupparas, sakuwassaras.
suppala-set could stand for suppala(n)-set nom-acc. sg. Since no clearly a-stem neuter form is attested it seems more reasonable to assume that suppala is the 1-stem plural.

118. tarusha harness part?

a. CTH 291 sect. 78 KBo VI 3+ IV 4 KUŠ ta-ru-uš-ha; see no. 25

b. CTH 292 sect. 125 KBo VI 10+ II 9-10 ták-ku KUŠ hu-u-ša-an na-aš-ma KUŠ ta-ru-uš-h[a] ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-iz-zi 'If someone steals a husan or tarusha...'

See no. 25 for discussion.

4.1.12 pronouns and numerals

119. -a- third person enclitic

a. CTH 4 KBo X 2 III 8-10 -at; see no. 95.a

b. CTH 6 KUB I 16 II 66-67 ne; see no. 92

Late Hittite in general gives up the use of -e and employs -at for both numbers. The -e here no doubt stems from the OH original of this LH* copy.

c. CTH 292 sect. 163 KBo VI 26 I 22-23, 26-27 -at; see no. 117.a

d. CTH 457 KUB XLIII 60 I 22-24 ne; see no. 95.d

-e here is probably due to the OH original.

120. apa- 'that'

a. CTH 631 KBo XVII 74

1. IV 33'-34' su-wa-a-ru ku-e G[ALHI.A ak-ku-uš-]ki-iz-zi ta a-pi-e-pát e-ku-zi 'The vessels which he drinks
fully, just those he drinks.'

2. IV 41'-42' šu-wa-a-ru ku-e GALHIM. A [a]k-ku-uš-kân-zi [ta] a-pu-u-uš-pát a-ku-an-zi 'The vessels which they usually drink fully, just those they drink.'

Regarding the use of apūš for apē in no. a.2, E. Neu comments:

In IV 42' etwa Entgleisung für ape-pat (vgl. IV 34'), bedingt durch das Nebeneinander von zeri- n. und tessummi- c. im selben Text? Vielleicht stand im altheth. Duplikat an dieser Stelle (KBo XVII 11 IV 16'; weggebrochen) ape-pat, so dass apūš erst dem Abschreiber in den Text geraten ist. Wie IV 34' erwartet man namentlich auch IV 42' die Wiederaufnahme des relativen kue durch ape. [1970:81]

121. eni- 'the aforementioned'

a. CTH 6 KUB I 16 III 41 i-e-ni hu-uh-ha-ma-an
na-a-ir 'Have his children not turned the aforementioned words of my grandfather [Pusarrama] aside?'

For a recent discussion of this pronoun see E. Laroche 1979a:150 ff.

122. ka- 'this'

Late Hittite gives up the Old and Middle Hittite use of ki as singular only and ke as plural only, and instead uses the two interchangeably. Indication is given below as to the use of kī/kē in each text.

a. CTH 4 KBo X 2 I 19 nu ki-e KUR.KUR MEŠ har-ni-in-ku-un 'And I destroyed these lands.'

b. CTH 19 KBo III 1+ II 61 ki-i-ma; see no. 98.a

---

72 For this adverb see J. Puhvel 1981:213.
c. CTH 414

1. KUB XXIX 1 III 30, 38 nu ki-i ud-da-a-ar me-mi-ya-an-zi 'And they speak these words.'

2. HT 38 II 6 nu ki-i-ya ud-da-a-ar QA-TAM-MA[ 'And also these words likewise [

In no. a ke is plural, kî singular; in b kî is both; in c.1 ke is singular, kî plural; in c.2 kî is plural.

123. kui- 'which'

The plural is always spelled ku-e. See nos. 92, 95.d, 120.

124. kui- kui- 'whichever'

a. CTH 4 KBo X 2 I 7 ku-e k]u-e; see no. 110

It is not clear that this restoration is correct.

125. -met first singular possessive

a. CTH 6 KUB I 16


2. III 33-34 nu LUGAL-as ud-da-[a]-ar-mi-it [pa-ah-ha-aš-d]u-ma-at 'And preserve the words of me, the king!'

3. III 46 ū-su-me-eš-m]a la-[b]a-ar!-na-aš LUGAL.GAL

ud-da-a-ar-me-it pa-ah-ha-aš-nu-ut-te-en 'But [you] preserve the words of me, the Labarna, the great king.'

4. III 56 ud-da-a-ar-me-it-ta pí-ih-hu-un 'I gave my words to you.'

5. III 57-58 nu-za-an [ud-da]-a-ar-me-it ha-at-ta-(ta>-me-it-ta kar-ta ši-iš-at-ti 'And you
press my words and my wisdom to (your) heart for yourself.'

Note the change from -mit to -met within a few lines.

126. -set third singular possessive

a. CTH 6 KUB I 16
1. III 41 ud-da-a-ar-še-it; see no. 121
his servants (and) the nobles made his words ineffect-
tive.'

b. CTH 19 KBo III 1+ I 28-19, 30-31 a-aš-šu-uš-še-it; see no. 95.b

c. CTH 291 KBo VI 3
1. sect. 5 I 11-12 a-aš-šu-še-it-та; see no. 5.b.1
2. sect. 27 II 1-2 a-aš-šu-še-it; see no. 95.c.2
(LH* KUB XXVI 56 II 8 a-aš-šu-<še>-it; LH* KBo VI 5 II 7 a-aš-šu-še-it)

d. CTH 292 sect. 163 KBo VI 26+ I 22-23, 26-27
šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-it; see no. 117.a

e. CTH 412 KUB XLIII 53
1. I 11° gi-en-zu-uš-še-ta; see no. 97.b
2. I 14° gi-nu-še-ta; see no. 96.a

f. CTH 414 KUB XXIX 1 II 18 ša-a-ku-wa-aš-še-it; see no. 116.b

g. CTH 631 KBo XVII 74+ I 31° a-ni-ya-at-ta-še-it; see no. 100.b

127. 2-e 'two'

a. CTH 631 KBo XVII 74+ I 6°-7° 2-e; see no. 32
4.1.13 summary

In Table III forms which are attested in both the OH and the LH* exemplars are marked *. Only forms which seem securely plural are listed. Stem classes, parts of speech, and ending types found in LH* copies but not in OH originals are the following: a-stem nouns and adjectives in -a; u-stem adjectives in -u and -uwa; ai-stem nouns in -ae; nt-stem nouns in -a. Formations found in Old Hittite but not attested in LH* copies are the endingless nt-stem adjective such as wetan, and the -aya ending of the i-stem adjective. The only pronoun not previously attested is eni. -at has replaced -e in most LH* exemplars, while kI and ke have merged their functions. These changes are characteristic of Late Hittite as a whole contrasted with Old Hittite.
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<td>2-e*</td>
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**TABLE III**

**NEUTER PLURALS ATTESTED IN LATE HITTITE COPIES OF OLD HITTITE**
4.2 LATE HITTITE COPIES OF MIDDLE HITTITE TEXTS

4.2.1 a-stems

nouns:

128. suhha- 'roof'

a. CTH 261 KUB XXXI 89 II 7 na-aš-ta] šu-uh-ha li-e
   wa-ar-hu-u-i za-ap-pí-ya-[at-ta-ri 'And let the roof(s)
   covered with brushwood not be leaky.'
   (LH** KUB XXXI 86+ II 17-18 na-as-ta š[u-uh-ha
   wa-ar-h]u-i za-ap-pí-ya-at-ta-ri li-e)

I follow E. von Schuler [1957:43, 54] in taking suhha warhūi
as noun plus adjective, although in the first copy warhūi
differs from the majority of adjectives not only in follow­
ing its noun but especially in being separated from it by
lē. This is reminiscent of adverb placement, and
conceivably could be translated 'Let the roof(s) not leak
roughly/in the manner of something covered with brushwood'.

For the use of the neuter plural even with single build­
ings, see Beckman 1977:217-18.

adjectives:

129. dannatta- 'empty, uninhabited'

a. CTH 261 KUB XXXI 84 III 66-67 har-kán-ta-aš-ša LŪ
   GIŠ TUKUL ku-iš A.ŠAHI.A ta'-an-na-a-at-ta-ya ku-e
   pí-e-it-ta ne-it-ta h[u]-u-[m]a-an GUL-aš-ša-an e-es-tu
   'And whoever (is) a dead (or missing) worker, and whatever
   empty fields (are his) land grants, let these be written
down for you completely.'
b. CTH 427 KBo VI 34+ III 29 da\n-na-at-ta

URU-ya-še-še-šar i-ya-an-du \[let them make the cities uninhabited.\]

J. Friedrich [1954:209] labels dannatta singular here, but in fact URU-vasessar is an unexceptionable r/n-stem neuter plural, 73 so that dannatta should be taken as plural.

4.2.2 i-stems

nouns:

130. huwasi- 'stele'

a. CTH 404 KBo II 3

1. III 11 iš-tar-na-ma-kān 7 NA₄ hu-wa-ši iš-ga-ra-an-zi

'Moreover, in the middle they set up 7 steles.'

(LH** KUB X 76.6 NA₄ hu-wa-a-ši)

This may be either number following a numeral.

2. III 17-18 ku-iš]-wa-ra-at ū-e-te-š-ki-it

[N]A₄ hu-wa-a-ši HI.A ša-a-mi-ta 'Whoever] built them, the steles, in the same place...'

3. III 23-24 NA₄ hu-u-wa-ši HI.A; see no. 35.a.2

(LH** KUB XII 59+ III 13 NA₄ hu-u-wa-ši HI.A)

131. upāti- 'fief?'

a. CTH 258 KUB XL 62+ I 11-12 ]HI.A ū-pa-a-ti HI.A Ū

LUMES ša-ri-ku-wa-š [\(gap\)] e-eš-ta. \[x, fiefs(\?), and \]

\[\[the sariku people were \[\]

132. wassi- 'ingredient'

a. CTH 402 KUB XXIV 11

1. II 30° na-at tu-e-el wa-aš-ši HI.A tuh-hu-eš-ni-[it]

'And it your ingredients with tuhhessar ['

2. III 14°-15° nu-uš-ša-an wa-aš-ši HI.A A-N[A 5 GAL

GIR₄] la-a-hu-u-wa-i 'And he pours ingredients into [5
burnt clay vessels.]

(LH** KUB XXIV 10 III 16-17 wa-aš-ši; LH** KBo XXI 8
III 4 wa-aš-ša HI.A)

See no. 178 for discussion.

adj ectives:

133. harki- 'white'

a. CTH 334 KUB XXXIV 76 I 2-3 ] har-ki wa-aš-ši-iz-zi I-NA

[ ] iš-har-wa-an-da wa-aš-ši-iz-[zi 'In spring] it
wears white, [but] at [harvest time] it wears blood red.'

(LH** KUB XXXIII 54 II 13-14 ha-mi-eš-hi-ya-az BABBARTIM
w[a-aš-ša-ši] EBUR-ma-az iš-har-wa-an-d[a)

Since isharwanda is plural harki ought also to be plural,
standing for 'white blossoms' or the like.

134. kartli- 'old, former'

a. CTH 261 KUB XIII 2 II 13-16 ka-ru-ú-[i-1]i; see no.

76.e

135. suppi- 'holly; ritually pure (meat)'

a. CTH 323 KUB XXXVI 44 IV 13 UZ]Ušu-up-pa ar-ha da-a-i

'He takes away the meat.'

b. CTH 402 KUB XXIV 9+ IV 24-25 na-aš-ta šu-up-pa da-an-zi

UZU NIG.GIG [UZUšŠA ma-an-ni-in-ku-wa-an-da UZUTI na-at
ha-ap-pi-ni-it za-nu-wa-an-zì 'And they take the meat — liver, [heart], (and) short ribs — and they cook them with fire.'

136. warhūi- 'rough; covered with brushwood'

a. CTH 261 KUB XXXI 89 II 7 wa-ar-hu-u-i; see no. 128

4.2.3 i-stems

nouns:

137. hastai- 'bone'

a. CTH 427 KBo VI 34+ II 26-27 nu ha-aš-ta-i-ši-{ti}-it QA-TAM-MA ma-al-la-an-du na-an QA-TAM-MA i-nu-uš-ki-du 'And let them thus grind his bones. And let them(?)

stew him likewise.'

As the passage refers to the destruction of the man in question, hastai should refer to all of his bones, either as a true plural or as a collective 'skeleton'.

4.2.4 u-stems

nouns:

138. idalu- 'evil'

a. CTH 402 KUB XLI 1 I 12 ki-nu-un-na-aš-ši-ká-na HUL-u-wa da-a[š-ki-mi] 'And now [I keep] taking evils from him.'

See J. Friedrich 1947:300.

On the grammatical difficulties of this passage see N. Oettinger 1976:33 ff.
139. welku- 'grass, growth'

a. CTH 427 KBo VI 34+ II 40-41 ĝ-el-[lu-wa]-aš an-da
   ĝ-el-ku-wa li-e hu-wa-a-i 'in the meadows may no grass
grow.'

J. Friedrich [1954:251] calls welkuwa neuter plural to
welku-, and indeed it would be a well-formed u-stem noun
neuter plural. N. Oettinger [1976:36-37], however, cites
welkuwan in IV 17 and points out that welkuwa shows signs of
erasure. He therefore restores welkuwan here, i.e. the nomi­nate-accusative singular neuter of welkuwant- 'grass, growth'.

140. wellu- 'meadow'

a. CTH 323 VBoT 58 I 7-11 ha-a[h-hi-ma-aš] ut-ni-e
   hu-u-ma-an ti-nu-ut ĝ-i-da-a-ar ha-at-nu-ut ha-ah-hi-ma-aš
   GAL-iš hu-wa-an-ti A-NA ŠEŠ-ŠU tar-aš-ki-iz-zi
   HUR.SAG MEŠ-aš ĝ-i-da-a-ar GIŠ.SAR HI.A ĝ-e-el-[1]u nu
   tu-el wa-ar-šu-la-aš-te-eš pa-iš-ga-ta-ru nu-uš li-e
   ti-in-nu-zi 'Stiffness stopped up(?) the whole land. It
dried up the waters. The great stiffness keeps saying to
his brother the wind, "Let your refreshment -- the waters
of the mountains, the gardens, the meadows -- keep going!
Let it not stop them up(?)!" 76

Here wellu is assumed to be plural because it is conjoined
to other indisputably plural nouns.

141. GIŠ-ru- 'tree'

a. CTH 261 KUB XIII 2 II 5-6 a-ú-wa-ri-ya-aš-ša-kán EN-aš A-NA URU-DIDLI.HI.A BÀD an-da wa-ar-nu-ma-aš GIŠ-ru HI.A ki-iš-ša-an ha-an-ta-id-du 'Let the chief of the border guard also prepare logs for burning in this way in the fortresses.'

GIŠ-ru HI.A could be collective here, 'wood for burning'.

adjectives:

142. ûssu- 'good'

a. CTH 332 KUB XXXIII 68 II 11-12 zi-ga DU i-da-a-lu ud-da-a-ar ar-ha pi-eš-ši-ya nu-za a-aš-šu ud-da-a-ar da-a 'But you, o storm god, cast away evil words! And take good words for yourself!'

143. huisu- 'raw'

a. CTH 323 VBoT 58 IV 48-49 UZUšu-up-pla hu-i-šu ŠA UDU UZU ZAG.UDU UZU GAB SAG.DU GİRMEŠ [A-NA DUTU] da-a-i 'he places the raw [meat] of a sheep [for the sun god] -- the shoulder, the breast, the head, (and) the feet.'

144. idalu- 'evil'

a. CTH 332 KUB XXXIII 68 II 11-12 i-da-a-lu; see no. 142

b. CTH 404 KBo II 3 III 42-44 i-da-a-la-u-wa; see no. 51.a.2

(LH** KBo IX 106 III 34 i-da-a-lu)
4.2.5 nt-stems

adjectives:

145. .aspect - 'warm, hot'

a. CTH 489  KBo XVII 65 Rs. 21  pí-ra-an-ma a-aš-ki NINDA a-a-an-ta pár-ši-[y]a-an na-at NINDA pár-šu-[u]l-li-e-eš i-en-[zi  'But in front in the gateway, hot loaves (are) broken. And they make them into bread crumbs.'

The form .aspect, if it does not consist of -ta wrongly added to NINDA .aspect, should be a neuter plural nt-stem in -a. In contrast, parsiyan, if not a misspelling for parsiyanda, appears to be the much rarer nt-stem plural without -a (cf. no. 14). See also no. 283.

.aspect is the participle of .aspect- 'be warm, hot' established by A. Goetze [1954:187], who demonstrated that the <a-a-> spelling must express aya-.

146. arsanant- 'envious'

a. CTH 324  KUB XXXIII 9 III 7  -d]a ša-a-ku-wa ar-ša-na-an-[d]a  'x eyes (are?) envious'

147. hanissant- 'white washed'

a. CTH 489  KBo XVII 65 Rs. 10  h]a-ni-iš-ša-an-[t]a hur-nu-an-ta an-da-ya-at ka-ru-ú iš-tap-pa-an-ta  'white washed (and) sprinkled. And they already have been shut up.'

148. hadant- 'dried'

a. CTH 701  KBo XXIII 44 I 11  ha-da-a-an-da; see no. 56

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77 I transcribe the "superlong" a-a-aC by .aspect.
149. **hūmant-** 'all'
   a. CTH 142 KUB XXIII 27 I 5-7 nam-ma ū-it [(gap)]-ti hu-u-ma-an-da
   b. CTH 333 KUB XXXIII 67 I 8 ]hu-u-ma-an-da an-da
      išt-hu-u-w[a-a-i ']he pours [ ]all in.'
   c. CTH 335 KUB XXXIII 13 II 23 ]hu-u-ma-an-da AŠ-RI
      ir-ha-a-iz-zi ']he makes the rounds of all the (holy)
      places.'
   d. CTH 402 KBo XII 126+ III 81 ku-u-un UN-an UZU₃RHI.A
      hu-u-ma-an-da QA-TAM-MA [pár-ku-nu-ud-du 'Let him make]
      this man [clean] as to all (his) limbs thus.'
   e. CTH 404 KBo II 3 III 38 ]hu-u-ma-an-da ud-da-a-ar[
      'all words'

150. **hurnuant-** 'sprinkled'
   a. CTH 489 KBo XVII 65 Rs. 10 hur-nu-an-ta; see no. 147

151. **ishar(nu)want-** 'blood red'
   a. CTH 334 KUB XXXIV 76 I 2-3 iš-har-wa-an-da; see no. 133
      (LH** KUB XXXIII 54 II 13-14 iš-har-wa-an-d[a)
   b. CTH 402 KBo XII 126 I 38-39 ku-i-š)a-an
      iš-har-nu-uš-[i-it? ki-nu-na-aš-ši-kān
      iš-ha)r-nu-wa-an-da d[a-aš-ki-mi 'Whoever made] him blood
      red[ Now from him I am taking] the (things) made blood
      red.'

152. **manninkuwant-** 'short, near'
   a. CTH 402 KBo XII 126+ IV 24-25 ma-an-ni-in-ku-wa-an-da;
      see no. 135.b
153. merrant-  'dead, dried'
   a. CTH 393 VBoT 24
      NA₄ pa-aš-ši-la-an me-ir-ra-an-da-ya ha-aš-du-ir
      ũ-da-an-zi 'And from a ploughed field they bring 9
      pebbles and dried brushwood.'
   2. III 29-31 še-ra-aš-sa-an GIŠ sar-pa-aš ha-aš-du-ir
      me-ir-ra-an-da wa-ar-nu-zi 'And upon (them) he burns
      the dried brushwood.'

154. parsivant-  'broken'
   a. CTH 489 KBo XVII 65 Rs. 21 pár-ši-ya-an; see no. 145

155. sanhu(wa)nt-  'roasted'
   a. CTH 393 VBoT 24
   1. I 17-20 nam-ma-aš-sa-an ša-an-hu-un-da
      NINDA.KUR₄.RA HI.A ŠA UNU-UT GIR₄ GIŠ KAK HI.A-ya
      kat-ša-pád-da-ni-i ha-an-da-a-iz-zi 'Moreover, she
      arranges the roasted (barley), the thick loaves, the
      implements of burnt clay, and the sticks, and the birds
      of clay, (and) the small pitchers in a basket.'
   2. II 8 ša-an-hu-un-da-ma ar-ha šu-uh-ha-i 'But she
      scatters away the roasted (barley).'

See also no. 235.

156. unuwant-  'adorned'
   a. CTH 323 VBoT 58 IV 34 1 GIŠ BANŠUR ŠA nu-wa-an-ta A-NA
      DUTU da-a-i 'He places one table, set, for the sun god.'
Like other items of furniture, 'table' is sometimes treated as a collective. 78

4.2.6 r-stems

nouns:

157. arsarsūr- | 'stream'

a. CTH 335 KUB XXXIII 13 II 14'-15' x ar-šar-šu-u-ra [ ]x ša-an-hu-un 'and(?) stream(s)[ ]I sought.'

The text is very broken here. arsarsūra could be the plural in -a of arsarsūr (KBo XXIII 9 I 12) or the singular arsarsūr plus -a 'and'. 79

4.2.7 r/n-stems

nouns:

158. hasduir/n- | 'brushwood, stubble, waste'

a. CTH 393 VBoT 24 III 29 URI-ya-ša-ša-šar; see no. 149


'(Sticks of) brushwood of a ploughed field, 9 pebbles of a ploughed field, 9 (dishes of) food...'

2. III 26-27, 29-31 ha-аш-du-ir; see no. 153.a

---


80 For the meaning see A. Goetze 1954:189, for the stem class C. Watkins 1974:11, 14.
3. III 42-43 ki-e-ma-kán ha-āš-du-ir ma-ah-ha-an

"But as these (sticks of) brushwood vanished for the plowman..."

Since all four sentences refer to the same brushwood, and
since hasduir twice agrees with merranta, hasduir should be
plural in all four cases. The plural and singular are
spelled the same (cf. sg. hasduir KBo III 63 II 18).

159. uddar/n- 'word, matter'

As this word occurs with great frequency, and always in the
spelling <ud-da-a-ar>, cross-references are here provided
only where another neuter plural is involved. See nos.
51.a.2, 142, 149.e, 166.b, c.

160. wātar/n- 'water'

a. CTH 323 VBoT 58 I 7-11 ū-i-da-a-ar; see no. 140

160. URU-yassessar/n- 'city'

a. CTH 427 KBo VI 34+ III 29 URU-ya-še-eš-šar; see no.
129.b

4.2.8 nouns whose stem class is uncertain

161. iskisa 'backs'

a. CTH 483 KUB XIII 29.7-8 na-āš-ta A-NA KUR LŪ KUR[
    is-ki-sa na-is-ten 'And turn (your) backs on the enemy
    land[

The word is an old s-stem (cf. OH iskis-(s)mit KUB XXXVI 110
Rs. 10', LH* iskis-(s)et KUB XLIII 53 Vs. I 6', 23') which
has perhaps been remade -- at least sporadically -- into an
a-stem, thus iskisan ntr. sg., Bo 4463.6' (A. Goetze 1933:
It is also possible, however, that this form should be analyzed as iskisa plus the enclitic pronoun -an, since later sentences in the passage have the form 'body part -an dau, body part -an pesti' (see no. 201). Lack of context in line 61 prevents definitive analysis of the form.

iskisa is unexceptionable as plural both to an a-stem and to an s-stem. No other s-stem neuter plural is attested, but compare t-stem aniyatta (no. 7).

162. parsülli 'fragments'

a. CTH 777 IBot II 39 Rs. 24-25 nam-ma NINDA.KUR₄.RA NINDA.SIG MEŠ-ya pár-ši-ya na-an-ša-an ha-aš-ši-i da-a-i pár-ši-ul-li-ma-kân a-ra-an a-ri an-da na-[a-i 'Moreover, he breaks thick loaves and thin loaves. And he puts it on the hearth. And he turns the fragments towards one another.'

J. Friedrich [1954:162] cites this as an l-stem, but as no other forms are attested, it could equally well be an i-stem and a variant of parsulli- (no. 186). The verb-stem is attested both as pars- and as parsiya-.

81 Cited in Goetze's notes as ]na-an iš-ki-ša-an da-a-ûl (G. Beckman, personal communication).

163. *pietta* ‘grant, allotment of land’

_**a. CTH 261**_


2. KUB XXXI 84 III 66-67 pí-e-it-ta; see no. 129.a

See no. 73 for further discussion.

164. *sākuwa* ‘eyes’

_**a. CTH 261 KUB XIII 2 IV 12 IGI.HI.A-wa; see no 74.a.1**_

_**b. CTH 321 KBo III 7**_

1. III 10-11 nu-wa-aš-ma-aš-ta UZUŠA ša-ku-wa-ya ū-e-ik ‘And ask for the heart and eyes from them!’

2. III 14-16 ap-pí-iz-zi-ya-an-na-aš-ma-aš ša-a-ku-wa ū-e-ik-ta ‘And later he asked the eyes from them.’

3. III 18-19 nu-za-an DIM-aš UZUŠA ša-ku-wa-aš-še-ta EGIR-pa da-a-aš ‘And the storm god took back (his) heart and his eyes.’

_**c. CTH 324 KUB XXXIII 9 III 7 ša-a-ku-wa; see no. 146**_

_**d. CTH 404 KBo IX 106+ III 39 J-uš-ša-za-kán IGI.HI.A-wa a-ar-ri ‘he washes his own eyes.’**_

_**e. CTH 427 KBo VI 34**_

1. I 17-18, 36-37, II 12-13 nu-za-an A-NA URU ha-at-ti LŪ KUR-li IGI.HI.A-wa da-a-i ‘And he hostilely puts (his) eyes on the land of Hatti for himself.’

---

2. III 24-25 na-an IGI^A-wa kat-t[a da-]a-i 'And he puts his eyes down[ ]'

4.2.9 pronouns

165. -a- enclitic third person anaphoric
-e occurs in one text:

a. CTH 261
1. KUB XXXI 84 III 66-67 ne-it-ta; see no. 129.a
-e here is no doubt the result of copying from the MH exemplar.
-at is used in all other LH** texts:
2. KUB XIII 2 II 13-16 see no. 76.e

b. CTH 404
1. KUB XII 59 III 15-16 nu TUG NIG. LAM MEŠ ku-e
[wa-ar-ša-an har-kān]-zi na-at-za ar-ha
[pí-eš-ši-ya-an-zí 'And the clothes which they have
[worn], them [they throw] away for themselves."
2. KBO II 3 III 17-18 see no. 130.a.2

c. CTH 489 KBo XVII 65
1. Rs. 10 see no. 147
2. Rs. 21 see no. 145

166. ka- 'this'
As in Late Hittite generally, kā and ke alternate as singular and plural in LH** texts. The distribution of each is listed here.
a. CTH 142 KUB XXIII 11
1. II 13 nu-mu ki-e KUR.KUR₇₁₄ A[ 'And to me these
lands[']
2. II 29 nu ki-i ku-e KUR.KUR₇₁₄ lam-ni-ya-nu-un 'And
these lands which I named...'
b. CTH 260
1. KUB XXXI 44 II 18-19 nam-ma-kān ki-e ud-da-a-ar A[NA
DUMU MEŠ-ni] pī-ra-an Ū-UL ú-e-da-u-e-[ni 'Moreover, we
do not bring these matters before [the children.]
2. KUB XXXI 42 III 16-18 nu ki-e ud-da-a-ar A-NA PA-N[I]
DU URU hur-ra-na-aš-ši ku-it-ma-an me-mi-u-e-ni 'And as
we speak these words before the storm god of the city of
Hurranassi...'
c. CTH 332 KUB XXXIII 68 II 3-4 nu-ut-ta ki-i
'And these words of the prayer are to be [ ] by you.'
In no. a kī and kē are both plural; in b kē is plural; in c
kī is plural.
167. kui- 'which'
The plural is spelled ku-e throughout. See nos. 36.a.1;
76.e; 129.a; 165.b.1; 166.a.2.
168. -set third singular possessive
a. CTH 321 KBo III 7 III 18-19 ša-ku-wa-aš-še-ta; see no.
164.b.3
b. CTH 427 KBo VI 34+ II 26-27 ha-as-ta-i-ši-(ti)-it; see
no. 137
In Table IV forms attested in both a MH exemplar and a LH** copy are marked *. Only those forms which seem securely plural are included. No ending types or stem classes are attested in LH** which are not attested at earlier stages of the language, except the possible -a ending in the r-stems. Differences between the MH and LH** copies are discussed at the end of Chapter 3.
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**NEUTER PLURALS ATTESTED IN LATE HITTITE COPIES OF MIDDLE HITTITE**
4.3 LATE HITTITE AND UNDATED TEXTS

4.3.1 a-stems

nouns:

169. **alpa** - 'cloud'

a. CTH 345 KUB XXXVI 12+ IV 11 n[u ne-p]í-ša-za ar-ha al-pa HI.A pí-e-da-[as] 'And he brought clouds from heaven.'

Except for this one case, **alpa** is common gender, thus **alpas** nom. sg. c., **alpan** acc. sg. c. 84 E. Neu [1969:240] therefore suggests that **alpa** is a neuter collective to the common gender word. Since this is the only instance of the neuter, and since the contexts for a number of the common gender attestations are missing, possible semantic differences between the neuter and common nouns are difficult to establish.

adjectives:

170. **arahzena** - 'neighboring'

a. CTH 376 KUB XXIV 4 II 2-3 nu ka-ru-ú KUR URU ha-at-ti URU a-ri-in-n[a-aš IŠ-TU DUTU za-]ah-ha-it a-ra-ah-zé-na KUR-e UR.MAH ma-a-an a-ar-[aš-ki-it 'And formerly Hatti, with the help [of the sun goddess] of Arinna, used to invade neighboring lands in battle like a lion.'


84 See A. Kammenhuber 1975:60 for other forms.
Arinna, used to fall upon neighboring lands like a lion.

Use of the dative plural in the duplicate reinforces the identification of arahzena KUR-e as neuter plural.

b. CTH 378 KUB XIV 14+ Vs. 28 nam-ma-ya-za da-ma-a-i a-ra-ah-ze-na KUR.KUR^MEŠ LUGAL-u-e-iz-na-an-n[i 'But other neighboring lands against the kingship ['

171. dannatta- 'empty, uninhabited'

a. CTH 81

1. KUB I I+ II 56 nu-mu ki-e KUR.KUR^MEŠ dan-na-at-ta
   AŠ-ŠUM MU-IR-DU-UT-TIM pí-eš-ta 'And he gave me these lands uninhabited, for governing.'
   (KBo III 6+ II 36-37 ki-e KUR.KUR^MEŠ dan-na-at-ta)

2. II 63 nu-mu-kân ŠEŠ-YA [k]u-e ki-i KUR.KUR^MEŠ :dan-na-at-ta ŠU-i da-a-iš 'And these lands which my brother put uninhabited into (my) hand...'
   (KBo III 6+ II 43 ku-e ki-e KUR.KUR^MEŠ dan-na-at-ta)

Use of the Glossenkeil (indicated by :) here and in no. a.3 is unexpected, and well may be erroneous. Although the Glossenkeil is most often used to mark foreign words, it also appears with native Hittite words, sometimes marking misspellings but at other times playing no comprehensible role.85

3. II 66 nu-za ki-e KUR.KUR^MEŠ :dan-na-at-ta İŠ-TU NI.TE-YA EGIR-pa a-še-ša-nu-nu-un 'And I caused these uninhabited lands to be settled again from my own resources.'

---------------------

4. KBo III 6+ II 46 ki-e KUR.KUR^MES dan-na-at-ta

4. KBo III 6+ III 24 nu-mu ki-e KUR.KUR^MES-ya ku-e
dan-na-at-ta am-mu-uk EGIR-pa a-še-ša-nu-nu-un 'And these lands also which (were) uninhabited, I caused to be settled again for myself...'

(KUB XIX 68+ III 15 KUR.KUR^HI.A ku-e dan-na-at-ta)

This word can inflect as an i-stem, e.g. dannattis nom. sg. c. (KUB XXI 29 I 12), but in this text is an a-stem, judging from dannattan acc. sg. c. in KUB I 1+ II 12.

4.3.2 i-stems

nouns:

172. anāhi- 'morsel'

a. CTH 500 KBo XXI 38.7' nam-ma-kān a-na-a-hi-ta ku-e[ RA 'Moreover, morsels which [...

b. CTH 628 KUB XXXII 99 V 5-8 nu-kān a-na-a-hi ku-e da-aš-kān-zi nu-uš-ša-an ku-e PA-NI ĐŠSTAR ti-an-zī ku-e-ma-aš-ša-an a-na-a-hi-ta pa-ra-a Ġ-da-an-zī 'And the morsels which they keep taking, and which they place before Ištar, the morsels, moreover, which they bring forth...'

(KBo XV 49 IV 14-16 a-na-a-hi-ta ku-e...ku-e-ma-[

b. CTH 720 KUB XII 15 VI 14-15 nam-ma-kān a-na-a-hi hu-u-ma-an-da-pāt da-a-i 'Moreover, he takes the morsels, indeed all of them...'

This word, which seems to be a loan from Hurrian, occurs...
both with and without the -ta formant (see no. 36). 86

173. etri- "(portion of) food"

a. CTH 421 KUB XVII 14 Rs. 9 nu-uš-ši 2-šu 7 it-ri hi.a
   UD-ti-li ti-is-kán-zi 'And twice daily they bring 7
   (portions of) food for him.'
   (KBo XV 9 I 7 e-it-ri)

b. CTH 628 KBo XI 24 I 1-3 ]ninda.kur₄ ra up-ni 1 nu-tum
   it-ri HI.A ša [ 1 nu]-tum ninda ha-an-ni-ta ša up-ni
   am-ba-aš-ši[ ]1 ninda.kur₄ ra up-ni 1 nu-tum
   it-ri HI.A ša[ ]thick loaves of an upni measure each, 1
   course(?) of foods[ ], 1 course(?) of hannita loaves of
   an upni measure each, in the ambassi[ ]1 thick loaf of
   an upni measure, 1 course(?) of foods[ ]

c. no CTH number KUB XLV 75 Vs? 8' 1 u]du 1 ninda.kur₄ ra
   up-ni 1 nu-tum it-ri HI.A 1] sheep, 1 thick loaf of an
   up-ni measure, 1 course(?) of foods[ ]

174. hazziwi- 'ceremony'

a. CTH 482 KUB XXXII 133

1. I 4-5 nu-za ha-az-zi-wi-ta iš-hi-š-li HI.A-ya ku-e I-NA
   ē dingir.ge₆ kat-ta-an ha-ma-an-kat-ta 'And the cere-
   monies and rules which were discontinued in the temple
   of the dark god...'

2. I 9-10 nu ki-e ha-az-zi-wi-ta e-eš-ša-an-du 'And let
   them keep performing these ceremonies.'

b. CTH 578 KUB XVIII 26 II? 8'-9' nu A-NA DU
URU.KU.BABBAR-ti ki-nu-un-na-ya[ ]ha-zi-wi HI.A x[(gap)]
ku-it-ki ha-zi-wi-ya-aš da-a-li-iš-kān-zi 'And to the
storm god of Hatti [ ]ceremonies[ ] they leave some-
thing out of the rituals.'

This word occurs with and without the -ta formant (see no.
36).

175. ḫuwasi- 'stele'

a. CTH 641 KUB XL 2 Vs. 37 NA4 hu-u-wa-ši-ya
iš-ga-ra-a-[lan(−)] 'And steles (are) set up!'

Since three steles are referred to in line 15, the word
ought to be plural here. The form should be analyzed as
ẖuwasi plus -ya 'and'.

176. terippi- 'plowed field'

a. CTH 760 KUB IX 4 II 31-32 nu SALŠU.GI ki-iš-ša-an
[te]-iz-zi A.ŠA te-ri-ip-pí HI.A-wa [3]-ya-ah-ha-an-zi
4-ya-ah-ha-an-zi 'And the old woman speaks as follows,
"They treat the plowed fields [3] (and) 4 times."

The stem class is assured by terippi nom-acc. sg. in KUB
XXXIII 65 III 21.

177. uktūri- 'eternal; cult place, ghat(?)'

a. CTH 422 KUB IV 1 I 12-16 A-NA DI zi-it-ha-ri-ya ku-e
uk-tu-u-ri pí-it-ta e-eš-ta ū-e-ha-at-ta-at ku-e
KUR.KUR TIM EZEN HI.A GAL TIM -ši ku-wa-pí iš-ki-ir 'The
ghats(?) (and) land grants which belonged to Zithariya,
(and) the lands which were devoted (to him), where they
used to perform great festivals for him...'

E. von Schuler offers the following comments:

See no. 1 for further discussion.

178. wassi- 'ingredient, medicine'

a. CTH 397 KUB XXIV 14 I 14-15 ŠA ZID.DA ŠE-ma iš-ni ku-e-da-ni me-na-ah-ha-an-da wa-as-si HI.A im-mi-ya-an 'But the dough of barley meal with which the ingredients (are) mixed together...'

b. CTH 461

1. KBo XXI 21 III 5'-6' nu ki-e wa-as-si HI.A [ -a]n-zi 'And they[ ]these ingredients.'

2. KUB XLIV 64 I 2-3 nu-ulš-si ki-e wa-as-si HI.A [ pí]-leš-ki-iz-zi 'And to him he keeps giving these ingredients [ ].'

3. III 9-10 nu ki-e wa-as-si HI.A da-a-i 'And he takes these ingredients.'
C. CTH 471 KBo V 2

1. IV 40-41 na-at A-NA wa-aš-šî HI.A da-a-i nu wa-aš-šî HI.A ku-uš-ku-uš-ša-an-zî ‘And he puts it into the ingredients. And they grind the ingredients.’

The first wassî HI.A here functions as a quasi-ideogram with ANA and fails to properly inflect.

2. IV 46 wa-aš-šî HI.A ma ma-ah-ha-an I-NA U₄-MU MAH-RI-I e-ku-zî ‘But when he drinks the ingredients on the first day...’

d. CTH 770 KBo VIII 130 II 2 ]ki-e wa-aš-ša HI.A da-aš-kar-hi[ ‘]these ingredients x[88

wassi- is the only i-stem noun with both -i and -a as plural endings. wassa occurs only three times, here, in LH** (no. 132), and in MH (no. 39), but the only attested singular is wassî (KUB VIII 36 II 8, KUB XXXII 112 IV 6”). Since the word acts as a quasi-ideogram in no. c.1, we may be dealing with a foreign word only partly assimilated to Hittite inflectional patterns.

179. zuipari- (‘torch’)

a. CTH 493 KUB XLIII 38 Vs. 6-7 GİŞ u-up-pa-ri HI.A pa-ra-a e-[ip-zi (gap)] ki-i-wa GİŞ zu-up-pa-ri HI.A[ ‘he holds out torches [and says,] “These torches[‘

b. no CTH number

1. Bo 1850 Vs. 5 GİŞ zu-up-pa-ri HI.A ku-e šal-[ 2. 1926/u 13  GİŞ zu-up]-pa-ri HI.A ku-e lu-uk-kân-zî ‘the torches which they light...’

See H. Otten [1971b:6-10] for further examples. A u-stem singular zupparum is also attested, but only an i-stem plural and oblique are known, e.g. zuppariyas gen. sg. An i-stem nominative-accusative singular is attested in OH KBo XVII 1 I 33', III 25.

adjectives:

180. appezzi- 'former, latter, last'

a. CTH 566 - KUB XXII 70 Vs. 39 nu IGI-zi KUŠMEŠ SIG₃-ru EGIR-zi-ma NU.SIG₃-<du>  'And let the first omens be favorable, but let the latter be unfavorable.'

Despite A. Kammenhuber's opposing statement [1975:186], the e vocalism of appezzi- is assured by MH ap-pi-e-iz-zi-ya (KBo XVI 45 Rs. 3). Given hantezzi-, the e vocalism is not surprising.

Originally appezzi, hantezzi, sarazzi were iya-stems; cf. OH hantezzias, appezzivas nom. sg. c. (KBo XXII 2), appezzivan nom-acc. ntr. sg. (KBo III 22), MH appezziyas nom. sg. c. (KBo XVI 25). Such forms are also attested in Late Hittite (cf. appezzivas nom. sg. c., KUB XII 48), but they alternate with i-stem forms like IGI-zi, EGIR-zi nom-acc. ntr. pl. No such i-stem forms are attested in Old Hittite to my knowledge. See no. 181 for further discussion.

iLATE HITTITE: i-stems

181. hantezzi- 'first'

a. CTH 561 KUB V 1 IV 42 IGI-zi KUS\MEŠ ni-kán ZAG-na
   GUB-[la] pí-eš-ši-at 'The first omens (are as follows?).
   The nipasuri threw to the right (and) to the left.'

b. CTH 566 KUB XXII 70

1. Vs. 39 IGI-zi; see no. 189

2. Rs. 2 IGI-zi KUS\MEŠ ni-eš-kán ZAG-na pí-eš-ši-ya-at
   GÜB-za-ma-aš ar-ha-ya-an uk-tu-ri-iš-ma-aš 'The first
   omens (are as follows?). The nipasuri threw to the
   right, but on the left it (was?) outside. But it (was?)
   firm.'

In these passages E. Laroche [1952:32-33] interprets IGI-zi
KUS\MEŠ as a separate sentence, in support of which consider
KUB XXII 70 Rs. 47 where nies-kan pessiyat must form a sep­
arate sentence.\nu KUS\MEŠ can be a nominal sentence
'The first omens (are as follows)' or the like, and
nipasuri\nu the subject of pessiyat, and the noun to which
-as refers. Since it is often abbreviated nies or nîs,
nipasuri can well be common gender in Hittite.\nu

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90 E. Laroche [1952:32] offers either "Le NI s'est poussé à
droite et à gauche" or "Le NI a glissé (?pessiyat) à
droite".

91 nu KUS\MEŠ SIG-ru ni-eš-kán ZAG-na pí-eš-ši-ya-at
   GÜB-la-za-ma-aš ar-ha-ya-an uk-tu-ri-iš-ma-aš-ši 'And
   let the omens be favorable. The nipasuri threw to the
   right, but on the left it (was?) outside. But it (was?)
   firm for him/it.' For the restoration of ukturis-ma-as
see E. Laroche 1952:33.

92 This is a Hurrian word indicating the 'première partie
omineuse consultée par l'haruspice hourro-hittite'
(Laroche 1977:182).
As for the number of *KUS MES*, the use of *MES* normally implies a plural, but occasionally plural markers can accompany singular nouns; thus A. SÁ_HI.A 'field' is always singular in the Laws. A. Kammenhuber [1975:190-91] does refer to *KUS MES* as a collective singular, but she provides no justification for this, nor have I found any cases of unambiguous agreement with a singular adjective, so that it remains quite possible that *IGI-zi* and *EGIR-zi* are plural.

182. **karúli-** 'old, former'

a. **CTH 345** KUB XXXIII 106 III 49 'ka-ru-ú-i-li (ku-i-e-eš) ud-da-a-ar ku-i-e-eš [š]e-ik-te-ni' 'You who know the old words...'

b. **CTH 378** KUB XIV 8 I 9 nu-za k]a-ru-ú-i-la DUB 2 KAM tüA pi-ra-an [u-e-mi-ya-nu-un 'And I found for myself] 2 old tablets.'

183. **mekki-** 'much'

a. **CTH 61** KBo V 3 1. II 10-11 EGIR-az-ma URU ga-âš-ga-az ku-u-ru-rI tüA me-ik-ki ni-ni-ik-ta-at 'But many enemies arose in the rear from Gasga.'

This is manifestly superior to A. Ünal's analysis [1978: 83], which makes *KUS MES* agree both with neuter *IGI-zi* and with common *-as*: "Die ersten Fleischzeichen haben das *nes* nach recht geworfen. Links aber (sind) sie ausserdem fest." Laroche also differs from Ünal in taking *ukturis-ma-as* as a separate sentence, with *ukturis* and *-as* both nom. sg. c. in agreement with *nies*. Ünal ignores the *-ma-as*.

Cf. J. Friedrich 1959:139.
2. **II 35** nu ku-u-ru-ri₄ HI.A ku-it me-iq-ga-ya
   [ni-ni-]in-kán e-š-ta 'And since many enemies had arisen...'

b. no CTH number KUB XLVI 42 III 1-3 nu-uš-ši-kán ma-a-an
   wa-qa-a-iš nu-u-wa ŠA E-TI nu ma-a-an U-NU-TE₄ HI.A
   me-iq qa-yà nu-kán 1 KIN ša-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-za ar-ha
d-a-a i U-NU-TE₄ HI.A ma-kán hu-u-ma-an :za-az-ki-tal-la-za
dam-me-la-za ar-ha ša-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-ah-hì 'And if the
   grain weevil (is) still in his house, and if the utensils
   (are) many, then he takes away 1 sickle from the property.
   But he makes good/restores the utensils entirely from
   another zazkitalla.

While **hūman** could be a neuter plural of the **wetan** type
(no. 14) modifying 'utensils', it is more likely to be
adverbial here given that it follows rather than precedes
the noun. The adjective **meiggava** follows the noun in the
preceding sentence because it is in predicative use.

184. **nakkī**—'difficult'

a. CTH 61 KBo IV 4 IV 29-30 nu LUMEŠ URU az-zi ku-i-e-eš
   URU DIDLI.HI.A BĀD NA₄ pî-e-ru-nu-uš HUR.SAG MEŠ uš
   pâr-ga-u-e-eš na-ak-ki-i AŠ-RI HI.A EGIR-pa har-kir 'And
   the people of Azzi, who occupied forts, rocky (redoubts
   and) high mountains, (namely) difficult places...'

The stem vowel `i` of this adjective is consistently spelled
plene throughout the history of Hittite.
185. parkui- 'clean, pure'

a. CTH 264 KUB XIII 4
1. I 16 párr-ku-wa-ya TÜGHI.A wa-aš-ša-an har-kán-du 'Let them wear clean clothes.'
Unless parkuwawa is to be analyzed as parkuwa and -ya 'and', the sentence has no particle.
2. I 23 nu párr-ku-wa-ya wa-aš-ša-an har-zi 'And he has put on clean (clothes).
3. III 62 nu TÜGHI.A párr-ku-wa-ya ū-e-eš-ten 'And wear clean clothes!'

b. CTH 377 KUB XXIV 1 I 21-23 nu-ut-ta EZEN[HI.A]
SISKUR.SISKUR I-NA KUR URU PA-ti pá[r-k]u-i šu-up-pí pá-iš-kán-zi 'And they keep giving you festivals (and) rites, clean (and) pure, in the land of Hatti.'
(KUB XXIV 2 I 18 párr-ku-[i[)

c. CTH 491 KUB XV 42 II 32-33 ÉHI.A DINGIRMES-KU-NU[
párr-ku-wa-e e-eš-du 'Let your temples be clean!'

d. CTH 717 KUB XXIV 7 II 9 ]-aš-za GIM-an párr-ku-wa-ya wa-aš-še-eš-ki-ši 'as he keeps wearing clean (clothes)

186. parsulli- 'crumbled'


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95 Cf. H. Hoffner, 1974:175-76.
priests, to the people of Hursama, to the "mothers-of-god", to the hazqara women -- to each one -- stew, fresh(?) meat, (and) crumbled loaves.

187. sannapili- 'plain, simple'

a. CTH 582 KUB VI 38.9 -]ra?-a ša-an-na-pí-la nu-x[ That the word is a neuter plural is implied by its -a ending and by the -a of the preceding word, with which it could agree.

188. suppi- 'holy; ritually pure (meat)'

a. CTH 345 KUB XXXIII 106

1. II 22° 4]-aš šu-up-pa E[MEŠ DINGIRMES ' holy temples[.

2. III 37-38 nu-kán ne-pí-iš šu-up-pa EMEŠ DINGIRMES Dhé-bad-du-un-na an-da iš-tap-pa-aš 'And he closed up heaven, the holy temples, and Hebat.'

b. CTH 377 KUB XXIV 1 I 22 šu-up-pí; see no. 194.b

c. CTH 382 KBO XI 1 I 32 ma-a-an-ma HUR.SAG-ma ku-iš-ki na-aš-ma ši-nap-ši šu-up-pa AŠ-RU ku-it-ki HUL-ah-ha-an 'But if someone defiled either mountains or sinapsi -- holy places -- at all...'

d. CTH 419 KUB XXIV 5 Rs. 8-9, 18-19 šu-u[ ]p-pa hu-u-i-ša-wa-za zé-ya-an-da-za EGIR-pa ma-ni-ya-ah-ha-an-zi 'They allocate meat from the raw (and) the cooked.'

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96 Cf. H. Güterbock 1952:27.

e. CTH 421 KBo XV 8.3 nu-uš-ši šu-up-pa hu-e-s[u(-)
[And] for him raw meat[

f. CTH 433 KBo XII 96 IV 15-16 nu-uš-ša-an hu-i-šu
UZU-su-up-pa A-NA DINGIR-LIM EGIR-pa ti-an-zi [And they
set raw meat before the god.

g. CTH 442 KUB IX 28 II 18-20 nu-uš-ma-š-kán UZUšu-up-pa
[da]-an-zi UZU GAB UZU ku-ut-tar UZUNIG.GIG UZU[šA
[And they take for themselves the meat — the breast, the
kuttar, the liver, (and) the [heart

h. CTH 604 KBo X 20
1. II 19, 43-45 nu-]kán UZUšu-up-pa da-an-zi na-at
za-nu-va-an-zi [And they take the meat, and they cook
it.

2. III 12 lu-uk-kat-ti-ma šu-up-pa wa-ar-ap-pu-u-wa-ar
[But on the next day (there are) holy ablutions.
war(a)ppūwar could be an unmarked plural formed like
URU-yassesar (no. 160) and modified by suppa, but suppa
could also be taken adverbially: 'ablution(s) (are per­
formed) in a holy manner'.

3. III 15-16 nu-kán šu-up-pa da-an-zi [And they take the
meat.

4. III 30 nu šu-up-pa wa-ar-ap-pu-u-wa-an-zi [And they
perform the holy ablutions.

As in no. h.2 above, suppa can be either adverb or
adjective, although here the cognate accusative would
have been deleted; consider the similar situation in no.
194.a.2.
i. CTH 647 IBoT III 87

1. IV 4'-6' ma-ah-ha-an-ma ŠA DU šu-up-pa hu-e-ša-wa-az nu ŠA DZA.BA₄.BA₄ šu-up-pa QA-TAM-MA ti-an-zi 'But when (they set out) the meat from the raw belonging to the storm god, they likewise set out the meat belonging to ZA.BA₄.BA₄.'

2. IV 8'-13' ma-ah-ha-an UZU šu-up-pa hu-e-ša-wa-az zi-in-na-an-zi nu GİŞ PA ku-e iš-ga-ra-an-ta na-at-kán hu-it-ti-an-zi na-at-ša-an A-NA NINDA pár-šu-ul-li še-ir A-NA DU ti-an-zi ŠA DZA.BA₄.BA₄-ya iš-ga-ra-an-da hu-it-ti-ya-an-zi 'When they finish (cooking) the meat from the raw, (the meat) which (is) skewered (on) the spit they take off, and they lay it out on crumbled bread for the storm god, and they take off the skewered (meat) belonging to ZA.BA₄.BA₄.'

j. CTH 655 KBo III 63 II 6-7 šu-up-pa-ma Ū-UL pi-an-zi[ ]hu-u-kán-zi-ma-an ag-ga-an-d[a(-)] 'but they do not give the meat[ ]. But they butcher it, dead[ ] agganda(-) could be neuter plural modifying suppa or accusative singular common ending in -andan if hūkanziman is correctly analyzed as hūkanzi-ma-an.

k. CTH 671 KUB XXXVI 89 Vs. 7 šu-up-pa-zé-ya-an-da-za hu-e-ša-wa-za ti-an-zi 'They set out the meat from the cooked (and) the raw.'

l. CTH 715 KUB X 63 I 33-34 nu ŠA GUD DU ŠA UDU[ UZU]AG.UDU[ ]šu-up-pa[ 'And the[ and] shoulder of a cow and a sheep[ ]], meat[']
1. Vs. 16 nu šu-up-pa INIMHI.A ŠA DUGUTUL DU_I1' -zi
   'And they speak the pure words of the pot.'
2. Vs. 18 nu-kán šu-up-pa ud-da-a-ar an-da me-ma-an-zi
   'And they speak the pure words forthwith.'
3. Vs. 19 EGIR-ŠU UZU šu-up-pa zé-ya-an ti-an-zi
   'Afterwards they set out the cooked meat.'

If zeyan is not an error for zevanda, it may have the
same plural formation as OH wetan (no. 14).
4. Vs. 22-24 nu-uš-ma-aš LU MEŠ aš-šu-ša-tal-lu-uš šu-up-pa
   ud-da-a-ar DU-ni IGI-an-da DU_I1' -zi 'And the
   assusatalla people speak the pure words in the presence
   of the storm god for them.'
5. KUB XXXII 123 IV 46-48 U]ZU su-up-pa hu-u-i-šu[ ]mar-kán-zi ]they cut up the raw meat.'

For a discussion of this word, see no. 4.

189. daluki- 'long'
a. CTH 549 KBo X 7 II 26'-31' ták-ku-uš-ša-<an> A-NA
   SAG.DU KI.GUB[ ] ki-ša-ri nam-ma-aš ta-lu-ú-ga gul[-it]
   a-pa-a-aš GIS TUkUL ŠA DUMU MEŠ ETI DUMU MEŠ x[ ]
   SIG, ya-an-ta-r[i ] ták-ku-uš-ša-an A-NA SAG.DU KI.GUB x[ ]
   na-aš ta-lu-ú-ga gul-ša-an-za 'If the presence(?)

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98 KI.GUB stands for Hurrian sintahi, "Partie omineuse du
foie ... = akk. manzâzu 'poste, présence'" (Laroche
"(auf dem Boden) stehend", following L. Jakob-Rost 1963a:
189. This is limited to descriptions of statuary, where
KI.GUB alternates with GUB (cf. Jakob-Rost pp. 201, 214).
Since the passage under discussion is an omen text, the
first meaning is required.
happens to be on the head, moreover it (is) [stamped] long(?)[...]. That weapon of the sons of the house the sons [clo] will be healthy.[...If the presence(?) [happens to be(?)] on the head, and it (is) stamped long(?)...’

J. Friedrich [1966:31] takes tāluga as the neuter plural of daluki- ‘long’. As the meaning of the passage, particularly the phrase tāluga gulsanza, is obscure, the possibility remains that tāluga belongs to some other stem.

190. dankui- ‘dark’


b. CTH 409 KUB VII 53


Because hahlawanta is plural, dankui ought also to be plural here.

2. II 49-50 nam-ma da-an-ku-wa ku-e [wa-aš-ša-a]n har-zi ‘Moreover, the dark (clothes) which he has [worn]...’
c. CTH 457 KUB XVII 8 IV 18 \text{nu}-\text{wa}-\text{za} \text{ da-an-ku-wa}-\text{i} wa-aš-si-ya-a\{d-d\}u \text{ 'And let him dress himself in dark (clothes).'}

191. \text{warhui-} \text{'rough'}
a. CTH 627 KUB XX 4 I 8-10 \text{]-ū-iš šar-ku-e-iz-zi [ -]x wa-ar-hu-wa [ ]x-iz-zi -} \text{he puts on shoes [ ] he [ ] rough [']}

This is presumably the neuter plural in -a (from *-aya) to \text{warhui-}.

4.3.3 the ai-stems

nouns:

192. \text{hastai-} \text{'bone'}
a. CTH 396 KBo XV 25 Rs. 18-19 \text{nu ha-aš-ta-a-e [ša-ra-a] li-iš-ša-an-zi na-at ha-aš-si-i a-wa-an kat-ta-ti-an-zi nu ha-aš-ta-a-e wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi \text{ 'And they gather [up] the bones. And they lay them by the hearth. And they burn the bones.'}}

Since it refers to all the bones of a sheep, and since the verb 'gather' can imply that a number of pieces were scattered about, hastāe may well be plural here.

b. CTH 447 KBo XI 10 III 26-27 ki-i ma-ah-ha-an u-ri-e-na-an-da ha-aš-ta-i ID pí-e-da-a-i \text{ 'As the river carries away these burned bones...'}

Since it agrees with urenanda, hastai must be plural.
1. KUB XXX 15+ Vs. 3-4 nu ha-aš-ta-i İŞ-TU la-ap-pa 'And they keep taking the bones with silver tongs(?).'

2. Vs. 7-8 nu ma-ah-ha-an ha-aš-ta-li-eš-šu-uwa-an-zi zi-in-na-an-zi 'And when they finish collecting the bones...

3. Vs. 13 nu-uš-ša-an A-NA GİŞŞU.A ku-e-da-ni ha-aš-ta-i ki-id-da-ri 'And the chair on which the bones lie...

4. Vs. 46 ha-aš-ta-i ša-ra-a da-a-an-zi 'they take up the bones.'

5. Vs. 48 nu-kán ha-aš-ta-i İŞ-TU GİŞŞU.A ar-ha d[a-an-zi a- 'And they take away the bones from the chair.'

6. KUB XII 48 Vs. 5 ku-]it-ma-an-ma ha-aš-ta-i a-pí-e-da-ni URU-ri 'But while the bones in that city[']

has-tai throughout refers to the bones of the dead and may well be plural. The iterative verb in no. c.1 and the use of lissuwanzi in no. c.2 seem to argue in favor of the plural. Note that H. Güterbock and H. Hoffner [1980:40] consider hastai plural in no. c.1.

193. hupuwai—type of vessel
a. CTH 409 KUB VII 53+ II 54-55 nam-ma-aš-ši GİRMEŞ kat-ta-an DUG[hu-]u-pu-wa-i-ya iš-ga-a-ri 'Moreover, she sticks the vessels near his feet.'

99 For this word see Güterbock and Hoffner 1980:40.
The word is presumably plural, since eight vessels are mentioned earlier (I 20-21). Analysis as hūpuwai plus -ya 'and' is unlikely, for there is nothing immediately preceding to which it ought to be conjoined.

b. CTH 440 KBo IX 146+ Rs. 5'-6' nu ŠA GEŠTIN hu-pu-u-wa-i [la-h]u-u-wa-i 3 hu-pu-
[(gap)]x-ma du-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi nu hu-pu-u-wa-a-i hu-u-ma-an-ta QA-[TAM-MA] 'And a vessel of wine[ ] he pours out. 3 vessels[ ] he breaks. And all of the vessels in the same way['.

194. sagai- 'omen'

a. no CTH number KBo XXIII 55 I 12'-13'
EGIR-ŠU-ma-aš-ša-an 2 LÜMESGIS QA-TAM-MA ti-an-[zi ] a-pí-e ša-ga-e zi-in-na-an-zi 'But afterwards the 2 wooden men likewise they place[ ]. They eradicate those omens.'

This word is both common gender, thus sagaiš nom. sg. (OH KBo XVII 1 IV 9), sagain acc. sg. (LH KUB XXXIII 55 II 4), and neuter, sagaiše nom-acc. sg. (MH KBo XVI 46 Vs. 8, 10).

There is no readily apparent semantic difference between the two.

195. sankuwa-i- '(finger)nail'

a. CTH 432 KUB IV 47 Vs. 13-14 GUB-la-aš-ša ŠUIMEŠ-aš GIRMEŠ-aš-ša ša-an-ku-wa-i da-a-i 'He takes the nails of the left hands and feet also.'
4.3.4 u-stems

nouns:

196. arsanu- 'stream'

a. CTH 671 KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 40-44 DU URUN[e-ri-ik]

te-ši 1la-bar-na-aš-ša! me-eš-ri-wa-za pí-ra-an GUB-ru
[DU AN]-š-ši i-li-eš-šar HI.A SIG₅ MES pa-a-i
la-bar-na-aš KUR.KURHI.A tar-ra-a-u-wa [li-e]
te-pa-u-eš-zi 'Storm god of] Nerik (and) River
Nakiliyata, give good omens! Do not let the streams of
the [ ]-tawa River gush. Do [not] let emptiness seize
the land. Do not name emptiness: And let the Labarna
stand forth shining. To him, [storm god of heaven], give
good omens! Do [not] let the lands of the Labarna
decrease tarrawa.'

The singular ăransanu is attested in Rs. 19.

197. assu- 'goods, property'

a. CTH 121 KBo XII 38 I 3'-6' ]-ta DAM^MEŠ-ŠU DUMU^MEŠ-ŠU [ e]-ip-pu-un SIG₅-u-wa da-pí-da [KU.BABBAR GU]ŠKIN URUDU
pa-an-qa-u-e-eš-ša NAM.RA^MEŠ[ ]x his wives, his children
[I seized. (His) goods, all of them -- [silver],
gold, copper, and all (his) captives --[']

This should not be analyzed as āssu plus -ă 'and', since
the conjunction is spelled -ya after vowel (cf.
ăssu-ya-wa), while the adversative -ă is largely sup-
planted by -ma and -(y)a in Late Hittite.100

b. CTH 264 KUB XIII 5+ III 21-22 nu E.DINGIR.LIM-m[a] im-ma l-an har-ak-zí URU ha-at-tu-ša-ša-as-ma LUGAL-wa-aš a-šu š-UL har-ak-zí 'But (even if) only the temple perishes, but Hattusa and the goods of the king do not perish...

c. CTH 360 KUB XXIV 8+ II 2 nu-wa-mu a-šu-pí-e-ir [nu-wa-mu GUD.HI.A UDU.HI.A] pí-e-ir 'And] they gave me goods, [and] they gave [me cattle (and) sheep].'

d. CTH 376 KUB XXIV 4+ Rs. 5 nu KUR-e-aš hu]-u-ma-an-da-aš a-šu-<šum>-mi-it KÔ.BABBAR GUŠKIN DINGIRMES da-p[í- 'And] the goods of all [the lands], silver, gold, the gods, all['

e. CTH 822 KBo XII 42 III 10-13 a-šu-u-ya-wa KÔ.BABBAR GUŠKIN NA₄.ZA.CIN [NA₄.GUG] NA₄.KÁ.DINGIR.RA NA₄.DU₈.SHU.A AN.BAR UR[UDU ZABAR A]N.HA.ku-it ku-it im-ma [O-NU-TU₄ š]a-ak-la-a-iš 'And goods -- silver, gold, lapis lazuli, [carnelian], Babylon-stone, dušu-stone, iron, copper, [bronze], (pieces of) tin -- whatever [commodity] (is) the custom...' The Old and Middle Hittite distinction between assu 'goods' but assu 'good' has been given up by Late Hittite, except possibly in e. But there the following enclitic may influence the spelling. See no. 5 for further discussion.

ILATE HITTITE: u-stems

a. CTH 83 KUB XIX 9 II 19-20 \textit{I-NA} \textbf{URU} hi-iš-ša-[aš-ha-pa ku-il]t ŠA A-BU-YA Eha-li-in-du-wa še-ir e-eš-ta 'Since the palace(?) of my father was up in Hissashapa...'

b. CTH 401 KUB XXX 34

1. IV 4-5 ki-nu-na Eha-li-in-du-wa-{aš} E.DINGIRMEŠ-ya pár-ku-nu-ut 'But now make the palace(?) and temple(s) clean!'

2. IV 7-8 nu e-eš-ha-na-an-za li-in-ki-ya-az Eha-li-in-du-wa E.DINGIRMEŠ li-e e-ip-zi 'And let not bloodshed in consequence of a (broken) oath seize the palace(?) (or) temple(s).'

c. CTH 591 KUB II 13 I 1-2 ma-a-an Eha-li-en-tu-u-wa ha-aš-ša-an-zi 'When they open the palace(?)...'

Eha-li-en-tu-u-wa occurs in the same phrase in CTH 625 KUB XIX 128 I 1-2 and CTH 627 KBo X 23+ I 2'-4'.

d. no CTH number VAT 7474 II 7-8 \textbf{URU} zi-pa-la-an-ta Eha-li-in-tu-wa ha-aš-ša-an-zi 'In Zipalanta they open the palace(?).'

The stem class of this word is established by OH \textit{halentiu} (KBo XVII 11+ I 35) and LH \textit{halentu} (KUB VII 25 I 1). The plural is used almost exclusively, and H. Güterbock [1971:308] suggests deriving it from a Hattic "'locative plural' beginning in ha-le-. The preference for plural inflection in Hittite could easily be understood if the original were a plural, and a term originally meaning 'in

the chambers'..." Also relevant is G. Beckman's discussion [1977:217-18] of the frequent collective treatment of buildings in Hittite.  

199. ishahru—'tear'

a. CTH 341 KUB VIII 48 I 18 nu-uš-ši-kán iš-ha-ah-ru pa-ra-[a P]A₅_HI.A-uš ma-a-an [ 'And his tears [flow(?)] forth like canals.'

b. CTH 345 KUB XXXIII 87 I 29'-30' nu-uš-ši-kán iš-ha-ah-ru [pa-ra-]a PA₅_HI.A-uš ma-a-an ar-ša-an-zi 'And his tears flow forth like canals.'

Both cases are presumably plural since ishahru is likened to a number of canals. Note also the plural verb in b.

200. idalu—'evil'

a. CTH 421 KBo XV 2 Rs. 4 a-pi-e HUL-u-wa da-pi-an-da a-wa-an ar-ha da-a-i[š-kán-du ] 'let them keep taking away all of those evils.'

b. CTH 561 KUB VI 1

1. III 17 ki-še-kán HUL-u-wa IZKIM_HI.A DINGIR_LIM-ni-pát āš-ša-an [e-š?-]du 'Let these evils (and) omens remain even for the god.'

As the ending -uwa is proper to nouns and not adjectives, the passage cannot be translated 'evil omens'.

2. III 19-20 e-ni ku-e HUL-u-wa SÍxSÁ-ri 'The afore-mentioned evils which were determined...'
201. genu- 'knee'


b. CTH 295 KUB XXVI 69 VII 8-9 nu-wa-za ɨna-na-ya-an gi-nu-wa e-ip-pu-un 'And I seized Nanaya's knees for my own sake.' (lit. 'I seized Nanaya with respect to (his) knees')

c. CTH 348 KUB XXXIII 103 III 4 gi-nu-wa-an-na-aš-kän [ ] kat-kat-ti-iš-ki-iz-zi 'Our knees shake.' giwuwandaskan is analyzed as giwuwa-aš-kän.

d. CTH 390 KUB VII 1

1. III 41-42 na-aš UZU gi-nu-uš-ši-it ha-mi-ik-ta-at še-ir-ma-as ŠUHI.A-ŠU ha-mi-ik-ta 'And his knees were bound. And above he bound his knees.'

2. III 53 na-an UZU gi-e-nu KI.MIN še-ir-ma-an ŠUHI.A-ŠU KI.MIN 'And ditto (bewitch) his knees! And ditto his hands above!'

3. III 60 na-an UZU gi-e-nu la-a-ú-un še-ir-ma-an ŠUHI.A-ŠU KI.MIN 'And I released his knees. And ditto his hands above.'

genu is presumed plural in these three sentences because it is conjoined with the marked plural 'hands'.

Sentences d.2 and 3, like b, have double accusatives.

e. CTH 470 KUB XVII 29 II 9-10 A-NA DIM ZAGHI.A-uš gi-e-nu KASKAL-aš-ma-aš-ši UZU GAB 'The borders (are) the storm god's knees, and the road (is) his breast.'
All of the above attestations of genu- seem likely to be plural, and are certainly neuter. Several derivatives made from genu-, not all of which are neuter, are also known, although not well understood. H. Eichner [1979:42-61] discusses genus(s)us (KUB XIII 4 II 58, KUB XVII 29 II 11, KBo III 4 II 20) and ginussi (KUB XIV 15 II 5-6), which he interprets as belonging to common gender genussa- 'knee joint'. A form genus (IBot II 88.11) may be neuter genus- or common genu-, and ginun may also be common genu-.

ginussin (HT 6+ I 27) is plausibly explained by Eichner [1979:60] as a Luwianized i-stem form, with ginussi in the duplicate (KUB IX 4 III 32-34). Finally, a supposed a-stem ginuwan in Bo 4463.13'-14' is better analyzed as ginuwa plus the enclitic pronoun -an, since the sentence (gi-nu-wa-an da-a-ú gi-nu-wa-an [pí-eš-ti]) is paralleled by others in the passage which have the form 'body part -an dau, body part -an pesti'.

See also no. 161.

Eichner [1979:51-52] takes it as neuter singular to ginu(wa)nt-, but since other nt-extensions to body parts are all common gender (e.g. tapuwassant- to neuter tapuwaš- 'rib'; cf. H. Kronasser 1966:260) and since -ant- seems to be a gender-changing suffix (cf. E. Laroche 1962:23-43), it is better not to take ginun as an nt-stem, especially since A. Goetze and E. Sturtevant [1938:69] have emended the text so that ginun must be common accusative singular.

This text is transliterated by A. Goetze in unpublished notes (G. Beckman, personal communication).
202. wattaru- 'spring'
a. CTH 61 KUB XIX 37 III 53-54 ]HUR.SAG te-eh-ši-na
ša-ra-a-pät pa-a-u[n (gap) wa-at-ta-a]r?-wa NU.GÁL
] although I went up to Mount Tehsina, [ ] there were
no [springs.]

Restoration of wattarwa is proposed by F. Sommer:
Ich glaube, [wa-at-ta]r?-wa NU.GÁL ist auch XIX 37
III 54 zu ergänzen: es folgt unmittelbar "Durst",
und ich wüsste nicht, welches andere Wort auf -wa
hier stehen könnte. An dieser Stelle dann aber
kaum als Lok. sg. (man müsste denn in der vorher-
gehenden Zeile ein wätar "Wasser" einsetzen), son­
dern als neutraler Plural: "Es gibt dort keine
[Brun]]nen"... [1939:683]

The formation of wattarwa is unusual in that other u-stem
noun a-plurals are spelled <-Cu-wa> or <-Cu-u-wa>. Else­
where in its paradigm wattaru- shows the same phenomenon;
thus wattaru nom-acc. sg., but wattarwas gen. sg., and
wattarwa dir. sg.

adjectives:

203. āssu- 'good'
a. CTH 382 KBo XI 1 Rs. 12 ma-a-an ŠA KUR URU kum-ma-an-ni
a-aš-ša-u-wa A-WA-TÉMES ki-i pí-eš-ta 'If you have given
this good orders concerning the country of
Kummanni... 104

b. CTH 671 KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 40°-44° a-aš-ša-u-wa; see no.
196

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104 Cf. Houwink ten Cate and Josephson 1967:118.
204. harpu- 'rebellious, hostile(?)'

a. CTH 67 KBo V 4

1. I 31 nu har-pu ša-ru-pa l[i-e i-ya-ši] 'And [do not make] rebellious(?) sarupa!'

The same phrase is attested in the same spelling at CTH 68 KUB VI 44+ IV 25 and CTH 76 KUB XIX 6+ III 23.

2. II 16, 20 nu har-pu ša-ru-ú-pa li-e i-ya-ši 'And do not make rebellious(?) sarupa!'

The phrase is attested in the same spelling at CTH 68 KUB VI 41 IV 23 and KBo V 13 IV 15-16.

Identification of harpu as plural depends on the analysis of sarupa as plural and of harpu as an adjective modifying it. sarupa is judged to be plural solely on the basis of its final -a, since no other form is attested. The only support for analysis of harpu as an adjective comes from a form harpus in KBo VI 34+ (I 33 nu-uš har-pu-uš da-a-i-e-ir; I 34 nu-uš har-pu-uš ti-an-du) which J. Friedrich [1924b:175; 1954:59] takes as accusative plural common of an adjective harpu-.. However, the form has since been identified as an a-stem accusative plural by H. KÜmmel [1967:16, 21]. harpu remains isolated, and its number and meaning remain obscure.

205. huısu- 'raw'

a. CTH 433 KBo XII 96 IV 15-16 hu-i-šu; see no. 188.f

b. CTH 772 KUB XXXII 123 IV 46-48 hu-u-i-šu; see no. 188.m.5
206. idalu- 'evil'

a. CTH 62 KBo V 9

1. II 46-48 ma-a-an-kán tu-uk A-NA 1dup-pí-DIM
   i-da-a-la-u-wa A-WA-TE MEŠ ku-iš-ki A-NA LUGAL na-aš-
   ma A-NA KUR URU ha-at-ti pi-ra-an û-i-da-iz-zi 'If anyone
   brings evil words before you, Duppitesup, about the king
   or the land of Hatti...'

2. III 21 na-aš-ma-aš-ma-aš i-da-a-la-u-wa INIM MEŠ
   pi-ra-an me-ma-at-ti 'Or you speak evil words before
   them...'

b. CTH 343 HT 25+ II 3-5 IMHIA-us wa-al-li-wa-al-li-us
   Dkal-aš i-da-a-la-u-wa ud-da-a-ar A-NA DÈ.A KASKAL-ši
   IGI-an-da pi-e-te-ir 'The stormy winds brought the evil
   words of the patron god along the road to Ea.'

c. CTH 378 KUB XIV 14+ Rs. 46 ku-e-ya-kán ku-e
   i-da-a-la-wa A-NA KUR LUKUR û-e-[i-ya-at-te-ni 'Also
   whichever (are) evil [you send] to the enemy land.'

d. CTH 389 KUB XXXVI 91+ Rs. 7 nu-uš-ša-an DINGIR MEŠ-aš
   il-da-a-lu ud-da-a-ar a-pí-e-el-pát har-ša-ni-[iš-ši
   z]a-ah-te-en 'And] you [gods] strike the evil words on
   the head of that very man.'

(Bo 2477 Rs. 7-8 I-da-a-lu ut-tar)105

The change in number between the duplicates could be a
copyist's error based on the ambiguity of idalu.

1. I 66-70 nu-wa-kán ku-it ku-it kal-la-ar i-da-a-lu
   ut-tar ki-e-da-ni É-ri an-da nu-wa-ra-at-kán pa-ra-a
   su-u-wa-an-du nu-wa-kán i-da-a-lu ud-da-a-ar pa-ra-a
   da-an-du nu-wa-kán kal-la-ar ut-tar pa-ra-a
   su-u-wa-an-du 'And whatever unpropitious, evil word
   (is) in this house, let them drive it out. And let them
   carry away the evil words. And let them take a spear of
copper for themselves. And let them drive out the un-
propitious word.'

2. II 18-20 GE₆-az-wa-kán ma-ah-ha-an I-NA TIM
   kal-la-ar ut-tar an-da Ú-UL tar-na-aš ki-nu-na-wa-kán
   ku-e kal-la-ar i-da-a-lu ud-da-a-ar LOMES GİŞ PA ŚA
   DINGIR MES pa-ra-a pí-nir'ir 'As by night you did not
   leave the unpropitious word in the house, now whichever
   unpropitious, evil words the heralds of the gods drove
   out...'

f. CTH 433 KBo XVII 105 III 6-7 na-aš-ta an-da ki-iš-ša-an
   me-ma-i i-da-a-la-u-wa ha-du-ga ku-e ud-da-a-ar na-at-kán
   pa-it[(-)] 'And he thereby speaks as follows: "Words which
   (are) evil, terrible, them[..."

g. CTH 640 KUB XII 42 III 6-9 i-da-a-lu-uš-wa-aš-ša-an
   an-tu-u-wa-ah-za i-da-a-lu-uš EME-aš i-da-a-la-wa
   IGIHI.A-wa GİŞ ha-tal-ki-iš-ni-it kat-ta tar-ma-a-an
   e-eš-du 'Let the evil man, the evil tongue, the evil eyes
   be nailed down with a thorn.'
h. CTH 671 KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 45-46  a-aš-šu-wa-aš-ma-aš
TI-tar te-e-it [har-ga-]tar-ma-wa HUL-la-u-wa IZKIMHI.A
LUKUR-aš KUR.KURHI.A-aš te-e-it KUR.KURHI.A LU KUR-wa
har-ak-du 'He named a good life for you. Moreover he
named [ruin] (and) evil omens for the enemy's lands. Let
the lands of the enemy perish.'

207. parku- 'high, lofty'
a. CTH 377 KUB XXIV 1 I 25  EMEŠ DINGIRMEŠ-ta pár-ku
IŠ-T[U KU.BABBAR GUŠKIN ū-nu-wa-an-ta? ] I-NA KUR
URU ha-at-ti-p[át] 'For you there are lofty temples
[adorned with(?) silver and gold] only in Hatti['

b. CTH 448 KBo XXI 6 Vs. 4-5' wa-wa-ne ma-aš-
ta-me-tar-wa-an-za EGIR-an kie-da-ni tar-ru-u[ki-
]e-da-ni tar-ru-u pa-ra-a-an iš-tap-pí-ir '[The door
hinge abounding in strength (is?) afterwards therefore on
all fours(?)] there therefore on all fours(?)'. They locked
him out.'

b. CTH 671 KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 40-44 tar-ra-a-u-wa; see no.
196
c. CTH 760 KUB IX 34 III 9 ū-i]z-zi-ma-za tar-ra-u-wa
še-iš-zi 'But he comes (and) lies down on his stom-
ach(?)'.
(KUB IX 4 II 25 tar-ru-u)

For a discussion of this word see no. 53.
209. dassu- "strong"

a. CTH 345

1. KUB XVII 7+ II 18–19, 42’ kil-i? da-aš-ša-u-wa

[INIM\MEŠ ar A-NA D ku-mar-bi pí-an] me-mi "Speak these strong [words before Kumarbi!"

2. KUB XXXIII 87+ III 6–7' nu-uš-ma-aš da-aš-ša-u-wa

an-dur-za ar-nu-wa-an-du "And let them bring strong (things) to their inside."

Here a noun has either been accidentally omitted, as H. Güterbock [1952:14] suggests, or is to be supplied by a reader familiar with the procedure being described.

210. tepu- "small"

a. CTH 566 KUB XXII 70 Vs. 83 \bNU-TE\MEŠ-wa ku-e qa
te-pa-u-wa DUMU.SAL.GAL A-NA \bNU-TE\MEŠ me-na-ah-ha-an-da
i-ya-at "The implements, whichever (were) small, the older daughter exchanged for (other) implements."

4.3.5 t-stems: adorns for himself.

Similar sentences with \bNU-TE\MEŠ occur at CTH 606 KUB XII 101 III 12, CTH 738 KBo XXI 6.

211. aniyat- "adornment"

a. CTH 450 IBot II 130 Rs. 3–5 nu I-NA KUR \bURU za-al-pa-a
GIM-an ši-ú-na-aš par-na-aš a-ni-ya-at-ti ne-wa-ah-ha-an-zi "And when in Zalpa they renew the adornments of the temple(s)...

Since the contexts of a-d and f, where we find aniyatti, and those of c and n, where we find the indubitable neuter plural aniyatta, are the same, aniyatti must be recognized as

106 My translation follows that of A. Unal 1978:125.
b. CTH 460 KBo XVIII 196 Rs. 4 a]-ni-ya-at-ti da-a-i ́
he takes adornments [́

c. CTH 612
1. KBo IV 9 I 26-27 nu-za LUGAL-uš ḫa-li-en-tu-u-wa-aš
KIN-ta da-a-i ́And the king takes adornments of the
palace(?) for himself.́
Similar sentences with KIN-ta dāi occur at CTH 591 KUB
II 13 II 4, CTH 598 KUB II 6 III 28.
2. KUB XI 29 II 23 ta-az KINHI.A-ta da-a-i ́And he takes
adornments for himself.́
Similar sentences with KINHI.A-ta dāi occur at CTH 594
KUB X 17 I 19, CTH 597 KUB XI 35 9-11, CTH 598 KUB II 6
III 24-27, CTH 669 KUB XI 20 II 13.
d. CTH 627 KUB XXI 4 I 7 LUGAL-uš-za ḫa-li-en-ti-u-<aš>
a-ni-ya-at-ti da-a-i ́The king takes adornments of the
palace(?) for himself.́
e. CTH 636 KUB VII 25 I 3 LUGAL-uš-za a-ni-ya-at-ta da-a-i
́The king takes adornments for himself.́
Similar sentences with aniyatta dāi occur at CTH 606 KUB
XXV 16 I 5, CTH 650 KBo XVII 101 III 12, CTH 738 KBo XXI
90 Vs. 12, KBo XXI 103+ Rs. 20, KBo XX 96.8.
f. no CTH number KUB XLVI 11 Vs. 5 ta-za a-ni-ya-at-t[i
HU]B.BI GUŠKIN da-a-i ́And he takes adornments[ (and)]
golden earrings for himself.́

Since the contexts of a-d and f, where we find aniyattī, and
those of c and e, where we find the indisputable neuter plu-
ral aniyattā, are the same, aniyattā must be recognized as
an alternate plural formation of aniyatt-.́
4.3.6 nt-stems

nouns:

212. sarhuwant—'foetus'

a. CTH 409 KUB VII 53+ I 4-5 na-aš-ma-kān SAL-ni
   DUMUšŠU ak-ki-iš-kān-zi na-aš-ma-aš-ši-kān
   UZUšar-hu-ua-an-da-ma ma-uš-ki-iz-zi 'If for a woman
   her children keep dying, or her foetuses keep aborting...
   See also number 101.'

213. siyant—type of beverage?

a. CTH 181 KUB XIV 3 II 63 ma-a-an NINDA ši-ya-an-ta-y[a]
   ku-e-da-ni up-pa-an-zi 'If they send bread and siyant to
   someone...'

Evidence for the number of siyanta is limited simply to the
form itself.

adjectives:

214. aniyan—'done, made'

a. CTH 409 KUB VII 53+ II 23-24, 27 nu
   hu-uk-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi na-at ka-ru-ú a-ni-ya-an-ta 'And she
   keeps reciting (the words of) the charm -- and they (are)
   already given --'

215. appant—'taken, captured'

a. CTH 61

1. KBo III 4 IV 19-20 nu-za ERÎNšŠU.KUR.RAMEŠ šA
   KURaz-zi nu-wa-an-za-aš GAL.GESTIN tar-ah-ta
   nu-uš-ša-an ap-pa-an-ti ku-na-an-ti-ya [me-ik-ki
   e-es-ta 'And [Nuwanza the GAL.GESTIN conquered] the
   infantry (and) cavalry of the land of Azzi. [And] the
   captives and slain [were many.'].
A. Goetze [1933:223] interprets *appanti* and *kunanti* as neuter i-plurals. His analysis of them as nominative is based on the parallel passage in the *Ausführliche Annalen* (b above), where *appanza* and *kunnanza* are indisputably nominative. He does not explain the shift in gender and number between common singular and neuter plural, although one would expect common gender in both cases. Goetze's analysis is quite likely to be incorrect. Since the two passages are not exact duplicates but merely paraphrases of each other, a difference in construction between them is not surprising. Formally *appanti* and *kunanti* can be not only neuter plural but dative singular. Although it is not immediately apparent what the full context would be, it is perhaps better to accept these forms as datives than to set up a new category of neuter plural formations. There is only one other proposed i-plural to an nt-stem, *humanti* (see no. 222.s), and it too occurs in a very broken context and is of questionable validity. The existence of the nt-stem i-plural is thus very doubtful. 

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107 Cf. E. Neu [1979b:421 n. 24], who also rejects these
b. CTH 468 KUB XII 31 Rs. 26-27 nu ki-e TŪ.G.NĪ.G.LAMMEŠ
    an-da ap-pa-an-da GIŠGIGIR-ya tu-u-ri-ya-an a-pa-a-at-ta
dā-a-ir 'And these robes (which were) packed(?) and
the yoked wagon, that also they took.'
    (KBo IV 2 IV 3940 ki-e ... ap-pa-an-ta)

216. arpuwant—'unfavorable'
a. CTH 561 KUB V 1 III 48 u-ni-uš-za-kān ku-e-eš ŪMEŠ
    HUL-lu-uš uš-ki-iż-zi IZKIHI.YA-yaz a-rpu-wa-an-ta
    ki-kiš-ta-ri 'She keeps seeing for herself those dreams
    which (are) evil. And the omens become unfavorable.'

217. asant—'existing, true'
a. CTH 121 KBo XII 38 II 13-14 nu-kān QA-TAM-MA a-ša-an-da
    LŪ-na-tarHI.YA an-da-an gul-šu-un 'And in the same way I
    engraved the true exploits.'

218. ēshanuwant—'bloody'
a. CTH 757 KUB IX 31 I 36-37 Din-na-ra-u-wa-an-te-eš
    ū-wa-<an->du e-eš-ha-nu-wa-an-ta ku-i-e-eš
    ū-e-eš-ša-an-ta 'Let the Innarawant gods come, who wear
    bloody (clothes).'

219. hahlawant—'yellow(?)-'
a. CTH 409 KUB VII 53+ II 46-48 ha-ah-la-u-wa-an-da; see
    no. 190.b.1

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forms as neuter plurals.


220. harpant- 'separate, distributed'
a. CTH 450 KUB XXX 19 IV 19 A-NA GUNNI ku-e har-pa-li
har-pa-an-da 'The heaps which (are) distributed by the
hearth...'

221. harsalant- 'angry'
a. CTH 348 KUB XXXIII 83+ II 4 ]har-ša-la-an-ta
na-at-mu-za zu-[ (are) angry. And they to me for
themselves[

b. CTH 377 KUB XXIV I III 18-21 nu KUR.KURHI.A LÜ KUR ku-e
šu-ul-la-an-ta har-ša-la-an-ta ku-e-es-kân tu-uk A-NA
D te-li-pí-ni Ū A-NA DINGIR MEŠ URU ha-at-ti Ū-UL
na-ah-ha-an-te-es 'And the enemy lands which (are)
quarrelling (and) angry, those (people) who (are) not
respectful to you, Telipinu, and to the gods of Hatti...'

222. humant- 'all'
a. CTH 61 KBo V 8 I 23 LÜ KUR URU kap-pu-up-pa-ma
KUR.KUR MEŠ URU ka-ša-ša-ya hu-u ma-an-da ni-ni-ik-ta-at
'But the enemy from Kappuppa and the Gasga lands all
mobilized.'

b. CTH 69 KUB XIX 49 I 58-59 nu ma-a-an ki-i INIM MEŠ
hu-u ma-an-da i-ya-ši 'And if you carry out these words,
all of them...'

c. CTH 81
1. KUB I 1 IV 22 KUR.KUR MEŠ URUKU.BABBAR-ti-ma-wa
hu-u ma-an-da DIŠTAR A-NA ha-at-tu-ši-li EGIR-an-da
ne-eh-hu-un 'But I, Istar, turned the lands of Hatti
all towards Hattusili.'

(KUB I 8 IV 8-9 da-pí-an-ta)
2. KUB XIX 70 III 58 nu-mu-kān a-pí-e-ya hu-u-ma-an-da ar-ha da-a-aš 'And he took even those (lands) all away from me.'

d. CTH 85 KUB XXI 12 I 29, KBo VI 29 I 29 nu-uš-ši ki-e KUR.KUR MEŠ hu-u-ma-an-ta pí-[r]a-an ma-ni-ya-ah-hi-eš-ki-nu-un 'And I used to administer these lands, all of them, before him.'

e. CTH 90 KUB XXI 9 Vs. 8 KUR.KUR HI.A-ya-ši hu-u-ma-an-da za-ah-hi-[ir 'And the lands all fought against him.'

f. CTH 141 KBo XII 39 Vs. 13 ]HI.A-za hu-u-ma-an-da ḫŠ-TU GIS TUKUL [ 'The lands] all [for themselves with weapons.'

g. CTH 151 VBoT 1.25-27 nu-mu an-tu-uh-šu-uš ga-aš-ga-aš KUR-ya-aš up-pí iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un zi-in-nu-uk hu-u-ma-an-da nu ha-ad-du-ša-aš-ša KUR-e i-ga-it 'Send me people of the land of the Gasga.' I have heard (that) everything (is) finished, and the land of Hattusa, too, has gone to pieces. 110

h. CTH 312 KUB XXXI 141.2 DGAŠAN hu-u-ma-an-da-kān KUR.KUR HI.A ku-iš aš-nu-uš-ki-iz-zī 'O Ištar,] who puts all lands in order...'

i. CTH 341 KUB VIII 57.10 nu] KUR.KUR MEŠ hu-u-ma-an-ta ĝ-e-hi-eš-ki-iz-zī 'And] he keeps turning (to see) all the lands.'

110 My translation follows that of H. Güterbock 1967b:145.
And they roast all these seeds and coriander in a shallow bowl.

Right now I am washing the limbs, all of them.

But they mix together all the fruits — figs, raisins, olives, nuts, apples, "mountain apples" — a little of each...

But afterwards with the help of the waiter they bring the stews, all of them ... to the gods.

If the KI.GUB behind the weapon sees. All he strikes.
mausoleum [they bring(?)] all [ ] sticks of incense, racks, [ ] urns of gold [’]

q. CTH 714 KUB XXVII 16 IV 4 TU\textsubscript{7} HI.A -ya hu-u-ma-an-da[j]

‘And the stews all[’]

r. CTH 720 KUB XII 15 IV 14-15 hu-u-ma-an-da; see no. 172.c

s. CTH 772 KUB XXXII 123 II 38-42 nu ki-i hal-ku-eš-šar

ku-it ha-an-da-an nu ku-it[ ] a-da-an-na-aš

hal-ku-eš-šar NINDA\textsubscript{HI.A} ZİD.ĐA İ.NUN LÀ[L] DUG KA.DÜ

NAG DUG KAŠ DUG GEŠTIN pu-u-ti-iš İHI.A [ ] UDU HI.A

MAS.GAL UR.TUR\textsubscript{HI.A} nu hu-u-ma-an-ti [ -u]n? ar-ha

šar-ra-an-zi ˇAnd since these first fruits (are) ready, whatever [ ] first fruits are for eating -- loaves, flour, butter, honey, a jug of cheap beer for drinking, a jug of beer, a jug of wine, pūtis,\textsuperscript{111} oils, [ ] sheep, goat(s), (and) small dogs -- they separate out [ ]x for/from each(?)’

J. Friedrich [1954:75] cites ḫumanti as a possible neuter plural, but since the immediate antecedents are common gender, and since there is a gap ending perhaps with <un>, a common singular object could be supplied here. ḫumanti could then be analyzed as a dative singular rather than as the object of the verb. Since ḫumant- is well attested, one would expect more attestations of ḫumanti if it were a viable alternative to the normal plural ḫumanda. See also no. 215.a.

\textsuperscript{111} See H. Hoffner 1967b:303.
223. ivant- 'done, made'
a. CTH 409 KUB VII 53+ 1 40-42 EGI R-an-ma-aš-ša-an ID-i pi-ra-an Gĩš 3a.LAM.GAR HIA ša Gĩ karu-ū i-ya-an-ta

Moreover, a tent of reeds (is) already made beside the river.'

Gĩš 3a.LAM.GAR is plurale tantum. 112

224. immivant- 'mixed'
a. CTH 628 KUB XXXII 128 1 3-4 nu-uš-ša-an

Gĩš ir-hu-u-i-ya-aš IN-BI-HI.A an-da im-mi-ya-an-da 1 UP-NU iš-hu-u-w[a-an-zi 'And [they] scatter fruits mixed in a basket, 1 handful of them.'

225. isgarkan- 'fixed'
a. CTH 647 IBot III 87 IV 8'-13' iš-ga-ra-an-ta; see no.

188.h.2

226. iskunan- 'spotted'
a. CTH 398 KBo IV 2 1 44-45 ka-a-aš-wa GIM-an ha-a-aš

GADI.HA iš-ku-na-an-ta pár-ku-nu-uz-zi 'As this soap makes spotted linens clean...'

227. isparrant- 'spread out'
a. CTH 421 KUB XVII 14 Rs. 3-4 1NU-TUM Gĩš NĀ Iš-TU T[ÜG MA-YA-LI iš-pár-ra-an-da '1 bed outfit with [the coverings] spread out'

(KBo XV 2 Vs. 11-12 iš-pár-ra-an-[da])


228. kinant- 'assorted(?)'

- CTH 566 KUB XXII 70
  1. Vs. 60, Rs. 90 nu 1 TÜG\_na 1 TÜG\_ka-ri-ul-li TÜG\_ki-na-an-ta-ya ŠA SALTI\_pí-an-zi 'And they give 1 garment, 1 cape, and assorted woman's clothing.'
  2. Rs. 34 TÜG\_te-ir-ma-za 1 TÜG\_ka-ri-ú-ul-li TÜG\_ki-na-an-da-y[a ]x ŠA SALTI\_SIXSA-\_at 'A terma garment, 1 garment, 1 cape, and assorted [ ] of a woman were indicated.'

229. kunant- 'slain'

- CTH 61 KBo III 4 IV 20 ku-na-an-ti; see no. 215.a

230. kurant- 'cut up'

- no CTH number Bo 2839 IV 12'-14' UZU\_EME]-ŠU
gEŠTUGI.A-ŠU KUN-ŠU [ ar-ha k]u-e ku-ra-an-ta [PA-NI] DINGIR\_LIM ki-it-ta 'his [tongue], his ears, his tail [(and?)] which (are) cut [away] lie [before] the god.'

231. lukkant- 'lit, having been set fire to'

- CTH 457 KBo XIX 137 I 5-6 nu 2 DUGUTUL.TUR da-a-i [ ] lu-uk-kán-ta da-a[-i 'And he takes 2 small pots [ ] he takes lit [ ].'

232. nekumant- 'naked'

- CTH 348 KUB XXXIII 86 II 9-10 DIŠTAR-\_iš [A-NA MUŞ\_hé-dam-mu IGI-an-da] NI.TEMEŠ ne-ku-ma-an-ta ša-ra-a [e-ip-ta 'Ištar [held] up (her) limbs naked [before

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Hedammu.

233. pānt- 'gone'

a. CTH 382 KBo XI 1 Rs. 5 na-at EGIR-pa SIG₃⁻ah-ha-an-zi kat-ta pa-a-an-ta-ma ku-e ["And they set it/them right again. But the [...] which (are) gone [""

234. parsiant- 'broken'

a. CTH 628 KUB XXXII 128 I 9-10 nu-uš-ša-an NINDA.SIGMEŠ pār-ši-ya-an-da a-wa-an kat-ta da-a-i "And he puts the thin loaves down broken."

235. sanhu(wan)t- 'roasted'

a. CTH 398 KBo IV 2

1. I 62 nu NUMUN_HIA ku-e hu-u-ma-an ša-an-hu-ta "And the seeds which (are) totally roasted...

2. II 29 nu-kān NUMUN_HIA ku-e ša-a-an-hu-u-wa-an-ta "And the seeds which (are) roasted..."

The spelling sanhunda is attested in LH** (no. 155) with the same contraction of -uwa- shown in sanhunzi, alternant of third plural present sanhuwanzi. Compare also the similar contraction of -iya- and loss of n postulated to derive dapid- from dapivant- (no. 304).

236. sīvant- 'set up'

a. CTH 450 KUB XXX 19 IV 30 GIŠ₃-Za.LAM.GAR-ma-kān ku-e E-ri-an-da ši-ya-an-da "But the tents which (are) set up in the house...

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237. sullant- 'quarrelling'
   a. CTH 376 KUB XXIV 3 II 34 wa-ar-ša-an-da šu-ul-la-an-da KUR.KUR.HI.A 'Rested (are) the quarrelling lands.'
   b. CTH 377 KUB XXIV 1 III 19 šu-ul-la-an-ta; see no. 221.b

238. suppissarant- 'spotless'
   a. CTH 330 KBo XV 34 II 31 nu-us-ša-an še-ir UZU.N[IG.]GIG UZUŞA šu-up-pi-š-ša-ra-an-ta da-a-i 'And he sets the liver and heart down on it spotless.'

239. suwant- 'filled'
   a. CTH 461 KBo XXI 20 I 22 EGIR-an-da-ma x\[ ]x šu-wa-an-da da-ah-hi 'Moreover, afterwards I take filled [\[\].'
   b. CTH 81 KUB I 8 IV 8-9 da-pi-an-ta; see no. 222.c.1
   c. CTH 255 KUB XXI 42 II 29-30 nu KUR.KUR.HI.A BA\[L d\]\a-pi-an-da l-e-it-ta na-š-ši-ki-it-ten 'And you united all the rebellious lands.'
   d. CTH 421 KUB XVII 14 Vs. 2-4 da-pi-an-da; see no. 200.a
d. CTH 577 KBO XVI 98 IV 21 ]ku-i-e MA-ME-TE\{MES\ [ ] which oaths all [\'.
See also no. 304.

240. dapiant- 'all'
   a. CTH 377 KUB XXIV 1 I 19-20 nu-ut-ta DINGIR\{LIM\-YA Ü E\[MES\ DINGIR\{MES\ I\]NA KUR URUP][A-ti] da-aš-ša-nu-wa-an 'And for you, my god, the temples in the land of Hatti (are) also strongly built.'
If E\textsuperscript{MES} DINGIR ME\textsuperscript{ES} is a collective referring to a single building,\textsuperscript{116} das(sa)nuwan could be singular. However, in line I 25 "temple" is apparently modified by unuwanta and there should be plural. Unfortunately the context is quite broken and the reading of unuwanta is not secure.\textsuperscript{117} If das(sa)nuwan is a plural syntactically parallel to unuwanta, its shape may be compared to that of wetan (no. 14). However, the possibility of a scribal error cannot be ruled out, and identification of das(sa)nuwan as plural is tentative at best.

242. tittiyant- 'associated with, assigned to(?)'\textsuperscript{118}

a. CTH 533 KUB VIII 14 II 8-9 GIš]MAR.GID.DA-aš ti-it-ti-an-da [ ]-zi 'associated with/associates(?) of the wagon[

243. urenant- 'burned'

a. CTH 447 KBo XI 10 III 26-27 u-ri-e-na-an-da; see no. 192.b

244. wagant- 'bitten, tidbit'

a. CTH 421 KUB XVII 14 Rs. 11 nu wa-ga-an-da še-e-ni UD-ti-li pî-e har-[kān-zi 'And [they] offer tidbits to the image daily.'


\textsuperscript{117} O. Gurney 1940:18.

\textsuperscript{118} See J. Friedrich 1959:97.
245. wars(i)yant- 'rested'
   a. CTH 376 KUB XXIV 3 II 34 wa-ar-ša-an-da; see no. 237.a
      (KUB XXIV 4 I 23 wa-ar-ši-ya-an-da)

246. wedant- 'built'
   a. CTH 481 KUB XXIX 6+ Rs. 6 EHL.A DINGIR.LIM GIBIL ku-e
      û-e-da-an-da ['The new temples which (are) built[']

247. wezz(a)pant- 'old'
   a. CTH 567 KUB V 10
      1. 4-5 TUG G.È.A hur-ri GUŠKIN-wa ku-e DINGIR.LIM
         wa-aš-ša-an har-zi nu-wa-ra-at û-e-iz-pa-a-an-ta 'The
         Hurrian shirts of gold which the god is wearing, they
         (are) old.'
      2. 10 SIG ū-su-ri-ta-wa û-e-iz-za-pa-a-an-ta 'The woollen
         skeins (are) old.'

248. zanuwant- 'cooked'
   a. CTH 591 KUB II 13 III 12-13 UZU ku-du-ûr-ra
      za-nu-wa-an-ta UZU NIG.GIG.HI.A-ya LUMEŠ MUHALDIM
      û-da-an-zi 'And the cooks bring the cooked kudur and
      livers.'

   As first word in the sentence, kudurra is probably to be
   analyzed kudur plus -a 'and'. Since both kudur and
   UZU NIG.GIG are specifically mentioned as cooked earlier in
   the text, zanuwanta may well modify both nouns and not
   kudur alone.

   b. CTH 625 KBo XIX 128
      1. II 15-16 EGIR-an-da-ma UZU NIG.GIG.HI.A IZי-it
         za-nu-an-da û-da-an-zi 'Afterwards they bring the
         livers cooked with fire.'
2. III 43. TU₇ za-nu-wa-an-da[ ] stews cooked[ ]

249. zeant- 'cooked'

a. CTH 772 KBo IV 11 Vs. 19 zé-ya-an; see no. 188.m.3
If zevan is not an error for zeyanda, it would appear to be formed in the same way as wetan (no. 14).

250. SIG₅-ant- 'good'

a. CTH 62 KBo V 9 III 17 INIMHI.Å-ya-aš-ma-aš SIG₅-an-ta me-mi 'Speak good words to them also!'

b. CTH 515 KUB XXXVIII 14 Vs. 4 E DINGIR-LIM-si U-UL SIG₅-an-ta 'His temples (are) not good.'

4.3.7 n-stems also attested at CTH 647 KUB XXXIV 128 I 16;

CTH 679 KBo XX 28 Vs. 6'

4.3.7 n-stems

nouns:

251. maskan- 'bribe, compensation'

titutions'

The singular maskan is attested in KUB XIII 9 III 14.

252. saraman- type of bread

a. CTH 450

1. KUB XXX 23+ III 43 NIND]A-sa-ra-a-am-ma pí-a[n]-zi ʃ ]they give saraman loaves.'

2. KUB XXX 24 II 17-18 SAL.MEŠ tap-da-ra-[aš]
NINDA-sa-ra-a-am-ma pí-an-zi 'The taptariya women give the
saraman loaves.'

The transcription of this tablet was provided by G. Beckman.
**Late Hittite:** n-stems

(sa-ra-am-ma) is also attested at CTH 612 KBo IV 9 I 21-22; CTH 633 IBot I 29 I 54-55; CTH 634 KBo XI 52 II 13-14.

3. KUB XXXIX 7 II 5 SAL.MEŠ tap-ta-ri-ma

\[ ña-ra-a(m-n)a \text{ pí-eš-kán-zi } \]

'Moreover, the taptariya women keep giving the sarāman loaves.'

4. II 40 SAL.MEŠ tap-ta-ri-ya NINDA sa-ra-am-ma [pí-an-zi]

'The taptariya women [give] the sarāman loaves.'

Note the interchange of saramna and saramma.

b. CTH 591 KBo XX 67+ III 15 na-aš-ta 5 ta-[]

\[ ña-ra-a-ma \text{ pí-ra-an ar-[?} \]

\[ ña-ra-a-ma \]

is also attested at CTH 647 KUB XXXIV 128 I 16;

CTH 670 KBo XX 28 Vs. 6', ll'.

c. CTH 626 KUB XXV 12

1. V 8-9 ŠA DUMU MEŠ [É].GAL [ ] NINDA ña-ra-am-[n]a

\[ da-an-[zi ] \]

'They take the sarāman loaves of the palace functionaries [.]'

2. V 21 ŠA DUMU MEŠ LUGAL NINDA sa-ra-am-ma-na da-an-zi

'They take the sarāman loaves of the princes.'

Again the shape of the word varies within one tablet.

For further discussion see no. 16.
4.3.8 1-stems

nouns:

253. huhupal- type of musical instrument

a. CTH 481 KUB XXIX 4 I 24-25 1NU-TIM GIŠ hu-u-hu-pa-al ma-a-an ŠA GIŠ TÜG ma-a-an ŠA KAXUD AM.SI '1 set of huhupal instruments of either boxwood or ivory'

The term 1NU-TIM always requires the plural.

b. CTH 583 KUB XV 5 III 10-14 UM-MA LUGAL KUR URU ha-ak-piš-ša-MA A-NA DU-wa ku-e GIŠ hu-hu-pa-a-la NA₄ZA.GIN-ya me-mi-iš-ta ku-wa-at-wa-ra-at-ši DU-UL pí-eš-ta UM-MA SAL hé-pa-SUM GIŠ hu-hu-pa-la-wa NA₄ZA.GIN-ya A-NA DINGIR.LIM GAL pí-an-zì 'Thus speaks the king of Hakpissa, "The huhupal instruments and lapis lazuli which you/he promised to the storm god, why did you/he not give them to him?" Thus speaks Hepapiya, "They will give the huhupal instruments and lapis lazuli to the great god."

The context does not support analysis huhupal plus -a 'and'. The form is best recognized as an a-plural.

c. CTH 771 KUB XXV 37

1. I 11 LÔMEŠ URU la-al-lu-[p]í-ya-ma LUGAL-ŠU-NU ku-e GIŠ hu-[h]u-pa-al har-kân-zi 'Moreover the people of Lallupiya (and) their king, the huhupal instruments which they hold...'

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Agreement with *kue* guarantees that *huhupal* is plural here and later in the same text.

2. I 34. *ma]-ah-ha-an-ma-kán ḫu-hu-pa-al IŠ-TU GESṬIN šu-un-na-an-z[ ... 'Moreover when they fill the *huhupal* instruments with wine...'

3. III 24  LUMES URU la-al-lu-pí-ya-ma-za LUGAL-ŠU-NU-ya [GI]šu-h[u]-pa-al da-an-zi 'Moreover the people of Lallupiya and their king take the *huhupal* instruments.'

254. *huthut(t)al-* type of bread

a. CTH 481 KUB XXIX 4 II 60 2 NINDA hu-ut-hu-u-ta-al-1a ŠA 1/2 UP-NI '2 huthūtal loaves (made of/containing) 1/2 handful'

(KUB XXIX 6.7 NINDA hu-u-ut-hu-ud-da-a-la)

Since the word comes in the middle of a list of items it is unlikely to be followed by -a 'and'. For the stem class, cf. *hu-ut-hu-ta-al* KUB XLIV 52.7'.

255. *ishiul-* 'contract, treaty'

a. CTH 482 KUB XXXII 133 I 4-5 iš-hi-ú-liHI.A; see no. 174.a.1

256. *kazzarnul-* type of cloth?

a. CTH 471 KBo V 2 I 45 2 GAD ka-az-za-ar-nu-ul-li 2 NINDA.SIG 2 DUG KU-KU-UB GESṬIN da-a-i 'He takes 2 *kazzarnul*, 2 thin loaves, 2 jugs of wine.'

The word is an 1-stem, as shown by *kazzarnul* in line I 18.

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257. wastul- 'sin'

a. CTH 382 KBo XI 1 Vs. 12 nu-za KUR.KUR.HI.A-aš
wa-aš-túl.HI.A ma-ah-ha-an EGIR-pa la-a-mi 'How I again remove the sins of the countries...

b. CTH 383 KUB XIV 7 IV 9-11 nu ma-a-an A-NA KUR
URU ha-at-ti wa-aš-túl.HI.A e-eš-zi nu ku-e-qa DUTU
URU a-ri-in-na-ma-at GAŠAN-YA da-ha-an-ga-aš me-mi-ni še-ir ar-ha-páti pí-eš-ši-ya 'And if there are sins for the land of Hatti, sun goddess of Arinna, my lady, throw them, whatever (there are), away by the word of the dahanga.'

4.3.9 r-stems

nouns:

258. húppar- 'dish'

a. CTH 712 KUB XXVII I III 14 na-aš-kán D[UG] h[u-u-ul]pa-a-ri.HI.A IŠ-TU GEŠTIN šu-un-na-i 'And he fills the dishes with wine.'

húpparí.HI.A combines the plene plural with the i-plural. A form hupparas nom. sg. c. is also attested (KUB XXVII 15 IV 7).

259. kúurur- 'enmity; enemy'

a. CTH 40 KUB XIX 22.2-3 nu ku-ru-ri.HI.A ku-e [M]EŠ-aš-pát mi-e-nu-u-e-ir 'And the enemies which [ ] have nurtured...'

(KBo XIV 42.10-11 ku-u-ru-ri.HI.A ku-e)

123 For the translation see Gütterbock and Hoffner 1980:3.
124 For this word, see V. Haas 1970:90-91, 168-69.
b. CTH 61

1. KBo IV 4 I 20-21 ku-u-ru-ur HI.A a-ra-a-an [\'] enemies [had(??)] arisen. 125

2. KBo V 8 II 10-11, II 35 ku-u-ri HI.A; see no. 183 a

3. KBo XVI 8 II 28 ku-ru-ri HI.A da-ni-nu-un \']the enemies I put in order.\'

c. CTH 562 KUB XXII 25 Vs. 20, Rs. 16-17, 34-35 ma-a-an ku-ru-ur HI.A hu-u-da-ak RA-mi \'If I quickly strike the enemies..\'

d. 582 KUB XXII 7 Vs. 1, 4 ku-u-ri HI.A a-ri-iš-kat-ta-ri \'] enemies are made the subject of inquiry.\'

J. Friedrich [1954:119; 1960:54, 116-17] identifies kurur- as both a neuter noun and a defective adjective with no marked common gender forms. Thus we find:

e. CTH 67 KBo V 4 Rs. 7 zi-ik-ma-mu-za ku-u-ur e-š But you be hostile to me!\'

f. CTH 61 KUB XIV 16 II 21 hu-u-ma-an-te-eš ku-u-ur e-šiš all were hostile.\'

In no. e the asigmatic common singular is not a great problem, since we also have kessar-sis \'his hand\' (LH* KBo VI 3 I 6) comparable to Gk. pater; but there is no PIE or Hittite pattern of unmarked common plurals. The neuter noun, in contrast, is richly attested in both numbers. 127 Rather --

125 Cf. A. Goetze 1933:280.
126 For the verb see E. Neu 1968:13.
127 See J. Friedrich 1960:54.
than setting up both a neuter noun and an adjective which is not only homophonous to it but also defective precisely in having no common gender forms, it seems reasonable to recognize only the neuter noun, an abstract meaning 'enmity' and by extension 'enemy'. Also, no other adjective in \(-ur\)- is known, while there are several ur-stem nouns. As a noun \textit{kurur}- can be a predicate nominative in e and similar sentences, where we can translate 'Be an enemy to me.' 128

260. \textit{kudur}- body part 129

a. CTH 591 KUB II 13

1. III 8 UZU ku-du-ür-ma IŠ-TU DUGUTUL za-nu-wa-an-zi

'Moreover, they cook the \textit{kudur} in a pot.'

2. III 12-13 UZU ku-du-ür-ra; see no. 248.a

b. CTH 669 KUB XI 26(+?) Vs. 7-9 ha?-a]r?-ki-uš-ma

UZU mu-uh-ha-ra-uš [UZU NIG.] GIGHI.A UZU ku-du-ra-ya

[IZI-it z]a-nu-wa-an-zi 'Moreover, they cook [white(?)]
muhharai, livers, and \textit{kudur} [with fire].'

128 See also E. Neu [1979b:407-27] who for many of the same reasons views \textit{kurur}- as an abstract noun with the extended meaning 'enemy'. He cites two instances of \textit{kurura} as neuter plural (p. 421), but the first (KBo XI 72 II 35') stands beside a duplicate with \textit{kururas} gen. sg. (KBo XI 10 II 31') and is best restored to ku-u-ru-ra-<aš>. The second (KUB XXIII 77a+ Vs. 9') is restored to [ku-ru-]ra and need not be correct; or if correct could stand for \textit{kurur-}a 'and enmity'. Neu cites one other possible neuter plural (n. 24), ku-ru-(ru)-ri!-e (33/p 11'), but as this occurs in the middle of a very broken section, little weight can be put on it; see Chapter 6, section 7.

The -a ending and conjunction with other plural body parts show kudura to be plural.

"And they set it on the altar. [They set] kudur on the altar (also?)."

kudur may end in the aplural ending or -a "and".

d. CTH 714 KUB XXVII 16 III 24 ŠA GUD-ma UZU ku-du-úr SAG.DU UZU GAB-y[a ] UZU GAB.HI.A 2 UZU ku-du-úr-ra UZU TI.HI.A[k]-ki-na-an "Moreover, the kudur of a cow, the head, and the breast [breasts, (and?) 2 kudur, ribs [x"

As it is in the middle rather than the end of a list, kudurra probably ends in the aplural and not -a "and".

At least in no. b kudura is plural. The other instances of kudur(a) are ambiguous.

261. tahatumar- "incense"

a. CTH 612 KUB II 5 I 38-39 EGIR-ŠU-ma tah-tu-um-ma-ra TŠ-TU E.NA DINGIR.LIM 6-da-an-zi "Afterward they bring (sticks of) incense from the god's mausoleum."

It is not clear from context whether this is tahatumar plus -a "and".

b. CTH 626 KUB XI 34 I 46-48 tah-du-ma-ã-ar; see no. 227.p

See also no. 17, 109.
adjectives:

262. kallar- \(\text{unpropitious, unhealthful}\)

a. CTH 398 KBo IV 2

1. I 17-18 nu-kān ki-e NUMUN[HI.A] ma-an-ha-an
ki-š-ta-ri kal-la-a-ra-ya{(-ra-ya)} kān ud-da-a-ar
ha-tu-ga-ú-ša MUŠEN HI.A QA-TAM-MA ki-š-ta-ru
'And as these seeds are extinguished, also let the unpropitious
words and the birds portending ill expire in the same
way.'

Ignoring the dittography of \(-ra-ya\), we have a form
kallāra-ya which seems doubly marked as plural by the
plene and the ending \(-a\). However, since there are other
errors in the spelling and grammar (hatugaus-\(a\) is incor-
rect for the common plural nominative, and the verb
kistaru ought to be plural), kallāra could well be a
scribal error for kallara.

2. II 18-20 kal-la-ar; see no. 206.e.2

Here the form is identical to that of the singular (cf.
no. 206.e.1) but is clearly plural through agreement
with kue uddār.

H. Kronasser [1962:100] sets up a three-way division of the
forms in question. He identifies as singular kuit kuit
kallar idālu uttar (I 70), kallar idālu uttar (I 67), idālu
uddār (I 68); as plural kue kallar idālu uddār (II 19),
kallāra uddār (I 17), kallar uttar -smas (II 22-23); and as
indeterminable kallar INIM-tar (I 15, III 21), kallar uttar
(I 26, II 18). This is not correct. In all instances of
marked singulars and plurals such as kuit and kue, uttar
invariably agrees with the singular and uddär with the plu­
ral. Therefore we must recognize as singular all the in­
stances of uttar listed above and of the adjectives and
pronouns in agreement with it, and must recognize as plural
all instances of uddär and its modifiers. INIM-tar is a
singular, for the plural is always written INIMHI.A/MEŠ-ar.

4.3.10 r/n-stems

nouns:

263. arkuwar/n- 'prayer'
   a. CTH 381 KUB VI 45 I 26-27 nu-mu ki-e ar-ku-wa-ar-riHI.A
      iš-ta-ma-aš-ten 'And hear these my prayers!'
      (KUB VI 46 I 27-28 ki-e ar-<ku>-u-wa-ar'-ri-ya)

264. halkuessar/n- 'cult tax; first fruits'
   a. CTH 574 KUB XVIII 14 III 3 ]hal-ku-es-šarHI.A x[

265. huitar/n- 'creature; wild life'
   a. CTH 532 KUB VIII 1.9-10 hé-e-u-e-eš [ki]-i-ša BURUxHI.A
      SIG₅-an-ta da-ga-an-zí-pa-aš [hu]-i-da!-a-ar pa-ra-a-i
      'Rains will occur. The crops will be good. The creatures
      of the earth (i.e. grubs) will emerge(?).'

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For hewes kīsa see J. Friedrich 1960:115; for the
translation see H. Hoffner 1974:87.
266. iliessar/n- 'omen'

- CTH 671 KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 40-44 i-li-eš-šar.H.I.A; see no. 206

267. karawar/n- 'horn'

- CTH 314 KUB IV 8 Rs. 6-7 Si.H.I.A:ar ku-e-da-ni-il[k-ki
- CTH 345 KUB XXXVI 12 III 4 nu ŠA GUDše-rišu SI.H.I.A-ar
  iš-ki-g[a-a]n-du 'And let them anoint the horns of the bull Seris.'

Since there is no <war> sign and since the phonetic complement consists only of <ar>, the form could stand for ka-ra-wa-ar or ka-ra-wa-a-ar; however, war/n-stems in general seem to lack the plene plural.

268. kuressar/n- 'headcloth, veil'

- CTH 423 KUB VII 60 II 5 TÜG ku-ri-eš-šar.H.I.A A-NA
  GİŞ BANSUR [ 'the headcloths on the table ['

269. lahhivatar/n- 'campaign'

- CTH 76 KUB XIX 6+ III 9-10
  URU ha-ad-du-ša-az-ma-wa-at-ta [ki-e la]-ah-hi-ya-tar
  'Moreover for you (there were) [the following] campaigns from Hattusa ...'
  (KUB XXI 5 III 4-5 ki-e la-an-hi-ya-tar)

Since a list of various kings follows, several campaigns rather than one unified campaign may be indicated. Note that Güterbock and Hoffner [1980:10] tentatively identify the form as plural.
270. mehur/n- 'time, hour'
   a. CTH 123 KBo IV 14 II 58-60 me-e-hur; see no. 347
   b. CTH 203 KUB XL 1 Vs. 16 |x:da-a-ya-al-la me-hur-ri HI.A ar-ta-ri(-)[i?] |x dāyalla hours arrive.'

The meaning and grammatical function of dāyalla are unknown, but it could well be a CL i-stem neuter plural.

See also Appendix B, no. 495.

271. minumar/n- 'success/prosperity (caused by the gods)'
   a. CTH 561 KUB V 1 I 103-104 DUTU ANE GUB-İŞ ŠA DINGIR MEŠ mi-nu-mar HI.A ME-aš 'The sun god of heaven stood up. He took the successes of the gods.'
   Similar collocations occur at I 107, III 42-43, IV 4-5, 38-39.
   b. CTH 572 KUB VI 3.10 ŠA DINGIR MEŠ mi-nu-mar HI.A ır HI.A-uş-şa ME-aš 'He took the successes and servants of the gods.'
   c. CTH 577 KBo XVI 98 IV 24" ]MEŠ mi-nu-mar HI.A da-an-te-ēš 'x (and) the successes (of the gods are) taken.'
   d. CTH 578 KUB V 5 II 3 nu-kān DINGIR MEŠ ITU 1 KAM ŠA DINGIR MEŠ mi-nu-mar-ri HI.A ME-an-te-ēš 'And the gods of one month (and) the successes of the gods (are) taken.'
   e. CTH 582 KUB XXII 64 II 3'-5' İŚ-TU MU GID.DA ŠA DINGIR MEŠ mi-nu-mar-ri HI.A ME-an-te-ēš 'The successes of the gods (are) taken by long year(s).'

1-an is not clear and may be an adverb, or may modify a missing noun.
272. mūkessar/n- 'entreaty'

a. CTH 572 KUB XXII 57 Vs. 12 |x 1-an mu-u-kiš-šar HI.A kar-ap-pu-e-ni |x we raise entreaties together(?) *131
b. Bo 69/509 Vs? 6' mu-kiš-šar HI.A; see no. 251

273. partawar/n- 'wing'

a. CTH 415 KUB XV 24.10-12 1 GUD.M[AH ZABAR]
pār-ta-u-wa-ar-ši-it ZABAR ŠA 1 MA.NA [DŪ-an-zi 'They make] 1 bull [of bronze], his wings of bronze, of the weight of 1 mina.'
Since the subject of discussion is a statue, two wings are probably present.

274. suppessar/n- 'purity; type of stream(?)

a. CTH 574 KUB XVIII 24:
1. III 5 šu-up]-pī-eš-šar-r̃ HI.A-ya-wa al-ta-an-ni-iš ku-i-e-eš e-eš-šir 'The streams(?) and springs which they kept treating (ritually)...
2. III 9 šu-up-pī-eš-šar-r̃ HI.A-ya-wa al-ta-an-ni-uUL nam-ma[ 'The streams(?) and springs moreover not[

b. CTH 577 KUB V 11 IV 21 |x šu-up-pī-eš-šar HI.A-ya x[ 275. uppe(va)ssar/n- 'gift'

a. CTH 81 KUB I I IV 52-54 up-pī-eš-šar HI.A-ma-mu up-pī-iš-ki-u-wa-an ti-i-e-ir up-pī-eš-šar HI.A-ma-mu ku-i-e up-pī-iš-ki-ir 'Moreover, they began to send me gifts. And the gifts which they kept sending to me...

*131 1-an is not clear and may be an adverb, or may modify a missing noun.
b. CTH 177 KUB XXIII 101

1. II 4 up-pi-aš-šar HI.A

2. II 7-8 nu-wa A-NA ŠEŠ-YA up-pi-aš-šar HI.A-ya SIG Tim a-pi-ya up-pa-ah-hi 'And thither to my brother I send good gifts also.'

3. II 19 up-pi-eš-šar MEŠ-ma[−at]-ta ku-e up-pa-ah-hu-u[n 'Moreover the gifts which I sent to you...'

c. CTH 178 KUB XXIII 103 Vs. 23 nu-ut-t]a up-pi-ya-aš-šar HI.A TIM up-pi-eš-ki-nu-u[n 'And I kept sending good gifts to you.'

276. uddar/n- 'word, matter'

This is the most frequently occurring neuter plural noun in the data I have collected; there are over one hundred instances of it in the alternative spellings ud-da-a-ar and INIMES/HI.A-ar. I here provide cross-references to those cases where it accompanies some other neuter plural. See nos. 182.a; 188.m.2, 4; 206.b, d-f; 262.a.l; 302; 306.f.2; 308.a, h-j; 309.b-f; 312.a; 313.a; 315.

I have found four exceptions to the normal pattern, of which the first three are spelled ud-da-ar:

a. CTH 310 KBo XXII 6 I 7’ ud-da-ar-še-it; see no. 312.a

In this text the plural is twice spelled ud-da-a-ar, the singular ut-tar.

b. CTH 348

1. KUB XII 65+ III 8 ud-da-ar (KUB XXXIII 122 III 7 ud-da-a-ar)
The plural is thrice spelled ud-da-ar in this text, the singular ut-tar.

2. KUB XXXIII 109+ I 21-22 ud-da-ar-ta (KBo XXVI 82 Vs. 1-3 ud-da-la-ar-ta; KUB XII 65+ III 23 ud-da-a-o[r])

In these three cases the plural, spelled ud-da-ar, parallels spellings like har-ša-ar-ra for harsār-a (no. 18), ū-wi-ta-ar, ū-e-da-ar for widār (no. 278). Interestingly, three times the omission of <a> occurs with enclitics.

While uddār (and ud-da-ar) agree only with plurals such as kue and never with singulars like kuit, uttar agrees only with singulars and never with plurals. I have found only one exception to this, out of several hundred instances:

c. CTH 364 KUB XVII 4.12 nu-m]u wa-nu-um-mi-ya-<aš>

DUMU-as ku-e ut-tar te-i[t 'And] the word(s) which the orphan child spoke to me...'

There are several errors in this text, making it legitimate to recognize an error in agreement here.

277. warpūwar/n- 'ablution'

a. CTH 604 KBo X 20 III 21 wa-ar-ap-pu-u-wa-ar; see no. 188.h.2

278. wātar/n- 'water'

a. CTH 61 KBo III 4 II 65 nu-uš-ši-kān ū-i-da-a-ar ar-ha da-ah-hu-un 'And from him I took away the waters.'

b. CTH 265 KUB XIII 3 III 23 nu ū-wi-ta-ar GİŞ se-ša-ru-li-it še-ša-ri-iš-ši-kān 'And strain the waters with a strainer!'
c. CTH 275 KUB XXXI 113 I 2'-3' ú-e-da-ar ku-e A-NA URULIM a-ra-ah-z[a] n[a-at ú-da-at-ten] ša-ra-a-kán ku-it wa-a-tar na-at ili-e ú-da-at-ten 'The waters which (are) outside the city, [bring them here!] The water which (is) up (in the city), do [not bring] it [here!]' Note the use of <e> for the usual <i> and <da-ar> for the usual <da-a-ar>. Note also the use of widar as a true plural referring to multiple water sources contrasting with the true singular watar referring to the one water source within the city.

d. CTH 421 KBo XV 9 IV 23-24 l-aš-ma ši-hi-li-ya-aš ľ[-i]-da-a-ar har-zi 'One holds the waters of purity.'

e. CTH 471 KBo V 2
1. III 52 Iťáq-na-a-aš DUTU-i ú-i-da-a-ar ú-e-wa-ak-ki he demands the waters from the sun goddess of the earth.'

2. III 42-43 nu PA-NI KĀ.GAL ZAG-az ši-hi-i-il-ya-aš ú-i-da-a-ar ȘTU GAL ar-ta-ri 'And before the city gate on the right the waters of purity stand in a vessel.'

3. III 51-52 ȘMEŠAZU-ma-aš-ši-kán GA.KU 7 ši-hi-il-li-ya-aš-ša ú-i-da-a-ar ša-ra-a pa-ap-pár-ą-kán-zi 'Moreover the seers keep sprinkling sweet milk and the waters of purity upon him.'

f. CTH 475 KBo IX 115+ Vs. 3-4 ȘTU 7 TULHI.A še-hi-il-li-ya ú-e-da-a-ar ȘA URULIM wa-za-an-ti-ya da-a-aš 'From the 7 springs he took the waters of purity of the city of Lawazantiya.'
1. I 59 nu še-hi-il-li-ya-aš A.HI.A-ar ha-ni-ya-an-zi 'And they draw the waters of purity.

2. I 63 nu še-hi-el-li-ya-aš A.HI.A-ar ku-e-da-ni UD-ti da-an-zi 'And the day on which they they take the waters of purity...'

3. II 16-17 na-aš-ta še-hi-el-li-ya-aš A.HI.A-ar šu-uh-ha-az kat-ta ū-da-an-zi 'And they bring down the waters of purity from the roof.'

(KBo VIII 90 II 5 ú)-i-da-a:-ar)


5. IV 11-12 nu še-hi-el-{el-}li-ya A.HI.A-ar I-NA É DINGIR LIM GIBIL pí-e-da-an-zi 'And they bring the waters of purity to the new temple.'

That A(.A)HI.A-ar stands for the plural widār is shown not only by HI.A but by the complement -ar, since the singular would have the complement -tar parallel to INIM-tar for singular ut-tar (contrast with INIMHI.A-ar for plural ud-da-a-ar). For seheliya see Appendix B, no. 497.

279. zankilatar/n- 'penalty, restitution'

a. CTH 570 KUB V 6

1. II 33-34 na-aš ka-ru-ú[ ] za-an-ki-la-tar-riHI.A-ya SUM-eš-ta 'And he formerly [ ] gave penalties also.'
2. II 48 za-an-ki-la-tar^'-ya ku-e šA DU-TU-ST šA lan-ta-ra-wa-ya SIXSA-at 'And the penalties of my majesty and of Antarawa which were established...

280. LÚ-natar/n- 'manly deed, exploit'
a. CTH 121 KBo XII 13-14 LÚ-na-tarHI.A; see no. 217

4.3.11 nouns of irregular inflection

281. mēne/i- 'face'
a. CTH 650 KUB XX 15-17 me-e-ni-eš-mi-it LUGAL-i n[e-] iš-ki-ša LUGAL-i na-[ ] ne-ya-an-ta[(-)] 'They turn(?) their faces to the king. [And] they [ ] turn 132 (their) backs to the king.'

Since several people are involved, as shown by -smit, and since iskisa is plural (see no. 286), mēne ought also to be plural. It differs from normal i-stems in that its stem suffix is spelled e as well as i (cf. me-ne-iš-ši-it nom-acc. sg., LH* KBo VI 26 I 36).

282. utnē 'land'
a. CTH 311 KBo III 18+ III 10-11 KUR-e; see no. 190.a

b. CTH 376 KUB XXIV 4 II 2-3 KUR-e; see no. 170.a

For a discussion see no. 23.

See E. Neu 1968:121.
4.3.12 Nouns whose stem class is uncertain

283. ën type of bread, 'warm bread(?)'

a. CTH 626 KBO II 15 V 5-6 NINDA a-a-an HI.A NINDA[
   ]HI.A ku-e pär-ši-ya-an-ni-iš-[kán]-zi 'The ën loaves
   (and) [ ] loaves which they keep breaking...

b. CTH 681 KUB XXV 32+ III 8, 23-24, IV 8 NINDA a-a-an HI.A
   NINDA.TU7 ku-el 'The ën loaves (and) bread pudding(?)'133
   which [ ]

c. CTH 691 KUB XVII 24 III 9 nu NINDA a-a-an HI.A
   NINDA.KU7 HI.A-ya ku-e pär-ši-ya-an-ni-ya-a[n-zi 'And the
   ën loaves and sweet loaves which they keep breaking...

d. CTH 714 KUB XXVII 16 IV 18-20 nu NINDA a-a-an ku-e
   pär-ši-ya-an-na-i TU7 HI.A-ya ku-e zi-ik-kán-zi 'And the
   ën loaves which he keeps breaking and the stews which they
   keep setting down...'

e. no CTH number KUB XLV 50 II 18 nu NINDA a-a-an HI.A
   NINDA.KU7 HI.A ku-e [ 'And the ën loaves (and) sweet
   loaves which [ '
   NINDA a-a-an sg. is also attested (KUB XXX 25+ Vs. 16-18).

   Some scholars, e.g. H. Hoffner [1974:153], take the word as
   the participle of the verb ë- 'be warm, hot'.134 The mean-
   ing would presumably not be literally 'warm bread' as con-
   trasted with unheated bread, but rather some particular
   variety of bread (cf. Eng. 'hot cross buns').

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134 Cf. also A. Goetze's discussion 1954:187.
The participle ãnt- (cf. ãnza nom. sg. c., ãndan acc.)\(^\text{135}\) is attested with NINDA in the following instances:

f. CTH 341 KUB VIII 62 I 13  
\[\text{\(\text{a-a-<an>-da-aš NINDA-aš wa-}\)}\]

\[\text{g. CTH 628}\]

1. KBo XV 37 I 58-59 nu IŠ-TU ŒTIM GAL A-NA NINDA  
\[\text{a-a-an-ta-aš [2 PA] BA.BA.ZA 2 PA ZID.DA-ya da-an-zi} \]
\[\text{"And from the "great house" they take 2 PA of} \]
mush(?)\(^\text{136}\) and 2 PA of flour for (making) warm(?)  
loaves."

2. III 61-62 nam-ma A-NA NINDA a-a-an-da-aš 1 PA BA.BA.ZA  
\[\text{1 PA ZID.DA da-a-an} \]
\[\text{"Moreover 1 PA of mush(?) (and) 1} \]
PA of flour (is) taken for (making) warm(?) loaves."

3. KBo XV 49 IV 11-12 nu A-NA NINDA a-a-an-da-aš ... 2  
\[\text{PA ZID.DA ZİZ E.A-ya da-at-ta-ri} \]
\[\text{"And for (making) warm(?) loaves ... 2 PA of flour and dried wheat is} \]
taken."

In no. f ãndas must modify the noun NINDA since it precedes it. Likewise in no. g the dative plural ãndas ought to be a modifier because ANA cannot usually be employed with inflected Hittite forms. Also attested modifying NINDA is the neuter plural ãnta (see no. 145).

While all of these forms have normal nt-stem inflection,

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NINDA an, HI.A lacks the characteristic -a plural of nt-stems. Conceivably it is comparable to the endingless type wetan, but this type is quite rare. Further, if the endingless plural and the a-plural are alternatives, it is not clear why an should always employ only the one formation. A. Kammenhuber [1975:44 ff.] suggests that an is of foreign origin and connected by folk etymology with the participle ant-. This explains the abnormal plural shape: the loan word has not adopted Hittite inflection. Some question remains, however, as to the likelihood of two words with the unusual "superlong" initial ā and similar stems coexisting in the language.

284. azzallaya 'tablecloth?'
a. CTH 481 KUB XXIX 4 I 32 na-at 2 TA-PAL a-az-za-al-la-ya i-ya-an-zi 'And they make 2 tablecloth(?) sets of it.' The stem class is not known. If the word is an i-stem, -aya is the correct ending only for an adjective. Context does not seem to support division into azzalla-ya.

285. harpali 'heap'
a. CTH 450 KUB XXX 19 IV 19 har-pa-li; see no. 220 The stem class cannot be determined. harpali twice occurs after numerals (KUB XXXIX 7 II 61, II 63), and if it is singular there, must be an i-stem.

286. iskisa 'back'
a. CTH 123 KBo IV 14 III 74-75 na-an-za-an iš-ki-ša i-ya-[ I]š-TU [-ši-ta-] ar-ha-ya-an iš-ki-ša x[ ʔ?']

Since K0.BABBAR is plural kuvanna ought also to be plural.
b. CTH 176 KUB XXI 38 I 44-46 ma-a-an-ma-an A-NA ŠEŠ-YA DUMU-SA[L lan-ta ŠA ŠEŠ-YA na-aš-ma ŠA NIN-ZU pí-ih-hu-un ma-an a-pí-ya-ya ku-it Š[EŠ-YA ku]-in [SA]L-an pí-e-ir nu-wa-aš-ši iš-ki-ša ku-e-iq-qa e-eš-du 'If to/for my brother (my) daughter[ ]x of my brother or his sister I had given, then also what on that occasion [my brother spoke(?)] "which woman they would have given. And let there be some things behind her back."

c. CTH 650 KUB XX 38 Vs. 16-17 iš-ki-ša; see no. 281 iskisa may be adverbial as A. Goetze [1933:232] and W. Helck [1963:91] take it, or nominal and modified by kueqqa. As an adverb it could be either nominative-accusative plural (cf. no. 300) or directive. The word is certainly used adverbially in KUB XXV 37 I 8-9, II 16-17, 23.

For a discussion of the stem class see no. 161.

287. karma type of garment

a. CTH 566 KUB XXII 70 Rs. 11 lNU-TIM TŪG.GU.È.A hur-ri :ma-ru-ša-am-ma lNU-TIM TŪG kar-ma :ma-ru-ša-am-ma '... 1 set of red Hurrian shirts; 1 set of red karma garments...'

lNU-TIM requires the plural, and marusamma is the CL i-stem nominative-accusative neuter plural (see no. 348); ergo karma must be plural. The stem class cannot be ascertained.

288. kuwanna 'copper'

a. CTH 448 KUB XXIV 12 II 12-13 nu NA ku-wa-an-na KÙ.BABBARHI.A i-ya-an-zí 'And they treat (pieces of) copper (and) silver.' Since KÙ.BABBAR is plural kuwanna ought also to be plural.
Both n- and a-stem forms of this word are attested: n-stem kunnanan acc. sg. c. (KUB XXIX 4 I 71), kuwannanaza abl. (KUB VI 24 I 2, 6), kunnanas acc. pl. c. (MH KUB XVII 21 III 2); a-stem kunnas gen. (KUB IX 28 I 18); ambiguous kuwannan either n-stem neuter singular or a-stem neuter or common accusative (KBo IV 2 III 18). A. Goetze [1947a:307-10] concludes that an original n-stem kuwannan- alternating with contracted kunnan- (cf. no. 235) was replaced in part by an a-stem kuwanna/kunna-. The zero grade of a stem in -nan- would of course result in -nn- and this would be indistinguishable from an a-stem in most cases. It cannot be determined which stem kuwanna belongs to.

289. manapnalla item of furniture
a. CTH 481 KUB XXIX 4 I 27 1NU-TIM GIS ma-na-ap-na-al-la ma-a-an ŞA GIS TÚG ma-a-an ŞA KAXUD AM.SI ‘... 1 manapnalla outfit either of boxwood or of ivory ...’ The form must be plural with 1NU-TIM. The stem class cannot be determined.

290. pietta ‘land grants, allotments’
a. CTH 225 KUB XXVI 43 Vs. 6-7 pí-[id-da-ya-kán
a-at-kān A-NA 1ta-ad-da-ma-ru] U A-NA
du-wa-at-ta-an-na-ni pi-es-ta, translating "e [tutto ciò che,] insieme con i prigionieri civili/deportati, Sahurunuwa per mezzo delle armi [aveva preso/conquistato, allora ciò a Taddamaru] e a Duwattannani dette." She points to parallel passages with GIS TUKUL-it tarh-/dā-, but her restoration would require more space than is available at the end of line 6. Also, it is not clear what would be meant by "everything along with captives".

b. CTH 422 KUB IV 1 I 12-13 pi-it-ta; see no. 177
See no. 73 for a discussion of the stem class.

291. sākuwa 'eyes'
a. CTH 61 KUB XIX 36 III 18 nu-za-kān IGI HI.A-wa e-te-iz A-NA 1pi-it-ta-pa-ru ne-ya-ah-ha-at 'And he turned (his) eyes in the other direction toward Pittaparu.'
b. CTH 364 KUB XXXIII 115 I 6 ]IGI HI.A-wa-še-it [c. CTH 540 KBo XIII 34 V x+1 ša-ku-wa-še-it [d. CTH 640 KUB XII 42 III 6-9 IGI HI.A-wa; see no. 206.g
The spelling IGI HI.A-wa is quite frequent, and I have included only a few examples here. See also no. 24.

292. sarūpa ?
a. CTH 67 KBo V 4
1. I 31 ša-ru-pa; see no. 204.a.1
The same form is also attested in CTH 68 KUB VI 44+ IV 25; CTH 76 KUB XIX 6+ III 23.

2. II 16, 20 ša-ru-Ú-pa; see no. 204.a.2

The form is also attested in CTH 68 KUB VI 41 IV 23; KBo V 13 IV 15-16.

Neither the stem nor the number can be ascertained.

293. *senahha* 'trap, ambush(?)'

a. CTH 40

1. KUB XIX 11 I 15, IV 4 še-e-na-ah-ha da-iš 'he set a trap.'

2. KUB XIX 18 IV 21 nu A-NA LŪ KŪR še-na-ah-ha [da-iš 'And [he set] a trap for the enemy.'

b. CTH 61 KBo V 8 I 10 nu-mu pí-ra-an še-e-na-ah-ha ti-iš-kān-zí 'And before me they keep setting traps.

*senahha* tisk- occurs also at lines I 16-17, 20-21.

c. CTH 181 KUB XIV 3 I 26 a-hur-zi-ma-mu a-pí-el ŠEŠ-ŠU še-na-ah-ha [ 'But Lahurzi, his brother, [set(?)] a trap [before?] me.'

As no adjective or pronoun agrees with *senahha*, its number and case cannot be established, although ši-na-ah-ha-an in MH KUB XXIII 77.85 may be its accusative singular. A. Goetze [1933:251-52] suggests that *senahha* is dative (that is, an old directive), translating "in einen Hinterhalt legen". This leaves no object for the verb, so that it is preferable to take *senahha* as accusative, 'to set a trap before x'.
294. su{r}ita 'skeins'
a. CTH 476 KBo V 1
   1. IV 2 su-ri-ta-ya i-ya-an-zi 'And they make skeins.'
   2. IV 7 SIG su-ú-ri-ta-ma-aś-ši-iš-ša-an A-NA SAG.DU-ŠU
      an-da hu-u-la-li-ya-an-zi 'But for him they wrap skeins of wool upon his head.'
b. CTH 567 KUB V 10 I 10 SIG su-ri-ta; see no. 247.a.2
   The stem may be su{r}it(a)- or su{r}i- followed by the -ta formant discussed in no. 36.

295. tarsa 'shoots, foliage'
a. CTH 409 KUB VII 53+ IV 18 na-at ma-ah-ha-lan ša-ra-a
   GIŠ tar-ša pi-en-ni-ya-an har-[zi 'And as it] has put forth shoots/foliage...'
   The number and stem class cannot be determined.

296. wagata type of bread
a. CTH 612 KUB II 5 II 20-24 GAL LÚME-ŠE-DI ŠA LÚMEŠ
   UR.ZIR IGI.DU 8.LIŠ.A LUGAL-i tar-kum-mi-ya-iz-zi
   wa-aś-su-u-wa-an-zi NINDA wa-ga-ta pi-ya-an-na KÛ.BABBAR
   GUŠKIN pi-ya-na-u-wa-an-zi 'The leader of the body guard makes known to the king the gift of the hunters: (clothes) to wear, wagata loaves to give, silver (and) gold to present.'
   Also attested are wagatas (KUB I 17 II 11-12; KUB XI 34 I 40; etc.) and wagatan (KUB XXV 1 III 47; KUB II 6 V 38; etc.).
   From these E. Neu [1970:56, 65] concludes that an

139 Cited by H. Hoffner 1974:188.
original s-stem neuter has been remodelled as a common gender a-stem; cf. wagatas c. pl. acc. (KUB XXV 9 IV 33).

If he is correct, wagata could be either the accusative of the a-stem with scribal omission of <an> or a neuter coexisting with it.

297. zapzagāva 'glass'

a. CTH 450 KUB XXX 24a+ I 7 A-NARA-GIŠ NUNUZ

Since -ya 'and' follows ZIBANA, zapzagāva is best taken as one word, not as zapzagāi plus -ya.

b. CTH 476 KBo V 1 I 52-53 2 za-ap-za-ga-i-ya na-at še-ir BE-EL SISKUR.SISKUR ši-ya-an har-zi '...(and?) 2 (pieces of) glass. And the patron of the ritual has sealed them up. '

As the last item in a list, zapzagāva may well contain -ya 'and'.

c. CTH 485 IBoT III 148 III 8-9 NINDA.Î.E.[DE.A]-ya-kān me-ma-al [ ] NA4 za-ap-za-ga-ya GAM-an-da iš-hu-wa-an-zi 'Also they throw down oil cakes, groats, [ ] (and?) (pieces of) glass. '

It is unclear whether -ya should be segmented off here.

d. CTH 790 KUB VII 37.11 ]za-ap-za-ga-ya ki-it-ta-ri ']
(pieces of) glass lie (there). '

For a discussion of the stem class see no. 75.

Cited by Hoffner 1974:188.
4.3.13 adjectives whose stem class is uncertain

298. annalla ʿmaternal, formerʿ

a. CTH 345 KUB XXXIII 106 III 50'-51' EGIR-pa-at
   hé-e-eš-ten an-na-al-la at-ta-al-la hu-u-ha-da-al-la
   [È.]-NA⁴ KIŠIB H.I.A ʿReopen them, the maternal, paternal,
   grandfatherly storehouses!ʿ

b. CTH 470 KUB XV 18 III 13 ]x an-na-al-la [ The stem class of this word is ambiguous because both a- and i-stem forms are attested (annallas, annallis nom. sg. c., etc.)¹⁴¹ and annalla would be a correctly formed neuter plural to either.

299. attalla ʿpaternalʿ

a. CTH 345 KUB XXXIII 106 III 50'-51' at-ta-al-la; see no. 298.a
   This is the only attested form, and like annalla it would be
equally correct as an i- or an a-stem.

300. hatuga ʿterribleʿ

a. CTH 398 KBo IV 2 III 40-41 DU-as ha-tu-ga
   te-it-hi-iš-ki-it ʿThe storm god thundered terribly.ʿ
   Here the form is used adverbially.

b. CTH 433 KBo XVII 105 III 6-7 ha-du-ga; see no. 206.f
   The stem class is unclear because both a- and i-stem forms
   are attested: a-stem hatugas nom. sg. c. (KUB XXXIII 70 III
   7), hatügan nom-acc. sg. ntr. (OH KBo XVII 1 III 19); i-stem
   hatugayaz abl. sg. (KBo V 6 III 30), hatugaes nom. pl. c.
   (MH KBo XVII 105 III 31, LH KBo IV 2 II 32). hatuga would

be correctly formed for either stem. It is not clear which stem is the older.\footnote{142} See also no. 40.

301. hūhadalla 'of the grandfather's era'

a. CTH 345 KUB XXXIII 106 III 50'-52' hu-[-u-]ha-da-al-la;

see no. 298.a

Like annalla this form is equally correct for an a- or an i-stem.

302. lissiyala 'pertaining to the liver; oracular'

a. CTH 313 KBo III 21 II 6-7 li-šš-š-ya-la-at-ta-ma

ne-pí-ša-aš da-ga-an-zi-pa-aš-ša ud-da-a-ar kat-ta-an

ar-ha pí-e-tum-ma-an-zi 'But the oracular words of heaven

and earth are for you to take along.'\footnote{143}

Since it modifies uddar, lissiyala should be plural. Adjective suffixes -(a)li- and -la- are both productive, and could both have a neuter plural in -a. Güterbock and Hoffner \cite{1980:72} assume that the word is an a-stem.

303. sapantalla 'having to do with libations'

a. CTH 276 KUB XXX 42 I 7 ša-pa-an-ta-al-la-ma

DUB.1.KAM.HI.A an-da ū-UL ha-an-da 'But the first tablets about libations are not in order.'\footnote{144}

The word may be an a- or an i-stem. See no. 302.

304. dapi-da 'all'

a. CTH 121 KBo XII 38 I 3'-6' d-á-pi-da; see no. 197.a

\footnote{143} Cf. H. Güterbock and H. Hoffner 1980:72.
\footnote{144} Cf. E. Laroche 1971:162.
Also attested are *dapites* nom. pl. c. (IBoT III 100.9) and *dapidas* gen. pl. (KUB XXXIII 96 I 3). H. Eichner, cited by K. Hoffman [1968:215 n. 11], identifies *dapida* with *dapiant-* (no. 240) via loss of *n* and contraction of *iya* to *i*.

However, all three -id- forms are consistent with either a- or consonant-stem inflection, and attestation of a nominative singular common *dapiz* or accusative *dapidan* would be necessary to confirm Eichner's hypothesis. Eichner cites *dapiyan* and *dapin* (LH KUB V 1 I 2, 14, etc.), which he calls the nominative-accusative singular neuter of *dapi(yan)t-*. In fact, both modify ZI-an (i.e. istanza(n)-acc. sg. c.) and must be accusative singular common. As is usual in oracle texts, the word is repeatedly abbreviated, e.g. da-an, da-na acc. sg. c., da-i dat-loc. sg., and only once do we find dapiantes. *Dapiyan* and *Dapin* are therefore best interpreted as abbreviations of *dapiyantan* acc. sg. c.

4.3.14 pronouns

305. -a- third person enclitic

Throughout Late Hittite -at is regularly used as both the singular and the plural neuter nominative-accusative. The form -e has fallen out of use, except possibly in the frozen phrase netta, if this is correctly analyzed as nu-e-tta and

---

145 Cf. the alternation of sanhuta with sanhunta and sanhuwanta (no. 235), and see J. Justeson and L. Stephens 1981 on nasal-obstruent clusters.

As -at occurs with great frequency, I give cross-references only to sentences already cited. See nos. 188.h.1, i.2; 192.a; 214; 221.a; 247.a.1; 253.b; 257.b; 298.a.

306. apa- 'that'
   a. CTH 81 KUB XIX 70 III 58 a-pí-e; see no. 222.c.2
   b. CTH 85 KUB XXI 15 I 17-18 ĪR-an-ni-ya-mu ku-e KUR.KUR_pí-ya-an [e-eš-ta?] nu-mu-kán a-pí-e-ya ar-ha da-at-ta[ -at 'And the lands which [were(?)] given to me in servitude, those also he took away from me.'
   c. CTH 421 KUB XVII 14+ Vs. x+2-4' a-pí-e; see no. 200.a
   d. CTH 476 KBo V 1 III 21, 37 a-pí-e-ma-aš-ša EGIR-pa A-NA DINGIR.LIM da-a-i 'But those (loaves of various types of bread) he gives back to the god.'
   e. CTH 486 KBo IV 2 IV 23 nu-kán a-pí-e-ya TUG.NIG.LAM a-pa-an-da 'And those garments also [were packed(?)]'
   f. no CTH number
      1. KBo XXIII 55 I 12'-13' a-pí-e; see no. 194
      2. 2532/c+ IV 2-3 me-ma-a-i-ya a-pí-e-pât [ud-da]a-ar 'Also he speaks just those words.'

307. eni- 'that aforementioned'
   a. CTH 561 KUB V 1 III 19-20 e-ni; see no. 200.b.2

Late Hittite gives up the older distribution of $ki$ as only singular and $ke$ as only plural and uses the two interchangeably. Some texts use only one form, others both. Indication is given below as to the use of each form as singular or plural in each text where there is more than one occurrence of $ke/ki$; ambiguous instances are omitted. Since $ka$- is used very frequently I cite here only those cases where another neuter plural is involved.

a. CTH 42 KBo V 3+ I 38–39, IV 50–51 nu-ut-ta ka-a-ša ki-e ud-da-a-ar ṢA-PAL NI-IŠ DINGIR LIM te-eh-hu-un 'And I have now put these words under oath for you.'

(b) sg.; $ke$ pl.)

b. CTH 61 KBo III 4 I 28–29 nu-za ki-e a-ra-ah-zē-na{-aš} KUR KUR MES ŠI KUR I-NA MU.10.KAM tar-ah-hu-un 'And I conquered these neighboring enemy lands in 10 years.'

(kē pl.)

c. CTH 68 KBo V 13 III 20 nu ma-a-an ki-e A-WA-TE MES ŠUL pa-ah-ha-aš-ti 'And if you do not adhere to these words...'

d. CTH 76

1. KUB XIX 6+ III 76–77 ki-i-ma A-WA-TE MES ŠUL

ku-it-k[i] 1-e-da-až 1-e-da-až IŠ-TU KUR URU ha-at-ti-at 'But these matters (are) not at all from one or another (i.e. reciprocal); (rather,) they (are) from the land of Hatti.'
2. IV 31-32 nu-kán ma-a-an zi-ik [1a-1a-ak-ša-an-d]u-uš 
ki-i tup-pí-ya-aš [A]-WA-TEMES šar-ra-at-[ti] ‘And if 
you, [Alaksandul], break these words of the tablet...’
3. IV 37-38 ma-a-an-ma ki-e A-WA-TEMES pa-ah-ha-aš-ti 
‘But if you adhere to these words...’
(kiː sg.; keː pl.)
e. CTH 176 KUB XXI 38 Rs. 5-6 nu-za-kán ki-e INIMMES 
SAL.LUGAL a-pí-ya-ya GAM-RA-TI ‘And these matters of the 
queen were completed then also.’
f. CTH 181 KUB XIV 3 
1. I 32 nu-ut-ta ki-e ku-e INIMMES AS-PUR ‘And these 
words which I wrote to you...’
2. I 34 GIM-an ki-e A-WA-TEMES ‘As these words[’
g. CTH 255 KUB XXVI 1 
1. III 20-21 nu-wa-za ki-e INIMMES ki-e-da-ni me-e-hu-ni 
apa-ra-a nam-ma me-ma-ah-hi ‘And I speak forth these 
words at this time moreover.’
2. IV 49-50 ki-e-da-ni-wa-kán tup-pí ki-e INIMMES UL-UL 
GAR-ru ‘Let these words not be present on this tablet.’
(ké pl.)
h. CTH 343 KUB XXXIII 112+ III 24 i-it ki-i ud-da-a-ar [ 
i. CTH 345 KUB XXXIII 98+ II 3 Dim-pa-lu-ri ki-e-mu 
ud-da-a-ar iš-ta-ma-aš ‘Impaluri, hear these my words.’
j. CTH 376 
1. KUB XXIV 4 II 22 i-it ki-i ud-da-a-ar[r 
2. KUB XXIV 3 II 38 ki-e-ma nam-ma šÁ KUR URU ha-at-ti-pát 
KUR.KURHI.A-TIM ‘But these moreover (are) indeed lands 
belonging to Hatti...’

4. IV 6-7 na-äš-ta ki-i A-WA-TEMES an-da me-mi-iš-ki-nu-un 'And I kept speaking these words.'

k. CTH 381 KUB VI 45

1. I 27-28 ki-i A-WA-TEMES DINGIRMES ENMES da-at-ti-in 'Take these words, gods, lords!'

2. I 34-36 nu-mu DINGIRMES ENMES ki-e A-WA-TEMES ar-ku-wa-ar DINGIRMES ENMES ne-pi-ša-aš KI-aš-ša iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-du 'And gods, lords, let the gods, lords of heaven and earth, hear these words, the prayer, for me.'

(kî pl.; ke pl.)

1. CTH 476 KBo V 1 II 56-57 nu DINGIRMES ki-e-ya-

û-NU-TEMES IŠ-TU MUŠEN :wa-ah-nu-zi 'And he waves (over) the gods and these utensils with the bird.'

m. CTH 585

1. KUB XXXI 54+ IV 3-5 kli-e-ma-kän IK-RI-BIHI.A ŠA D1[e-el-wa-ni 'But these vows of Lelwani [^

2. KUB XXXI 51+ IV 12-13 ]ki-e EMES 1 mu-mu-la-an-ti-iš [^

n. CTH 832 KUB XXXI 23 Rs. 5' ki-e INIMHI.A ku-e ŠA[^

'These words which of [^

See also nos. 171.a (kè, kî pl., kî sg.); 174.a.2 (kè pl.);

178.b (kè pl.), c (kè pl., kî sg.); d (kè pl., kî sg.);

179.a (kè, kî pl., kî sg.); e (kè pl.); 192.b (kî pl.); 148 For this activity cf. V. Haas and G. Wilhelm 1974:42 ff.
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200.c.1 (kē pl., kī sg.); 203.a (kī sg. and pl.); 209.a.1 (kī pl.); 215.b (kē pl.); 222.b (kī pl.), d (kē pl., kī sg.), m (kī pl.); 262.a.1 (kē, kī pl. and sg.); 263 (kē pl.); 269 (kē pl.)

309. kui- 'which, what'
The neuter plural is spelled ku-e except where noted. I cite only those instances where another neuter plural is involved.
a. CTH 176 KUB XXI 38 Rs. 1-2 nu-wa-tāk-kān A-WA-TEMES
   ku-i-e ZI-ni. 'And the words which (are) in your mind...'
b. CTH 310 KBo XXII 6 11'-12' DİSTAR-ı[s-m]u ku-e
   ud-da-a-ar te-e-it. 'The words which Ištar spoke to me...'
c. CTH 343 KUB XXXIII 112+ III 35 nu-ut-ta ud-da-a-ar ku-e
   te-m[i] 'And the words which I speak to you...'
d. CTH 344 KUB XXXIII 120+ III 7 INIMHI.A]-ar ku-e
   me-mi-iš-ta. 'The words] which he spoke...'
e. CTH 345

1. KUB XXXIII 106 II 17-18 DU EN-YA ud-da-a-ar-mu
   [iš-ta-ma-aš] ud-da-a-ar-ta ku-e me-mi-iš-ki-mi. 'Storm god, my lord, [hear] my words, the words which I keep speaking to you!'
   (KUB XVII 7+ II 16 ]-ar-ta ku-i-e [])

2. KUB XVII 7+ II 38 INIMMES-ar-[ta] ku-e me-mi-iš-ki-mi
   'The words which I keep speaking [to you...'
f. CTH 348 KUB XII 65+ III 22-23 Đmu-ki-š[a-nu
   LÚ SUKKAL-YA ud-da-]a-ar-ta ku-e te-mi. 'Mukisanu, [my deputy], the words which I say to you..."
See also nos. 171.a.2, 4; 172.a, b; 174.a.1; 177; 180.b; 188.i.2; 190.b; 200.c.2; 206.e.2, f; 220; 221.b; 230; 233; 235.b; 236.a; 240.d (ku-i-e); 246.a; 247.a.1; 253.b, c.1; 259.a; 275.a, b.3; 276.c; 278.c; 279.a.2; 283.a-e; 306.b; 308.f, m.

The occasional spelling ku-i-e presumably does not indicate a pronunciation different from that of ku-e.

310. kui- kui- ‘whichever, whatever’

a. CTH 293 KUB XIII 35+ IV 21-22 ḫib-ri-LUGAL-ma-aš-wa-mu ku-e ku-e ū-NU-TEMES EGIR-pa ma-ni-ya-ah-da ‘Whatever utensils Ibrisarruma handed back to me...’

b. CTH 378 KUB XIV 14+ Rs. 46-47 ku-e ku-e; see no. 206.c

311. kuek(k)a ‘some’

a. CTH 176 KUB XXI 38 I 45-46 ku-e-iq-qa; see no. 286.b

b. CTH 297 KUB XXXI 71 IV 12-15 nu-wa GISKAXGISHI.A ma-a-an ku-e-qa ki-it-ta-ri ‘And if some chests lie (there)...’

c. CTH 383 KUB XIV 7 IV 9-11 ku-e-qa; see no. 257.b

d. CTH 566 KUB XXII 70 Vs. 83 ku-e-qa; see no. 210.a

312. -set third person singular possessive

a. CTH 310 KBo XXII 6 I 7’ nu] \LU-MES\ SAG ud-da-ar-še-it me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an da-a-[iš ‘And] he began to speak his words to the leaders.’

b. CTH 364 KUB XXXIII 115 I 6 IGH.I.A-wa-še-it; see no. 291.b

c. CTH 390 KUB VII 1+ III 41-42 gi-nu-uš-ši-it; see no. 201.d.1
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d. CTH 415 KBo XV 24.10-12 pár-ta-u-wa-ar-ši-it; see no. 273.a

e. CTH 540 KBo XIII 34 V x+1 ša-ku-wa-še-it; see no. 291.d

313. -smet third person plural possessive

a. CTH 310 KBo XXII 6 IV 26' LUGAL-gi-n]a-aš
LU. MES UR. SAG-aš ud-da-a-ar-še-<me>-it IŠ-ME [Sargon] heard the words of the warriors.'

b. CTH 376 KUB XXIV 4+ Rs. 5-6 a-aš-šu-<šum>-mi-it; see no. 197.d

c. CTH 650 KUB XX 38 Vs. 15-17 me-e-ni-eš-mi-it; see no. 281
d. CTH 701 KBo XXI 33 III 17'-18' pár-ta-u-wa-ar-še-<me>-it; see no. 273.b

314. tamai- 'other'

a. CTH 378 KUB XIV 14+ Vs. 28 da-ma-a-i; see no. 170.b

315. -tet second person singular possessive

a. CTH 372 KUB XXXI 127 I 57 nu ud-da-a-ar-ti-it [iš-ta-ma-aš-zi And [he hears] your words.'

4.3.15 summary

Every type of noun and adjective plural attested in earlier stages of Hittite is also attested in Late Hittite. Further, a number of formations not previously encountered are attested. These include -ai/ae for i-stem adjectives, -a for l- and r-stem nouns, and the endingless plural for r-stem nouns and adjectives. Finally, the -i plural of consonant stems is attested for the first time. It is found
with t-, l-, r-, and r/n-stem nouns, many of which also form endingless plurals, but none of which form plene plurals.

In Late Hittite the markers HI.A and MEŠ are more frequent than at earlier periods. Fully half of the otherwise unmarked plurals, among which may be counted the a-stems, use these markers. In contrast, at earlier stages only the i-stem nouns regularly use them.

Not attested in my corpus is the enclitic -e, which appears to drop out of use after Middle Hittite. The final innovation of the Late Hittite pronouns is the interchangeability of ki and ke. While these forms are still used in their traditional distribution in a number of texts, there are also numerous examples of ki as plural and ke as singular.

Table V lists those Late Hittite neuter nominative-accusative plural forms which are most securely attested.

<p>| Late Hittite: summary |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| with t-, l-, r-, and r/n-stem nouns, many of which also form endingless plurals, but none of which form plene plurals. In Late Hittite the markers HI.A and MEŠ are more frequent than at earlier periods. Fully half of the otherwise unmarked plurals, among which may be counted the a-stems, use these markers. In contrast, at earlier stages only the i-stem nouns regularly use them. Not attested in my corpus is the enclitic -e, which appears to drop out of use after Middle Hittite. The final innovation of the Late Hittite pronouns is the interchangeability of ki and ke. While these forms are still used in their traditional distribution in a number of texts, there are also numerous examples of ki as plural and ke as singular. Table V lists those Late Hittite neuter nominative-accusative plural forms which are most securely attested. |</p>
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1. hūhupal/huhupāla

hūthūtalla ishiuli
kazzarnulli wastul

r. hūppāri
kūrur kūruri
kudura tahtummār

kallar/kallāra
### CONTINUATION OF TABLE V

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### Irregular and uncertain

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### Pronouns

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### Notes

2. Tentatively identified by Carruba 1970:42.

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**Neuter plurals attested in late Hittite**

This has been extracted from the nominal neuter singular and accusative plural noun and adjective paradigms in late Hittite. The development seems to have been influenced by a small amount of Luwian and Hurrian lexical material. In this section, the nominal neuter singular marker -\textsc{hi}- has been taken to be the dominant form, and there is no indication of a loan from Luwian, where -\textsc{sa}/\textsc{sa} is well-attested as a neuter singular marker. See J.D. Hawkins et al. 1973:35.
Chapter V
OTHER ANATOLIAN LANGUAGES

5.1 PALAIC

A history of the study of Palaic can be found in A. Kammenhuber 1969. Texts, glossary, and a brief grammatical sketch are available in O. Carruba 1970, and further discussions of grammatical and textual problems may be found in Carruba 1972 and in Kammenhuber 1959a, 1959b, and 1969.

The nominal endings of Palaic are: -s sg. c. nom.; -m acc.; -at, 149 -sa/za, 150 -ø ntr. nom-acc.; -as gen.; -i/ai/a dat.; -es/as pl. c. nom.; -aa, 151 -anza, 152 acc.; -a ntr. nom-acc.; -as dat. It is often impossible to determine what stem class a word belongs to because in most instances it is attested only once or twice. Only a small amount of Palaic has been preserved, and what there is is often fragmentary and difficult to interpret. In this section I discuss only

This word appears to be a loan from Hittite; for the spelling see A. Kammenhuber 1959a:20. It is attested in both genders (cf. Palaic 5.4). It may be either a parallel development to or a loan from Luwian, where -sa/za is well-attested as a neuter singular marker. See J.D. Hawkins et al. 1973:35.

149 This ending has been explained as the pronominal neuter singular -at transferred to nouns and adjectives, at least among the a-stems. A comparable development seems to have occurred in Lydian (see section 5). See O. Carruba 1972:25 ff.

150 This may be either a parallel development to or a loan from Luwian, where -sa/za is well-attested as a neuter singular marker. See J.D. Hawkins et al. 1973:35.


152 Tentatively identified by Carruba 1970:42.
forms identified in Carruba 1970 and Kammenhuber 1959b as neuter plural. Texts are numbered in accordance with Carruba, whose glosses are used throughout except where noted. Palaic is here transcribed in lower case and Hittite in lower case with underlining.

5.1.1 a-stems

316. wulāsina-/pulāsina- 'bread'

a. 2 A

1. Vs. 5-6 lu-ki-lî-it-ku ta-ba-ar-na-aš
   SAL ta-wa-na-an-na-aš pu-la-a-ši-n[a šu]-un-nu-ut-ti-la
   šar-ku-ta-at pa-at-hi-na-at ša-pa-a-ma-an ha-a-a[n-ta-
   'And the Tabarna (and) Tawananna divided the bread (and)
   fillings. With sarkutat (and) pathinat he/they ordered
   the purification(?).' (Or '...He/they ordered the
   sarkutat pathinat purification.')

2. Vs. 8-9 a-an-ta wu₂-la-a-ši-na šu-un-nu-ut-ti-la
   [š]u-wa-a-an-ta ta-a-az-zu-un-ta 'And they took(?) the
   bread (and) filled fillings.'

This word appears to be a loan from Hattic; for the spelling see A. Kammenhuber 1959a:20. It is attested in both genders (cf. wulāsinas nom. sg. c.); we may have neuter collective 'bread' formed to the common gender 'loaf, loaves'.

153 Both translations are from Carruba 1972:18. Use of the singular verb with conjoined singular nouns is not unprecedented; cf. annas papas parkuiti 'mother (and) father purify'.
317. askumāwaga- '(pure) flesh'  
a. 2 A Rs. 11'-12' nu-ku Dza-pār-wa₁₉-az aš-ku-ma-₉-a-u-wa-ga
wa-aq-qa-kān-ta  'And, o Zaparwat, they bit the (pure)
flesh.'

This word is generally accepted as an adjective in -ka- derived from askumāwaga- 'flesh' and, like Hit. UZU suppa, used substantively. C. Watkins [1975b: 358-78] proposes instead that -aga is the direct reflex of PIE *-ex, written variously as aga, a-a, or simply a, and cites four loci to support his claim. First is a class of derived verbs, one of which shows all three spelling variants (takkuwagati,
takkuwati, takkuwantes). All the others are spelled only with a-a. Second are the neuter plurals, of which only askumāwaga has -aga, only harkīnasā has -a-a, and all others simply have -a. Third is the class of -na- verbs, of which one is spelled with -na-, two with -na-a-, and the fourth, panāganzi, is a hapax legomenon which Watkins says must have the *-nex- affix because panag- is not a normal PIE verb stem shape. The last locus is the name zaparwa(t)-, attested in Hittite only as zaparwa-, but in Palaic as zaparwa-, zaparwa-, and zaparwa-. The latter, attested twice, Watkins interprets as a miswriting of

155 Hittite has a possibly related verb: takkuwāri,
dakkudakuwattat, dakkakuwāir; cf. E. Neu 1968:162-63. Possibly the g of Pal. takkuwagati could be the result of duplication similar to that in Hittite.
156 This interpretation of the form harkīnasāpa is open to question; see no. 323.
*zaparwāg- with <ta> for <ga>.

Of Watkins' data, only takkuwa(ga)- actually displays all three variants. *zaparwāgā is never actually attested. panāganzi and askumāwaga are hapax legomena, the latter readily explained as a derived adjective in -ka-. None of the other words show any alternation, but are consistently spelled with either a-a or a. The evidence for development of *ex to aga is therefore shaky at best.

Finally, Watkins also accepts the development of *ex to ah(h) in Palaic, for instance in derived nouns such as warlahis, but fails to discuss the conditions for a split of *ex to both aga and ah(h). In the light of these difficulties Watkins' hypothesis must remain interesting but not compelling. 157

318. dammariga- ?
a. 5 A III 21 -]it[ (-)]a-ra-ki-ga dam-ma-ri-ga [ ? ]

This word could be an adjective in -ka- in the neuter plural, as could -arakiga.

5.1.2 u-stems

319. wasu- 'good'
a. 2 A Rs. 21'-24' na-aš-ta GALHI. A DINGIR.LIM

See also O. Szemerényi 1979:315-19, who presents many of the same objections to Watkins' proposal.
wa-šu-u-ha [ta-b]a-ar-na ti-ku-ar [ ] šu-ú-na a-du
pi-i-ša 'And they fill the beakers of the god. And they
sing the following: "And(?) he has filled the beakers.
They have offered (them) to Zaparwa to drink. They have
marhīna'd [him?]. If/when he (is?) marhant, ānnī wasūha.
O Tabarna, fill [ ]! And give (it/him) to him!'
The words ānnī wasūha are far from being well understood,
and have been variously interpreted. O. Carruba [1970:78]
says of wasūha simply "unb. Bd., jedoch Verbindung mit wāšu
'gut' wahrscheinlich" and suggests that it is a first sin-
gular preterite verb. This is unlikely since no other first
person forms occur in the text. He later [1972:31] offers
no interpretation of the word at all, having apparently
abandoned the verb interpretation.

C. Watkins [1981 forthcoming] suggests that the phrase
might be neuter plural, 'these good things'. He does not
say whether he would take the phrase in agreement with some
other neuter plural in the passage, or whether he would fit
it into the context in some other manner ('If he is m., and
there are these good things' or 'and these things are good'
or 'then these things are good'). wasū could belong to the
adjective wāšu-, but the -ha presents problems. No -ha
sentence particle is attested elsewhere in Palaic. 158 Fur-
thermore, identification of the hapax legomenon ānnī as the
pronoun 'these' rests simply on its resemblance to Hit.

158 A particle -a/ya is attested (Carruba 1970:49). The -ha
should therefore not be comparable to Luw. -ha, since
the latter is itself compared to Hit. -a/ya.
anni-, there being no evidence internal to Palaic as to its meaning and grammatical function.

Thus Watkins' idea that anni wasūha are neuter plurals with final -_I, -u from PIE *-i-x, *-u-x, while not contradicted by anything in the passage, does not receive any confirmation either. And it is not clear why, if Watkins is correct, a-stem neuter plurals such as wulasina/pulasina never end in long -a although *-e-x ought to give a long vowel if *-i-x and *-u-x do.

5.1.3 nt-stems

320. suwant- 'filled'

a. 2 A

1. Vs. 3-4 a-an-ta [šu-u]n-nu-ut-ti-1a šu-wa-a-an-da lu-ki-i-it 'And he divided the filled fillings.'

2. Vs. 8-9 šu-wa-a-an-ta; see no. 316.a.2

5.1.4 r-stems

321. sawidar- 'horn'

a. 1 A 15'-18' na-an š]i-it ni-it-ku-wa-at pa-ra-i-it a-ku-an [ na-an ši-i]-it nu ša-a-ú-i-da-a-ar ku-it-ku-wa-ar [ i?-ú(-)ku-wa-ra-d]u i-ú a-an-ti-en-ta ma-a-ar-ha-aš [ ni-ip-pa-ši m]u-ša-an-ti a-hu-wa-an-ti ni-ip-pa-aš ha-ša-an-ti 'And] he sought [him/it]. And wherever(?) he did not hunt(?), [ ] him/it. [And] he [sought him/it]. And the horn(s) which/since [ Come?] to him/it! Come! And the gods [eat?. And] they
[do not] eat their fill [for themselves.] They drink.
And they do not drink their fill.159

The interpretation of this passage, especially of the sentence containing sāwidār, is unclear since the verb is missing. sāwidār could be neuter singular agreeing with kuit 'which' or a plene plural formed like Hit. uddār, as asserted by N. Oettinger [1979a:202], who identifies Hit. sawatar as the neuter singular of the same r-stem. kuit would be the conjunction 'since'. In either case the related form sāwitiran (1 A I 13') would have to belong to another paradigm; whether it is a-stem accusative singular neuter or common (cf. Hit. sawītran, sawītra), or r-stem accusative singular common cannot be determined.

sāwidār could also be r-stem nominative singular common, as suggested by O. Carruba [1970:69],160 and sāwitiran its accusative; the asigmatic nominative would be comparable to that of Hit. kessar-sia, Gk. kheîr, etc.161 This would fit both forms into one paradigm. However, the stem is only neuter in Hittite (r-stem sawatar, a-stem plural sawītra, and Luwianized or Luwian r-stem sawatarṣa). Since the word seems to be of Luwian origin,162 it may have been adopted in differing forms in Hittite and Palaic. As the only securely

159 Translations vary. For other possibilities see A. Kammenhuber 1959b:53-55; O. Carruba 1969b:70.
160 See also Kammenhuber 1955b:366; 1959b:53-55, 85.
attested r-stem in Palaic, sawidar remains ambiguous in form, although the third possibility outlined here is perhaps the most attractive.

5.1.5 nouns whose stem class is uncertain

322. halpiyala ?

a. 2 A Vs. 3 t]a-a-u-[w[a-y]a-an-ta ha-al-pí-ya-la
   lu-ki-i-it 'He divided the tāwayanta halpiyala' or 'And
   he divided the tāwava halpiyala.'

(2 B1 Vs. 4 ta-a-wa-ya-an-ta ha-al-pí-[ya-la)

tāwayanta can be a single word (possibly a participle in the
neuter plural) or tāwava (possibly neuter plural) plus the
particle -nta. In either case it could agree with the hapax
legomenon halpiyala.

323. harkīnasāpa ?

a. 1 A IV 10‘ LÜma-ya-an-za wa-at-ha-la-as
   Dza-pár-wa a-ta-ša-as har-ki-i-na-ša-a-pa(-)i-ya-ti 'The
   old man, the wathala of Zaparwat, iya's the harkīnasāpa.'

This word may be analyzed in several ways. O. Carruba
[1969b:33] suggests both harkīnas-āpa, i.e. genitive singular
or dative plural plus the particle āpa, and harkīnasa
āpa, i.e. neuter plural noun followed by neuter plural de-
monstrative pronoun. He also suggests harkīnasā-pa [1970:
55], i.e. neuter singular in -sa plus the particle -pa. In
neither the first nor the third instance does he explain the
presence of a particle in mid-sentence. A. Kammenhuber
[1959b:61] simply takes the whole sequence as a single word
in the neuter plural.
324. huitumarsa 'life, living creature?'
   a. 4.13' hu-i-)tu-ma-r-sa [This could be a neuter plural a- or s-stem, but it is just as likely to be a neuter singular r- or r/n-stem in -sa, since it is cognate to Hit. huitar/n-.

325. māhlanza ?
   a. 1 A I 6'7' -]an-za ma-a-ar-za ma-a-ah-la-an-za a-an-ti-en-ta ma-a[-ar-ha-aš a-]ta-a-an-ti ?'
   Analysis of the word māhlanza and indeed of this entire passage is uncertain. The last two words mean 'the gods eat', but their connection to the preceding words has been variously interpreted. There may be two sentences, the first ending with anententa, which could be a verb, a neuter plural participle, or a string of particles beginning a new sentence. -anza mārza mālanza may be common plural, neuter singular, or neuter plural. If there is only one sentence, -anza mārza māhlanza could be the neuter or common gender objects of the verb 'eat', or object(s) plus modifier(s).

326. mārza ?
   a. 1 A I 6'7' ma-a-ar-za; see no. 325

327. sāwaya(ya) 'beakers'
   a. 2 A Rs. 22' ša-a-wa-ya-ya; see no. 319.a

163 See O. Carruba 1966:18 n. 27.
This may be a single word, or it may be sāwaya plus -ya and 165 if in Palaic as in Hittite the conjunction takes the form -ya after vowels. This would be the only attested instance in Palaic where the conjunction follows a vowel.

328. sunnuttila ‘fillings’

- 328. sunnuttila ‘fillings’
  a. 2 A
  1. Vs. 3-4 šu-un-nu-ut-ti-la; see no. 320.a.1
  2. Vs. 5-6, 8-9 šu-un-nu-ut-ti-la; see no. 316.a
  b. 2 C Vs. 9 an-da(-)šu-un-nu-ut-ti-la [?]

329. tāwaya(nte) ?

- 329. tāwaya(nte) ?
  a. 2 A Vs. 3 ta-a-u-wa-ya-an-ta; see no. 322
     (2 B l Vs. 4 ta-a-wa-ya-an-ta)

330. tīlīla ?

- 330. tīlīla ?
  a. 3 A I 14 aš-kū-um-ma-a-u-wa-aš ha-a-an-ta ti-i-li-lā ha-a-ri ‘The meats are warm. The tīlīla are warm.’
  b. 3 C 3′, 12′ ti-li-la ha-a-ri ‘The tīlīla are warm.’

As in Hittite, a neuter plural subject requires a singular verb.

5.1.6 adjectives whose stem class is uncertain

331. āntenta ?

- 331. āntenta ?
  a. 1 A I 6′-7′ a-an-ti-en-ta; see no. 325

165 A. Kammenhuber 1959b:36.
5.1.7 Pronouns

332. -a- third person anaphoric enclitic

a. 2 A

1. Vs. 7-8  
   D]za-pár-wa-a-ta.-an-pa-ti ták-ku-wa-a-ti  
   ma-a-an-ti mar-ha-a-an-za ma-a-an-t[i -y]a-an-za e-pa  
   a-ri-e  "And he takkuwa’s Zaparwat. 166 If (you are?)  
   marhänza, if (you are?) x, reach/attain(?) them."

   The sign read <e> in e-pa should perhaps be read <a-a>  
   instead, giving ãpa, i.e. the particles a and pa. 167 If  
   e-pa is correct, it could be common nominative plural or  
   neuter plural, although it is true that a common plural  
   nominative -as is also attested. O. Carruba [1972:19]  
   takes e- as common plural and, correcting arie to third  
   plural, translates "wenn er m., wenn er ..., kommen  
   (Text: kommt) sie (e-?) heran".

2. Rs. 13' ... ha-a-ri-ša-at KI.MIN gi-nu-kat  
   wa-aq qa-kän-ta ne Dka-tah-zi-wu₅ ri pi-i-[ša  
   ... Ditto the hārisat. They bit(?) the ginukat. Give  
   them to Katahziwuri!"  

hārisat and ginukat are the last of a list of neuter  
objects of waqqakanta. Restoration of pīša based on  
parallels in the following lines makes it very unlikely

166 The text has za-pár-wa-a-ša-an-pa-ti. The <ša> could be  
a scribal error for <ta> (cf. Carruba 1970:80) or, if  
Watkins’ theory is accepted (see no. 317), it could be  
an error for <ga>. Alternatively, the <ša> may be  
correct and the word may be derived from zaparwa(t),  
with a meaning such as 'belonging to Zaparwa' (cf.  

that -e could be a common nominative plural subject of the verb.

| 333. ānnī | 'these?' |
| a. 2 A Rs. 21°-24° a-an-ni-i; see no. 319 |

| 334. apa- | 'that' |
| a. 1 A IV 10° har-ki-i-na-ša(-)a-pa; see no. 323 |
| b. 2 A Rs. 4° -y)a-an-za a-pa-an-ša šu-wa-a-ša-1[a]-a-an-za |

This is cited as a form of the neuter plural by Kammenhuber [1959b:25] and Carruba [1970:51], but if it is neuter it must be singular in -sa with replacement of the pronominal ending -t by the thematic ending -n. In fact it is much more likely to be accusative plural common agreeing with suwāsalānza.

5.1.8 summary

Table VI contains those words most likely to be nominative-accusative neuter plural. As far as can be determined from the fragmentary, poorly understood Palaic texts, the ending of the neuter plural of both nouns and adjectives is only -a. However, as only a- and nt-stems are securely attested this statement is of little value, since plurals to the stem classes which on analogy to Hittite might be expected to show other formations (i- and u-stems, r-, l-, and r/n-stems) are not available. Among the pronouns the enclitic -e offers an interesting match with OH -e.
TABLE VI

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NEUTER PLURALS ATTESTED IN PALAIC

1. III 17. w|a-a-ar-ä-ar-at-ta ID ti-[ä-äm-ma-an -7-
2. III 19-20 w|a-a-ar-ä-at-ta si-i-ša ID-tïj šan-da

5.2 CUNEIFORM LUWIAN

A history of the study of Cuneiform Luwian is provided in A. Kammenhuber 1969, which also contains discussions of the grammar. Other grammatical sketches include Otten 1953c, Laroche 1957a, 1960a, 1967, and 1959, the standard glossary for the language.

The nominal endings of Cuneiform Luwian are: -ä sg. c. nom.; -n acc.; -a/i dat.; -äti abl.; -Ø or -an ntr. nom-acc., either followed optionally by -sa¹⁶⁸ (written -za after 1 and n); -nzi pl. c. nom; -nza acc. and dat.; -a ntr. nom-acc. Broken contexts and unidentified vocabulary make

¹⁶⁸ For this formant see J.D. Hawkins et al. 1973:35.
it difficult to determine the grammatical function of many CL words. I discuss below only those identified in Laroche 1959 as neuter plural. Translation follows Laroche except where noted. For the purposes of this section I have transcribed Cuneiform Luwian in lower case letters and Hittite in lower case with underlining. The glossenkeil I write with a colon.

5.2.1 a-stems nouns:

335. (u)wärîa- 'drop, tear'

a. CTH 758 KUB XXXV 54

1. III 17 wa-a-ar-śa-at-ta ID ti-[ ]x-am-ma-an '?

2. III 19-20 wa-a-ar-śa-at-ta zi-i-[a ID-ti] an-da [n]a-a-wa i-ti 'The drops henceforth do not go to the river.'

3. III 25-26 wa-a]-ar-śa ku-wa-ti-i-in ha-[l]a-a-al [a]-ta ha-la-a-al a-aš-du 'As drops (are) pure, let it [antecedent unknown] be pure.'

Laroche [1959:108] makes the restoration of wärîa, which he takes to be neuter plural. If it agrees with the adjective halâl, the latter may either be a misspelling for the expected neuter plural *halâla (cf. adduwala pl. to ādduwal sg., no. 392), or an endingless plural perhaps comparable to Hit. uddâr. hâlal could also be a neuter noun conjoined to wärîa, as Laroche suggests.
[1959:38], in which case the translation would be 'As (there are) drops (and) purity...'.

b. CTH 760 KUB XXXV 47.2' wa-a-ar-ša-[a]t-ta ID-ti 'Drops [to the river]

c. CTH 764 KUB XXXV 107 III 19 a-wa-at-ta IGLII.A-wa a-an-da ī-wa-ar-ša lu-u-wa-an-da[(-)] '?

IGIHI.A-wa and uwarsa may be conjoined objects or uwarsa may be dative singular with ānda. Neither noun can be the subject because the verb is plural.

No other form of this word is attested. It is assumed to be an a-stem on the basis of Hit. warsa-.

adjectives:

336. sapidduwa- 'terrible'


Only these two forms of the word are attested. sapidduwa kunkunuzzi may be neuter plural as Laroche states [1959:85], or dative singular, especially given the fact that kunkunuzzi- elsewhere is common gender.¹⁶⁹

337. dannatta- 'empty'

a. CTH 81 KUB I 1+ II 63 :dan-na-at-ta; see no. 171

Because it is preceded by the glossenkeil, *dannatta* is cited as a CL word by Laroche [1959:90]. However, the duplicate KBo III 6+ II 43, 66 has no glossenkeil, and the word is actually Hittite despite the glossenkeil in the one copy.

5.2.2 i-stems

adjectives:

338. *harpanalli* - "hostile?"

a. CTH 294 KUB XIII 35 I 12  nu-wa A-NA Ū-NU-UT LUGAL  
har-pa-na-al-la Ū-UL ku-wa-pi-ik-ki i-ya-an-ni-ya-nu-un  
"And with the king’s effects I have dealt by no means hostilely."

The word appears to be used adverbially here. Also attested is *harpanalliyvan* acc. sg. c.

339. *ir(hū)wasṣi* - "of disease (irhuwa-"

a. CTH 758

1. KUB XXXV 54 III 3-4  pu-wa-ti-il-za x-nu-un-tar-ri-š[a  
ir-hu-u-wa-aš-ša pa-ri-it-tar-u-wa-a-aš-š[a part of a list of nouns and adjectives, most of unknown meaning

2. KUB XXXV 53.12  x-nu-un-tar-ri-y)a-an-za ir-wa-aš-š[a

340. *kinuhaimmi* - ?

a. CTH 767 KUB XXXV 144.2  D]U-ŠI ki-nu-ha-im-ma wa-at-[  
This may be the participle to an otherwise unattested verb.

341. *kisammi* - "combed"

a. CTH 765 KUB XXXV 88 II 14  -]li-in ki-i-ša-am-ma [  

170 Cf. H. Güterbock 1956b:133.
Other attested forms of the participle of kisa- are kisammis nom. sg. c., and kisamman nom-acc. ntr. sg.

342. kuwarayalli- 'frightening'

a. CTH 590 KUB XV 12 IV 11-12 *nu-qa :ku-wa-ra-ya-al-la ki-[ *nu]-wa-mu-kān DUG :ku-wa-ra-ya-al-[la '?
The form ku-wa-ra-ya-al-la in KUB XXXIV 116.6 may be the same word. No other forms are attested.

343. lalami- 'list, accounting receipt'

a. CTH 671 KUB XXXVI 89 I 23 ]HI.A :la-la-a-ma pī-ra-an ar-nu-ud-du 'let him bring forward the [ ] (and?) lists(?).

As lalamis nom. sg. c. is also attested, the word may well be a participle as Laroche [1959:61-62] suggests, possibly to the reduplicated stem of la- 'take'. As such it may be modifying the missing noun which ends with HI.A or it may be in substantival use.

344. lawarrimi- 'despoiled, stripped'

a. CTH 293 KUB XIII 35 II 29 *nu-wa-ra-at hē-e-š[a-an-da? :]a-wa-ar-ri-ma u-e-mi-ya-nu-un 'And I found them (GIŠ BAN HI.A) opened(?) (and) despoiled.'

No other forms of the participle of lawar- are attested.

345. malhassalli- 'of magic/ritual (malhassa)'

a. CTH 772 KBo IV 11.28 ]x ma-al-ha-šal-la KI.MIN [-------------

175 Cf. Güterbock and Hoffner 1980:49.
346. mantalli-?

a. CTH 763 KUB XXXV 65 III 11'-a-pa]-a-ar-ha
   za-aš-ta-a-at-ta [ ]-a-ar ma-an-ta-a-al-la [ '?'

b. CTH 770 KUB XXXV 68.14' -a]r ú-up-na-al-la
   ma-a-an-ta-al-la [ '?'

Also attested is mantalla nom. sg. c.

347. marsassi- 'of falseness (*marsa)?' 176

a. CTH 123 KBo IV 14 II 58-60 na-aš-ma-at GIM-an a-ša-a-an
   im-ma :mar-ša-aš-ša me-e-hur 'Or if it (is) being finally
   a time of falseness(?)...'

If marsassa is correctly taken as modifying mehur, then the
latter must be an endingless neuter plural. However, as the
meaning is not surely known, marsassa could as well be ad­
verbial here. No other forms are attested.

348. marusammi- 'red'

a. CTH 566 KUB XXII 70 Rs. 11-12 ma-ru-ša-am-ma; see no.
   287

b. CTH 250 IBoT III 110.6 ma-r]u-ša-ma [

349. niwaralli- 'powerless'

a. CTH 343 KUB XXXVI 2d III 40-41 nu a-pa-a-ša GIM-an
   [:n]i-wa-ra-la-at-ta 'And as that one (is) powerless, so
   the lands (are) also powerless.'

An alternative interpretation takes the word not as neuter
plural niwarala plus particle -tta, but as niwaralatta 3rd
sg. pret. act. 'he made powerless' or the like. This seems

176 Cf. Hit. marsa- 'false'.
preferable since one would not expect a CL sentence particle in the middle of a Hittite sentence.

350. parittaruwassi- 'prostration?'

a. CTH 758 KUB XXXV 54 III 3-4 pa-ri-it-tar-u-wa-a-aš-ša;

see no. 339.a.1

351. pirwasi- 'of the god Pirwa'

a. CTH 768 KUB XXXV 123

1. IV 5° pá-ir-wa-ša a-la?–mu du-uš-ha-aš ˚?
2. IV 7° pli-ir-wa-ša ha-an-ta-wa-da-hi-ša [ ˚?

pirwasa should not modify hantawadahisa 'order', because the latter appears to be a neuter singular noun in -hit plus -ša.

352. pūnati- ?

a. CTH 758

1. KUB XXXV 52.4° t]a za-a-aš pu-n[a-t]a [ ˚]this one [ ] the pūnata.'
2. KUB XXXV 54 II 26° ]-ta za-a-aš [pu-]u-na-ta a-ri-ya-ad-du ˚]let this one ariya the pūnata.'

As this word is also attested in the common gender (pūnatis nom. sg., pūnatinza acc. pl.), it is likely to be an adjective.

353. pūwali- ?

a. CTH 760 KUB XXXV 45 II 1 hi-i-ru-ū-un pu-ū-wa-la-a pa-ri-ya-na-al-la-an ˚?
This is part of a list of nouns in the accusative. pūwāla may be an adjective as Laroche suggests [1959:83]. No other form of the word is attested, but compare Hit. TŪG puwaliya.

354. sakaldammi-?

a. CTH 764 KUB XXXV 108.19' MUŠ-iš ša-kal-da-am-ma KI.[MIN

The serpent ditto the sakaldamma [ ]

No other forms of this possible participle to an otherwise unattested verb are known.

355. taparammi- 'led, ruled?'

a. CTH 760 KUB IX 34 III 39 E-ir DINGIR ta-pa-ra-am-ma a-ū-me-in 'We saw the taparamma in(?) the temple.'

E-ir can be either locative or nominative-accusative. taparamma is taken as the participle to CL tapar- despite the lack of the glossenkeil because most forms related to it have CL inflection even in Hittite texts; cf. taparha 1st sg. pret., taparuna inf.177 Also, the -mmi- suffix is typical of Cuneiform Luwian but non-existent in Hittite.

356. titiyāli-?

a. CTH 772 KBo IV 11.47-49 tap-pa-ši-tar ta-pa-la tap-pa-ši-tar ta-pa-la la-am-ma-ūr ti-ti-ya-a-la a-li-na-an hal-ti-it-ta-ri DINGIR MEŠ-zi '?

The only words in this passage whose meanings are known are haltittari m-p. 3rd sg. pres. 'he calls for himself' and DINGIR MEŠ-zi nom. pl. c. As a plural common this cannot act as the subject of a singular verb, and in any case the word order would be rather strange. However,

177 Cf. H. Güterbock 1956b:120 ff.
this is the end of the paragraph and the passage clearly ends with these words.

Also attested is titiyalin acc. sg. c.

357. düpsammi-?

a. CTH 765 KUB XXXV 88 II 12 ]du-ú-up-ša-am-ma ma-na-a-du
  [ '] let him manā the düpsamma [ ' or 'let the düpsamma manā.'

No other forms are attested to this possible participle.

358. dusdumī- 'proof?'

a. CTH 782 KUB VII 56 III 10 ] du-uš-du-ma nu-kān [ dusdumis nom. sg. c. is also attested to this participle of an otherwise unattested verb.

359. usassi- 'of the year (ussi-)?'

a. CTH 492 KUB XVII 20 II 11-12 EGIR-ŠU-ma ka-ri-ya-aš-ha
  :lu-u-ha-aš MU.KAM.SIG ₅ a-a-an-ni-iš a-pa-aš-du-uš
  ha-at-tu-la-tar :ša-aš-ša a-ša-an-zi 'But understanding, light, the good year, ānni, apasdus, health, (and) that belonging to the year(?) remain.'

The word appears to be derived from ussi- 'year'. It could be the neuter plural of the possessive adjective us-assi-.

360. waliyammi- 'raised'

a. CTH 768 KUB XXXV 111

1. III 2 wa-li-ya-am-ma ha-a-pa [
2. III 5 ]wa-li-ya-am-ma-ti [

This could be a verbal form or it could be neuter plural plus the reflexive -ti.

No other forms of the participle of walliya- are attested.

361. zilipūrassī- `of the god Zilipuri`

ha-a-ti-[]

5.2.3 ai-stems

362. washai- `lord; pertaining to the lord?`

a. CTH 770 KBo VII 68(+?) II 6-7 GIŠ wa-aš-ša-an-za
wa-aš-ha-i-ya-an-za NINDA xx[ ] wa-aš-ha-i-iš
NINDA ta-an-na-ša wa-aš-ha-i-ya[ ]?

Attested to this stem are washais nom. sg. c. and
washaivanza acc. pl. c. or nom-acc. sg. ntr. Laroche [1959: 109] identifies washaya as neuter plural, but the context is so broken that this is far from certain. The word could equally well be restored to washaya<nda> parallel to the form in line 6.

5.2.4 u-stems

363. (h)ilū- `gateway`

a. CTH 773 KUB XXXV 136
1. IV 7 za-a-mu i-lu-ú-w[a `these gateways for me[`
2. IV 15-16 za-a-m]u GIŠ i-lu-u-wa za-a-am-mu
GIŠ hi-i-lu-[wa zi-i-la a-r]u-u-wa a-ú-i-ha `These gateways for me, these gateways for me. [Hereafter] I came arūwa.`
3. IV 19 za-a-am-mu giši-lu-u-wa a-ru-u-wa [These gateways for me arūwa]

No other forms are attested. See H. Bossert 1961:314-24 for the meaning and for the spelling variations.

364. tapāru- 'poison' 180

a. CTH 759 KUB IX 6

1. I 26-27 ta-a-i-in-ty[a-at ma-al-li a-i]-ya-ru ta-pa-a-ru-wa [hi-ru]-ū-ta ['Let oil [and honey] be made. [Let] poisons (and) oaths [be made].'

2. II 12-13 ta-a-i-in-ti-ya-ta ma-al-li a-i-ya-ru ta-pa-a-ru-wa hi-i-ru-ū-ta ta-ta-ar-ri-ya-am-na 'Let oil (and) honey be made, (and) poisons, oaths, (and) curses.' No other forms are attested.

3. II 28-29 ta-a-i-in-ti-ya-ta [a-]i-ya-ru ma-al-li a-i-ya-ru ta-pa-a-ru-w[a hi-r]u-ū-ta 'Let oil be made, let [honey] be made, (and) poisons (and) oaths.' Also attested is neuter singular tāpāru.

Also attested is neuter singular tāpāru.

5.2.5 nt-stems 181

a. CTH 765 KUB XXXV 88 II 6 -h]a a-a-aš-ša-an-ta zi-i-la u-wa-al-ma-[ '?'

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180 See J. Friedrich 1966:42.
181 Cf. E. Laroche 1965a:45.
The word is an -ant- extension of assa- 'mouth', a type of formation frequent with body parts.\(^{182}\)

366. hīrūnt- 'oath'

a. CTH 759 KUB IX 6+ I 26-27, II 12-13, 28-29

hi-i-ru-u-ta; see no. 376

Also attested are hīrūn nom-acc. sg. and hīrūtati abl-inst.

The nasal is often omitted before stops.\(^{183}\)

367. GIR\(^{\text{MEŠ}}\)t- 'feet'

a. CTH 766 KUB XXXV 103 III 12 GIR\(^{\text{MEŠ}}\)-ta-du tar-ū-e-ya 1-is-ša-ra-dl\(\text{u}^2\) 'For him the feet tarueya, for him the hands[']

This is presumably an -ant- extension to pata- 'foot', to be read patant-. No other forms are attested.

368. IG\(^{\text{HI.\text{A}}}\)-want- 'eyes'

a. CTH 765 KUB XXXV 88 II 5 I-ha IG\(^{\text{HI.\text{A}}}\)-w[a-a]nta zi-i-la x[\(\text{crurry}^2\)]

This -ant- extension to tāwa 'eyes' probably stands for tāwant-. No other forms are attested. See also no. 386.

369. ŠU\(^{\text{MEŠ}}\)-ant- 'hands'

a. CTH 765 KUB XXXV 88 II 7 ŠU\(^{\text{MEŠ}}\)-an-ta zi-i-la

This -ant- extension to issari- 'hand' is no doubt to be read issarant-. Again no other forms are attested.

\(^{182}\) See O. Carruba 1962a:63.

adjectives:

370. ashanuwant- ‘bloodied’
   a. CTH 757 KUB IX 31 II 22-23 Dša-an-ta-aš LUGAL-us
   Dan-na-ru-um-mi-en-zi aš-ha-nu-wa-an-ta ku-in-zi
   wa-asša-an-ta-ri ‘Santa, the king, the strong gods who
   wear bloodied (clothes)…”
   No other forms of this participle of asha(r)nu- are at-
tested.

371. kuwayant- ‘frightened?’
   a. CTH 209 KUB XXI 40.9 ]ku-wa-ya-an-ta ha-an-ta-aš UN-ŠI[
   ‘?’
   This may be an ant-stem participle to the verb kuwaya-. No
   other forms are attested.

372. tatarriyaman- ‘curse’
   a. CTH 759 KUB IX 6+ II 12-13 ta-ta-ar-ri-ya-am-na; see
   no. 364.a.2
   The spelling of the apparent -man- suffix varies between man
   (cf. tatarriyam(m)an nom-acc. sg., tatarriyammanassinza acc.
   pl. c. of the possessive adjective) and mn (cf.
tatarriyamnassin acc. sg. c. of the possessive adjective).

373. zāmān-?
   a. CTH 691 KUB XVII 24 II 2-3 an-ta-a-wa
   Dhu-u-wa-[aš-ša-an-na?] a-ki-ir-za-a GAR? G-i-ya-at-ta-tar
   za-a-ma-a-na x[ ‘?’
Also attested are *zamman, zammanza* nom-acc. sg. and
*zamnassas* nom. sg. c. of the possessive adjective.

5.2.7 1-stems

374. *pāriyanal-*

a. CTH 760 KUB XXXV 43 III 30'-31' ]-ya-an
   hu-u-i-it-wa-li-ya-an pu-u-wa-ti-i-il
   [pa-a-ri-y]a-na-al-la Lū lu-la-hi-ya-an part of a list of
   nouns and adjectives, most of unknown meaning
   Also attested are *pāriyanallan* acc. sg. c. and *pāriyanāl*
   nom-acc. sg. ntr.

5.2.8 nouns whose stem class is uncertain

375. *hāpā*

a. CTH 768 KUB XXXV 111 III 2 ha-a-pa; see no. 360.a.1
   b. CTH 770 KUB XXXV 106.6 ]-ta ha-pa-a zi-
   This word may be modified by *waliyamma*. No other forms are
   attested.

376. *hassa* 'bones'

a. CTH 760 KUB XXXV 45 II 21-23 ku-i-ša-an
   ša-ah-ha-ni-iš-š-at-ta ku-i-ša-an ip-pa-tar-ri-ša-at-ta EN
   SISKUR.SISKUR-aš-ši-in ALAM-ša mi-i-ša-an-za ha-aš-sā
   hal-hal-za-ni-in Ú-wa-ra-an-na-hi-sa... 'Who defiled him,
   who *ippatarrisa*’d him. The patron of the ritual, a sta-
   tue, *misanza*, bones, *halhalzani, uwarannahit*...'
   (continued list of nouns in the accusative)
ha-aš-ša is attested in similar contexts in KUB XXXV 11.9, 12 III 2-3, 33 III 4.

Since the only other attested form of the word is hasāti abl-inst., hassa could be a-stem as Laroche assumes [1959: 43], consonant stem (cf. Lat. os), or i-stem (cf. Hit. hastai, hastivas). As an i-stem neuter plural hassa would, however, contrast in formation with the regular Hieroglyphic Luwian neuter plural i-stem formation in -iya.

377. Issara 'hands'

a. CTH 766 KUB XXXV 103 III 12 i-iš-ša-ra-du; see no. 367
b. CTH 770 KBo VII 68 II 18-19 (-)l̄a-ri-pa ku-i-in
   iš-ša-[ra]-a-ti [ ]x iš-ša-ra a-ri-it-t[a ]x which
   with the hand(s) [ ]x the hands ar'd or 'he ar'd the
   hands'

As in Hittite, 'hand' is attested in both genders; cf. i-stem issaris c. nom. sg., issarin acc. sg., issaranza acc. pl. Since no neuter singular is attested, the neuter could be an r-stem (cf. Hit. kessar-, Gk. kheir) to which a common gender i-stem has been secondarily created.

378. Kalpariwala

a. CTH 341 KBo X 47 IV 11-12 ku-it-ma-an-wa-ra-aš-kán
   [na-a-wi ʾ...while he [has not yet gone into the house].
   And the kalpariwala [not yet]

It is not clear whether or how this word is related to the otherwise unidentified form kalparivar in KUB VIII 51 II 18.

No other forms are attested.
379. kuppissa 'footstools'

a. CTH 758 KUB XXXV 54 II 21 G]Šku-up-pí-iš-ša
   GIŠ GĪR. GUB KI. MIN 'footstools ditto'

b. CTH 770 KUB XXXV 68.9-10 ]-pu-un-ma GIŠ ku-up-pí-eš-ša
   GIŠ ku-up-pí[(- w)]a-aš-ša-an-za wa-aš-ša-ti
   za-ap-pu-un-[t( )] 'This word is related to Hit. GIŠ kuppissar. See H. Gütberbok

380. kuwappāla ?

a. CTH 106 KBo IV 10 I 36-37 I-NA URU du-un-na-va I NU-TI
   :ku-wa-ap-pa-a-la A-NA DU DHI. HI-aš-ši pí-ya-an
   EGIR-an-da I NU-TI :ku-wa-ap-pa-a-la i-ya-zi 'In the city
   of Dunnaya a set of kuwappāla is given to the flashing
   storm god. Afterward he makes a set of kuwappāla for the
   storm god.'

381. malhassa 'rituals'

a. CTH 758 KUB XXXV 54 II 44 za-a-ha SISKUR. SISKUR-aš-ša[l
   'And these rituals['
   No other forms of this word are attested, and none of its
   derivatives offer information as to its stem class.

382. nātatta 'reeds'

a. CTH 759 KUB IX 6+ III 26-27 DINGIR MEŠ -in-zi a-ah-ha
   na-a-ta-at-ta ta-ta-ar-ha-an-du 'Let the gods break
   (them) like reeds.'

---

This is presumably a secondary derivative in -\texttt{att}(a/i)- or -\texttt{ant}(a/i)- to a stem attested in Hittite as \texttt{nata-} 'reed'.

383. \texttt{sāla} harness part?

a. CTH 770 KUB XXXV 152 III 6 KUŠ\textsubscript{sa-a-la-pa-}

This is presumably \texttt{sāla} plus sentence particle. No other form is attested, but compare Hit. KUŠ\textsubscript{sala-}.

384. \texttt{tammūga}?

a. CTH 762 KUB XXXII 8 III 16-17

\texttt{iš-ša-ra-an-za-pa-ti-it-ta pa-a-ta-\texttt{aš-ša-an-za}}

\texttt{ta-am-mu-u-ga la-a-at-ta} 'But he took the \texttt{tammūga} at the hands (and) feet for himself.'

No other forms are attested.

385. \texttt{tappa/issa} 'heaven(s)'

a. CTH 758 KUB XXXV 54 II 43-44 ti-y\textsubscript{a-am-mi-iš-pa-ti}

\texttt{tap-\texttt{piš-ša na-a-[wa a-a-y]a-ri} 'But earth does not become heaven.'

b. CTH 764

1. KUB XXXV 107 III 6 \texttt{x ta-ap-pa-\texttt{aš-ša}}

\texttt{wa-an-da-ni-ya-an-za ta-pi-x[} 'x heaven flaming x[

2. KUB XXXV 108\textsuperscript{+} 13 a-at-ta a-an-ta tap-pa-\texttt{aš-ša pár-}

This word could be plurale tantum to an s- or perhaps i-stem, but it is more likely to be the neuter singular of an s-stem with the marker -\texttt{sa}, and directly comparable to Hit. \texttt{nēpis-}. In this case \texttt{wandaniyanza} would be either neuter singular in -\texttt{za} agreeing with \texttt{tappas-sa}, or common plural accusative not modifying \texttt{tappas-sa}.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{185} Cf. A. Kammenhuber 1969:356.
\end{flushright}
386. **tāwa** 'eyes'

a. CTH 764 KUB XXXV 107 III 19 IGI HI A-wa; see no. 335.c

b. CTH 770 KBo VII 68

1. I I da]-a-u-wa [  

2. II 15-17 ]x pa-an da-a-u-wa [ ]x-a-ti-pa ku-i-in [ ]x-da pa-an UZU EME-in [ 'But him the eyes [ ]x whom [ ]x. But him the tongue [ ']

Like ḳissari- this word has both common and neuter forms (cf. tawis c. nom. sg.) which need not belong to the same stem.

Hit. sākuwa (no. 24) is of unknown stem class and the CL neuter tāwa could well belong to the same stem class as sākuwa rather than being an i-stem. Note that HL tāwa (no. 430) does not display the usual HL i-stem noun neuter plural ending -iya.

For the etymological connection of tāwa and sākuwa, consider the i:s correspondence shown for instance in CL tiwariya 'sun plant' and Hit. siwatt- 'day', and consider the Luwian loss of PIE dorsal in CL ḳissari-, HL isatari-, Lyc. izre- compared to Hit. kessar- 'hand'.

387. **tiwariya** 'sun plant'

a. CTH 404 KBo II 3 III 40 nu SALŠU.GI DUTU-wa-aš

ú-e-el-ku da-a-i na-at-za ti-wa-ri-ya hal-zi-iš-ša-i 'And the old woman takes a plant of the sun god. And she names it tiwariya.'

While welku and -at could easily be neuter plural in agreement with plural tiwariya, it is just as likely that tiwariya is a neuter singular not in agreement with the other words, or simply uninflected.

388. Upnalla?

a. CTH 770 KUB XXXV 68.14 ú-up-na-al-la; see no. 346.b
No other forms are attested.

389. wayamman?

a. CTH 766 KUB XXXV 103 III 9 wa-lya-am-ma-na
ú-li-ip-na-aš-ša-an-za

b. CTH 770 KBo VIII 130 III 6 -]ti-in-zí wa-ya-am-na ú[-

wayamana, wayamna could be n-stem forms like tatariyamna,
zamana (nos. 372, 373), but no other forms are attested to
confirm this suggestion.

390. zappalalla?

a. CTH 770 KBo VII 68 II 8 [-iš wa-aš-ha-i-iš
GIS za-ap-pa-la-a-al-la KI.MIN ú]x the lord likewise x's
the zappalalla.

No other forms are attested,

391. zasta?

a. CTH 763
1. KUB XXXV 65 III 11 za-aš-ta-a-at-ta; see no. 346.a
2. KUB XXXV 71 II 4 DUGUTUL-iš za-aš-ta[(-)

b. CTH 770 KUB XXXV 68.13 -]wa-za a-pa-ar-ha
za-aš-ta-a-at-ta na-[?

Other attested forms are compatible with an i-stem adjective
or a t- or a-stem (zasti dat. sg. and zastanza acc. pl. c.,
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dat. pl., or conceivably neuter singular in -za). If zastātta is correctly segmented into zastā plus -tta it could be the neuter plural to any of these stems.

5.2.9 adjectives whose stem class is uncertain

392. ādduwala 'evil'
a. CTH 759 KUB IX 6+ III 25-26 ku-īš-tar ma-al-ha-āš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-an EN-ya a-ad-du-wa-la a-an-ni-ti 'Who does evil things to the patron of the ritual...'

The common gender forms of this adjective are i-stem (ādduwalis nom. sg., ādduwalin acc.), while the neuter singular is 1-stem (ēdduwal, ādduwal-za). A. Kammenhuber [1969:276, 280] takes the i-stem as original and the 1-stem as secondary. E. Laroche [1965a:41-42] more reasonably takes into account the well-known Luwian tendency to make over old consonant stems as i-stems (cf. Hit. kessar- but CL ḫissari-, etc.) and, comparing ādduval(i)- to Hit. idālu-, proposes that the original word was an 1-stem, remade in Hittite to a u-stem and in Luwian in part to an i-stem. The form ādduwala is ambiguous, since i- and 1-stem forms can coexist (cf. halāl, halali-sa, both ntr., no. 393) and the ending -a would be correct with either stem.

393. halāl 'pure'
a. CTH 758 KUB XXXV 54 III 25-26 ha-la-a-al; see no. 335.a.3
Other attested forms are i-stem and include halalis nom. sg. c., and halali-sa ntr. sg. While halal could be an 1-stem related to these i-stem forms (cf. the same question with adduwal, no. 392), it could also simply be *halāla mis-spelled. If it is a correctly written 1-stem neuter plural and not an error, halal provides a unique CL comparison to the Hittite endingless plural.

394. hūidūwaluwara `alive?`

a. CTH 62 KBo V 9 I 12-13 A-BU-KA-mu ku-it [tu]-el [ŠU]MU-an :hu-ū-i-du-u-wa-lu-wa-ra pī-ra-an me-mi-iš-ki-i-t ´Since your father spoke your name before me hūidūwaluwara...´

This word appears to be an adverb. It is derived from the stem huidwali- ´living´, and no other forms are attested.

395. larella ?

a. CTH 518 IBot II 131 Rs. 7-9 nu D[pī-]ir-wa-an :la-ri-el-la ĽUA-DA-NI[ pī-e-da-[an]-zi nu Dpī-ir-wa-an :la-ri-el-la [ ´And the son-in-law [and...] take away the god Pirwa larella. And the god Pirwa larella [.]´

The word may be an adverb. No other forms are attested.

396. mazalla ?

a. CTH 255 KUB XXI 42 b.g. 3-4 nu ma-a-an ĽU a-ra-aš ĽU a-ra-an A-NA INIM SALT[I] :ma-za-al-la a-uš-zi ´And if one man sees another in the matter of a woman mazalla...´

The word may be an adverb. No other forms are attested.

397. dāyalla ?

a. CTH 203 KUB XL I Vs. 16 :da-a-ya-al-la; see no. 270.
5.2.10 pronouns

398. za- 'this'

a. CTH 758 KUB XXXV 54 II 44 za-a-ha (to be analyzed za plus -ha 'and'); see no. 381.a

b. CTH 773 KUB XXXV 136 IV 7, 15-16, 19 za-a-(am-)mu (to be analyzed za plus -mu 'for/to me'); see no. 363.a

5.2.11 summary

Table VII below contains the most likely CL nominative-accusative neuter plurals. With one possible exception these all, including the pronoun, end in -a. The i-stem adjectives end in -a with no trace of the stem vowel. In all other stem classes the -a is added to the stem, thus u-stem taparuw-a, nt-stem hiru(n)t-a, etc. The one possible exception is ha₆al, which, if it is actually plural, would be an endingless l-stem perhaps comparable to the Hittite plene plural type.
<table>
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<td>ir(hū)wassa</td>
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<td>(h)īlūwam</td>
<td>tapāruwam</td>
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<td>IGHI.A. -wanta</td>
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NEUTER PLURALS ATTESTED IN CUNEIFORM LUWIAN
5.3 HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

A history of the study of Hieroglyphic Luwian is provided in Hawkins et al. 1973, which also includes a grammatical sketch. Further discussion of the grammar may be found in Davies 1980b and in the literature cited in the Cuneiform Luwian section. The only available glossaries are Meriggi 1962 and Laroche 1960b, while texts have been edited in Meriggi 1966-75. Since new readings for several signs have been found in the past ten years, older grammatical and lexical studies must be used with care.

The nominal endings of Hieroglyphic Luwian are: -s sg. c. nom.; -n acc.; -s (and -(a)si for i-stems) gen.; -a/i/ya dat.; -ati abl.; -sa (and -anza for i-stem adjectives) ntr. nom-acc.; -nzi pl. c. nom. and acc.; -(a)nza dat.; -a ntr. nom-acc., -ava optionally in i-stem adjectives, -i optionally in n-stems.

I discuss below only those forms occurring in contexts clear enough to give reasonable assurance that they are neuter plurals. Citations are given in accordance with Meriggi 1966-75.

Cf. Hawkins et al. 1973; Davies and Hawkins 1978. I use the transcription system established in these works, except that I transcribe ia as ya.

The last alternative is attested only in proper names; cf. Hawkins et al. 1973:28.

The ending -sa is spelled -za after n, l. The i-stem adjective ending is composed of -an plus -za.
5.3.1 a-stems

399. huhutiya- 'grandfatherly'

a. Carchemish 21

1. 7 wa/i-mu-tà-á á-ma ,ta-ti-ya AVUS-ha-ti-i ,REGIO-ní-ya 33-mi-ta-sa5+ra/i-i-na REL-à-ti à-tà i-zi-ya-tà 'And since they made me governor over my paternal and grandfatherly lands...'

AVUS-hati is clearly neuter plural in agreement with ama tativa REGIO-niya, but its form is unexpected and contrasts with that of the other derived adjective, tatiya. Conceivably -ya has been omitted through miswriting of n <i> for ñ <ya>; Hawkins [1980a:149] in fact restores the form to AVUS-hati<ya>. On the other hand, iya sometimes contracts to i (cf. tatis 'paternal' from *tatiyas but tativanza nom-acc. ntr. sg.).

AVUS-hati could represent a contracted, and tatiya an uncontracted, version of the same ending.

2. 12 za-ya-ha-wa/i "PORTA"-lā/ī-na á-ma ,AVUS-ti-ya mu-à ,PRAE-na CRUS-ta 'These my grandfatherly gates also stood.'

400. muzikiya- 'Muzikian'

a. Carchemish 22.5b á-ma-ha-wa/i ,sā-pa-ta4-li-ya TERRA.PONERE-ru-tà mu-zi-ki-ya"URBS" [ 'And my Muzikian sapataliya TERRA.PONERE-ruta [']

190 Like a participle, 'governor' governs the accusative.

This is presumably another derived adjective in -iya-. No other forms are attested.

401. tatiya- "paternal"

a. Carchemish 19.2 wa/i-mu-à ,ku-ma-na DEUS TONITRUS-sa ,à-ma-za ,tà-ti-ya ,"I"-sà-la-ha-za pi-ya-ta 'And when Tarhunza gave me my paternal salahanza...' Since salahanza is neuter singular and modified by neuter singular amanza, tatiya here ought to be a scribal error for tatiya(n)-za nom-acc. ntr. sg.

b. Carchemish 21.7 tà-ti-ya; see no. 399.a.1

c. Carchemish 215.10 wa/i-ti-à pa-sa-à tà-ti-ya DOMUS-ni ,BONUS-ya-ta 'She exalted her paternal houses.' J.D. Hawkins [1970:98; 1975:138] establishes the verb BONUS-waliyata 'exalted', which takes an accusative object. If BONUS-yata is the same verb, then tatiya DOMUS-ni should be accusative plural neuter.

5.3.2 i-stems

nouns:

402. hali- "day"

a. Karatepe 24.LIa Hu pi-ya-tu-há-wa/i-tu-u DEUS TONITRUS-hu-za-sá ARHA u-sa-nú-wa/i-mi-sá za-si-há "CASTRUM"-há+ra/i-na-sá-si DEUS-ní-zi á+x-za-ti-wa/i-tá-ya "LONGUS+RA"-ta₅-ya DIES-há-li-ya 'And let Tarhunza the exalted and the gods of the fortress give to him, to Azatiwata, long days.' (Ho "LONGUS"-à+ra/i-ya ,"DIES"-há-li-ýa)

Also attested is haliyanza dat. pl.
403. 262-sasaliya


b. Malatya III 107 za-ya-wa/i 262-sa-sa-li-ya 1ma-ri+i 125-sa 1sù-wa/i-ri+i-mi-sa "INFANS"-[m]u-wa/i-i-ya-ya REX-sa 'Mari, child of Suwarimi, king, 125'd these 262-sasaliya.

No other forms are attested, but this word seems more likely to be an i- than an a-stem, since -iya- is normally an adjective formant and the word here appears to be a noun. 192

404. tumi- 'offering?'

a. Carchemish 21.13 ﺍ-ва/i tū-mi-ya DEUS.DOMUS-sa ku-ma-na AED+MI-ha 'And when I built the tumiya of the temple...'

b. Ancuz I 124.2 ]pi-ya[ ــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــ～]x they place tumiya on this throne.

c. Tūnp II 154.4 ﺍ-ва/i ,FEMINA IUDEX+MI?-ni tū-mi-ya-hā PONERE-[i 'And he places(?) tumiya FEMINA IUDEX+MI-ni.'

The reading of this word is not certain. The second sign might be <hi> rather than <sa> in both attestations. 193

Other attested forms are tumis gen. sg. and tumiyanza dat.

405. REGIO-ni- 'land, nation'

a. Carchemish 21.7 REGIO-ni-ya; see no. 399.a.1
b. Carchemish 22.12 à-wa/i pa-ya-à,REGIO-ni-ya
   "AED"-ta-na-ta-ha 'And I AED-tanata'd those lands.'
c. Karatepe 24.LIV Hu REL-pa-wa/i-ta ,REGIO-ni-ya REL-ya
   á-ta ,SOLIUM+MI-i-sá 'And the nations which settle in (it)...'

Other attested forms are REGIO-.za nom-acc. sg., REGIO-niyasi gen., and REGIO-ni dat.

adjectives:

406. ami- 'my'

a. Carchemish 21.7, 12 à-ma; see no. 399.a
b. Carchemish 22.5b à-ma; see no. 400

A full paradigm is attested for this stem. In addition to the neuter plural we have amis sg. c. nom., amin acc., amanza ntr. nom-ac., amis gen., ami dat., amati abl., aminzi
pl. c. nom-acc., aminza dat.

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194 This spelling could stand for REGIO-nisa, REGIO-anza, REGIO-nanza, or REGIO-niyanza, i.e. the -sa may be added directly to the stem vowel or to an ending -an-, itself possibly added to the stem vowel. The first possibility is the least likely, since the expected spelling would be REGIO-sa.
407. *anaitawani*- 'Anaitean'
a. Tell Ahmar 2, 6 á-na-i-tá-,REGIO-wa/i-na-ä
   SOLIUM-i-sa-n[û]-wa/i-h[a 'During my "(good) times" I
   settled the Anaitean (lands?).'
J. D. Hawkins [1980a:147 ff.] takes *anaitawana* as the neuter
plural of a -wani- ethnic adjective. It is not clear what
noun modified by *anaitawana* has been omitted.

408. *(a)pasi*- 'his/her/its'
a. Carchemish 215.10 pa-sa-ä; see no. 401.c
   *(a)pasi*- inflects like the other possessive adjectives ami-,
   azi-.

409. *azi*- 'our'
a. Assur letter e 38.13 ,DOMINUS-ni-i ,à-za-ya-ha-ä
   ,sa-na-wa/i-ya ,wa/i-za-(i) ,ni-i ,ARHA ;"69"-sa-tu-(i)
   'Let him not 69-sa our goods also waza for the lord.'
   Also attested is *azis* nom. sg. c.

410. *hatami-*
   ,ásá-ta ,ha-ta-ma 'And these houses (and?) sahi(n)zi
   were hatama.'
   sahi(n)zi may be common plural conjoined to neuter plural
   DOMUS-na, with the neuter plural hatama modifying both
   nouns. Alternatively, sahi(n)zi could be dative singular.
b. Carchemish 19.11 pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta ,za-à-sa
   kara/i-ka-mi-si-za-sa URBS DEUS TONITRUS-sa ,"242"
   ha-tà-ma ,PES₂-tara/i-pi-i-tu 'And let this Tarhunza of
   Carchemish trample the hatama for him.'
No other forms of this possible participle to an otherwise unattested verb are known.

411. REL-sanami- ?

a. Assur letter a 37.9 ,u-nu-ha-wa/i-mu-u LEO

REL-sá-na-ma-ya ,ha-la+ra/i-la ,472 ma-(i)-sa±ra/i-zí-i
3-zí-i ,ni-pa-wa/i 4-zí ,"78"-à-ru-ti-zí
,"LEPUS"-ta-pa-sá-la-ya-à ,"286.317" wa/i-ara/i-ma
,VIA-wa/i-ní-i 'And send me now REL-sanamaya halarala,
masarinzi, 3 or 4 arutinzi, LEPUS-tapasalaya warima.'

No other forms are attested. Judging from the -aya ending, the word should be an i-stem adjective, or perhaps a participle.

412. sanawi- 'good'

a. Karatepe 24

1. VI ,á-mi-ya-za-há-wa/i "DIES"-ha-lì-za ,á-tana-wà/i-ya
URBS,OMNIS+MI-ma,BONUS-sa-na-wa/i-ya
,"CORNU+RA"-su+ra/i-sa ,112-ha-sa-sa-ha ,á-sa-ta 'And in my days there were all good things, abundance, and luxury(?)\(^{195}\) for the city Atanawa.'

2. XV ,á-mi-há-wa/i ,DOMINUS-ní-i ,NEPOS-ha-su-(à)
,OMNIS+MI-ma,BONUS-sa-na-wa/i-ya ,CUM-na ,i-zi-i-ha
'And I did all good things for my lord's descendant.'

b. Velisa II 33.2 wa/i-mu OMNIS+MI BONUS-na-wa/i-ya-à
[C]UM-ní ['For me all good things ['

c. Assur letter e 38

1. 13 sa-na-wa/i-ya; see no. 409

\(^{195}\) Cf. Hawkins and Davies 1978:106.
2. 20, DOMINUS-ni-ha-wa/i, 179.347 5, sa-na-wa/i à-ta-(i),
45-ri-i, 'And he 45's 5 good 179.347's for the lord.'
d. Assur letter g 40.45, à-la-wa/i-à+ra/i-ti-ha-wa/i-mu
URBS, "CORNU"-sù+ra/i-ni BIBERE-u-na-sa, sa-na-wa/i-ya
"MAGNUS"-ya-à, VIA-wa/i-ni-i, 'And send me from the city
of Alawara good, large horns for drinking!'
e. Carchemish 208.2, OMNIS+MI-ya BONUS-na-wa/i [']all
good things [']
Other attested forms are sanavis nom. sg. c., sanawin acc.,
sanawati abl.

J. D. Hawkins [1980b:115-16] transcribes the substantivized
form 'good things' sanawiya rather than sanawaya, taking
advantage of the ambiguity of the sign <wa/i>. While it
is possible that the adjective when substantivized adopts
the noun ending -iya, no unambiguous spelling such as
sa-na-wa/i-i-ya is available to support Hawkins' theory.
All other i-stem adjectives have unambiguous a signs before
the -ya, thus a-za-ya, etc.

413. tanimi- 'all'
a. Karatepe 24.VI, XV, OMNIS+MI-ma; see no. 412.a
b. Carchemish 208.2, OMNIS+MI-ya; see no. 412.e
Other attested forms are tanimis sg. c. nom., tanimin acc.,
tanimi dat., tanimanza ntr. nom-acc., taniminzi pl. c. nom-
acc., tanimanza dat.

414. warimi-?
a. Assur letter b 35.4a, à-wa/i, à-pi, ku-ru-pi, REL-ya
,"317.286" (à)-wa/i-à+ra/i-ma, LEPUS-pa-sà-la-ya ARHA-à
"69"-sa-ha-na 'And which warima LEPUS-tapasalaya we
69-sa'd away from the kurupi?'...

b. Assur letter c 36.8 "LEPUS"-ta-pa-sa-la-ya-ha-wa/i
317.286 wa/i-à+ra/i-ma-(i) ,REL-ta-ha ,na+x-ti-sà 'And
wherever you nati the LEPUS-tapasalaya warima...

c. Assur letter a 37
1. 9 wa/i-ara/i-ma; see no. 410.a
2. 11 ha-ti-ya-pa-wa/i-mu ,"286.317" wa/i+ra/i-ma-à
za-ya ,VIA-wa/i-ni 'And send me these hatiya warima!'

d. Assur letter g 40.46 Ḉ-pi-ha-wa/i-à
"LEPUS"-ta-pa-sa-la-ya ,"317.286" wa/i-ara/i-ma-à
ku-ru-pi ,á-mi-i ,à-ta-ti ,ARHA-à "69"-sa-ha-na 'We
69-sa'd away the LEPUS-tapasalaya warima for the kurupi
(and?) my atati.'

This word could be an adjective or participle modifying
LEPUS-tapasalaya and hatiya, a noun conjoined to them, or a
noun modified by them in the case that one or both of them
are adjectives. No other forms are attested.

415. REL-zami- 'carving'
ARHA "MALLEUS"-ya 'Whoever erases these carvings...

No other forms of this participle of REL-za- 'cut, carve'
are attested.

196 For the verb see A. Morpurgo Davies 1979:82.
5.3.3 nt-stems

416. REL-sant- 'feared?'

a. Karatepe 24.XXXIII ,á-pa-ta-za-pa-wa/i-ta

"TERRA"-ta₄-ta-za-{ha-pa-wa/i} ,REL-ya REL-sà-ta
rú-wa/i-na á-sa-ta 'And in those lands which formerly
were feared?'...

For a discussion of this passage see Hawkins and Davies 1978:111.

5.3.4 n-stems

417. ataman- 'name'

a. Boybeypinari IV 131.20 ni-pa-wa/i-tà mi-i-i DOMINUS-ni
tu-ha-mi-sa-ha ₃pa-na-mu-wa/i-ti-sa-ha HA+LI-sa-ha
á-ta₅-ma-ni MALUS-ta₅-sa-tara/i-ti CUM-ni ARHA ,tà-i 'If
he takes away the names of my lord Tuhami and of
Panamuwati and of HA+LI in anger...'

atamani here is possibly a neuter plural in -i comparable to
Hit. ishiul-i, etc. It is assumed to be accusative rather
than dative on the basis of a parallel sentence with the
same verb governing an accusative object: Carchemish 10.28,
,zi-i-pa-wa/i ",SCALPRUM"-su-wa/i-i-ti-i
",SCALPRUM"-su-na-à ,NEG-i CUM-ni ARHA ,ta-ya 'And let him
not on the one hand take away a column from the columns'.
The reading of sign 411 <ni> as only ni and never na has
been established by H. Mittelberger [1963:74], who demon-
strates that neither <ni> nor <nī> ever takes <a> as a com-
plement, but only <i>, and that neither alternates with
<na>, except after certain preverb ideograms. In the latter, use of <na> or <ni> signals different words, as happens with Hit. EGIR-an versus EGIR-az.

Use of the i-plural with an n-stem (ataman-za nom-acc. sg.) parallels Hittite use of the i-plural with stems ending in resonants.

418. suran- 'horn'
a. Assur letter g 40.45 "CORNU"-sù+ra/i-ni; see no. 412.d CORNU-surani here is the object of the verb 'give' and can be nothing other than accusative plural neuter agreeing with sanawaya MAGNUS-ya. A hapax legomenon, it is taken to be an n-stem through comparison with Hit. r/n-stem karawar/n- and also because no other class of HL nouns is known to use -i as a neuter plural marker.

419. DOMUS-n- 'house'
a. Kululu I 18.2 DOMUS-na-à; see no. 409.a
b. Assur letter g 40.46b 'á-pa-(i)-ya-pa-wa/i ,DOMUS-ni-i à-ta-ti ARHA-à ,"69"-sa-ha-à 'And I 69-sa'd those houses for ata.'

The question here is whether apaya, a clear neuter plural, modifies DOMUS-ni -- in which case the latter must also be neuter plural -- or whether it modifies LEPUS-tapasalaya warima in the preceding sentence (see no. 414.d). If the latter, then DOMUS-ni could be dative, possibly agreeing with atati if that word is in fact dative to *ata- and not ablative to *ata/i-.

c. Körkün 152.5, wa/i-ti ku-ma-na á-sa-ti-ru-sá REX-ti-sá wa/i-ra/i-pa-si DOMUS-na AED 'And when King Asatiru builds the houses of the cult for himself...'

d. Carchemish 162.11 za-ya-pa-wa/i-ta DOMUS-na-à REL-sa á-mi-i "INFANS"-ni-i "NEPOS"-si "NEPOS"-REL-1a [A]RHA [ta]-ya-à 'And whoever takes away these houses from my son, grandson, and great-grandson...'

e. Carchemish 215.10 DOMUS-ni; see no. 401.c

DOMUS-ni is modified by tatiya ntr. pl. and occurs in a context which always requires the accusative.

DOMUS-n- is the only one of the three n-stems which uses both -a and -i as neuter plural endings in reasonably secure contexts.

Other attested forms are DOMUS-nanza198 sg. nom-acc., DOMUS-nas gen., and DOMUS-nanza pl. dat.

5.3.5 nouns whose stem class is uncertain

420. ara pata?

a. Babylon 13.9, pa-ti-pa-à-wa/i HALPA-pa-wa/i-ní-sa DEUS TONITRUS-sa, ara/i-á, pa-ta NEG₃-sa, pi-ya-i ARHA DOMUS+RA-nu-u-na 'To him may Tarhunza of Aleppo not grant to dispose of ara pata.'

No other forms of the word are attested. For a discussion see Hawkins 1975:142.

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198 For a discussion of this form see Hawkins et al 1973:34.
421. **arata** 'riches?'

a. Hamath IV 312

1. 11 "DEUS" pa-ha-la-ti-sâ-pa-wa/i DEUS.DOMUS+MI-za á-mi-za tà-ti-za [AVUS]-ha-tâ-za-ha-wa/i ara/i-za à+ra/i-tà à-tà "218" ta+ra/i-pa-ri+i-ta "The temple of Ba' alat in my father's and grandfather's times lacked riches."

2. 13 EGO-pa-wa/i á-mi-za ara/i-za NEG₂ à-tà "218" ta+ra/i-pa-ri+i-ti ara/i-tà "As for me, it will not lack riches in my times."

No other forms are attested. See the discussion by Hawkins 1975:137.

422. **halarala** ?

a. Assur letter a 37.9 ha-la+ra/i-la; see no. 411.a

423. **haranisa** 'fortress'

a. Karatepe 24

1. XIX "CASTRUM"-ha+ra/i-ní-sâ-pa-wà/i
   ,PUGNUS-la/i-mi-tà-ya AE[D+M]I-ha 'And I built strong fortresses in those lands.'

2. XXIII Hu ,REL-pa-wà/i-ta TERRA-ta₄-ta-za-à
   ,â-pa-ta-za ,"CASTRUM"-ha+ra/i-ní-sà ,à-ta ,AED+MI-ha
   'And I built fortresses in those lands.'

   (Ho CASTRUM-ha+ra/i-ní-i-sà)

3. XXV-XXXI Hu 274-ta-li-ha-há-wa/i "CASTRUM"-[ ]-sà
   ,PUGNUS-lâ/i-mi-tà-à-ya "OCCIDENS"-i-pa-mi VERSUS-na
   ,NEG-wa/i REL-ya 274-ha-ta-li-i-ta ,FRONS-li-zi
   REX-ti-zi ,â-mu ,REL-zi ,PRAE-na ,â-sà-ta
And I smote strong fortresses towards the west, which former kings had not smitten, who were before me. And I, Azatiwata, smote them, and I brought them down, and I settled them towards the east on my frontiers.'

(Ho "CASTRUM"-ha-ra/i-ní-sà PUGNUS-lá/i-mí-tá-yá...)

And I set up fortresses as my frontier post.

And whatever fortresses [haranisasi gen. sg. would seem to imply an i-stem (cf. i-stem turpasi versus a-stem ku-AVIS-papas), but the dative haranisi and neuter singular haranisanza are ambiguous, the latter perhaps an a-stem form (cf. tativanza to tatiya-). It is, however, possible that i-stem nouns as well as adjectives have a compound ending -an-za.

This could be an i-stem noun or an iya-stem adjective. No other forms are attested.

425. katina `carved stone?`

a. Babylon la, za-ya-wa/i "SCALPRUM"-ka-ti-na mí-ta₅-à-sa LITUUS.CAELUM-na DEUS TONITRUS-ti-i i-zi-i-tà "Mitas made these katina for Tarhunza as a LITUUS.CAELUM."

LITUUS.CAELUM could be either accusative common singular or neuter plural.

b. Coppa II 2 za-ya-wa/i-à SCALPRUM-ka-ti-na rú-ti-ya-sa HALPA-pa-ni DEUS TONITRUS-hu-tí [ na ]ta [ 'Runtiya [made?] these katina for Tarhunza in Aleppo.'

No other forms are attested.

426. nisa ?

a. Aksaray 2 DEUS TONIT[RUS ni-sà-à ARHA la-tà-ta "Tarhunza] lata'd the nisa."

No other forms are attested. See Hawkins and Davies 1978: 105 for discussion.

427. parata `word`

a. Cekke 28.31 wa/i-ta za-ya pà-ra/i-ta ARHA MALLEUS-i "And he shall erase these words."

b. Boybeypinari 130-1.16 ní-i-pa-wa/i, za i-sà-tara/i-ta-za za-à-ha THRONUS-wa/i-si-za za-ya-ha pà-ra/i-ta REL-sa MALUS-ta₅-sa-tara/i-ti ARHA-ha MALLEUS-i "Or whoever erases this isataranza and this throne and these words in anger..."

c. Carchemish 177.5 pa]+ra/i-tà REL-i-sa ,MALLEUS-la/i-i "Who erases the words..."
d. Carchemish 222.3 -]pa-wa/i-ta ,za-ya ,pa+ra/i-ta ,ARHA "MALLEUS"-ya 'Whoever erases these words...'

e. Carchemish 244.2 ,à-wa/i ,za-ya-à ,pa+ra/i-ta-à REL-sá [ 'And whoever [ ] these words...'

f. Carchemish 257.14 ní-pa-wa/i ,za-ya ,"LOQUI" pá+ra/i-ta REL-sa NEG_2 AUDIRE-ti-ti 'Or whoever does not listen to these words...'

g. Carchemish 276.12 ,ni-pa-ta ,za-ya pá+ra/i-ta ,ARHA MALLEUS-i 'Or he erases these words.'

h. Emir-gazi III 19.6 za/i-ya/i-ha-wa/i-ta²₀¹ pá+[ra/i]-tà ní NEG-sa REL-ya/i-sa-ha tú-pi 'Nor let anyone smite these words.'

No other forms are attested.

428. 317.84-pasa ?

a. Assur letter e 38.27 ,198 ki+ra/i-ti-zi-wa/i ,317.84-pa-sa-ha REL-i-sà ,u+x-ni-ti 'Who knows kiratinzi and 317.84-pasa.'

This word could be a neuter plural in -a or an accusative singular common with the n omitted before the enclitic.

429. 245-tanata ?

a. Maraş I 33.4 ,à-wa/i ,"245"-ta-na-ta-à "SOLIUM"-i-sà-nu-wa/i-ha 'And I caused 245-tanata to sit.'

200 For this verb see Hawkins 1975:133, 151.

201 See Hawkins 1975:128 for a discussion of this passage. Where archaic texts do not distinguish between <zi> and <za>, <i> and <ya>, I transcribe the ambiguous signs za/i, ya/i.
b. Carchemish 257.7 245-ta-pa-wa/i [TERRA]-ta₄-ta₅-i-ha [And 245-tanata on the ground [^]

430. tawa 'eyes'

a. Karaburna 3 si-pi-ya-pa-wa/i-ta ni-ya-sa-na hà-ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa,URBS,DEUS ku-AVIS-ya ku-ma-pi ta-wa/i SUB-ta á-za-tu 'Then for Sipis, son of Nis, let the Haranian (moon god?) together with(?) Kubaba swallow down (his) eyes.'

For the translation of this passage, and further discussion, see Davies 1980a:127. See also no. 386.

431. DARE-tinata type of offering?202

a. Ancuz I 124.3 à-wa/i za-ya 257 DARE-ti-na-tà LIBARE sa₅-ra/i-la-i-ti 'And he offers these offerings(?)'.

A possible neuter singular tinatanza is attested. See Davies 1979:97.

432. BESTIA.REL-s/tara '(wild) beast'

a. Bolkarmaden 25.6b "273?-i-sa-pa-wa/i,DEUS CERVUS₂-ti-ya-sá-ti-i, BONUS-wa/i-sa₅-ra/i-ti-i, á-mi-i DOMINUS-ni-i [BESTIA].REL-sa₅-ra/i-à, pa-ti-i ,u-ta-ti-na-ha-à 'And by the favor of 273-isa Runtiya I utatina'd there the beasts for my lord.'

b. Bohça 27.5 ,wa/i-mu za-ri+i sa-ma-ya "BESTIA".REL₂-sa₅-ra/i pi-pa-sa-ya 'Here he grants to me the beasts (as?) samaya.'

c. Marag I 33.5 ,i-pa?-si-pa-wa/i-mu-(i) DEUS CERVUS-ti-ya-sá ,REL-zu-wa/i "BESTIA".REL-tara/i ,pi-pa-sa-ta "And since Runtiya of ipa gave me the beasts..."

Hawkins [1980a:153] and Davies and Hawkins [1979:399-401] identify BESTIA.REL-t/sara with an apparent neuter singular BESTIA.REL2-sara/i-sa, and suggest that two stems might be involved, *huitar(a)- (cf. Hit. huitar/n-) and *huisar(a)-.

433. DEUS.DOMUS-hata "temples"

a. Carchemish 9.4 wa/i-na DEUS.DOMUS-ta 1 SUPER+ra/i-à "PES2"-wa/i-tara/i-sa-ha-à "I made him governor over the temples."

b. Carchemish 11.9 DEUS-ha-ra/i-ma-na-wa/i-na-sa-pa-wa/i URBS DEUS.DOMUS-ta AED+MI-ha "And I built temples for the god of the Harmanian city."

c. Carchemish 19

1. 9 mu-pa-wa/i-tu-à ,za-ya DEUS TONITRUS-sa DEUS.DOMUS-ta BONUS-sí-ti-i za-la AED-ru-ha "And I built these temples of Tarhunza here out of goodness."

2. 14 POST+ra/i-wa/i-sà-ti-pa-wa/i ,REL-sa ,za-à-ya DEUS.DOMUS-ha-tà à-tà ,AED-ta-pa-i "Whoever afterwards AED-tapa's these temples..."

434. EXERCITUS-lana "armies"

a. Porsuk II 29.5 ,u-mi-i ,EXERCITUS-lá/i-na "MAGNUS"+ra/i-za-sa á-sa-ha "I was a great man with regard to the armies."
Hawkins [1969:106-07] prefers to take EXERCITUS-lana as dative singular rather than neuter plural. It may be noted, however, that a securely identified dative EXERCITUS-lani is also attested. Other attested forms are EXERCITUS-lanza nom-acc. sg. and EXERCITUS-lati abl.

435. PORTA-lana 'gates'

a. Carchemish 21

1. 12 "PORTA"-lá/i-na; see no. 399.a.2

2. 15 à-wa/i za-ya "PORTA"-na, SCALPRUM-sa₅-ra/i-ha ʼAnd I SCALPRUM-sara’d these gates.ʼ

b. Karatepe 24²₀³

1. LXVI-LXVIII wa/i-ta à-ta AED-MI-i "PORTA"-la-na za-ya à+x-za-ti-wa/i-tä-sa REL-ya i-zi-ta₅ ʼAnd he blocks these gates, which Azatiwata made.ʼ

2. LXIX wa/i-ra/i-la-ya-wa/i "PORTA"-la-na i-zi-i-wa/i ʼI will make the gates my own.ʼ

2. LXXVII ni-pa-wa/i MALUS-ti-sa-tara/i-ri+ni i-ri-pa-wa/i MALUS-ha-ni-ya-ta-sa-tara/i-ti à-ta AED-MI-ri+ni za-ya "PORTA"-la-na ʼOr he will block up these gates out of badness or out of evil.ʼ

436. TERRA.PONERE-ruta ?

a. Carchemish 22.5b TERRA.PONERE-ru-tä; see no. 400.a

For a discussion see Hawkins 1975:126.

437. 137-hasa

a. Emir-gazi III 19

1. 28 REL-ya/i-sa-pa-wa/i-mu 137-ha-sa<sub>5</sub> NEG-wa/i DARE ‘Whoever will never give me 137-hasa...’

2. 30 REL-ya/i-sa-pa-wa/i-mu 137-ha-sa<sub>5</sub> DARE ‘Whoever will give me 137-hasa...’

See Hawkins 1975:130.

5.3.6 adjectives whose stem class is uncertain

438. arava ‘long’

a. Karatepe 24.LIa Hu "LONGUS+RA"-ta<sub>5</sub>-ya; see no. 402.a

(Ho "LONGUS"-a+ra/i-ya)

No other forms are attested, but compare CL ara/i-‘long’.

439. haniyata ‘evil’


(Ho ,"MALUS"-hâ-ní-ya-ta-ya-pa-wa/i-ta REL-ya ...

,wa/i-ta)

440. lamitaya ‘strong’

a. Karatepe 24

1. XIX PUGNUS-lá/i-mi-tâ-ya; see no. 423.a.1

2. XXV PUGNUS-lá/i-mi-tâ-â-ya; see no. 423.a.3

441. samaya ?

a. Bohça 27.5 sâ-ma-ya; see no. 432.b

445. MAGNUS-ya ‘large’

a. Assur letter g 40-45 "MAGNUS"-ya-â; see no. 412.d
This form is identified as an adjective based on its \(-\text{aya}\) ending.

442. sapataliya ?

a. Carchemish 22.5b sā-pa-ta\(_4\)-li-ya; see no. 400

Also attested is sapatalin acc. sg. c. Given the coexistence of common and neuter forms, the word could be an adjective. The \(-\text{iya}\) ending would be aberrant for an i-stem adjective, however, so we may be dealing with two nouns of different genders, or perhaps with an \(-\text{iya}\)-adjective having contraction of iya to i in the accusative singular.

443. tapasalaya ?

a. Assur letter b 35.4a LEPUS-pa-sâ-la-ya; see no. 414.a

b. Assur letter c 36.8 "LEPUS"-ta-pa-sâ-la-ya; see no. 414.b

c. Assur letter a 37.9 "LEPUS"-ta-pa-sâ-la-ya-ā; see no. 411.a

d. Assur letter g 40.46. "LEPUS"-ta-pa-sâ-la-ya; see no. 414.d

This word is tentatively identified as an adjective based on its \(-\text{aya}\) ending.

444. waralaya `own`

a. Karatepe 24.LXIX wa/i+ra/i-la-ya; see no. 435.b.2

A neuter singular waralanza is also attested. Hawkins and Davies [1975:129] suggest a connection with CL waralli-. If they are correct, the word may be an i-stem, with the \(-\text{anza}\) ending of the singular comparable to that of amanza to ami-.

445. MAGNUS-ya `large`

a. Assur letter g 40-45 "MAGNUS"-ya-ā; see no. 412.d
5.3.7 pronouns

446. -a- third person anaphoric enclitic

The form -ata is used throughout.

a. Karatepe 24

1. XII Hu wâ/i-ta; see no. 439.a

(He wâ/i-ta)

2. XXV-XXXI Hu á-mu-pa-wa/i+ra/i ... INFRA-ta-ha-wa/i-ta

... INFRA-ta-ha-wa/i-tâ; see no. 423.a.3

(He REL-i-pa-wa/i-ara/i ... INFRA-ta-ha-wa/i-ta)

3. LXXI nî-wa/i-ta "VAS" á-lâ/i-na-ma-ti à-ta AED+MI-ri+i

'Or he will block them (PORTA-lana) up.'

b. Emir-gazi III 19204

1. 18-19 REL-ya/i-sa-pa-wa/i REX za/i-ya/i STELE

sâ-ka-tâ-la-ya/i REL+ra/i-pa-wa/i-tâ na NEG-wa/i A

'Whatever king damages these stelae, even if he never

makes(?) them...'

2. 21-22 REL-ya/i-sa-pa-[wa/i] REX za/i-ya/i STELE

PUGNUS+MI-na A wa/i-tâ-â NEG-wa/i DOMUS+RA-ya/i

'Whatever king makes(?) these stelae to benefit, and let

him never displace them...'

447. (a)pa- 'that'

a. Carchemish 22.12 pa-ya-à; see no. 405.b

b. Assur letter g 40.46b á-pa-(i)-ya-pa-wa/i; see no. 419.b

204 See Hawkins 1975:129.
448. za- 'this'
The neuter plural is spelled za-ya except where noted. See nos. 399.a.2; 403; 410.a; 414.c.2; 415; 425; 427.a-b, d-g, h (za/i-ya/i); 431.a; 433.c.1, 2 (za-â-ya); 435.a.2, b; 446.b (za/i-ya/i).

449. REL-i- 'which'
The neuter plural is spelled REL-ya throughout. See nos. 405.c; 414.a; 416; 423.a.3, c; 435.b.1; 439; 446.b.2. This stem is presumably to be read *kwi- or *hwi-. 205 For a discussion of the form REL-ya see Chapter 6, section 8.

5.3.8 summary
Table VIII lists those forms which appear most securely identified as neuter plurals. Among the a-stems the ending is -a except for AVUS-hati; the latter has probably resulted from scribal error but could also possibly be the result of contraction from -iya to -i. The i-stems also all end in -a, the nouns adding the ending after the stem vowel, and the adjectives replacing the -i- by -a or -aya. Among the n-stems -a alternates with -i as the ending. As for the pronouns, the singular of the anaphoric enclitic serves for both numbers, as in Cuneiform Luwian and Late Hittite. The other pronoun neuter plurals end in -ya.

205 See Hawkins et al. 1973:34.
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**TABLE VIII**

NEUTER PLURALS ATTESTED IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN
5.4 Lycian

A history of the study of Lycian is provided in G. Neumann 1969. Texts discussed in this section are transcribed and numbered according to E. Kalinka 1901 (indicated by TL) and E. Laroche 1979b (indicated by X). The various corrections and additions to Kalinka provided in J. Friedrich 1932:52-90, O. Carruba 1969b, Ph. Houwink ten Cate 1961, G. Neumann 1969, and Laroche 1974 have been incorporated as well. Grammatical sketches can be found in Houwink ten Cate 1961, Neumann 1969, and Laroche 1979b, but no glossary as yet exists. My glosses have been culled from a wide variety of sources, the bulk from the works cited above, in particular from Laroche 1979b, as well as from class work with V. Shevoroshkin in 1975.

In this discussion I deal only with Lycian A, since it is considerably better understood than Lycian B. It may be noted simply that all forms tentatively identified as Lycian B neuter plurals end in -a. Hereafter "Lycian" refers only to Lycian A.

A number of sound changes render Lycian paradigms quite

\[ \text{Neuter singular forms have only recently been recognized} \]

206 My transcription follows that of Kalinka 1901:6-7, except for the following: I transcribe his ć and k with k and x respectively in accord with H. Pedersen 1945:9; and I transcribe his ǝ with T. Where a single word spans two lines of the text, I use the slash (/) to indicate the line end.

207 For Lycian B (Milyan) see, among others, R. Gusmani 1964b:42-49, 1968:1-18, V. Shevoroshkin 1968:467-91, 1971:206-36. Among cited neuter plurals are kuzrûta (TL 55.b.8), kuzruwēta (TL 44.d.56), la ra (TL 44.c.37), trūmiliia (TL 44.c.38, d.62), trqqūtasa (TL 44.d.4-5). All of these have the same -a/iva endings as Lycian A.
different from those of the other Luwian languages, to wit loss of final -s after vowels, development of final -n(C)s to -s, and loss of final -n after vowels, usually with concomitant change of the vowel. While these changed vowels are traditionally transcribed as if nasalized, there is no proof that this accurately reflects the phonological development. All we know is that different vowel symbols are used in the accusative than are used in the nominative. 208 The "nasalized" vowels are not always used; thus we occasionally find spellings such as kupā (TL 139.1) for expected kupā acc. sg. c.

As a result of these changes a large number of Lycian words end in -a, and it is difficult to distinguish neuter from common gender forms. Criteria necessary to identify a given form as neuter plural are, first, agreement with a neuter plural pronoun (ebeija, kbiya); second, knowledge that the word is not an -a-stem, so that an -a in the nominative or accusative cannot be a common gender ending. In the discussion below I consider only those forms which can reasonably well be identified as neuter plural.

Neuter singular forms have only recently been recognized in Lycian. 209 The discovery of these forms brings Lycian into closer line with the other Anatolian languages and confirms that the nominative-accusative neuter plurals are in fact true plurals with contrasting singulars, and not col-

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208 Cf. Pedersen 1945:36-37; Laroche 1979b:82.
The nominal endings of Lycian are: 

5.4.1 a-stem

nouns:

450. erublija— some type of monument?

a. TL 26.1 ebeija : erublija : me̱ni[t These erublija x[ Laroche [1979b:87] identifies urublija (TL 44.b.55, c.9) as the nominative-accusative singular of this word. Given the frequency of -iya- as a suffix of appurtenance (see nos. 452-455), it is possible that erublija is formed with this suffix. However, this analysis cannot be confirmed, due to the absence of any related words.

451. mara— 'law'

a. X 32-34 mete/-pituwête : mara ebeija 'And they establish these laws.'

b. X p. 117, 1. 4 ma'liju mara ebeija [ They established these laws[ paternal, a derivative of tati— 'father'.

453. maraste—a 'tribunal' (lit. 'that pertaining to judges').

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210 Cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961:52.

211 -∅ alternates with -∅ (see Neumann 1969:375) and, after i, with -∅ (see Pedersen 1945:34-35).

212 As in the other Luwian languages, final stops are dropped.
mere dat. pl. is also attested. Laroche [1979b:80] considers mara- plurale tantum.

adjectives:

452. kumezija- "sanctuary" (lit. 'that pertaining to priests')


For portions of this translation see Laroche [1979b:109-10], who suggests emending padritahī to padritahīja to bring it into line with kumezija tuminehīja, etc. Laroche cites kumezijē (X 7) as the nominative-accusative singular of kumezija-. It is derived from kumaza- 'priest', itself derived from kuma- 'holy' (cf. Laroche 1979b:98, 108-10). The adjectival suffix may be compared to that of CL, HL tatiya- 'paternal', a derivative of tati- 'father'.

453. marazija- "tribunal" (lit. 'that pertaining to judges')

a. TL 118.3 mene : itlehi : tubeiti : trūmī[l]i : huwedri : semarazij[a] : mištaha 'And the itlehi of the Lycian confederation and the tribunal of the mištī will strike him.'
b. TL 139.3-4 mēne tubidi : h[p]pūte[rus] : maḥāi:

semarazija miṃṭaha 'And the hppūte[rus] of the gods and the tribunal of the miṃṭi will strike him.'

Laroche [1979b:98] suggests that this is derived from mara- 'law' with the -za- suffix which indicated profession and the -ija- suffix of appurtenance.

454. tuminehija- 'pertaining to Tumnessos'
a. TL 44.b.51-55 tuminehija; see no. 452

455. xākbija 'pertaining to Kanduba'
a. TL 44.b.51-55 xākbija; see no. 452

5.4.2 i-stem adjectives

456. aRKkazumahi- 'of Arkazuma'
a. X 22-25 sewayaitē : kumaha : ēti sttalī : ppuwetī :
kūmē : ebehi : xūta-/wataha : xbidēñnaha : seRKkazuma-/ha

'And they made sacrifices belonging to the king of Xbidēñni, and Arkazumā, as much as he engraves on this stele.'

For the transcription see Laroche 1979b:57. Like most Lyc. i-stem neuter plurals, this is a possessive adjective in -ahi-.

457. kumahi- 'of prayer; victim, sacrifice'
a. X 22-25 kumaha; see no. 456

Also attested is kumehedi abl. Laroche [1979b:109] takes this word as a substantivized adjective derived from kuma- 'prayer'.

458. miṃṭahi- 'of the minti'
a. TL 118.3 miṃṭaha; see no. 453.a
b. TL 135.2-3 senetesëti : tubeiti : tramili : se [e ma]r[az]li[ja] miñt[a]la «And the tesëti of the Lycians and the tribunal of the miñti will strike him.»

c. TL 139.3-4 miñtaha; see no. 453.b

459. ttarahi- 'of the town'

a. X 12-14 se/-delinütätë : teteri : sejepewëtlë/-meî : hrmmada : ttaraha «And the town and the neighbors established the fields of the town.»

460. xbidëtnahi- 'of Xbidëtni'

a. X 22-25 xbidëtnaha; see no. 456

461. xñnahi- 'of the grandmother'

a. TL 44.b.57-59 se xTTa : xugaha : sexñnaha : sexntawati azzalëi : ntarijeusehe «And the generations of grandmother and grandfather and for the king of(?) the azzala ntarijeusehe.»

462. xñtawatahi- 'of the king'

a. X 22-25 xñtawataha; see no. 456

463. xugahi- 'of the grandfather'

a. TL 44.b.57-59 xugaha; see no. 461

5.4.3 consonant stems

464. hrmmad- 'field'

a. X 12-14 hrmmada; see no. 459

Laroche [1979b:67] discusses hrmmä, the nominative-accusative singular of this word.
5.4.4 Nouns whose stem class is uncertain

465. ada unit of money

a. X 18-20 seip-/ibiti : uhazata : ada : INOQ : ētī :

\[tlla-/xn'ta arn̆na \] 'And Arn̆na gives him annually 18(?) ada in payment.'

As this word is exceedingly frequent in the inscriptions, and always in the context of paying so many ada, I have here included only one example. It is never spelled adā or adu; therefore the chances that it is a neuter plural rather than an accusative singular common or a-stem neuter seem good.

466. a/erawazija type of monument

a. TL 40.c.7-8 erawazija : ebe[ij]-/a : mepr̃nawaxā 'But I built these monuments.'

b. TL 44.a.21-22 ara-/wazija : pr̃nawate : tum[n]ehiya ['] he built the monuments of Tumnessos.'

c. TL 44.b.38 Inē : arawazija : ñtewē nemu : seqTTā['] the monuments around nema and qTTā['

d. TL 117.1-3 ebei[a] : erawazija : meti : pr̃nawatē : siderija : parmēn-/ah : tideimi 'But Siderija, son of Parmēna, built these monuments.'

e. TL 128.1 'h : arawazija : mejadē : krustti 'Krustti built the monuments.'

467. hruttla ?

a. TL 131.3 ti]betije : sexttadi : tike hruttla : ebei[a]

'Or whoever strikes these hruttla for him..."
468. pruliya?

a. TL 44.b.1 ebei : kbija : pruliya : ētipddāt[ 'For this one the other pruliya on pddāt['

469. tasa 'oath'

a. X 30-32 seijehbijai- / tē : tasa : mere : ebette : teteri : arūn- / as : sejepewetlmmei : arūnāi 'And the town of Arūna and the neighbors of Arūna made him his oaths in these laws.'

b. X p. 117, 1. 1 t]asa arus x[ 'oaths, the citizen x['

Laroche [1979b:73] discusses this word at some length.

470. xruwata religious object of some sort

a. TL 40.d.1 ebei: [xr]uwata : meije : pijete : wat[apr]data 'But Wataprd data gave him these xruwata.'

b. Letōon 271.1-2 214 erb]binajēne ubete xruwata artemi [xer]igah tideimi sejupeneh 'Erbbina son of Xeriga and of Upeni consecrated the xruwata to Artemis.'

c. Letōon 5298 215 ĕtemuxlida k[ ]bijeseh zemuri ertemi xruwata 'Democlides (son) of Kebijesis, the Limyran, (dedicated) the xruwata to Artemis.'

471. xTTāna 'generations'

a. TL 44.b.57-59 xTTāna; see no. 461

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214 This passage is transliterated in Laroche 1979b:78 n. 5.

215 This passage is transliterated in Laroche 1979b:78 n. 7.
5.4.5 pronouns

472. ebe- 'this'
The neuter plural is consistently spelled ebeiia. See nos. 450; 451; 466.a, d; 467; 470.a. Also attested are nom. sg. c. ebette, acc. eβ(eβ(e̞ne), and ntr. nom-acc. sg. ebi; see Laroche 1979b:74, 119.

473. ehbi- third person singular possessive
a. X 30-32 seijehbijaitë (to be analyzed se-ij-ehbijai-aite); see no. 469.a
Also attested are nom. sg. c. ehbi and nom-acc. sg. ntr. ehbijë; see Laroche 1979b:66. The stem is due to metathesis of *eb-hi- from *eb-ehi-. 216

474. kbi- 'other'
a. TL 44.b.1 kbi; see no. 468.a
Also attested is acc. sg. c. kbi.

5.4.6 summary

In Table IX are those forms which seem most likely to be nominative-accusative neuter plurals. As far as can be determined, the neuter plural ending for all types of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns is -a. No i-stem nouns are known to be attested in the neuter plural, so it is impossible to contrast the behavior of nouns and adjectives. The two pronouns which appear to be i-stems retain the stem vowel before the -a (ehbijia, kbi;).
TABLE IX

<table>
<thead>
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NEUTER PLURALS ATTESTED IN LYCIAN

I use Guzmani's transcription except that I use l, m, and t to render his ū, ū, and t respectively. The slash again indicates the end of a line.

For the distribution of these alternants, see Guzmani 1964a:33.

This ending has apparently been transferred from the pronouns to the entire nominal system; cf. Carruba 1959:14, Guzmani 1975a:139.

Tentatively identified by Beuback 1963:544, Carruba 1969c:44.

5.5 LYDIAN

A history of the study of Lydian may be found in A. Heubeck 1969, where a sketch of the grammar is also provided. The standard glossary is R. Gusmani 1964a, which also includes transcriptions of texts and a grammatical sketch. Further texts are transliterated in Gusmani 1975a. Other discussions of the grammar include Carruba 1959, 1969c, and Gusmani 1975a.

The nouns of Lydian fall into three classes, of which the first two correspond to the common and neuter genders of the other Anatolian languages. Their endings are: -∅ sg. c. nom., -N/n₂¹⁸ acc., -L dat., -d₂¹⁹ ntr. nom-acc., -is(?)₂²₀ pl. c. nom. and acc., -(a)N and -n₂²¹ dat. and gen. No nominative-accusative plural is attested to any neuter singular.

The nominative and apparently the accusative of the third class end in -a. Since forms in -aN which could be dative-genitive plurals are attested to two members of the class, it has been suggested that the words are neuter singular.

I use Gusmani’s transcription except that I use L, N, and T to render his λ, ν, and τ respectively. The slash again indicates the end of a line.

For the distribution of these alternants, see Gusmani 1964a:33.

This ending has apparently been transferred from the pronouns to the entire nominal system; cf. Carruba 1959:14, Gusmani 1975a:139.

Tentatively identified by Heubeck 1963:544, Carruba 1969c:44.

The -a words appear to agree frequently with uninflected pronouns and adjectives; thus es anlola astraštal 'this anlola of Astrašt' contrasts both with common singular ešš vānaš kumlilis 'this grave chamber of Kumli' and with neuter singular es(t)-k mrud astraštališ 'this stele of Astrašt'. The proposed common plural nominative-accusatives also appear to agree with endingless forms, e.g. bil šfēnis 'his belongings' but common singular bilis. Possibly Lydian has lost plural adjectival and pronominal endings for some reason. As a result of this phenomenon there are no pronominal forms which might be identified as neuter plural.

The third person anaphoric enclitic in Lydian as in the other Anatolian languages other than Old Hittite uses the singular -ad for both numbers.

The discussion below contains all of the -a nouns. I have translated them as plurals. Numbering of texts is in accordance with Gusmani, 1964a and 1975b.

222 Cf. E. Sturtevant 1925:71; Heubeck 1963:544; and others. Meriggi’s view [1935:94] that they are feminine singulars has been adequately refuted in Carruba 1969c:44 ff.

223 Cf. Heubeck 1969:408 ff. Gusmani [1975a:139 ff.] suggests that forms like astraštal are dative of possession of the possessive adjective (cf. sivraľmis ambimul 'clergy of Artemis') rather than nominative-accusatives agreeing with the nouns. This does not explain the use of endingless es, however.
5.5.1 Nouns

475. anlola 'gravestone?'

a. 54.1-2 ❋ anlola atrastal šakardal akad qis fisqānt
"These (are) the gravestones(?) of Atraital, (son) of Sakarda, and whoever destroys them..."

It is interesting that anlola appears to be resumed by the neuter enclitic -ad.

b. A I 2.1-2 ❋ sadmēš osk anlola [ ] ar[tim]ul 'This inscription and these gravestones(?) [ ] of Artemis...'

For the meaning see Carruba 1969c:46. A variant spelling appears in the plural dative-genitive anlolaN, perhaps indicating that anlola has undergone assimilation.

476. fašisa ?

a. 10.21 fašisa malän nak kim ās '?'

This text appears to be a poem, and remains uninterpreted.

There is no other attestation of fašisa.

477. fella ?

a. 10.6 fellakin tamN trfāN '?'

This is the only attestation of fella. It may be a noun in -a, but it is also possible that fellakin should be analyzed fella(N)-k-in, i.e. accusative singular common fellaN plus sentence particles.

478. labta some part of the grave site

a. 42.6 ❋ labta qis fēn[slībid 'And these labta, he who does harm to (them) [ '}

Translation based on Meriggi 1935:94.
For this translation to be correct, the dative enclitic pronoun -L must have been omitted after qis. ūnslibib regularly governs the dative.225 No other form of labta is attested.

479. laqrisa some part of the grave site

a. 1.1-2 est mrud eššk [vānaš] laqrisak qelak kudkit ist esL vān[aL] bītarvod akad manelid kumülīd silukālīd

'This stele and this grave chamber and laqrisa and the ground so far as it belongs226 to this grave chamber, it (is) Mane's, (son) of Kumli, (son) of Siluka.'

b. 2.3 laqrisakin qid ētošrā 'And the laqrisa which/since (they are?) ētošrā...`

If qid is neuter singular 'which' and not the conjunction 'since', we have a second case of a neuter agreeing with a noun in -a (see no. 475.a).

c. 7.1-2 ešš vānaš es[k] laqrisa esk qelad bavafunidN

'This grave chamber [and] these laqrisa and this ground, I make (them) holy(?).'

d. 8.1-3 ešš vānaš esk mrud es laqrisk kudkit esL [vā]naL bītarvod akal'd 'This grave chamber and this stele and these laqrisa, so far as it belongs to this grave chamber, it [`
The loss of a in laqrisk for laqrisa-k is paralleled in several other words discussed by Gusmani [1964a:31].

e. 9.2-5 ešš vānaš kumlil-/is atelis šam-/lis laqris-/ak 'This grave chamber (is) Kumlī's, (son) of Ate, (son) of Šam[ ], and also the laqrisa.'

A possible dative-genitive plural laqrisaN is also attested.

480. marivda name of a god (or group of gods?)
a. 4.3-5 fakmL šantaš kufadk marivdak šnsLib[id 'And Šanta and Kufad and Marivda will punish him.'

As a name, marivda ought not to be neuter and is perhaps best interpreted as marivda(š)-k nom. sg. c. Similar omission of š is shown in artimu for artimu(š)-k. 227

481. mLola 'part, side'
a. 5.1-3 ešš vānaš atalis tivdalis tarvTašis akin kud kalTalres ak tešaštid sivšmlid mLola šrfaštid mLalid mLola 'This grave chamber (is) Ata's, (son) of Tivda, of TarvTa. And where you look at it(?), to the right side of Sivšām (and) the left side of MšLa...'

Carruba [1959:20] takes mLola as a noun even though it must perforce agree with neuter singulars. The alternative is to take it as an adverb 'partly' or the like and to assume that tešaštid, šrfaštid are nouns or else adjectives agreeing with some unspecified noun. 228

See Gusmani 1964a:35.

Cf. Gusmani 1964a:166.
482. nivišva?

a. 44.16-17 qis fašaknakil bukt alēl[ō] eDeltin nivišva civs f[ Who fašaknakī'd or alēl[o]'d, ]to/for this one the god [ ] nivišva'

This word may be the accusative object of the missing verb of which civs is the subject.

483. Torša?

a. A 1 4.3 fakad Torša istrn[- ']

Torša could be the object of the verb. For a discussion of the syntax and of a possible etymology for Torša see Gusmani 1972:162.

5.5.2 summary

Of the Lydian words ending in -a, the following seem the most likely to be nominative-accusative neuter plurals: anlola, labta, lagrisa, nivišva. Since the neuter plural slot is open, while the common singular and plural and neuter singular slots are all more or less well filled, and since the ending -a agrees with the most widely attested neuter plural ending in the other Anatolian languages, it is reasonable to assume that these -a words should fill that empty slot. The two possible instances of agreement with neuter singulars enhance the likelihood that these words are neuters, and the two apparent dative plurals antolaN and lagrisaN enhance the likelihood that they are plurals.

If not arguing against the identification of these forms
as neuter plural, at least failing to confirm it is the fact that the -a words act only as nominatives in those sentences which are reasonably well understood. If they acted also as accusatives we would have a strong argument in favor of their being neuter. Further, no known neuter attested in the singular is also attested with the -a ending. This, like the lack of accusatives in -a, could well be due to the nature of the data, but taken together these two facts prevent us from securely identifying the -a words as neuter plurals. They could as easily be collectives. Barring further evidence, then, the identification of these forms as neuter plurals can only be speculative.
6.1 REVIEW OF MATERIAL

Having surveyed the nominative-accusative neuter plurals of the six Anatolian languages, we may now turn to the reconstruction of the PA nominative-accusative neuter plural. Table X presents an overview of the formations found at each historical level of Hittite, with one example of each type attested at a given level being listed. The MH* column is omitted because the neuter plurals attested at that period all belong to indeterminable stem classes. The various possessive personal pronouns are indicated by -et/it. Detailed summary charts for each level can be found at the ends of Chapters 2 through 4.

It is readily apparent that large gaps are left in the Old Hittite column. While Middle Hittite is better represented, it is in the Late Hittite period alone that a number of forms first appear. Some of the gaps in Old and Middle Hittite must be accidental, i.e. those where whole stem classes such as the a- and l-stems, which we know existed, are not represented. On the other hand, the failure of any one ending type to appear in Old Hittite can be real; for
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**SUMMARY OF HITTITE NEUTER PLURALS**
instance the i-plural could be absent from Old and Middle Hittite because it had not yet been created. The difficulty lies in determining which gaps are accidental and which real. Comparative data from the other Anatolian languages can aid in judging which Hittite formations are most likely to be old and which innovative. Table XI sets samples of all the neuter plural formations of Hittite beside those of Palaic and the Luwian languages. Lydian is omitted because the status of its nouns ending in -ā is not certain. Detailed tables for each language can be found in Chapter 5.

We will turn now to the prehistory of the Anatolian neuter nominative-accusative plural, and to a comparison of Proto-Anatolian forms with those of the other Indo-European branches.229 These are generally taken to include endings *-ī, -ū for i- and u-stems respectively (e.g. RV trī, mādhū, Av. trī, Lat. trī-gintā, OCS trī), as well as *-ia, -ua in western Indo-European (e.g. Lat. tria, cornua, Umb. triia, berva, OIr. mure, Go. prija); an ending *-ā among thematic stems (e.g. RV yugā, Av. x̣a-ra, Gk. zugā, Lat. iuga, Osc. prūftū, OIr. dliged, OCS iga, OPrus. slayo, Go. waurda); the same ending among consonant stems outside of Indo-Iranian (e.g. Gk. onomata, Lat. nōmina, Osc. uaso, OIr. anmann, OCS imena, Go. namna); an ending -i in Indo-Iranian (e.g. RV catvāri, Clas. Skt. bharanti, Av. afśānī); and finally a consonant-stem type with no ending and with lengthened grade ——

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<td>Pronouns</td>
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### SUMMARY OF ANATOLIAN NEUTER PLURALS

- The table continues with the continuation of Table XI, providing a comparison of various forms across different languages.
- The data includes stems, class indicators, and corresponding forms in Hit., Pal., CL, HL, and Lyc.
- Pronouns are differentiated with forms such as -e/-at, -e, -ata, apaya, ebeija, and others.
- The summary highlights the variability and complexity in the representation of neuter plurals across the mentioned languages.

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230. This word has been reinterpreted as a singular.
231. Like Ch. Hit., these have been reinterpreted as a singular.
232. While past forms may be partial, there is no assurance that such is the case, and Prof. Sav 1970:36 prefers to analyze it as singular with assimilation of the n before the a. The content is ambiguous.
of the stem-final syllable (e.g. RV námā, Av. dāman, Gk. hūdōr, Lat. quattuor, Go. namo). Details of these formations and of their connection with the Anatolian forms will be taken up in the body of this chapter.

6.2 A-STEMS

Among the Anatolian a-stems not only all the Hittite evidence but also all the evidence of the other languages speaks for PA *-a. The lack of forms in Old and Middle Hittite must be accidental, since a-stem neuters existed (cf. OH peda(n)-smet KBo XVII 11 I 4) but the class is relatively small and could easily escape being recorded in the plural. The ending *-a has from the earliest days of Hittitology been equated with the -ā of the IE thematic neuter plural, i.e., it is assumed to have arisen from PIE *-e-x. C. Watkins [1975b:358-78] argues that the PA form still retained the laryngeal, which he says is attested in the single Palaic neuter plural in -aga. His arguments are inconclusive, however; see no. 317. As no other Anatolian language offers any evidence that laryngeals were re-

230 This word has been reinterpreted as a singular.

231 Like Gk. hūdōr, this has been reinterpreted as a singular.

232 While peda-smet could be plural, there is no assurance that such is the case, and E. Neu 1970:36 prefers to analyze it as singular with assimilation of the n before the e. The context is ambiguous.

tained in final position after vowels, the PA thematic neuter plural may therefore best be reconstructed without the laryngeal. As none of the languages under discussion have thematic plurals written -Ca-a, there is also no orthographic evidence in favor of a long final -ā in Proto-Anatolian. In fact, we have no orthographic evidence that any vowel plus final laryngeal sequence resulted in a PA final long vowel.

### 6.3 I- AND U-STEM NOUNS

The Anatolian i-stems may be discussed in concert with the u-stems because the two generally inflect in a parallel manner, including the use of different paradigms for nouns and adjectives. The adjectives follow a proterokinetic pattern inherited from Indo-European and specialized within Anatolian to the adjectives. It is characterized by full-grade of the stem suffix in the genitive and dative, as seen for instance in Skt. *agnīs, agnīm, agnāye, agnēs* 'fire', *sūnūs, sūnūm, sūnāye* 'son', Gk. *pēkhūs, pēkheos* 'fore-arm'.

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234 For instance, Hittite h-stem verb imperatives with final -h can be explained by analogy to stems with final consonant other than h, where the stem-final consonant is regularly retained in absolute final position.

235 Watkins 1975b:360 mentions a possible Palaic neuter plural *harkīnasā*, but this form is not at all securely identified; cf. no. 323.

236 I follow the terminology of H. Eichner 1973:91 with regard to ablaut classes.
the stem suffix throughout and correspond to the IE acrostatic type: Skt. ávis, ávyas, Gk. ὀϊς, ὀίος 'sheep', although a subset of i-stem nouns follow the hysterokinetic pattern of extended grade in the nominative, full grade in the accusative, and zero grade elsewhere, e.g. zahhais, zahhain, zahhiyas, ntr. hastai (also spelled hastai, hastae, hastae), hastiyas. As part of this general paradigm distinction, the Hittite nouns and adjectives can have different endings in the neuter plural.

There are three different i- and u-stem nominative-accusative plural noun formations. In Middle and Late Hittite, forms with final short vowels such as hūwāsi, genu are found, identical in shape to their singulars. This is true also of the hastai type. Some of these nouns have the marker -ta added to the -i or -u; this marker appears to be of foreign origin (see no. 36).

The second formation ends in -a. The noun ending -uwa occurs in Late Hittite but no i-stem ending -iya is attested parallel to it. Here comparative evidence is of particular interest, since Luwian in contrast to Hittite has only -iya as the i-stem ending (only HL data are available, as no neuter i-stem nouns have thus far been securely identified

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237 Hittite appears to have the o-grade (sallayas, åssawas), while Greek and Sanskrit have the e-grade.

238 Cf. F.B.J. Kuiper, 1942:58-68. Root accent is reconstructed throughout for the acrostatics but accent on the full grade suffix for the protokinetcs (cf. J. Schindler 1975:5 ff.). Both Greek and Sanskrit have undergone shifts in the placement of the accent.
in the plural in Cuneiform Luwian or Lycian; Palaic also is lacking in evidence) and only -uwa as the u-stem ending (in Cuneiform Luwian; in none of the other languages is a u-stem noun attested in the plural). There is, then, a gap in the Hittite system where forms in -iya would be expected:

Hittite -u, -uwa -i, ----
Luwian -uwa -iya

The third type is found only in Hittite, to wit assû, (no. 5) spelled with final plene vowel in Old and Middle Hittite. assû and hastai will be discussed below in section 5 in connection with the plural formations of consonant stems.

Bearing in mind the poor state of the texts of Palaic and the Luwian languages, we cannot say whether these once had plurals in -i, -u, or whether they continued to employ such plurals and we are simply unable to recognize them, should they happen to be attested in the few texts preserved for us. Palaic wasû and ãnnî, if indeed neuter plural, could represent such forms.

Forms in *-i-x and *-u-x are reconstructed for PIE,

Watkins [1981 forthcoming] cites Palaic ãnnî wasûha as possible neuter plurals, but there is in fact no evidence as to their number; cf. no. 319.

This has been identified as a form characteristic of Old and Middle Hittite by H. Hoffner [1976:35], and discussed at length by C. Watkins in a paper given before the Linguistic Society of America in 1978 (since expanded; see 1981 forthcoming).
based on the comparison of neuter plurals such as Skt. स्विति ‘bright’, वासु ‘goods’ with Lat. tri- of triginta ‘thirty’, Gk. τρία ‘three’ and so forth. PA protoforms of the shape *-i, *-u derived from these are the most obvious source for Hittite plural -i, -u. The two Palaic forms are doubtful enough not to support reconstruction of PA *-l, *-n.

Rather, as in the case of the thematic plural, we must reckon with no evidence as to the length of the final vowels.

There is no comparative evidence to justify reconstructing *-iya and *-uwa for PIE. These endings must be the result either of a single PA innovation, or of separate parallel developments in the Hittite and Luwian branches. In either case the innovation is based on analogy to the nt-stems where the ending -a is added to the stem of the word to form the plural: the pattern singular hūman(t), plural hūmanta forms the basis from which the plural genuuwa can be created to singular genu, i.e., a pattern of singular identical to the underlying stem (with, in the case of hūman, a surface phonotactic rule eliminating the final consonant of the cluster -nt) and the plural identical to the stem plus -a.

241 Gk. τρία can come by regular sound change from *-iχ (H. Rix 1976:75).

242 The parentheses indicate a part of the underlying stem which is not present on the surface. In this instance the stem is hūmant- and the surface form hūman. In the same way the lengthened-grade nominative singular of Skt. rājā to stem rājan- can be indicated by -ā(n).
Although the innovated forms are attested in two branches of Anatolian we are not compelled to posit a single PA innovation. Parallel innovations have occurred elsewhere, for instance in Western Indo-European, where we find Lat. *trea*, Go. *þrīja*, OIr. *tré* `three`, implying a similar replacement of *-ī* by *-i̯a*.

In Anatolian the analogy to the consonant stems is so straightforward that there would be no difficulty in taking the Hittite and Luwian forms as separate developments. For Luwian we could simply say that to the best of our knowledge all *-i* and *-u* neuter plurals were replaced by *-i̯a* and *-u̯a*.

The case for a Hittite innovation is complicated by the fact that no form in *-i̯a* is ever attested, as opposed to the forms in *-u̯a*. Since the i-stems are considerably more numerous than the u-stems it is unlikely that forms in *-i̯a* have simply escaped attestation; rather, the type did not exist. It has been suggested that *-i̯a* as a nominative-accusative plural ending would have been homophonous with the dative-locative singular (originally the directive) in *-i̯a* and therefore avoided. Directives in *-u̯a* also existed in Old Hittite, but later presumably were rare enough not to cause confusion with the neuter plural, while *-i̯a* became the regular i-stem dative ending. If neuter plural *-i̯a*, *-u̯a* were PA creations, they should have arisen at a time

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when they would not have been homonymous with the directives; there could then have been a sound change causing homophony, followed by loss of neuter plural \( -iwa \) within Hittite in favor of directive \( -iya \). The fact that \( -uwa \) is retained as a plural ending would imply that the directive and the neuter plural became homophonous and \( -iya \) was lost after \( -uwa \) had gone out of use as a directive, thereby allowing an unambiguous neuter \( -uwa \) nominative-accusative to remain. Since a directive \( -uwa \) is still used in Old Hittite, this implies that the sound change should have occurred between Old and Middle Hittite, yet there is no apparent distinction between the \(-a\) of the OH directives \( -iya \), \( -uwa \) and the \(-a\) of the MH and LH neuter plurals. However, if \(-a\) was first extended to the nominative-accusative plurals as a purely Hittite innovation after the directive had gone out of use with the u-stems, homophony of the i-stem dative with the new plural could explain why creation of neuter plural \( -iya \) was blocked while \( -uwa \) was permitted.

A phonological explanation for the absence of neuter plurals in \( -iya \) may also be offered, to wit a change whereby \( *-iya \) merged with \(-i\). There is some evidence for this sort of change when \( iya \) is not in absolute final position. OH hantezziva-, which behaves entirely like an a-stem, has LH forms such as hantezzis and behaves in part like an i-stem. Its only attested nominative-accusative neuter plural (LH in date) ends in \(-i\), not \( -iya \) (see nos. 180, 181). We may pro-
pose a Pre-Hittite change whereby *-iya changed to -i, as it changed in medial position after the Old Hittite period. How then is the directive -iya to be accounted for? This case seems to have given a long final vowel in directional adverbs such as Gk. ánō `upwards`, kató `downwards`, Lat. intrō `inwards`, citrō `hither`, etc. The neuter plural *-iya with short final vowel borrowed from consonant-stem -Ca (from *-Cx) could thus have contrasted with the directive. Let us assume that only *-iya contracted to -i in final position and that only afterwards was the inherited distribution of vowel length replaced by a system dependent on accent placement (see section 5 below). The endings of the acrostatic nouns would presumably not have been accented, so it is not surprising that neither the neuter plural nor the directive are written plene.

A change of *iye to i similar to that of *-iya may be expected, since its components are so close phonetically, and in fact we do find OH Ī medially for expected iye in verbs such as karpīzzi. The resulting paradigms where Ī from *īyo alternated with Ī from *iye were later restored to an Ī/iye alternation based on the verbs in ska/ske. We have proposed two Pre-Hittite sound changes, the

246 Cf. E. Laroche 1970:22-48; C. Brixhe 1979:65 ff. The source of the final long vowel is not known. If it arose from *-oX, presumably the PA outcome would have been *-a and the following discussion inapplicable. Sources which could have given a PA outcome different from that of *-VX are a disyllabic sequence such as *-o-o or a lengthened-grade *-ō.

change of *iye to i and the change of final *-iyā to -i. Attested sequences of iye and final -iya must have other origins, whether phonological (*-iyā versus *-iyā), analogical (verbs with iya/iye), or creation later through a change of e to a, and so forth. The change of iya to i in medial position differs from the other changes not only in occurring after Old Hittite but in not being complete. Forms like nominative singular hantezziyas, appezziyas continue to occur in Late Hittite even though a change of iya to i giving hantezzis, IGI-zi, if carried through the whole paradigm, should lead to full i-stem inflection and leave no basis for analogical restoration of iya-inflection. We find in Late Hittite similar alternations such as dapid- and dapiant- (no. 304), which may reflect the same stem, but with contraction of iya and loss of n in dapid-. Here may be compared the parallel alternation of sanhhuwant-, sanhunt-, and sanhut- (no. 235). Understanding of these three proposed changes is further complicated by other possible conditioning factors such as the place of the accent or vowel harmony. Further study of OH spelling conventions and especially more work on the placement of the accent is needed. It would also be most helpful if we had a better knowledge of Palaic, since finding -iya and -uwa plurals in Palaic would imply a Common Anatolian origin for these endings, while lack of such forms in Palaic would make separate development in Hittite and Luwian more likely.
In Old Hittite no u-stem adjectives are attested in the plural, but i-stem adjectives are attested and show two endings, -ava (spelled <-Ca-e-a>), and -a. To these may be added the Middle and Late Hittite ending -i, and the Late Hittite ending -ai/ae attested in two instances. For the u-stems Middle and Late Hittite have -awa and -u. Of these five endings, -i and -u may be ascribed to the same proto-forms as noun plural -i and -u. The ending -a of the i-stems has long been explained as a contracted version of *-ava (cf. genitive sallas from *sall-ay-as) and the ending -ava as analogically restored on the basis of parallel u-stem forms in -awa. This restoration is pre-Hittite since -ava is found already in Old Hittite.

The *-ava, -awa endings arose in Pre-Hittite through an analogy based on the common gender plural. Here, at least in the nominative, PIE appears to have had the full rather than the zero grade of the suffix; compare Skt. agnayas, vásavas, Gk. treis, pékhees from *-eyes and *-ewes, and Hit. sallaes, assawes. The new neuter endings were created by an analogy whereby the neuter singular was perceived to equal the common singular minus the endings; ergo a plural was created equal to the common plural minus the endings, and this new form was then marked with the neuter plural.

248 Cf. F. Sommer 1932:357.
I-PREHISTORY: i- and u-stem adjectives!

Both genders now have zero grade suffix in the nominative and accusative singular and full grade in the plural. The new neuter plurals are marked in two respects, first as adjectives contrasting with nouns, and second as plurals contrasting with singulars. The -a has presumably been adopted from the nt-stems.

The two forms dankuwai and parkuwae are found in Late Hittite. W. Cowgill (personal communication) suggests that they are relics of the adjective neuter plural in *-ai, *-au assumed to underlie -ava, -awa. However, since the development of these new forms is Pre-Hittite (-aya is already attested in Old Hittite), and since no other such -ai plurals are attested at any stage of Hittite, one might rather explain them as late and sporadic replacements for the expected plurals in -i/a/aya which on the one hand have full grade of the stem suffix with the common plural (and the neuter -a/aya formations) and on the other are endingless like so many other neuter plurals.

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250 P. Brosman 1964:346-48 suggests a remodelling of the expected parkui/parkuwaya/parkuwa types to avoid confusion with u-stem forms such as those from parku-. In fact no confusion is possible since the only plurals to parku- are parku and (unattested) parkawa. Neither is homonymous with any of the i-stem forms.
Turning to the other Anatolian languages, we find that they do not appear to share the Hittite paradigmatic distinction between adjectives and nouns. In Palaic the relevant oblique forms are not well attested, and we have only nominative and accusative forms of the u-stem adjective (*suwarus, wāsun, neuter wasu), which could belong to either proterokinetic or acrostatic inflection. O. Carruba [1970: 78] does cite a possible common accusative plural wāsumas, which, if correctly identified, would show zero grade of the suffix in contrast to Hittite ḫassamus.

In Hieroglyphic Luwian we find the zero grade throughout the adjective paradigm, which in the common gender is identical to that of the nouns. In the neuter nominative-accusative, however, we find forms in which a replaces the stem vowel, thus singular amanza, plural ama (stem ami-), in contrast to the noun, where at least in the plural the stem vowel remains, as in plural haliya. The form of the singular is uncertain, since REGIO-za (the only certainly i-stem neuter singular noun of which I am aware) could stand for either REGIO-niyanza or REGIO-ninza with the stem vowel, or for REGIO-nanza formed like the adjective. At any rate, there is no systematic distinction in the stem grade between noun and adjective. The situation is similar in Cuneiform Luwian, where the stem vowel is retained in the noun neuter nominative-accusative (sg. kattaluzzisa) but replaced by a in the adjectives (sg. kisamman, pl. kisamma). Otherwise CL noun and adjective paradigms do not differ. The Lycian

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evidence is so fragmentary and so poorly understood that one can only say that the i-stem adjective neuter plural ends in -a (e.g. ttaraha). Less securely, the third person singular possessive ehbi- (neuter plural ehbija) may have a "nasalized" vowel in the singular ehbija, perhaps implying that like the CL and HL i-stem adjectives those of Lycian had a nasal in the singular.

At some point in the prehistory of Hittite the inherited IE acrostatic paradigm was limited to the nouns and the proterokinetic to the adjectives, but at what stage cannot be determined. If the change occurred in Common Anatolian, then Palaic and Luwian inherited the distinction and later remodelled their adjectives to match the nouns. If the specialization occurred only in the Hittite branch, then Palaic and Luwian each presumably eliminated quantitative ablaut in favor of the non-ablauting pattern simultaneously in nouns and adjectives.

The Luwian adjective plural -a might conceivably represent a remnant of proterokinetic inflection, if *aya in Luwian sometimes gave as in Hittite; thus the CL verb aya- 'make' has as its third singular preterite ata for expected *ayata, and as its present ati for expected *ayati. The plural ending -a could therefore be derived from *-aya like the -a of Hittite suppa. However, there is no clear reason why the original singular *-i should have been replaced by  

251 E. Laroche 1959:134; the environment for this change is unclear.
*-ayan giving -an(za), and certainly the -a ending alone does not suffice to prove the presence of proterokinetic inflection in Luwian.

A better source for -an(za) and -a is perhaps a-stem inflection. Many of the derived i-stem adjectives belong to one of three classes: the participles in -mmi- (CL kisamma, HL REL-zamaya); the possessives in -assi- (CL pirwasa, Lyc. ttaraha); adjectives of quality in -alli- (CL harpanalla). Of these, the participles have long been taken as remodelled from the PIE participles in *-m(e)no- or *-mo-. Etymologies for the other two suffixes are not as well established, but the -alli- suffix at least may be compared to Hit. -(a)lla- (cf. attalla- 'paternal' to atta- 'father'). Perhaps when Luwian remade these old o-stems to i-stems the nominative-accusative plural and singular remained unchanged. This would have had the advantage of leaving the neuters with clearly differentiated singulars and plurals. The a-stem endings could then have spread to the etymologically i-stem adjectives, a spread possibly facilitated by the ambiguity of i-stem neuter plurals in -a from *-aya, if such ever existed.

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The last formation to be discussed in connection with the Luwian i-stem adjective is the HL ending -aya as in sanawaya to stem sanawi-. -aya is an optional variant of the -a plural; thus we find both sanawaya and sanawa. Due to lack of data we do not know if -ya was added to all types of adjectives. The one attested neuter plural consonant-stem adjective ends in -a, while the only attested neuter plural a-stem adjectives are iya-stems, all ending in -iya. Conceivably they have lost -ya through haplology from *-iyaya.

The origin of this -ya is not clear, but the following suggestions may be offered. -ya is used by HL pronouns, thus apaya, zaya, while the neuter plural relative has the form REL-ya. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies [1975:177-78] suggest that this REL-ya may be the locus from which -ya spread to the other pronouns. The relative is an i-stem (REL-is, REL-in), as in the rest of Anatolian, and adoption of the i-stem noun ending -iya would result in *kwiya or *hwiva (cf. the parallel Latin innovation quia). The a-stem pronouns za- and apa- could then have adopted -ya to create clearly marked plural forms replacing old *za, *apa, which were identical with their singulars (see section 8 below).

If this derivation of zaya, apaya is correct, then per-

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255 See Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1975:34 for the phonological shape of REL-ya.
haps it can be further extended to the adjective ending -v', via adoption by the adjectives of the pronominal ending as an optional alternant to -a, based on early alternation of -a and -v' in the pronouns. Similar influence of pronouns on nouns and adjectives can perhaps be seen in Lydian and Palaic where neuter nominative-accusative singulars seem to have adopted the pronominal -t ending (see Chapter 5, sections 1 and 5). Firmer conclusions on this matter must await further study of Hieroglyphic Luwian.

6.5 CONSONANT STEMS: THE PLENE PLURAL

If we turn now to the Hittite consonant stems (t-, nt-, n-, l-, r-, and r/n-stems; no s-stems or other consonant stems are securely attested in the neuter plural) we find five ways of forming the neuter nominative-accusative plural. Two endings are employed, -a and -i, and two endingless formations, one involving plene spelling of the last syllable of the word, and the other identical to the singular except for the optional presence of HI.A or MEŠ. Finally, plene is combined with an ending twice in Late Hittite. For one of these, kallara (no. 262), a number of spelling errors make any analysis difficult, leaving only hüppari HI.A (no. 258) as a doubly marked plural. It may be a nonce form, or it may represent a new LH formation. Given the inconsistent use of plene in Late Hittite, however, the former is more likely to be correct.
The plene plural is well attested in Hit. stem classes where the a-plural is infrequent, specifically the r- and r/n-stems. No secure examples of the plene plural are attested among the l- and n-stems. Outside of Hittite the plene plural is perhaps to be recognized in Pal. sawidar and CL halāl, adduwāl; however, all three are of doubtful validity. Only halāl ever agrees with another neuter plural, possibly as the result of scribal error, while alternative analyses of sawidar as nominative singular common gender (see no. 321) and of the CL forms as neuter singulars (see nos. 335, 392, 393) are readily available and perhaps more convincing than analysis as neuter plurals. Discussion of the plene plural must therefore rest solely upon the Hittite material.

Within Hittite the plene plural furnishes all the r- and r/n-stem nominative-accusative neuter plurals in Old Hittite, and all but a few in Middle Hittite. This contrasts with Late Hittite where only a small number of r- and r/n-stems employ the plene plural; and those are the same lexical items for which plene plurals are attested in Old and Middle Hittite. Use of the plene plural thus seems to be lexically determined, and limited to a relatively small set of words, to wit r-stem tahatumār, r/n-stems harsār, huidār, uddār, widār, and possibly karawār (if S1H1.A-ar is correctly so read; see no. 267). Although this is a small class, it includes the single most frequent neuter plural, uddār, always formed with the plene plural and occurring
more often than the rest of the r/n-stem plurals put together. Therefore, while the plene plural was of limited lexical distribution, it clearly was in constant use throughout the history of Hittite.

Scholars beginning with B. Hrozný [1917:65] have identified the plene plural with the PIE lengthened-grade nominative-accusative neuter plural seen for example in Skt. áhā,256 Av. aiiārō 'days', Gk. hūdor 'water', Lat. quattuor 'four', and established by J. Schmidt [1889:119 ff.] as a singular collective in origin. However, plene spelling cannot be equated with PIE long vowels, since genitive plural *-ōm gives non-plene Hit. -an as in OH utniandan KBo III 22 Vs. 25, and the lengthened-grade nominative singular common *-ō(n) gives non-plene -a in hāras MH KUB XVII 10 I 27 (if this is formed like Skt. rāja 'king'),257 while plene is used in words like e-eš-zi (Skt. āsti, Gk. ēsti). Plene spelling instead can be correlated with the PIE accent. OH tēkan, tagnā follows the IE accent pattern shown by Skt. ásrk, asnās 'blood', while ēpmi, OH appāntēs matches the pattern of Skt. ādmi, adānt- 'eat'. This implies for the r- and r/n-stems a singular with pre-suffixal accent, e.g. wētar, but a plural with final accent, thus widār.258

As widār is the one plene plural with direct cognates,

257 H. Kronasser 1956:122.
most discussion of the plene formation centers around it. J. Schindler [1975:4 ff.] has gone into the question at some length, setting up the following PIE paradigms for the word:

- sg. nom-acc. *wódr-
- col./pl. nom-acc. *wedór-
- oblique *wédn-
- oblique *udn-

He derives the Hittite nominative-accusatives of both numbers directly from the PIE protoforms, and assumes that the singular oblique is remodelled to the proterokinetic pattern, giving *wedén-, Hit. weten-. This later spreads to the oblique stem of the plural.

I find several problems here. First, Schindler does not allow for the correlation of accent with plene. His collective/plural protoform would require accent shift to the final syllable, not an impossible change to motivate given an oblique *wedén-, although the accent of *wódr would be a countervailing force. The second problem, that <uí-> is assumed to stand for we-, is more substantial. There are four OH attestations of this word outside of the nominative-accusative singular: <uí-ta-ar>, <uí-da-ar> are attested three times (see no. 21) and <uí-da-an-ta> once (KBo XX 22. 5). Since i and e are distinguished fairly regularly in Old Hittite, a spelling <uí-> would be expected at least once or twice, especially in KBo VIII 74 where the first singular present of hi-verbs is four times spelled with <hé> rather than <hi>. In fact, the <uí-> spellings are limited to Middle and Late Hittite.259

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259 Even there they are not very frequent. Of the thirteen instances of the nominative-accusative plural which I
Among the IE cognates of *widār* we find no good evidence for root e-grade. Zero grade appears in Gk. ἥδωρ, ἥδατος, and Skt. *udā, udnās*. O-grade appears in Hit. ṭāṭar, Co. *wato*, Li. *vanduo*, OCS *voda*. E-grade appears only in Arm. *get* ‘river’, which need not be derived from the r/n-stem at all. A. Meillet [1936:74] sees it rather as an s-stem *wedes*—to which Skt. *ūt-s-aḥ* and Gk. ῥυδες—may provide more direct cognates. In the same way forms such as OCS *vēḍro* ‘bucket’, OEng. *wēt* ‘wet’ are derivatives and do not offer direct information as to the original vocalism of the base noun. "Phrygian" *bedu* ‘water’ is not at all well established.

Since there is no good evidence for e-grade and since *<ū-i->* need not spell *we-* in the first place, it seems more reasonable to follow G. Hart [1980:13 n. 29] and view *ūi-* as the functional zero grade replacing inherited *uw-* for some as yet undiscovered reason. The same alternation of root

have found, only two (both LH) are spelled with *<e>*; cf. no. 278.

Nothing in the other Anatolian languages contradicts this view. Pal. *watana* has been tentatively proposed as the dative singular to *watār-* (cf. O. Carruba 1970:79). If this identification is correct, the dative could have adopted the vocalism of the nominative-accusative singular, thereby eliminating an abnormal ablaut pattern. CL *widanza* is of uncertain analysis. E. Laroche [1959:111] calls it common accusative plural to root noun *wid-* (attested in Hit. *widi, widaz* ‘water’). C. Watkins [1975b:373-74] calls it the possessive adjective ‘watery’, i.e. the vṛddhi derivative *wēd-o-* (which presumably underlies Eng. *wet*), with *<e>* > *i* in CL, for, as he points out, *<e>* gives *a*, so that *widanza* cannot belong to *wed-*. Alternatively, the form could be neuter singular *widan-za* with remodelling of the heteroclite into an n-stem and the same zero grade as
o-grade in the nominative-accusative singular but zero grade in the plural is found in Hit. singular sakkar, while the old collective is represented by Gk. skōr 'dung'. Proto-forms for these two stems would be singular *sōkʷr giving sakkar (I know of no OH spellings but would expect sākkar; we find only LH ṣa-ak-ka-ar KUB XVII 28 I 4), collective *skōr giving skōr; singular *wōdr giving wātar, collective *udōr giving hūdōr, widār. Both words show the usual Greek shift to recessive accent in neuters. The oblique in Hit-tite could come from a protoform *udēn-, the place of accent perhaps shown by LH ū-i-te-e-ni. However, such forms have not yet been found in Old Hittite, where use of the plene is more reliable.

Since a good case can be made for widār having had final accent, we may make the same assumption for harsār, uddār, etc., despite the lack of immediate cognates. Taking this analysis a step further, we may suggest that if only ac-cented *-ōr gives plene in Hittite, then lengthened-grade plurals which had pre-suffixal accent ought to be spelled without plene in Hittite; thus unmarked plurals such as minumar Hitt. could also have originally been lengthened-grade plurals. It may be noted that all of the unmarked plurals are derived nouns in -war/n-, -atar/n-, etc., for which pre-suffixal accent may have been the rule. Unfortunately I have been able to find only two such OH nouns spelled with plene, nominative-accusative singular haratar, papratar, for...
which accent on the final syllable would in any case not be expected if they were proterokinetic; cf. *wōdr. Since no oblique which I have found has plene spelling, the place of the accent in such derived neuters cannot be determined. It seems at least as reasonable to assume that the plurals widār and uppessar originated from the same formation but with differing accent placement as to assume that uppessar and the other derived nouns never had a plural differentiated from the singular.

In his discussion of the r/n-stem neuter plurals, Schindler [1975:9] includes a second lengthened-grade type formed with *-₅-, for which his prime example is hasduēr. In only one text is this word certainly plural, LH** VBoT 24 III 14 ff. (no. 158), always in the spelling ha-aš-du-ir. The only occurrences of a spelling ha-aš-du-e-ir of which I am aware are LH KUB XVII 28 IV 44 where it agrees with singular kuit, and LH KUB XXIX 14 I 7 where it is ambiguous, but conjoined to other nouns in the singular. If hasduēr is correctly derived from an original lengthened-grade collective wer/n-stem, 261 (and note that the meaning 'brushwood' fits well with origin as a collective), it has apparently undergone a shift to both singular and plural use in contrast to the strictly plural use of other old r/n-stem collectives like widār. Note also that the plene spelling of hasduēr may be of different nature from that of widār, in

that \(<e>\) serves to disambiguate the vowel color of \(<ir>\) and can be omitted, while the plene \(<a>\) of widär, uddär is always present. However, as neither of these points necessarily contradicts Schindler’s derivation, it may be provisionally adopted unless counter-evidence comes to light.

A number of other Hittite forms may derive from the plural in \(*-\_o\_\). These include several participial forms (OH wetan, MH hādan, LH** parsivyan, LH zeyan) which can well be derived from formations in \(*-\_on(t)\). It may be noted that MH hādan is replaced by LH** hadānda (see no. 56). It is not surprising that Late Hittite, which several times replaces older plural -i and -u by the marked endings -aya, -uwa, -awa, should do the same with the nt-stem ending. A possible trace of this formation is the rule that the neuter singular of the participle is normally used with es- for neuter nouns of both numbers (Friedrich 1960:118).

Another nominative-accusative plural possibly to be ascribed to the lengthened-grade formation is n-stem nominative-accusative sarāma (no. 16). That this word is indeed an n-stem, of the same ablauting type as lāman-, is assured by OH attestations of saramnas and so forth. The form sarāma can be compared to Skt. nāma, as nominative singular common hāra-s (accusative hāranan) is to rājā. 262 As might
be expected with such irregular paradigms, levelling took place, and we find a new LH accusative haran (KUB XXX 34) and once an OH dative plural saramas (KBo XX 27).

Let us return now to the two i- and u-stem neuter plurals hastai and āssū, for it is in the context of the plene plural that they may best be discussed. As discussed above (section 4), the class of nouns represented by hastai and zahhais, genitive hastivas, zahhivas, follows the IE hysterokinetic pattern seen in Skt. sakhā, sakhāyam, sakhvā 'friend' and Gk. Sapphō, Sapphō, Sapphous. The archaic, inherited ending of these nouns must not be confused with the adjective ending *-ai introduced in section 4 above as a Pre-Hittite creation. The adjectives are proterokinetic and their *-ai, *-au endings patterned with genitives and datives in full grade (sallavas, etc.), in contrast to the hysterokinetic nouns' zero grade. Although no other IE language has i-stem hysterokinetic neuters, the class of

but elsewhere nz, he proposes an original paradigm (p. 62) *xér-ons, xér-on- giving by regular sound change *hāranz, hāran-. This paradigm is then remodelled before OH to hāras, hāran-. However, remodelling a paradigm hāran-z, hāran-an to hāra-s, hāran-an, as if hūmant-s, hūmant-an had been remade to hūma-s, hūmant-an, results in a nominative singular which is less like the rest of the paradigm than the original form was. N-stem nominative singulars in -anz (e.g. SAL-anza MH KUB XXX 29) could more reasonably be explained as secondary based on sporadic paradigm levelling whereby -a-s, -an-an was changed to -an-s, -an-an. hāras, not having undergone this change, preserves the original shape *-ō(n) plus -s.

hysterokinetic i-stems as a whole is marginal -- one stem in Sanskrit, a few in Greek and elsewhere -- and it would not be particularly surprising if Hittite had retained an archaic type lost almost entirely elsewhere. We have seen that hysterokinetic neuters such as PIE *udör, all with lengthened grade in the nominative-accusative, are well attested among the r- and r/n-stems in the original function of collectives. Let us assume then that hastai and the others of its class derive from the same formation, i.e. that their -ai ending comes from *-oî. They act as both singulars and plurals, an easy development for original collectives, and the meaning can be collective at least in the case of hastai 'bone, skeleton'.

The -ai/ae shape of the nominative-accusative neuter is, however, a problem from the phonologic standpoint. Pre-Hitt. *-ai of various origins appears to give Hitt. -e in final position: first singular present hi-conjugation *-xe-i giving *-ai results in OH -he and the dative singular enclitic pronoun *-soi giving *-sai results in OH -se, just as the nominative plural common pronoun ending *-oi gives Hitt. -e and the neuter plural pronoun *-a-i gives -e. Therefore we would expect nominative-accusative *-oî to give -e as well, but in fact no such form as *haste is found. The differing outcomes cannot be due to the place of the accent, since -e results both when *-ai is accented (as in kuē) and when it

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264 For the verb ending, see W. Cowgill 1975:565-66; for -se and pronoun common -e see A. Kämmerhuber 1969:250, 309; for the pronoun neuter plural see section 8 below.
is not (as in tehe, se). Nor can a difference between long and short diphthongs account for -ai versus -e if the neuter plural pronoun reflects *-a plus -i. However, although the comparison of Indo-Iranian, Greek, and so forth suggests that in Anatolian also the outcome of vowel plus final laryngeal should be a long vowel,265 there is no direct evidence supporting this within Anatolian. As stated above (section 2), it is therefore possible that *-ex in PA gave *-a rather than *-a. If so, the pronoun *-a-i would have contrasted with the *-ai of the ai-stems.

Morphological factors may also have entered into the retention of -ai as the neuter ending. The -i of the ai-stems is the stem formant and is present throughout the rest of the paradigm, patterning with the -r of the r- and r/n-stems, which is present in the neuter plural. The *-i of the pronouns, on the other hand, functions as part of an ending. The ai-stem final diphthong might therefore be retained in the shape -ai through paradigmatic pressure at the same time that the pronoun *-ai was developing to -e, even if the two were identical phonologically. It should be noted in this context that at least three of the ai-stem neuters, sagai, lingai, luttai, have common gender alternatives (sagais, lingais, luttais) whose -ai- diphthongs are retained regularly in non-final position. This close connection with nouns whose paradigms showed ai/i alternation

265 In Greek the short vowel of the neuter plural, presumably from *-ex, is anomalous.
could well help to maintain the -ai of the neuters.

In Late Hittite are found a few ai-stem neuter plurals ending in -aya rather than -ai/ae. These seem simply to have the -a neuter plural marker added to recharacterize their plurals, just as happens in the case of u-stems with the -uwa ending.

Another possible member of the class of i-stem hystero-kinetic neuters is utnē, utniyas, but in this instance with e-grade instead of o-grade, as in the case of hasduir; i.e. its -e may come from *-ēi. This would account neatly for the e/i alternation in the inflection of utnē, utniyas, but unfortunately little evidence can be brought to bear in support. Not only is the very existence of a neuter plural type in *-ēC only weakly established for PIE and for Hittite, but the tn cluster in utnē violates the regular Hittite development of *tn to nn (cf. the tar/n-stem noun dative-locative in -nni, not *-tni). It is possible, therefore, that utnē is not a native Hittite word, but has been borrowed from another language and only partially adapted to Hittite inflection patterns (see no. 23). Finally, we have no other examples of *-ēi to compare with utnē, but only cases of *-eś, which appears to give -i (cf. the third singular present -i of the hi-conjugation from *-e-i, e.g. dāi).

266 Cf. N. Oettinger 1979b:544, who suggests that utnē may derive from either *-ēi or *-ēi.
The OH and MH neuter plural *assu* "goods, property" remains to be discussed. This and several other possible neuter plurals with final plene vowel have been treated by C. Watkins [1981 forthcoming] (see tarru no. 53, genzū no. 48, and mekki no. 2), but none of the others is well established. I will therefore limit my discussion of this type to *assu*.

Watkins interprets the final plene spelling as directly reflecting PIE *-u-x*, i.e. plene is taken by him to indicate inherited length. However, as discussed above, plene spelling and inherited vowel length are not necessarily linked, but rather plene and accent. Even if *-u* here should represent a long vowel, it is not at all clear why *assu* alone should carry orthographic indication of a final long vowel when no other i- or u-stem neuter plural of comparable date does so, thus MH telipuri, genu, salli, idalu, etc., although these should all come from the same formation as *assu*. Finally, *assu* is consistently spelled with <u> rather than <ū>, and there is some evidence that while <ū> is used where u is expected etymologically in Hittite, <u> may originally have had a different significance. The verb au(s)- "see" has descriptive full grade in the second singular autti and zero grade (spelled with <ū>) in the plural uwanzi, but its first singular is spelled <u-uh-hi>. This form may plausibly have arisen from a monophthongization of au to ə before -hh- parallel to the monophthongization of ai
For all of these reasons one might expect, therefore, that if āsu had etymological *ū it should at least sometimes be spelled with <ū>.

Taking the points raised above into consideration, we may tentatively propose that āsu reflects not *-ū from *-u-x, but *-ō from *-āu, just as hastai reflects *-āi. That monophthongization should take place in the case of *-āu but not *-āi presents no particular problem. Possibly the components of the āu diphthong were closer phonetically and therefore more liable to monophthongization than the components of the āi diphthong; possibly the accentuation of āsu on the initial syllable may have influenced the development. The Hittite so-called au-stems do not offer a contradiction to this proposal, for they are actually normal u-stems whose stem vowel is preceded by a. They do not ablaut as the IE hysterokinetic u-stems do, and none of them have convincing IE etymologies.


269 G. Neumann [1961:77-78] compares the hapax legomenon GIŠ tanāu to OHG tanna "fir tree, oak" and to Skt. dhānuḥ, dhānvan- "bow," from a root *dhanu- or *dhonu-. However, the Ir. word for "bow" was clearly an r/n-stem, as shown not only by Av. panvan-, panvar-, but also by the Skt. forms. In the RV ḍhānuḥ occurs only in the nominative-accusative, where ḍ is the sandhi variant of -r rather than -s, while all oblique cases are made with the stem dhānvan-. Only in later Sanskrit are the two split into separate paradigms. OHG tanna is feminine and could well be an n-stem remodelled from an original...
In sum, we have definite evidence for Hit. r- and r/n-stems using a lengthened-grade neuter plural, somewhat less conclusive evidence for nt-, n- and ai-stems, and one very tentative u-stem.

This nominative-accusative neuter plural formation in lengthened grade and zero ending was an inheritance, reconstructible for various sorts of consonant stems. Compare r/n-stem Gk. ἡδώρ, Skt. udā, Av. aiīrā with Hit. widār; Av. mīźdauu̇n̄ 'rewarded', Skt. remodelled sānti 'being' with Hit. wetān.271 Compare r-stem Lat. quattuor, Go. fidwor, Skt. remodelled catvāri 'four' with Hit. tahatumār; n-stem Skt. nāmā (and remodelled nāmāni), Av. namān 'names' with Hit. saramā; and consider s-stem Av. manā, Skt. remodelled mānūṃsi 'minds'.

r/n-stem. If Hit. tanāu is cognate to these words we might well expect it to be an r/n-stem, since Hittite not only keeps old r/n-stems but enlarges the class. Finally, since tanāu is a hapax legomenon and tanna is limited to West Gmc., both could be of foreign origin within their respective languages, and neither of them cognate to dhanvar/n-.

The -r of the Avestan form has no doubt been restored through paradigm levelling, in contrast to the Skt. form (S. Insler, personal communication).


Again paradigm levelling seems to have restored the -n.

Possibly relevant here are Toch. A taryāk, B tūrvāka 'thirty' and the succeeding decades, if these are correctly derived from *-kömt rather than *-kömt, which should give PToch. *-ke, or *-komtx, which should give *-kenta (W. Cowgill, personal communication). In contrast to these numerals, the nouns appear to have generalized the *-ā ending of the thematic stems; cf. D.
6.6 CONSONANT STEMS: THE ENDING -a

Outside of Anatolian and Indo-Iranian the lengthened-grade type of plural has in general been given up in favor of neuter plurals with endings except for morphologically isolated words like quattuor, fidwor and reinterpreted singulars like hūdör. Even within Indic the lengthened-grade type has been recharacterized by the addition of -i as in nāmāni. In all the other branches an ending -ā or -ā -- I will refer to these three variants as -ā/ā/i -- added to the stem of the word competes with or displaces the lengthened-grade type, which appears to be the older both by its use in reinterpreted and relic forms and by its use as a regular neuter plural formation only in the two earliest attested branches. Even there the lengthened-grade plural competes with other formations. All five Anatolian languages in which have reasonably secure neuter plurals use -a as a neuter plural consonant stem ending. In Hittite it occurs with all but the r/n-stems, although it is not the only formation used by any stem class. The vast majority of nt-stems from Old Hittite on employ it, as do well over half of the t-stem attestations. For n-, l-, and r-stems, on the other hand, -a is attested much less often, and only in Late Hittite. The situation in the other languages differs from that of Hittite in that the a-plural is the only securely


274 Cf. J. Kuryłowicz’s fourth principle of analogy [1945: 79].
attested consonant-stem plural formation in Palaic, Cuneiform Luwian, and Lycian, and is by far the most frequent type in Hieroglyphic Luwian. Consequently, PA *-a among consonant stems is well established.

The new ending -a/i is usually assumed to reflect *-x, i.e. the ending of the thematic, i-, and u-stems (*-e-x, *-i-x, *-u-x). However, in the non-IIr. branches no clear contrast of thematic *-ā with consonant-stem *-ā is attested. Rather, the consonant-stem ending is of the same length as the thematic ending in all branches where a distinction in length would be possible. The Anatolian and Celtic forms are ambiguous, while in Latin and Greek both the thematic and the consonant stems have a short final vowel. In Osco-Umbrian, Germanic, and Slavic both types have *-ā. (No Baltic consonant-stem neuter plurals remain.) It is not entirely clear what the outcome of final *-Cx would have been in Germanic and Balto-Slavic in the first place, but possibly Gmc. *-Cx(C) in non-initial syllables.

275 Cf. K. Brugmann [1911:231 ff.], who takes -ā from *-a, zero-grade of thematic *-ā.

276 The lenition after the Celtic forms could have arisen from a long or a short vowel. Cf. H. Lewis and H. Pedersen 1937:127 ff.

277 The Lat. neuters generally agree with the feminine nominative singulars in this puzzling behavior, although certain polysyllabic words like trigintā retain the -ā (cf. M. Leumann 1928:101, 277). The Gk. feminine singulars have -ā and only the neuters have the unexpected -a (cf. E. Schwyzer 1939:580 ff.); no satisfactory explanation has ever been given for this phenomenon. It may well have resulted from various causes acting together, one of them perhaps the influence of the i-stem plural ending -ia which developed regularly from *-i-x.
gave *-Cu(C); thus perhaps OIc. mjoк 'very' from PGm. *meku comparable to Gk. meγα, Skt. mahi, unless the -u here is due to influence from PGm. *felu (cf. Gk. polu, Skt. purû) giving Go. filu, OIc. fjöl- 'much'; or Go. milûks 'milk' from *meluk- (cf. Li. mélîu 'I milk'). Clearly any such *-u plurals have been replaced by *-i at least in Go. nama, hairtona, etc. In North and West Germanic, PGm. *-o gave *-u so that attested neuter forms could continue either PGm. *-o or *-Cu. It is not certain whether Balto-Slavic agreed with Germanic in the development of final *-Cx(C) as it did for *-Cx(C-) (daughter, Li. dukter- versus Gk. thugater-, Skt. duhitar-). At least OCS imena, etc., imply *-Ca and not *-Cx.

These facts could be reconciled if the ancestor language had two competing neuter plural consonant-stem formations, an older one with lengthened grade plus zero ending and a younger one with *-x added to the stem, built on analogy to the stems with final vowels. In Hittite this type is well established only among the nt-stems; perhaps in the ancestor also only the nt-stems had developed the newer formation. In Indic the coexistence of the two formations could have led to a lengthened-grade plural marked by the ending -i, as in catvari. In Italic, Slavic, and Germanic on the other

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278 F.B.J. Kuiper in a series of articles has denied the existence in PIE of an endingless lengthened-grade neuter plural, and instead assumes for PIE consonant stems an original plural in e-grade plus the ending *-x. See Appendix C for further discussion.
hand, consonant stems apparently adopted the *-a of the thematic stems, as discussed above.

The weakness in assuming these two neuter plural formations for PIE is that the type in *-x cannot be directly reconstructed for any language where it ought to contrast with the outcome of the thematic type. Forms in *-e/oCi have been cited for Avestan; however, all of these are disputable (see Appendix C), as is the very proposition that *-X gives -i anywhere in Avestan. Even in Sanskrit we find only the lengthened-grade and remodelled types (nāmā, nāmāni) but never the proposed type in *-x (*nāmāni or *nāmni). Granted that the latter could be homophonous with the locative singular and therefore lost early, it is still problematic that it is nowhere attested in Indic if it is the source of -i in the neuter plural.

Alternatively we could assume that only the lengthened-grade formation was bequeathed to the daughter languages, and that all the endings were later developments. O. Szemerényi [1970a:155] considers Indic -i to be a Stützvokal originating with the nt-stems. That is, Skt. nt-stem *sān would be replaced by *sānta or something similar in order to preserve the final consonant of the stem on the surface, and would parallel hārdi in the development of a final -i. The other plurals with -i would be modelled on the new sānti, very clearly in the case of s-stem -msi where a nasal has been inserted before the stem-final -a, thus sg. jānas and

pl. jānāṃṣi, to match the pattern of sg. sāt, pl. sānt-i. This is less obvious in n-stem -ni, where the n is the counterpart of both the n and the t of sānti. The -i would thus be of completely separate origin from the *-ā/ā of the other branches.

The latter endings could have resulted from separate innovations in the non-IIr. branches whereby each branch extended its thematic ending, whether long or short, to the consonant stems. These innovations would have been parallel in that the ending in each branch was added not directly to the old lengthened-grade forms but to the stems of the words. Such a development could have taken place in Anatolian, but since the number of thematic neuters is relatively small in Anatolian compared to languages like Greek or Latin, assuming that these are the source of consonant-stem -a could present difficulties. W. Cowgill (personal communication) therefore suggests instead the possible development of a PA supporting vowel in the neuter plural of the nt-stems resulting from reintroduction of the stem-final consonant into the surface form. He points out in support of such a development the third singular preterite active of consonant-stem verbs like ekw-, i.e. <e-ku-ut-ta> (KUB I 16

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280 Such parallel development is not particularly difficult to envision. Compare the separate development of the perfect with the verb 'have' in Greek, Romance, etc.

281 Consider the paucity of a-stem neuter plurals found in my data; cf. A. Goetze 1937:488-89; P. Brosman 1979:54 ff.
III 17, etc.) 282 If the word was pronounced /ekwt/ the final vowel is not graphically necessary, since the word could easily be written <e-ku-ut> without the final <ta>. Therefore the vowel ought to be real, and the spelling should stand for /ekwta/, with the -a allowing pronunciation of the final cluster in a language where final clusters ending in stops were phonetically impossible.

Returning to the problem of what neuter plural types existed in PIE, we are presented with a choice between two systems. In the first the older lengthened-grade marking competes with a younger ending still limited in distribution at the time Anatolian split off from the other branches, so that the ending was inherited only in use with nt-stems and spread within the various branches to other stem types. The difficulty here is that the Sanskrit forms must be explained as resulting from mixture of the two posited formations despite the fact that one of them is never attested in Vedic (forms such as Clas. Skt. bhāvanti are secondary). For the second system we assume PIE to have had only the lengthened-grade formation. The difficulty here is that the -ā/ā type must then have arisen through a number of parallel but separate innovations in the non-IIr. branches, with the possible exception of Anatolian, or through a single innovation shared by a number of non-IIr. branches. If we assume

Regardless of which reconstruction is preferred, it is at least clear that Anatolian inherited the lengthened-grade formation and that a competing formation using PA *-a was present at a very early stage, being either inherited from PIE *-x or a PA creation. Whatever its origin, *-a was in use originally only with PA stems ending in consonant clusters, judging from the Hittite data, but not with stems ending in resonants. There is no evidence that any PA r/n-stem used *-a to form its plural, but instead clear evidence for use of the lengthened-grade formation.

6.7 CONSONANT STEMS: THE ENDING -i

We turn now to the last Anatolian consonant-stem neuter plural formation, and the one least understood, the ending -i\(^{283}\) used in Hittite with t-, l-, r-, and r/n-stem nouns, e.g. aniyatt-i, ishiul-i, kurur-i, minumarr-i. That the ending was actually -e and not -i is suggested by the form ku-ru-{ru-}-ri-e (33/p 11\(^{\prime}\)) tentatively cited by E. Neu [1979b:421 n. 24] as a possible neuter plural. Given the Hittite orthographic system, forms such as <ku-ru-ri>, <mi-nu-mar-ri> could as well end in -/e/ as -/i/, and the ending could readily be accounted for by analogy to the pro-

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283 This formation was first identified by F. Sommer 1924:23.
noun neuter plural ending -e. However, *kurure* occurs in the middle of a broken tablet where too little context remains to confirm its grammatical status; further, the spelling is highly suspect given the repeated <ru> and the misshapen <ri>. Even if *kurure* were perfectly written in an indisputably neuter plural context, analysis of e as the true phonological value of the "i-plural" would receive little support. While /re/ can only be spelled <ri-(e)>, a sign <te> does exist, and one would expect it to alternate with <ti> in t-stem neuter plurals if the ending were -e. Neu does cite one instance of *aniyatte* (177/x Rs? 5', MH?) [1979a:194 n. 56], but a single example with -e does not carry sufficient weight to counterbalance the many examples with -i. The fact is that, particularly in Late Hittite, i and e signs are not used with great consistency; consider also the alternation of ki and ke in this period. Due, therefore, to the combination of a questionable attestation in one instance with general inconsistency in the use of e signs, *kurure* and *aniyatte* do not provide enough evidence for us to assume an -e rather than an -i neuter plural noun ending.

In no stem class is -i the exclusive plural formant. Rather, it alternates with -a in the t-, l-, and r-stems, and with the endingless type in the l-, r-, and r/n-stems. Nor does -i occur with all consonant stems, even as an alternate. Three i-plurals to nt-stems have been cited in the
literature (nos. 215, 222, 229), but these are to be rejected. The i-plural likewise is not attested among the n-stems in my corpus, nor does any scholar cite such a form to my knowledge. In this case, however, the gap may be accidental, and occasioned by the rarity of n-stem nominative-accusative neuter plurals. The class of n-stem neutrals is quite small, and the most frequently attested, tēkan, has no plural. A plural to lāman existed (cf. genitive plural ŠUM HI.Â -as) but I have not found the nominative-accusative anywhere.

Chronologically the i-plural is limited to Late Hittite. Even where a neuter lexeme attested in the nominative-accusative Old or Middle Hittite has the i-plural in Late Hittite, that lexeme is either endingless or uses -a at the earlier stage. Since the MH and OH corpora are so small, however, the possibility cannot be ruled out that i-plurals are accidentally missing from the few texts preserved for us. That is, the distribution of the formation in my corpus does not suffice to determine whether -i is a LH innovation or an inheritance from an earlier stage of Hittite.

Three HL nouns are attested with what seem to be i-plurals (see nos. 417-19). The limited nature of our knowledge of Hieroglyphic Luwian precludes this identification from being absolute, but the use of the apparent i-plurals with stems ending in a resonant offers a striking comparison to the Hittite state of affairs, and the Hit. and HL i-plurals may be a common inheritance from Proto-Anatolian. The other
IPREHISTORY: consonant-stem -i 315

HL consonant-stem neuter plurals use -a. Since the CL data are so scanty (the three possible n-stem neuter plurals end in -a, one possible l-stem in -a and another perhaps has the plene formation) we cannot know if -i was also a neuter plural ending in that language. The same is true of Palaic and Lycian, for which no relevant forms are attested.

Three types of explanations have been offered by previous scholars for the i-plural: that -i was inherited from a PIE *i or *-i neuter ending, that it was borrowed from some other language, or that it spread analogically from the i-stems within Anatolian. None of these is entirely successful.

J. Schmidt [1889:227 ff.] proposed, although of course not with reference to Anatolian, that -i in Skt. catvāri, nāmāni represents PIE *-i and not (in modern terms) *-x. This *-i was not, Schmidt says, in itself a marker of the neuter plural, since it was added optionally to already characterized plurals, viz. lengthened-grade catvār-i and plurals in -a such as OLat. quā-i, CLat. quae, and since it was added optionally to neuter singulars as well, e.g. Skt. āksi, hārdi.

Schmidt’s evidence for PIE *-i does not, however, hold up. Let us leave aside the singulars, which have been otherwise explained. 284 Schmidt’s comparison of catvāri with Li. keturi and Go. fidwor(i) is incorrect. In Gothic

'four' has joined the numerals 'five' to 'ten' in being basically uninflected and in employing clearly secondary gen. -e, dat. -im where inflection is needed to avoid ambiguity. *fidwor does not in fact have full i-stem inflection as *pri- does. Its one inflected form, dative *fidworim, like *ainlibim, etc., is parallel to that of the feminine consonant stems, where *-imiz (giving -im) has replaced inherited *-miz. The unattested but expected genitive *fidwore (cf. *niunе) would have the general ending used by many classes, e.g. dage, nahte. The *e of OEng. fēower is not from umlaut due to *-i as Schmidt says. Rather, OEng. -er comes regularly from WGmc. *-ar (seen in OS. fiuwar, which shows no trace of umlaut). ON fjører, since it is an o-stem, likewise provides no support for an *-i ending. Li. keturi, penki, etc. have become inflected adjectives like the lower numerals, 'four' giving up its old consonant-stem inflection and along with the higher numerals adopting jo-stem inflection. While Schmidt (pp. 191 ff.) claims that neuter *keturi is the only possible source for jo-inflection, in fact 'four' could have acquired jo-stem inflection if i had been inserted between the stem and endings beginning with consonants, e.g. -mis (cf. consonant-stem noun seserimis) and then extended to the rest of the paradigm. This in turn would have led to i-stem inflection, as happens to an extent with the consonant-stem nouns. The Lithuanian and Latvian i-stem adjectives later shifted to

jo-stem inflection, as discussed by P. Arumaa [1937:431-42], who cites Old Lithuanian remnants of i-stem inflection among the adjectives. A neuter *keturi could not in any case be the source of jo-stem inflection because it could not have been have been reinterpreted as a jo-stem masculine nominative plural until *-jai had become -i. This change dates after the split of Lithuanian and Latvian; thus *-ai gives Latv. -i in all polysyllables, but Li. -i, -ië, and -añ. Therefore derivation of Latv. cetri and Li. keturi from neuter *keturi would have required independent reassignments of gender leading to new paradigms, and this despite the fact that loss of the neuter in favor of the masculine is characteristic of East Baltic.

Schmidt takes OPrus. kai 'what, as', Li. kaï 'as', taï 'that, so', etc., as original neuter plural pronouns (parallel to Lat. quae) used also as adverbs and as singulars (parallel to Lat. quod) through the ambiguity of sentences such as taï nè gâlîma 'that's not possible', interpretable either as singular or plural neuter. taï, etc., can better be explained as in origin old neuter singulars rather than plurals. Addition of a particle -i to the singular resulted in ta-i (from *tod) and reduplicated ta-ta-ti, leading incidentally to masculine singular tasaï, etc. 286 OCS cê (a cë, cë i 'even though'), which Schmidt compares to kaï, is of uncertain origin. Its -ê could come from *-äi or *-ëi, so

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that the form could as well be locative as neuter plural (cf. Gk. locative adverbs ἡ λαῖ, ἡ θεῖ, etc.). There is no compelling reason to prefer neuter plural origin.

The Li. masculine nominative plural -ai of nouns (contrast pronoun and adjective -ī, -ie-), which Schmidt derives from the old neuter plural, is indeed a problem for Baltic linguistics, but it cannot be solved by appealing to the neuter. The neuter as a whole was lost in E. Baltic, and a perfectly respectable origin for -ai in *-oi (cf. Gk. ἡλόκοι masc. nom. pl.) is readily available. Simply, the conditions, whether phonological or morphological or both, for the development of *-oi to -ícia and -ai have yet to be fully worked out, especially the effects of intonation and of paradigm levelling in favor of the -a- stem-vowel.

The occasional OCS nominative-accusative neuter plural present active participles and comparative adjectives in -ṣti, -ṣi are again not from *-ai. Instead, their endings can be explained as analogic and stemming from the old *-ī ending of feminines made to consonant stems. Since the neuter plural and the feminine singular normally are identical, in the case of the nt- and s-stems where they differed (the neuter having *-jā and the feminine *-ī) it occasionally happens that the difference is levelled out in favor of the feminine rather than the neuter, as is the

Schmidt (p. 232) finds it unlikely that the feminine should only here influence the neuter when elsewhere the ending *-a wins out, but it is suspicious that the PIE neuter *-f, which according to Schmidt occurred with any stem type, should remain in use only in those places where the old feminine ending was *-i.

Finally, Av. vastrāi stands for vāstre, dative singular.290

Of all of Schmidt's non-IIr. evidence, only the Italic pronouns, both feminine nominative singular and neuter nominative-accusative plural, in fact have -ai,291 but this provides support only for an increment -i to pronouns, not to nouns and adjectives. The Skt. noun and adjective -i is unlikely to derive from the same source, for no IIr. neuter pronoun has the added -i. We find only tā(ni), etc. If -i was available as an optional appendage to PIE pronouns, it has certainly left no visible traces in Indo-Iranian.

Although Schmidt's comparative evidence for PIE *-i as an optional particle has been discredited except for the Italic pronouns, his idea has been revived by T. Burrow [1949:45; 1955:236-37] who compares the -i of catvar-i to that of Hit. kurur-i. Burrow is led to this position by his idiosyncratic beliefs about the IIr. reflexes of the PIE laryngeals.

289 Cf. A. Meillet 1934:284.
Since he denies that \(-x\) ever gives IIr. \(-i\), he must find some other source for the neuter plural \(-i\). However, as his views on the outcome of \(-x\) have been adequately refuted, we are not prevented on phonological grounds from accepting the usual view that Skt. nominative-accusative neuter plural \(-i\) is cognate to Gk. \(-a\), Lat. \(-a\) from *\(-x\). If we prefer to derive it from some other source than a laryngeal we still do not need to posit PIE *\(-i\), but could for instance accept Szemerényi's theory of an Indic Stützvokal. Therefore, since there is no firm evidence outside of Indic and Anatolian for a PIE *\(-i\) used with neuter plural nouns and adjectives, and since Indic \(-i\) can be satisfactorily explained without recourse to PIE *\(-i\), we shall, in the interests of not multiplying PIE entities unnecessarily, endeavor to find some other source for Anatolian \(-i\) as well.

One of the first attempts to do so, that of T. Milewski [1936:32 ff.], located the origin of the Anatolian i-plural in the PIE neuter dual ending *\(-i\). This may be immediately rejected on the grounds that most of the words which use the i-plural are verbal derivatives (\(-i\)ul-, \(-i\)numar/n-) with no semantic connection to the dual. The ending *\(-i\) would presumably have spread to such nouns from others where the dual occurred frequently for semantic reasons, but in point of fact those nouns for which a dual might be expected (e.g. \(-\))

292 See most recently 1979.

sākuwa, genuwa) never show a trace of *-i.

Proponents of the second theory suggest that the i-plural was borrowed from Luwian. The assumption is that within Luwian the ending -i has been transferred from the i-stems, which are considerably more numerous in Luwian than in Hittite, to the consonant stems, and then borrowed into Hittite. There are several difficulties with this, however.

First, all attested Luw. i-stem neuter plurals end in -a, not -i. Since the class of i-stems is large and well represented in the corpus it seems unlikely that i-stem plurals in -i have accidentally escaped attestation. A transfer of -i to the n-stems would require a prehistoric stage of Luwian during which the old neuter plural i-stem ending *-i coexisted with the new Anatolian ending *-iya. After being transferred to the n-stems this *-i would then have been lost from Luw. i-stems. A second problem is that no CL or HL n-stem exhibits any other trace of i-stem inflection as far as can be determined, e.g. HL n-stem genitive DOMUS-nas versus i-stem -is/isi/asi, CL n-stem nominative-accusative neuter singular zamman, tatariyamman versus i-stem -i(sa). There is, thus, no internal Luwian evidence for a spread of i-stem inflection to the n-stems.

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294 E.g. E. Sturtevant 1933:178. By the time of the second edition he appears to have changed his mind on this point and instead derives the i-plural from the i-stems within Hittite [1951:260].

295 Derivation of the i-plural from some non-IE Anatolian language need not be discussed. I know of no such language which uses -i as a regular plural marker.
Third, borrowing in any case seems unlikely given that not one of the Luwian neuter words attested in Hittite contexts has an i-plural (cf. lalāma, lawarrima, harpanalla, and so forth), although such words ought to be the source of the borrowed element. Finally, many of the tablets in which i-plurals occur exhibit no particular Luwian influence, and one at least appears to date from the 14th century (KBo V 8, CTH 61), judging by its script. As such it may predate the period of heavy Luwian influence.

The last explanation for the i-plural, that -i spread from the i-stems within Hittite, is the most widely espoused, but I know of only one author who attempts to work out in detail the mechanism of such a spread. P. Brosman [1962:63 ff.] assumes that the i-plural is a purely Hittite formation arising through interaction of the various types of plurals formed by i-stems. In his formulation the consonant-stem nouns adopted -i from the i-stem nouns because it contrasted with -a (from *-ava) among the i-stem adjectives, which latter ending matched the -a of the nt-stem adjectives:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{adjective} & \text{noun} & \text{adjective} & \text{noun} \\
\text{suppa} & : & \text{suppi} & = \text{hūmanta} & : & x \\
x & = & \text{ishiuli}
\end{array}
\]

This is to ignore several relevant facts, however.

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First, -a is not limited to adjective use. It is of course the noun ending of the a-stems, and has been added to the u-stem nouns as well to give -uwa. The t-stem noun plural aniyatta is more frequent than aniyatti, and -a as a noun ending also occurs with at least l-stem huhupal- and r-stems kudur-, tahtumar-, not to mention nt-stem sarhuwant-. There is in fact no contrast of noun ending versus adjective ending among the nt-stems. Second, -i is not exclusively a noun plural marker among the i-stems; rather, it is at least as prevalent among the adjectives as is -a. In fact, -i is the unmarked i-stem plural, and it is -a which is marked, along with -aya, as specifically adjectival:

- noun sg. | pl. | adjective sg. | pl.
- unmarked  | upati  | suppi |
- marked    | upati  | suppi |

Abstraction -i to form a consonant-stem noun plural marker seems considerably less likely starting from this base, especially when we consider that the i-stem noun plural is in fact identical with its singular. The -i is not an ending but part of the stem; the ending is zero. Therefore we might expect analogy to the i-stem nouns to give endingless consonant-stem nouns as well. Third, since no r/n- or l-stem adjectives in -a exist, there is no clear reason why -i should be added to their noun plurals in the first place. Finally, Brosman's theory cannot account for the HL forms (which were not known at the time he wrote).
If the proposed spread of *i from the i-stems is formulated within Proto-Anatolian, the outcome is still problematic. If we assume a point in Proto-Anatolian when long final vowels contrasted with short, segmentation of the i-stem plural */-i\textsuperscript{I} (from */-i-x) into */-i-i would be conceivable, as would segmentation of the a-stem */-\textsuperscript{A} and the u-stem */-\textsuperscript{U}, although the latter, belonging to a comparatively small class, had no influence on other stems' endings. After segmentation both *i and *a could have been used with consonant-stem plurals. If so, why are *i and *a each limited to certain stem classes? If both were equally available we would expect both to occur with all stem types. True, the exclusive use of *a among the nt-stems does find a ready explanation, to wit, while r/n-stem plural zankilatarri presents no ambiguity vis-\_vis dative-locative zankilanni, an nt-stem plural */wetanti would be homophonous with the dative-locative singular. This would no doubt tend to encourage the use of *a rather than *i with nt-stems, but the absence of *a from the r/n-stems remains inexplicable if *i and *a were simply alternates. The situation becomes even more complicated when we consider that *a was apparently already in use with the nt-stems from a very early period. Most telling against the i-stem hypothesis, however, regardless of the relative status of *a and *i as plural markers, is the fact that the analysis of */-I as */i-i is quite artificial within the Anatolian system. The endings */-\textsuperscript{A}, */-\textsuperscript{I}, */-\textsuperscript{U}, if they ever existed, would be more
naturally analyzed as stem plus length of the last vowel of the stem plus zero ending, a formulation which also serves to derive the consonant-stem lengthened-grade neuter plurals. What is needed in order to explain the i-plural is some locus where -i clearly serves to mark the plural, some place where it does not function as part of the stem. Such a locus is perhaps to be found among the pronouns.

6.8 PRONOUNS

In discussing Schmidt's evidence for PIE *-i we saw that Lat. quae, etc., were correctly analyzed as qua plus -i, the latter being originally an optional element, as shown by the relic forms síqua, aliqua. It has been suggested by a number of scholars that Hit. kue, apei, and so forth, are comparable to quae, i.e. that Hit. -e here comes from *-ā-i. No other very convincing derivation for -e is known to me. N. Oettinger [1978:84 n. 44] and A. Kammenhuber [1969:309] suggest that the neuter has taken over the common gender ending -e from *-oi (cf. Skt. ē). However, throughout the rest of Hittite and the other Anatolian languages the neuter has an ending separate from that of the common gender, except where the neuter ending has been adopted by the common gender (i.e. use of -at for both genders). Why, then, should the neuter only here have given up its old ending in favor of the common gender form? Other explanations for -e

are even less convincing: H. Pedersen's derivation of it from the pronominal dual [1938:50] may be rejected as Milewski's use of the dual was above, as may derivation by Laroche [1960a:176 ff.] and Neu [1969:239 n. 11] of kue from *kwiyā, since *-iyā never gives -e, but only -iya and perhaps -i (see section 2 above).

We are thus left with the comparison of Hit. -e to Lat. -ae, derived from a PIE particle *-i added optionally to pronouns. While the -i remained limited to the pronouns in Italic, in Anatolian it could perhaps have spread as an optional element to those nominative-accusative neuter plural nouns which had no other plural marker. That is, where -i appeared, especially for a-stem pronouns, to act as the plural marker (thus sg. *-a-t, pl. *-a-i), it might have been abstracted and added to unmarked plurals like minumar. This would have happened after the loss of length contrast in unaccented vowels, but before the monophthongization of *-ai.

The basic difficulty with pronominal origin of the i-plural is phonological: PIE *-ex-i ought to give Hit. *-ahhi and not -e (cf. the denominative suffix -ahh- from *-ex- and the first sg. present ending -hhe from *-xe-i). While *-ahhi would have been a highly aberrant nominative-accusative plural ending, I see no model for an analogical change to *-ai. The pronouns in Anatolian have an inflection which

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differs strikingly from that of the nouns at several points; compare pronominal genitive singular in -₁, nominative plural common in -e, nominative-accusative singular in -t to noun genitive singular in -ae, nominative plural common in -es, nominative-accusative singular in -n or -∅. It would not, therefore, be unlikely that the pronouns would retain a neuter plural shape different from that of the nouns. Further, the only analogical change which I could envision would be replacement of *-ahhi by some noun ending, as happens in the common gender. Since the prime candidates would be -a or -i, there is no readily apparent basis for a replacement of *-ahhi by *-ai.

However, it is not clear that we must in fact operate with a protoform *-ex-i. The particle *-i was, after all, an optional element in PIE. Let us therefore assume that Anatolian inherited not a unitary form *kwexi, but rather two separate entities, *kwex and *-i, which could be optionally combined. In PA *kwex and the other neuter plural pronouns would regularly develop to *kua, and so forth. After that point *-i would be added to the *-a, giving the required *-ai and not *-ahhi. It is from this *-ai that -i could have spread to the resonant-stem nouns which, unlike the a-stems where plural -a contradicted with singular -an, or those r/n-stems where plural -ar contrasted with singular -ar, lacked overt plural marking. This could have happened either in Proto-Anatolian or in Pre-Hittite; since there is evidence that PA *-ai gave different outcomes in different
branches, it could still have been a diphthong in Pre-Hittite.

If the correlation of vowel length to accent discussed with reference to the plene plural occurred in Proto-Anatolian, the resulting unmarked neuter plurals could have adopted -i as an optional marker. In this case, however, the absence of Hit. i-stem iya-plurals cannot be due to development within Hittite of *-iya to -i (contrasting with development of *-iya to -iya) because vowel length contrasts in unaccented syllables would already have been lost in PA. Morphological causes would be needed to account for the absence of -iya. On the other hand, if separate sources for Hit. and HL -i can be found, then loss of vowel length contrasts can be ordered within Pre-Hittite after *-iya had become -i. However, since we have no evidence as to vowel length in Luwian or Palaic, we can say only that loss of length contrasts occurred at some point in the prehistory of Hittite, and cannot say whether it affected the other Anatolian languages.

Monophthongization of *-ai resulted in Hittite in -e. The only relevant CL pronoun form is the nominative-accusative plural za. Attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian are zaya, (a)pava, REL-ya, and in Lycian kbija, ehbija, ebeija. While in general the Luwian counterpart of Hittite è is a, 299 a sequence *-ai giving *-ê giving -a in Luwian cannot be ac-

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cepted unreservedly, since there is some evidence that *-ai gives -i in Luwian. A. Kammenhuber [1969:312-13] analyzes the Luwian nominative plural common *inzi as -i added to -ns which has spread from the accusative plural. If her explanation is correct, the added -i could possibly be explained as the reflex of the pronoun ending *-oi, since no other source for a common gender plural ending -i is available among either the nouns or the pronouns. A perhaps more likely instance of *-ai giving -i is presented by A. Morpurgo Davies [1980b:106-07], who suggests deriving the HL verb ending -tis, apparently a second singular present form possibly cognate to CL -tis, from *-tai plus the -s characteristic of the second singular. That is, she compares it to Hit. -ti from *-txe-i parallel to -hi (OH -he) from *-xe-i.300

It may therefore be necessary to find some other origin for the Luwian pronoun ending -a(ya) than direct development from PA *-ai. Since *-i was an optional particle in Proto-Anatolian, perhaps Hittite and Palaic (see below) generalized the forms in *-ai while Luwian generalized those without the particle. However, it is not particularly appealing to assume that *-i was first adopted by the PA resonant-stem nouns and then lost in Luwian from the pronouns but retained by the nouns. A more reasonable assumption might be that Luwian inherited the *-ai pronoun ending and that the latter

developed regularly to -i. The resulting paradigms would be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg. c.</th>
<th>ntr.</th>
<th>pl. c.</th>
<th>ntr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>za-s</td>
<td><strong>zi</strong> (&lt;<em>-oi</em>)</td>
<td>za</td>
<td><em>zi</em> (&lt;<em>-ai</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apa-s</td>
<td><strong>api</strong></td>
<td>apa</td>
<td><em>api</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kui-s</td>
<td>kui</td>
<td>kui-n</td>
<td>kui*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is, mutatis mutandis, the OH system (sg. apās, apūn, apāt, pl. apē, apē). If we assume such a Luw. stage where neuter plural pronouns ended in *-i_ from *-ai, we could propose that it is this *-i rather than the -i of *-ai which spread to the resonant-stem nouns, thereby allowing for separate creation of the Hit. and Luw. i-plurals, should it prove the case that vowel length distinctions were not lost in Proto-Anatolian (see section 3 above).

The following explanation of the attested Luwian pronouns may be offered. We know that in both Luwian and Hittite the common plural was remodelled on the basis of the nouns (LH -us, -es beside -e; Luw. -nzi, -nza). May we not assume that in Luwian the neuter plural too was remodelled to match that of the nouns? The a-stem plural ending -a will account for CL za. If the relative adopted the i-stem noun ending we would expect *kuiya, for which perhaps compare HL REL-ya. It is from the latter, as discussed above, that the -ya may have spread to the other pronouns and the adjectives. About Lycian all that can be said is that the ending of ehibija and kbiia matches the i-stem noun ending, while ebeija has a unique ending, and, given that Lyc. e can correspond to Luw.
could have undergone the same development as HL apava.

In Palaic there is attested once with reasonable certainty the nominative-accusative neuter plural -e (spelled <ne>, no. 332) which seems to agree with Hit. -e in deriving from *-ai. On the other hand, a neuter plural apa is perhaps attested as well, although with considerably less certainty (no. 334). Further, in the dative pronoun -si, *-ai from *-oi seems to have given -i (contrast OH -se).

In attempting to sort these forms out we may first set aside apa as too doubtful to argue against the development of *-ai to -e or -i. As for -e versus -i, it may be noted that the nominative plural common ending of Palaic is spelled both -is and -es. Conceivably the hapax legomenon ne in fact shows the same development as the more frequently attested -si, but in an alternative spelling. On the other hand, it is also possible that -si has adopted the dative ending -i of the nouns (e.g. kārti), in which case -e could represent the phonologically regular development of *-ai in Palaic. More evidence is needed to settle this matter.

Another series of changes stems from the correlation of vowel length with accent placement, the result of which was to leave the lengthened-grade neuter plural distinct from the singular only where there was also a shift in accent from pre-suffixal to final position in the plural. The *-i was optionally used in order to dis-

6.9 SUMMARY

In closing I offer a brief review of the history here proposed for the neuter plural in Anatolian. Proto-Anatolian appears to have inherited the following neuter nominative-accusative plural formations: for *a-, *i-, and *u-stems the endings *-a, *i, *u respectively from *-e-x, *-i-x, *-u-x; for consonant-stems, as well as hysterokinetic *i- and possibly *u-stems, certainly a lengthened-grade formation *-a(C) from *-a(C) (with perhaps a parallel *e-grade formation); and possibly an ending *-a from *-x, used exclusively by the nt-stems in alternation with the lengthened-grade formation. Among the pronouns there was an optional marker *-i (from *-l) added to neuter plurals which otherwise matched the nominal endings of the appropriate stem classes. All of these are supported by comparable formations in various Indo-European branches.

Starting from this point the language lost several formations and created others. If the *-a ending of the nt-stems was not an inheritance, it was created early within Anatolian, based perhaps on the thematic ending *-a. Another series of changes stems from the correlation of vowel length with accent placement, the result of which was to leave the lengthened-grade neuter plural distinct from the singular only where there was also a shift in accent from pre-suffixal to final position in the plural. The *-i marker of the pronouns was optionally used in order to dis-
tistinguish the new unmarked plurals from their singulars. Finally, it is possible that the *-a of the nt-stems was optionally extended to the i- and u-stems within Proto-Anatolian, giving *-iya, *-uwa among the nouns. Among the adjectives adoption of *-a accompanied a change to full grade of the stem, giving *-aya, *-awa.

Further changes occurred within the Hittite sub-branch. In Pre-Hittite the *-aya ending contracted to -a but was early restored to -aya on analogy to the u-stem -awa. Among the pronouns *-ai contracted to -e. If *-iya had been inherited from Proto-Anatolian, it now contracted to -i and was thereby eliminated. If, on the other hand, *-iya, *-uwa were not PA innovations, then the -uwa type was created within Hittite before the LH period, through extension to the u-stem nouns of the -a neuter plural ending of the i- and u-stem adjectives and the nt-stems. -a was also occasionally extended to other consonant-stems, although never to the r/n-stems.

Developments in the other sub-branches of Anatolian are less clear, but apparently pronominal *-ai developed to -e in Palaic and to -i in Luwian. The latter was replaced by the nominative-accusative neuter plural endings of nouns of the same stem class as the pronouns, and in Hieroglyphic Luwian the resulting relative *k/hwiya led to a new ending -ya which was added to the other neuter plural pronouns and optionally to at least the i-stem adjectives. The *iya and *uwa endings of the i- and u-stem nouns were created if they
were not already in existence from PA times. Special i-stem adjective endings (if they were Proto-Anatolian and not limited to Hittite) were lost (as presumably were those of the u-stems), while at least in the Luwian branch an ending -a, possibly a-stem in origin, spread among the i-stem adjectives. In Hieroglyphic Luwian this -a alternated with -ava which was possibly of pronominal origin. The lengthened-grade plural is not attested, nor is the -i ending outside of Hieroglyphic Luwian. -a came to be the regular consonant stem ending.

The result of all of these changes is that although Hittite in particular retains the archaic lengthened-grade neuter plural formation to an extensive degree, the ending -a comes to be the pre-eminent neuter plural marker in Anatolian as in so many other Indo-European languages. Anatolian in this parallels the development shown by a number of Indo-European branches away from stem-internal inflection and toward the increased use of desinences.
Appendix A

CORPUS OF HITTITE TEXTS READ FOR THIS STUDY

This appendix is divided into three sections. The first lists all OH compositions read, both OH originals and later copies, the second all MH compositions, both originals and copies, and the third lists all LH and undatable compositions read. For each text references are given to any published transliterations or translations of which I have made use. Texts are listed according to their order in CTH. Only texts which I have read in full are listed here.

ABBREVIATIONS


An Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi: Museum inventory numbers.


Bo Bogazköy. Istanbul and Berlin: Excavation inventory numbers.


KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy. Berlin.


### OLD HITTITE CORPUS

Tablets written in the old ductus are underlined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CTH 1</th>
<th>A. KBo III 22</th>
<th>B. KUB XXVI 71 I 1-19 LH*</th>
<th>C. KUB XXXVI 98(+)+98a(+)+98b LH*</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>[E. Neu 1974]</td>
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<tr>
<td>CTH 2</td>
<td>1. KBo XII 3 LH*</td>
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<td>2. KUB XXXVI 99</td>
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<td>CTH 3</td>
<td>1. A. KBo XXII 2</td>
<td>B. KBo III 38 LH*</td>
<td>C. KUB XLVIII 79 LH*</td>
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<td>D. KBo XXVI 126 LH*</td>
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<td>[H. Otten 1973]</td>
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<td>CTH 4</td>
<td>II. A. KBo X 2 LH*</td>
<td>B. a. KUB XXIII 31 LH*</td>
<td>b. VBoT III 134(+)+KUB XXIII 41 LH*</td>
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<td>c. VBoT 13 LH*</td>
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<td>D. KUB XL 6+KUB XXIII 33(+?)XXIII 20 LH*</td>
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<td>[F. Imparati 1965]</td>
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<td>KBo III 27 LH*</td>
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<td>CTH 6</td>
<td>KUB I 16+KUB XL 65 LH*</td>
<td>[F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein 1938]</td>
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<td>CTH 8</td>
<td>A. KBo III 34 LH*</td>
<td>B. KBo III 35 LH*</td>
<td>C. KBo III 36 LH*</td>
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<td>D. KUB XXXVI 104</td>
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<td>E. KUB XXXI 38 LH*</td>
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<td>F. KBo XIII 44+44a(+)KBo XII 10 LH*</td>
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<td>G. KBo XII 11 LH*</td>
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<td>H. KBo XIII 45 LH*</td>
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<td>[H. Kümmele 1967]</td>
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<td>2. VBoT 33 LH*</td>
<td>5. KBo VIII 42</td>
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<td>2. KUB XXXVI 103+KBo XXII 3 LH*</td>
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<td>3. KBo III 56 LH*</td>
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4. A. KUB XXIII 28+KUB XL 5+KBo XXII 4 LH*  
  B. KBo XII 13+KUB XL 4 LH*  
  C. KBo XI 28+KUB XXII 4 LH*  
  [C. Kühne 1973]

CTH 15  
A. KBo VII 14+KUB XXXVI 100  
B. KUB XXXVI 101 LH*  
C. KUB XXXVI 102 LH*

CTH 16  
a. A. KUB XXXI 4 VS+KBo III 41 LH*  
  B. KBo XII 22 LH*  
  C. KBo XIII 78 VS LH*  
  [H. Otten 1963]

CTH 17  
1. KBo III 60 LH*

CTH 18  
A. KUB XXXVI 71 LH*  
  B. KUB XXXVI 98b LH*  
  C. KBo III 59 LH*  
  [H. Güterbock 1938]

CTH 19  
II. A. KBo III 1+KBo XII 5+KBo III 68+KBo XII 7 LH*  
  B. KUB XI 1+KBo XIX 96 LH*  
  C. KBo III 67+KUB XXXI 2+KUB XXXI 17 LH*  
  D. KUB XI 5 LH*  
  E. KUB XI 6 LH*  
  F. KUB XI 2+IBoT III 84+KBo XIX 97 LH*  
  G. KBo VII 15+KBo XII 4 LH*  
  H. KBo XII 6 LH*  
  I. VBoT 107 LH*  

CTH 25  
KUB XXXVI 108  [H. Otten 1951]

CTH 27  
KBo IX 73(+)KUB XXXVI 106  [H. Otten 1957]

CTH 39  
1. KBo III 24 LH*  
  2. KBo III 44 LH*  
  3. KBo VIII 45 LH*  
  4. KBo VIII 131 LH*  
  5. KUB XXVI 35 LH*  
  6. KUB XXVI 71 IV LH*  
  7. KUB XXXI 110(+)XXIII 53 LH*  
  8. KUB XXXVI 27 LH*  
  9. KUB XXXVI 45 LH*  
  10. KUB XXXVI 107  
  11. KBo XIX 93 LH*  
  12. KBo XIX 94 LH*  
  13. KUB XLIII 75 LH*  

CTH 275  
KUB XLIII 35

CTH 291  
I. a. A. KBo VI 2+KBo XIX 1+KBo XIX 13 LH*  
  B. KUB XXIX 16+KBo XIX 2  
  C. KUB XXIX 13
b. A. KBo VI 3+KBo XXII 63 ELH*
   B. KUB XXVI 56 LH*
II. a. KUB XXIX 14(+)KBo XII 49 and KUB XXIX 19 LH*
   b. KBo VI 5 LH*
   c. A. KBo VI 6+7 LH*
   B. KBo VI 8+KUB XXIX 15(+)KUB XIII 11(+)KBo XIX 3 LH*
   C. KBo VI 9 LH*
   D. KUB XIII 12 LH*
   E. KUB XIII 13 LH*
   F. KUB XXIX 17+KBo XIV 64 LH*
   G. KBo VI 21 LH*
   H. KBo XIV 65 LH*
   d. KBo VI 22 LH*; KBo IX 70 LH*; KBo XIX 4, 5 LH*; KUB XXIX 18(+)20 LH*; KUB XL 32 LH*
   KBo XII 48 LH*
III. KBo VI 4 LH*
   [J. Friedrich 1959]

CTH 292 I. a. A. Col. I: KUB XXIX 38(+)36+25(+)28(+)29+30
   II: KUB XXIX 29+30
   III: KUB XXIX 30(+)35(+)32(+)29
   IV: KUB XXIX 35+36
   b. B. KUB XXIX 21+22+23 LH*
   C. KUB XXIX 26(+)27 LH*
   D. KUB XXIX 34+37 LH*
   E. KBo XIV 66(+)67(+)KUB XLVIII 78 LH*
II. a. A. KBo VI 11 and KBo VI 13(+)KUB XIII 30 LH*
   B. KBo VI 17(+)KUB XXIX 24 and KBo VI 26 LH*
   b. A. KBo VI 10+20 LH*
   B. KBo VI 12 LH*
   C. KBo VI 14+18(+)19 LH*
   D. KBo VI 15 LH*
   E. KUB XIII 15+KBo XIX 7 LH*
   c. A. KUB XIII 14+16 LH*
   B. KBo IX 71+KUB XXIX 33 LH*
   d. KBo VI 16 LH*; KUB XIII 31 LH*; KUB XXIX 31 LH*; KBo XIX 6, 8, 9 LH*
   [J. Friedrich 1959]

CTH 330 5. KUB XXXIII 62 MH*

CTH 331 1. KUB XXXIII 66 MH* [E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 332 3. KUB XXXIII 68 MH* [E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 336 2. KUB XXXIII 59 MH*
   5. A. KUB XXXIII 60 LH*
   B. KUB XXXIII 61 LH*
   C. KUB XLIII 25
   [E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 372 A. KUB XXXI 127+KUB XXXI 131+132 LH*
B. KUB XXXI 128 LH*
C. KUB XXXI 129 LH*
D. KUB XXXI 133 LH*
E. KUB XXXI 134 LH*
[H. Güterbock 1958]

CTH 395 3. KBo XX 34

CTH 412 8. A. KUB XLIII 53 LH*
   B. KBo XVII 17
   [E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 414 A. KUB XXIX 1 LH*
   B. KUB XXIX 3
   C. KUB XXIX 2 LH*
   [E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 416 1. A. KBo XVII 1+KBo XXV 3
   B. KBo XVII 3+4+5+6+7+IBoT III 135+KBo XXI 5+KUB
   XLIII 32+KBo XXV 7
   C. KBo XXV 8
   D. KBo XXIV 84 LH*
   2. KBo XII 101 LH*; KBo XVII 2
   [H. Otten-V. Souček 1969; E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 457 6. KUB XLIII 60 LH*

CTH 523 1. A. KBo XVI 67 MH*
   B. KBo XVI 69+KBo XX 54 MH*
   C. KUB XLIII 24
   3. KBo XVI 72+73, 74, 80
   [E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 547 II. KUB XXXVII 223

CTH 627 15. KBo II 12(+)KBo XX 30 LH*
   17. KBo XVI 71+KBo XVII 14+ KBo XX 4+16+24+KBo XXV
   13+ KBo XX 3
   18. A. KBo XXV 17
   C. KBo XXV 18 LH*
   20. KBo XX 2+KBo XXV 15, 7+KBo XXV 16+ KBo XX 21
   21. A. KBo XVII 9+20+KBo XX 5+KBo XXV 12+ABoT 5
   B. KBo XXII 195(+)224 MH*
   C. Bo 69/833 LH*
   D. 487/w LH*
   22. KBo XVII 21+46+KBo XX 33+KBo XXV 19
   23. KBo XXV 20
   24. KBo XXV 24
   [E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 631 1. A. ABoT 9+KBo XXI 25+KBo XVII 74 LH*
   B. KBo XVII 11 (+)KBo XX 12(+)KUB XLIII 26
   9. KBo XX 8
   [E. Neu 1970a, 1980a]
CTH 645

1. KBo XI 32 LH*
6. A. KBo XVII 40 LH*
    B. KBo XVII 15
    C. KBo XX 125 LH*
7. KUB XLIII 30
[V. Haas-M. Wülfier 1976; E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 649

5. A. KBo XX 5
    B. KBo XXII 195 LH*
    C. KBo XXII 224 LH*
6. KBo XX 9
7. KBo XX 14+KBo XXV 33
8. KBo XX 27
12. KUB XLIII 48 LH*
13. A. KBo XX 26+KBo XXV 34
    B. KBo XXV 64 LH*
14. KBo XXV 35 LH*
15. A. KBo XVII 18
    B. KBo XVII 43
    C. KBo XVII 44+KBo VII 35+KBo XVII 99 MH*
    D. KBo XVII 42+Bo 2599 LH*
    E. KBo XXV 31
    Ea. KBo XXV 33
    F. KBo XXV 32
    G. KBo XX 9
    H. KBo XX 14
    J. KBo XXV 41 LH*
16. A. KBo XXV 36
    B. KBo XXV 43 LH*
17. KBo XXV 39
[E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 654

4. KBo XIII 175 [E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 662

6. KBo XVII 31
7. KUB XLIII 29
[E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 663

5. KBo XVII 19+KBo XXV 52; KBo XXV 51
[E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 665

1. A. KBo XVII 36+KBo XX 17+20+KBo XXV 54+ABoT 35
    B. KBo XX 6+22+KBo XVII 33+KBo XXV 56(+?)KBo
    XVII 45
    C. KBo XXV 138 LH*
    D. KBo XXV 55
    E. KBo XXV 57
    F. 221/f LH*
3. KBo XXV 58
[E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 669

21. A. KBo XXV 61+KUB XXXII 94
    B. KUB XII 10 LH* = C. KBo VIII 112 LH*
    D. KBo XXV 62(+?)63
OLD HITTITE CORPUS

CTH 738
24. B. KUB XXXIV 94 MH*
30. A. KBo XX 10+KBo XXV 59
B. KBo XX 35
[E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 741
KBo VII 41
KBo XVI 84
KBo XVII 8, 13+KBo XXV 68(+)69, 16, 24, 28, 29+KBo
XX 1, 30, 49
KBo XX 11, 13, 18+KBo XXV 65, 19+25, 37, 50
KBo XXI 68
KBo XXV 22, 23, 28
KUB XXVIII 97
KUB XXXIX 64
KUB XLIII 28, 31, 33
[E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 670
1. A. IBoT II 121
B. KUB XXVI 21 LH*
3. HT 95
[V. Haas 1970; E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 677
1. KUB VII 17 LH*
2. KUB XXXIV 88 LH*
4. KUB XXXV 126
5. IBoT II 93 LH*
6. KBo XI 41 LH*
9. KUB XLII 107 LH*
10. A. KBo XXV 79
[V. Haas 1970; E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 678
13. A. KBo XX 23
B. Bo 2834 LH*
[E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 733
I. 1. A. KUB XXVIII 75
B. KUB XXVIII 77 LH*
C. KBo XXV 118
4. KBo XXV 120 LH*
5. KBo XXV 121
II. 1. KUB VIII 41
2. KUB XXXI 143
3. KUB XXXI 143a+VBoT 124
4. A. KBo XXV 112(+)116
B. KBo XXV 114
6. KUB XLIII 27
7. KBo XXV 113, 115, 117, 119
[E. Laroche 1947; E. Neu 1980a]

CTH 736
1. A. KUB XXVIII 7
B. KBo XXV 131
4. A. KBo XVII 22
B. KUB XXVIII 8 LH*
[E. Neu 1980a]
CTH 738 5. Bo 6594 [E. Neu 1980a]
CTH 742 1. KUB XXVIII 36+KBo XXV 125 [E. Neu 1980a]
CTH 744 18. KBo XVII 50+KBo XXV 129 [E. Neu 1980a]
CTH 750 8. KBo XVII 35
9. IBoT II 73
11. KBo XX 39
[E. Neu 1980a]
CTH 752 1. A. KBo VIII 74+KUB XXXII 117+KBo XIX 156+KUB XXXV 93(+)KUB XXXII 76
B. KUB XXXV 164+KBo XXV 139
C. KBo XVII 25
2. A. KUB XXXII 18
[E. Neu 1980a]
CTH 790 5. KBo XVII 34
CTH 820 1. KUB XXXVI 110
2. KBo XVI 86 LH*
[E. Neu 1980a]
CTH 827 KBo XVIII 151 [A. Unal – A. Kammenhuber 1974]
CTH 832 KBo XII 19
KBo XVII 10, 23, 26, 27
KBo XX 69+KBo XXV 142
KUB XLIII 39
No CTH number: KBo XXIII 63; KBo XXV 1, 2, 4, 25, 29 (with LH* 30); 37 (with LH* 38), 86(+)87, 89 (with LH* 143), 98, 107, 122, 195, 197

A.2 MIDDLE HITTITE CORPUS

Tablets written in the middle ductus are underlined.

CTH 28 KBo XVI 47 [H. Otten 1967]
CTH 41 II. KUB VIII 81+KBo XIX 39 LMH [A. Goetze 1925]
CTH 131 KUB XXXVI 127 LMH
CTH 133 KUB XXVI 41 (+) XXIII 68+ABoT 58 [A. Kempinski-S. Košak 1970]
CTH 134 A. KBo VIII 37 LH**
B. KUB XXIII 7 LH**
C. KUB XL 28
[C. Kühne 1973]

CTH 137 KBo XVI 27 [E. von Schuler 1965]

CTH 138 1. KUB XXIII 77a(+)XIII 27+XXIII 77+XXVI 40
2. KUB XXXI 105
[E. von Schuler 1965]

CTH 139 A. KBo VIII 35
B. KUB XL 36+XXIII 78b+XXVI 6
C. KBo XVI 29(+)KUB XXXI 104
[E. von Schuler 1965]

CTH 140 1. KUB XXVI 19 LMH
2. A. KUB XXVI 20
   B. KUB XL 14 LH**
   [E. von Schuler 1965]

CTH 142 1. KUB XXIII 27 LH**
2. A. KUB XXIII 11 LH**
   B. KUB XXIII 12

CTH 143 KUB XXIII 21 LH**

CTH 144 KUB XXVI 29+XXXI 55 LH**

CTH 146 KUB XXIII 72+XL 10+1684/u [H. Hoffner 1976a]

CTH 147 KUB XIV 1+KBo XIX 38 [A. Goetze 1927]

CTH 200 ABoT 60 [E. Laroche 1960a]

CTH 209 14. KBo XII 62

CTH 212 KBo XVI 46

CTH 223 KBo V 7 [K. Riemschneider 1958]

CTH 251 A. KBo XVI 24(+)25
   B. KBo XVI 102 LH**

CTH 252 KUB XIII 8 LH** [H. Otten 1958b]

CTH 257 1. A. KBo XIII 58 LH**
   B. KUB XXIII 64 LH**
   C. KUB XXVI 9 LH**
   D. KBo X 5 LH**
   [A. Goetze 1960; F. Daddi Pecchioli 1975]

CTH 258 A. 1. KUB XL 62+XIII 9 LH**
   2. KUB XIII 7 LMH
   [H. Otten 1952]

CTH 259 1st tablet: KUB XXVI 11 LH**
2nd tablet: A. KUB XIII 20 LMH
    B. KUB XIII 21+655/u
    C. KUB XXXI 107 LH**
    [S. Alp 1947]

CTH 260
1. KUB XXXI 44 LH**
2. KUB XXXI 42 LH**
3. KUB XL 15+XXVI 24 LH**
    [E. von Schuler 1956]

CTH 261
1. A. KUB XL 60+KUB XIII 2+XXXI 84 LH**
    B. KUB XXXI 85 LH**
    C. KUB XXXI 89 LH**
    D. KUB XXXI 91+90 LH**
2. KUB XL 58+XXXI 86+XL 78(+XIII 25+1203/u LH**
3. KUB XIII 1(+?)XXXI 87+88+XL 56(+XL 55+1236/u
4. KUB XXXI 108 LH**
5. KUB XIII 24 LH**; KUB XXVI 17; KUB XL 57 LH**
    [E. von Schuler 1956, 1957; A. Goetze 1960]

CTH 262
1 Bl 36, [L. Jakob-Rost 1966]

CTH 268
KUB XXI 47+XXIII 82+KBo XIX 58

CTH 270
KBo XVI 50

CTH 271
KUB XXXIV 40, 41
    KUB XXXVI 112, 113, 114, 116, 118
    [O. Carruba 1971a]

CTH 275
KUB XXIII 76; KUB XXXI 103; KUB XXXIV 58 LMH; KUB
    XXXVI 109
    [O. Carruba 1971a]

CTH 322
A. KUB XII 60 LH**
    B. KUB XXXIII 81
    [E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 323
1. KUB XXXVI 44 LH**
2. VBoT 58 LH**
    [E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 324
1st version: A. KUB XVII 10
    B. KUB XXXIII 2
    C. KUB XXXIII 1
    D. KUB XXXIII 3
    E. KBo XIV 84
2nd version: A. KUB XXXIII 4+IBoT III 141 LH**
    B. KUB XXXIII 5
    C. KUB XXXIII 6(+7
    D. KUB XXXIII 8 LH**
3rd version: A. KUB XXXIII 9 LH**
    B. KUB XXXIII 10
fragments: 1. KUB XXXIII 12 LH**
2. KUB XXXIII 11 LH**
3. KUB XXXIII 14
4. KBo XXVI 127

[H. Otten 1940; E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 325
A. KUB XXXIII 24(+?)+28+KBo XXVI 124 LH**
B. KUB XXXIII 22+23 LH**
C. KUB XXXIII 25+26+27+29+30+XXVI 71(+?)KBo XXVI 133

[E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 326
A. KUB XXXIII 15(+?)21 LH**
B. KUB XXXIII 16 LH**
C. KUB XXXIII 18 LH**

[E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 327
A. KUB XXXIII 19 LH**
B. KUB XXXIII 20 LH**
C. KUB XXXIII 31 LH**
D. KBo VIII 69 LH**
E. KBo XXI 27 LH**

[E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 328
2. KUB XXXIII 32 LH** [E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 329
1st tablet: 1. KBo XV 32 2nd tablet: KBo XIV 86+KUB XXXIII 17+KBo IX 109 LH**

[E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 330
1. A. KBo XV 35+33 B. KUB XLI 10
C. KUB XLI 9+KBo XXI 61
7. KUB XXXIII 65 LH**

[E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 332
1. KUB XXXIII 33 LH**
2. KUB XXXIII 34 LH**
5. IBoT II 114 LH**

[E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 333
A. KUB XXXIII 67 LH**
B. KUB XXXIII 36

[E. Laroche 1965b; G. Beckman 1977]

CTH 334
1. A. KUB XXXIII 54+47 LH**
B. KUB XXXIII 48 LH**
C. KUB XXXIV 76 LH**
2. A. KUB XXXIII 45+53+FHG 2 LH**
B. KUB XXXIII 51 LH**
3. A. KUB XXXIII 46 LH**
4. A. KUB XXXIII 49 LH**
B. KUB XXXIII 50 LH**
C. KBo XXVI 131 LH**
5. KUB XVII 13 LH**
6. KUB XXXIII 38 LH**
7. KUB XXXIII 75 LH**
[E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 335
1. A. KBo IX 110 LH**
   B. KUB XXXIII 80 LH**
2. KUB XXXIII 13 LH**
3. A. KUB XXXIII 41 LH**
   B. KUB XXXIII 42 LH**
4. A. KUB XXXIII 71 LH**
   B. KUB XXXIII 70 LH**
5. KUB XXXIII 69 (+)HT 100 LH**
6. A. KUB XXXIII 72 (+?) 73 + 74 LH**
   B. KBo XXVI 134 LH**
7. A. KUB XXXIII 37 + 39 LH**
   B. KUB XXXIII 40 LH**
8. KBo XXVI 125 LH**
9. KBo XXVI 130 LH**
10. KBo XXVI 135 LH**
    [E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 351
2. KUB XXXVI 55

CTH 370
KBo XXVI 136; KBo XX 59

CTH 371
KBo VII 28 + KBo VIII 92 [J. Friedrich 1957a]

CTH 373
KUB XXX 10 LMH

CTH 374
1. KUB XXXI 135 + XXX 11 (+) XXXI 130 LMH
2. A. KUB XXXVI 75 + 1226/u
   B. KBo XXII 75 + Bo 4696 LH**

CTH 375
1. A. KUB XVII 21 LMH
   B. KUB XXXI 124 (+) XXXI 72 LMH
   C. KUB XXIII 115 + XXXI 17 + XXXI 117 LH**
2. KUB XXXI 123
3. KBo XII 132 LH**
   [E. von Schuler 1965]

CTH 393
A. VBoT 24 LH**
   B. KBo XII 104 LH**

CTH 402
A. KBo XII 126 + KUB XXIV 9 + KBo XII 127 + JCS 24 + 512/t + VAT 7701 + 513/t LH**
   B. KUB XXIV 10 LH**
   C. KUB XXIV 11 LH**
   D. KBo XI 12 LH**
   E. KBo X 41 LH**
   F. IBoT II 123 LH**
   G. KUB XLI 2 LH**
   H. KUB XLI 1 LH**
   I. KBo XXI 8
J. 21/p LH**
K. Bo 3582 LH**
[L. Jakob-Rost 1972]

**IMIDDLE HITTITE CORPUS** 340

CTH 404 1st version: A. KBo II 3 LH**
B. KUB XII 34+XV 39+XII 59+IBoT II
109+110+KUB X 76+XLI 12(+)KBo XII
105 LH**
C. VBoT 18 LH**
2nd version: A. KUB XXXII 115+1281/c+1348/c+1286/c+
KUB XXXIV 84+1112/c+775/b+2308/c+
IBoT II 114+2328/c+2045/g+
1147/c+1947/c
B. KBo IX 106+KBo VIII 75 LH**
3rd version: KBo XXIV 1
[L. Jakob-Rost 1953]

CTH 427 A. KBo VI 34+KUB XLVIII 76 LH**
B. KUB XL 16+VII 59 LH**
C. KUB XL 13 LH**
D. KBo XXI 10 LH**
E. KUB XLVIII 75 LH**
[N. Oettinger 1976]

CTH 428 2. KBo XVI 56+KUB XXXIV 85 LH** [C. Kühne 1973b]

CTH 430 1. KUB XXX 29 LMH
3. KBo XVII 60 LH**; KBo XVII 61
[H. Berman 1972; G. Beckman 1977]

CTH 433 3. KUB XVII 105

CTH 443 KBo XV 10+KBo XX 42 LMH [G. Szabó 1971]

CTH 470 KBo XXI 47

CTH 478 KBo XVII 62+63 [G. Beckman 1977]

CTH 480 KUB XXIX 7+KBo XXI 41

CTH 483 A. KUB XV 34
B. KUB XV 33,a+b LH**
[L. Zuntz 1937]

CTH 489 A. KBo XVII 65 ELH**
B. KUB XLIV 59 LH**
[G. Beckman 1977]

CTH 523 2. D. KBo XVI 76

CTH 536 3. IBoT II 132(+)KUB XLIII 15
4. KBo XIII 13
[K. Riemschneider 1970]
CTH 537  II. KUB VIII 38

CTH 538  II. 1. KUB VIII 83 LH**  
          2. KUB XXXIV 18 LH**  
          3. KUB XXXIV 19 LH**  
          4. KUB XXXIV 20 LH**  
          5. KUB XLIII 7  
          {K. Riemschneider 1970}

CTH 539  1. KBo VI 23 LH**  
          2. KBo XIII 31  
          {K. Riemschneider 1970}

CTH 540  II. 6. An 10753  
          7. KUB XLIII 4, 6  
          {K. Riemschneider 1970}

CTH 630  A. KUB XXXII 135+KBo XXI 85+KBo VIII 109  
          B. KBo XX 63 LH**  
          C. KBo XX 70+KBo XXI 88 LH**

CTH 701  A. KUB XXXII 49a+49+KBo XXI 28+33+29+FHG 12  
          B. KBo XXIII 44 LH**

CTH 738  2. A. KBo XIX 161 LH**  
          B. KUB XXXII 83+KBo XXI 103  
          C. KBo XXI 90

CTH 777  2. A. KUB XXIX 8

CTH 780  KUB XLV 21

CTH 820  3. KUB XLIII 23

CTH 832  KBo XVI 31, 45

no CTH number: KBo XXV 187, 189, 192; KBo XXIV 110; KBo XXIII 49; Mst 75/10-11, 75/13-15, 75/43, 75/45, 75/64, 75/69, 75/104

See S. Alp 1977, 1978. These Ma|at texts are all reported to be MH. I have seen only the transliterations.
A.3 LATE HITTITE AND UNDATED TEXTS

CTH 40  I. A. Bo 2984+KUB XIV 23
  B. KUB XIX 12
  C. KUB XIV 22
  E. KUB XXXI 34
  F. KUB XXIII 2

II. A. KUB XXVI 84
  B. KBo XIV 1
  C. KBo VIII 29
  D. KUB XIX 11
  E. KUB XIX 10
  F. KBo XIV 3
  G. KUB XIX 18

III. 18. KUB XXXIV 31
  24. KUB XXXIV 32
  25 and 26. A. KUB XXXIV 23
  27. KUB XIX 7

IV. A. KBo V 6
  C. KUB XXXI 7
  E. KUB XXXIV 25
  E2. KBo XIV 12

V. 29. KUB XXXI 25
  31. KUB XIX 4
  32. KUB XXIII 8
  34-37. A. KUB XIX 13+14
  42. KUB XXIII 50

VI. 44. KUB XXXI 21
  45. KUB XXXIV 29
  47. KUB XXXI 11
  48. KBo VII 16
  50. KUB XIX 10
  52. A. KBo XIV 42
  B. KUB XIX 22

[H. Gütterbock 1956a; Ph. Houwink ten Cate 1966c]

CTH 42  A. KBo V 3+KBo V 12
  B. KUB XIX 24+KUB XIV 6
  [J. Friedrich 1930b]

CTH 43  KUB XXVI 39  [E. Forrer 1931]

CTH 44  1. KUB XIX 25
  2. KUB XIX 26
  [A. Goetze 1940]

CTH 49  II. KBo X 13(+)12  [H. Freydank 1960]

CTH 51  II. KUB XXI 18(+)KUB XXVI 34

CTH 52  II. HT 21+KUB VIII 80  [J. Friedrich 1924a]

CTH 57  KBo I 28  [H. Klengel 1965]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Late Hittite Corpus</th>
<th>350</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| CTH 61 | I. | A. KBo III 4+KUB XXIII 125 |
|        |   | B. KBo XVI 1 |
|        |   | C. KUB XIX 38(+)XIV 21 |

| II. | 1. KUB XIX 29 |
|     | A. KUB XIV 16 |
|     | B. KUB XIV 15 |
|     | C. KUB XIX 40+KBo XVI 5 |
|     | 3. KUB XXXI 10 |
|     | 4. KUB XIX 31; KUB XIV 17; KUB XIX 30; KUB XXVI 79 |

|     | 5. A. KUB XIV 28+29+XIX 3 |
|     | B. KBo IV 4 |
|     | D. KBo XVI 7 |

| III. | 6. KUB XIV 24 |
|      | 7. A. KBo V 8 |
|      | B. KUB XIV 36 |
|      | C. KBo XVI 8 |

|     | 8. KUB XIX 39 |
|     | KBo VIII 34+KBo XVI 12 |
|     | KBo XVI 11 |
|     | KBo XVI 15 |
|     | KBo XIV 20+44+KUB XXXIV 33+34 |
|     | KBo XVI 14 |
|     | KBo VII 17+KBo XVI 13 |
|     | KUB XXXIV 36 |
|     | A. KUB XIV 18 |
|     | B. KBo XIV 9 |
|     | KBo XVI 10 |
|     | KUB XIV 19 |
|     | KUB XIV 25 |
|     | KBo XIV 19 |

|     | 9. A. KUB XIX 37 |
|     | C. KBo XVI 16 |
|     | D. KUB XXXI 39 |

|     | 10. KBo II 5+5a+KBo XVI 17 |

| III. 2. | A. KUB XIV 20 |

| CTH 62 | II. | A. KBo V 9 |
|        | B. KUB III 119(+)XIV 5(+)XIX 48+KUB XXIII 6 |
|        | C. KUB XXI 49 |

| CTH 67 | KBo V 4 | [J. Friedrich 1926] |

| CTH 68 | A. KBo IV 7 |
|        | B. KBo V 13 |
|        | C. KBo IV 3 |
|        | D. KUB VI 44+VI 43(+)VI 42 |
|        | E. KUB VI 41 |
|        | H. KUB VI 48 |

[Goetze 1933; H. Otten 1956; Ph. Houwink ten Cate 1966b]
CTH 69  A. KUB XIX 49  
          B. KUB XIX 50  
          [J. Friedrich 1930b]  
CTH 76  A. KUB XIX 6+XXI 1  
          B. KUB XXI 5  
          C. KUB XXI 2+4  
          D. KUB XXI 3  
          [J. Friedrich 1930b]  
CTH 81  A. KUB I 1+XIX 62+61+63+XXVI 46+XIX 66+XXVI 44+XIX 60  
          B. KBo III 6+KUB I 7+4+XXVI 45+XIX 70+Bo 68/76+Bo 68/85  
          C. KUB I 2+XIX 58(+?)59(+?)I 9  
          D. KUB XIX 56(+)I 5(+)XIX 57(+)XXI 28(+)II 11(+)XIX 71  
          E. KUB I 6+XIX 68+65(+)I 8  
          F. KUB XIX 67+I 10(+)XIX 72(+)I 3  
          G. KUB XIX 64  
          H. KUB XIX 69  
          [A. Goetze 1925a, 1930]  
CTH 83  1. A. KUB XIX 9  
          B. KUB XIX 8  
          3. KUB XXXI 20+KBo XVI 36  
          [K. Riemschneider 1962]  
CTH 85  1. A. KBo VI 29+KUB XXI 12+XXIII 127+1380/u  
          B. KUB XXI 15  
          2. KUB XXI 37  
          [A. Goetze 1925, 1930; A. Unal 1974]  
CTH 86  1. A. KUB XXI 17  
          B. KUB XXXI 27  
          [A. Unal 1974]  
CTH 87  KBo IV 12  [A. Goetze 1925]  
CTH 90  2. KUB XXI 9  
          3. KUB XXI 11  
          [A. Unal 1974]  
CTH 105  A. KUB XXIII 1(+)+Ia(+)+1b+XXXI 43+XXIII 37(+)+93/w(+)+ 
          720/v(+)+670/v  
          B. KUB VIII 82+1198/u+1463/u+69/821  
          [C. Kühne and H. Otten 1971]  
CTH 121  I. KBo XII 38 I-II 21  
          II. KBo XII 38 II 22-IV  
          [H. Otten 1963b; H. Güterbock 1967a]  
CTH 124  A. KUB XXVI 32  [E. Laroche 1953]
CTH 126 1. KUB XXI 7 [R. Stefanini 1962]
CTH 141 KBo XII 39 [H. Otten 1963]
CTH 151 VBoT 1 [L. Jakob-Rost 1956]
CTH 152 VBoT 2 [L. Jakob-Rost 1956]
CTH 157 KBo I 9 [M. Vieyra 1957]
CTH 176 KUB XXI 38 [F. Sommer 1932; W. Helck 1963]
CTH 178 KUB XXIII 103
KUB XXIII 92
[H. Otten 1960]
CTH 181 KUB XIV 3 [F. Sommer 1932]
CTH 182 KUB XIX 55 [F. Sommer 1932]
CTH 196 KBo IX 81 [H. Klengel 1965]
CTH 209 1. KUB XIX 15
2. KUB XXI 40
4. KUB XXI 36
11. ABoT 64
15. KUB XXIII 45
16. KUB XXIII 95
17. KUB XXIII 98
CTH 211 4. KUB XXIII 13 [F. Sommer 1932]
CTH 214 6. KUB XXI 14, 23, 25, 44
9. KUB XXIII 29
12. KUB XIV 2; XXI 34
15. KUB XXIII 39
[A. Ünal 1974; F. Sommer 1932; H. Klengel 1965]
CTH 225 A. KUB XXVI 43+KBo XXII 56
B. KUB XXVI 50+KBo XXII 55(+?)57+58+59+60
[F. Imparati 1974]
CTH 239 1. KUB VIII 75+KUB XLII 3+7(+?)12
2. KUB VIII 78+KUB XLII 6(+?)8
3. KUB VIII 77(+)+KUB XLII 2
4. KUB XLII 1
5. KUB XLII 5
6. KUB XLII 4
7. KUB VIII 76
8. KUB XLII 9
[V. Souček 1959]
CTH 255 1. A. KUB XXI 42+XXVI 12
   B. KUB XXI 43+XXVI 13
2. A. KUB XXVI 1
   B. KUB XXVI 8
   C. KUB XXXI 97
   D. KUB XXIII 67
   E. KUB XXVI 1a
   [E. von Schuler 1957]

CTH 256 ABoT 56 [H. Otten 1958b]

CTH 257 2. KBo X 4
3. KUB XXXI 112
   [F. Daddi Pecchioli 1975]

CTH 264 A. KUB XIII 4
   B. KUB XIII 5
   C(+E. KUB XIII 6(+19
   D. KUB XIII 18
   F. KUB XXVI 31
   G. KUB XIII 17
   [E. Sturtevant 1934]

CTH 265 I. KUB XIII 3

CTH 275 KUB XXXI 113

CTH 279 3. KUB VIII 36 [C. Burde 1974]

CTH 284 1st tablet: KUB I 13+II 12c+KBo VIII 48+53+KUB II 12b
   2nd tablet: KBo III 5+IBoT II 136
   3rd tablet: A. KUB I 11+XXIX 57
   B. KUB XXIX 47
   4th tablet: KBo III 2
   5th tablet: KUB II 12a
   [A. Kammenhuber 1961b]

CTH 285 1. KUB XXIX 55+KBo VIII 50+KUB XXIX 48+44
2. KUB XXIX 41
   [A. Kammenhuber 1961b]

CTH 286 1st tablet: KUB XXIX 45(+43
   2nd tablet: KUB XXIX 40
   3rd tablet: KUB XXIX 46+53(+)42
   4th tablet: KUB XXIX 52(+)49+KBo XIV 62+KBo VIII 51
   5th tablet: KUB XXIX 51(+)KBo VIII 49(+?)KBo XVI 92
   6th tablet: KUB XXIX 50
   7th tablet: KBo VIII 52+KBo XIV 63(+63a
   [A. Kammenhuber 1961b]

CTH 287 1. KUB XXIX 54
2. 82/p
   [A. Kammenhuber 1961b]
CTH 293  
KUB XIII 35+XXIII 80+KBo XVI 62 [R. Werner 1967]

CTH 294  
1. KUB XXXI 76(+)-XL 88(+)KBo XVI 64
2. KUB XL 91
3. KUB XL 86
[R. Werner 1967]

CTH 295  
1. KUB XIII 33
2. KUB XIII 34+XL 84
3. KUB XXVI 69
4. KBo XVI 60
5. KUB XXXIV 45+KBo XVI 63
6. KBo XVI 59
7. KUB XXXVIII 37
8. KBo VIII 32
9. KBo XVI 61
10. KUB XL 83
11. KUB XL 90
12. KBo III 15
13. KUB XXVIII 88+XL 85 Rs
14. KUB XL 81
15. KUB XL 89
[R. Werner 1967]

CTH 297  
8. KUB XXXI 68
19. KUB XXXI 71
[R. Stefanini 1962; R. Werner 1973]

CTH 310  
5. KBo XXII 6 [H. Güterbock 1969]

CTH 311  
2. A. KUB XXXI 1+KBo III 16
   B. KBo III 17+18
3. KBo III 20
[H. Güterbock 1938]

CTH 312  
II. KUB XXXI 141 [E. Reiner and H. Güterbock 1967]

CTH 314  
1st tablet: A. KUB IV 6
   B. KUB IV 8
2nd tablet: A. KUB IV 5+KBo XII 73
   A'. KUB XII 72
   B. KUB IV 4
[E. Laroche 1964]

CTH 321  
A. KBo III 7
B. KUB XVII 5
C. KUB XVII 6
D. KUB XII 66
E. KUB XXXVI 54
F. KBo XII 83
G. KBo XII 84
H. KBo XXII 99
[E. Laroche 1965b]
| Late Hittite Corpus |

| Page Dimensions: 337.4x480.0 |

| CTH 336 | 1. A. KUB XXXIII 55 |
| B. KUB XXXIII 52 |
| C. KUB XXXIII 56 |
| 3. KUB XXXIII 57 |
| 4. KUB XXXIII 58 |
| 6. A. KUB XXXVI 51 |
| B. KUB XXXIII 63 |

[E. Laroche 1965b]

| CTH 337 | 1. KUB XLVIII 99 [E. Laroche 1965b] |

| CTH 341 | III. A. KUB VIII 57+XVII 2+VIII 56 |
| B(+)D. KUB VIII 55(+)XXXIII 123 |
| C. KUB VIII 51(+)53=KBo VI 30 |
| E. KBo X 47 a-h+46 |
| F. KUB XXXVI 72 |
| G. KUB XXXVI 73 |
| 6. KUB VIII 52=KBo VI 32(+)KUB XXIII 9 |
| 7. KUB VIII 58 |
| 8. A. KUB VIII 48(+)KUB VIII 49 |
| B. KUB XVIII 3 I |
| 9. A. KUB XVII 3 II |
| B. KUB VIII 50 II |
| 10. KUB XVII 3 III |
| 11. KUB VIII 50 III |
| 12. A. KUB XXXIII 124 |
| 13. KUB VIII 54 |
| 14. KBo X 49 |
| 15. KUB XXXVI 65 |
| 16. KUB VIII 59 |
| 17. KUB VIII 62 |

[J. Friedrich 1930a]

| CTH 342 | 1. A. KUB XXXVI 35 I |
| B. KUB XXXVI 34 I |
| 2. A. KUB XXXVI 37+XXXI 118 II |
| B. KUB XII 61 II! |
| 3. A. KUB XXXVI 37 III |
| B. KUB XXXVI 34 IV |
| 4. KUB XII 61 III! |
| 5. KUB XXXVI 35 IV |

[H. Otten 1953a]

| CTH 343 | I. A. KUB XXXIII 112+114+XXXVI 2 |
| B. KBo XII 76 |
| C. KBo XII 82 |
| II. A. KUB XXXVI 5 |
| B. HT 25+KUB XXXIII 111 |
| III. 1. KUB XXXVI 3 |
| 2. KUB XXXVI 6 |

[E. Laroche 1968]

| CTH 344 | A. KUB XXXIII 120+119+XXXVI 31 |
| B. KUB XXXVI 1 |
[E. Laroche 1968]

CTH 345 1st tablet: A. KUB XVII 7+XXXIII 93+95+96+XXXVI 12+KBo XXVI 58
B. KUB XXXIII 98+XXXVI 8
C. KUB XXXIII 102+104+XXXVI 9
D. KUB XXXIII 92+XXXVI 10+11
2nd tablet: B. KUB XXXIII 87+113+XXXVI 12+14
B. KUB XXXVI 13
D. KUB XXXIII 92 IV
3rd tablet: A. KBo XXVI 65
E. KUB XXXVI 15
E2. KUB XXXIII 101+KBo XXVI 69
F. KUB XXXIII 107+XXXVI 17
[H. Güterbock 1951, 1952; H. Otten 1950]

CTH 346 2. KUB XXXIII 117
5. KUB XXXIII 99
7. KUB XXXIII 118
8. KUB XXXVI 20
9. KUB XXXVI 25
11. KUB XXXIII 105
[H. Güterbock 1946]

CTH 347 1. KUB VIII 63 [H. Güterbock 1946]

CTH 348 1. A. KUB XLIII 65
B. KBo XXVI 70
2. KUB VIII 67
3. KUB VIII 64
4. A. KBo XXVI 72
B. KUB VIII 65
5. A. KBo XIX 112
B. KBo XIX 112a
6. A. KUB XXXIII 100+KUB XXXVI 16
B. KUB XXXIII 103
C. KUB XXXIII 116
7. KUB XXXIII 110
8. KUB XXXVI 56
9. A. KUB XXXIII 122
B. KBo XXVI 71
10. KUB XXXIII 103
11. A. KUB XXXIII 88
B. IBoT II 135
12+15. KUB XXXIII 86+VIII 66
13. KUB XXXIII 85
14. KBo XXVI 74
16. A. KUB XXXIII 84+KBo XIX 109 and 109a
B. KBo XIX 111
17+18. KUB XXXVI 57
19. KBo XIX 113
21. KUB XXXVI 58
22. KBo XIX 110
24-30. KUB XLIII 64
| CTH 349 | 1. KUB XXXIII 90  
|         | 2. KUB XXXIII 97  
|         | 3. KUB XXXVI 24  
|         | 4. KUB XXXVI 26  
|         | [H. Güterbock 1946] |

| CTH 350 | 1. KUB XXXIII 89+XXXVI 21  
|         | 3. KUB XXXIII 108  |

| CTH 351 | 1. KUB XXXVI 32  |

| CTH 360 | 1. A. KUB XXIV 8+XXXVI 60  
|         | B. KBo VII 18 (+?)KUB XXXVI 59 (+?)KBo XIX 101  
|         | C. KBo XXVI 84 (+?)KBo XIX 108  
|         | D. KBo XIX 106  
|         | E. KUB XLIII 70b (+)KBo XIX 107 + KUB XLIII 70a  
|         | F. KBo XXVI 85  
|         | 2. KBo XIX 104 (+) 105  
|         | 3. KBo XXVI 86  
|         | 4. KBo XIX 100  
|         | [J. Siegelová 1971] |

| CTH 361 | 1. A. KUB XXXIII 121  
|         | B. KUB XVII 1  
|         | 2. KUB XXXVI 61  
|         | 4. KUB XXXVI 63  
|         | [J. Friedrich 1950] |

| CTH 362 | 2. KUB XVII 9 [H. Güterbock 1938] |

| CTH 363 | KUB XXIV 7 II 45 ff. [J. Friedrich 1950] |

| CTH 364 | 1. A. KUB XXXIII 91  
|         | B. KUB XXXVI 19  
|         | 2. A. KUB XXXIII 115  
|         | B. KUB XXXVI 18  
|         | 3. A. KUB XVII 4  
|         | 4. KUB XXXVI 18a  
|         | [H. Güterbock 1946] |

| CTH 365 | KUB XXIII 79 |

| CTH 370 | KUB XXXVI 23, 53 [V. Haas 1970] |

| CTH 376 | A. KUB XXIV 3  
|         | C. KUB XXIV 4+XXX 12  
|         | [O. Gurney 1940; O. Carruba 1969a] |

| CTH 377 | A. KUB XXIV 1+1122/v+217/w  
|         | B. KUB XXIV 2  
|         | [O. Gurney 1940] |
CTH 378  
I. A. KUB XIV 14+XIX 1+XIX 2  
B. KUB XXIII 3  
II. A. KUB XIV 8  
B. KUB XIV 11  
C. KUB XIV 10  
III. KUB XIV 12  
IV. KUB XIV 13+XXIII 124  
[A. Goetze 1927b]  

CTH 382  
KBo XI 1  [Ph. Houwink ten Cate-F. Josephson 1967]  

CTH 385  
7. IBoT III 127+Bo 2710  [V. Haas 1970]  

CTH 386  
1. KUB XXXVI 90  
2. KUB XXXI 136  
3. KUB XXXVI 87  
[V. Haas 1970]  

CTH 387  
KUB XXI 33  [R. Stefanini 1964]  

CTH 389  
KUB XLIII 68(+)KUB XXXVI 91  [H. Otten-C. Rüster 1975]  

CTH 390  
A. KUB VII 1+KBo III 8  
B. IBoT III 107  
D. KUB XXX 48  
[H. Kronasser 1961; E. Laroche 1965b]  

CTH 396  
1. KBo XV 25  
2. ABoT 32; KBo XV 26, 27  
[O. Carruba 1966]  

CTH 398  
A. KBo IV 2 I-III 39  [H. Kronasser 1962]  

CTH 407  
A. KBo XV 1  [H. Kümmel 1967]  

CTH 409  
A. KUB VII 53+XII 58  [A. Goetze-E. Sturtevant 1938]  

CTH 410  
C. KUB XLI 17 II 18 ff.  [V. Souček 1963]  

CTH 415  
A. KBo XV 24  [L. Jakob-Rost 1963b]  

CTH 419  
A. KUB XXIV 5+IX 13  
B(+)C. KUB XXXVI 92(+)93  
D. KUB XXXVI 94  
E. KBo XV 14  
[H. Kümmel 1967]  

CTH 420  
1. KBo XV 7  
2. KBo XV 6  
[H. Kümmel 1967]  

CTH 421  
1. A. KBo XV 2
2. B. KBo XV 9
C. KUB XVII 14+KUB XV 2
D. KUB XVII 31
E. IBoT III 36

2. A. KBo XV 11
B. KUB XLI 24

3. KBo XV 8

4. KUB XII 40
5. KBo XV 5
[H. Kümme 1967]

CTH 422 A. KUB IV 1 I-III 14
B. KUB XXXI 146
[E. von Schuler 1965]

CTH 426 1. B. IBoT II 118 [E. Neu 1968]

CTH 428 3. A. KUB XLI 16 [C. Kühne 1973b]

CTH 433 1. KBo XII 96 [B. Rosenkranz 1964]

CTH 441 1. KUB XII 26 [E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 442 A. KUB IX 28 [M. Vieyra 1957]

CTH 446 A. KUB VII 41
B. KBo X 45
C. KUB XLI 8
D. KUB XII 56
E. IBoT II 128
[H. Otten 1961]

CTH 448 1. 4th tablet: A. KBo XXI 6
4. A. KUB VII 10
D. KBo XV 15
7. IBoT II 126; IBoT III 147; KBo XII 119; KBo XV 12; KUB VII 7
[H. Kümme 1967]

CTH 450 I. A. KUB XXX 16+XXXIX 1
B. KUB XXXIX 2
C. KUB XII 22
A. KUB XXX 15+XXXIX 11+19
A1. KUB XXXIX 12
A2. KUB XXX 18+XXXIX 3
A4. KUB XXX 25+XXXIV 68+XXXIX 4
B. KUB XXXIX 5
A. KUB XXX 24a+XXXIV 65+XXX 24
KUB XXXIX 14
A. KUB XXX 19+20+21+22+XXXIX 7+XXXIV 66
B. KUB XXXIX 8

II. 1. A. KUB XXXIX 6

III. 1. A. KUB XXX 23+XXXIX 13
2. KUB XXX 17
3. KUB XXXIX 9
4. KUB XXXIX 10
5. A. KUB XXXIX 15
6. KUB XXXIV 67+XXXIX 16
7. KUB XXXIX 18
8. KUB XXXII 111
9. KUB XXXIX 17
10. KUB XXXIX 20
11. KUB XXXIX 21
12. KUB XXXIX 22
23. IBoT II 130
24. KUB XII 48

[H. Otten 1958b]

CTH 451 KUB XXX 27 [H. Otten 1958b]

CTH 455 1. KUB IX 38
3. KBo XV 3
4. KBo XV 4

[H. Kümmel 1967]

CTH 457 1. A. KUB XVII 8 [E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 461 KUB XXI 20, 21, 76 [C. Burde 1974]

CTH 476 KBo V 1 [H. Kümmel 1967]

CTH 481 A. KUB XXIX 4
B. KUB XXIX 5
C. KUB XII 23

[D. KBo XV 29(+)KBo VIII 90(+)KUB XXIX 6+KUB XXXII 68

[H. Kronasser 1963]

CTH 482 KUB XXXII 133 [A. Goetze 1940]

CTH 486 A. KUB XLIII 50+KUB XV 36+XII 27
B. KUB XII 31+IBot II 112
C. KBo IV 2 III 40 ff.

[A. Goetze-H. Pedersen 1934]

CTH 488 KUB XXXIX 23+XXX 28 [H. Otten 1958b]

CTH 493 KUB XLIII 38 [N. Oettinger 1976]

CTH 507 KUB XXXVIII 26 [L. Jakob-Rost 1963b]

CTH 508 KUB XXXVIII 32 [L. Jakob-Rost 1963b]

CTH 509 4. KUB XXXVIII 23 [L. Jakob-Rost 1963b]

CTH 510 A. KUB XXXVIII 6
B. KUB XXXVIII 10+10a

[L. Jakob-Rost 1963b]
CTH 511 3. KUB XXXVIII 16 [L. Jakob-Rost 1963a]

CTH 513 1. KUB XXXVIII 8
2. KUB XXXVIII 9
[L. Jakob-Rost 1963a]

CTH 515 KUB XXXVIII 14 [L. Jakob-Rost 1963a]

CTH 517 A. KUB XXXVIII 12 [L. Jakob-Rost 1963a]

CTH 521 2. KUB XXXVIII 7
3. KUB XXXVIII 18
4. KUB XXXVIII 19
[L. Jakob-Rost 1963a]

CTH 522 KUB XXXVIII 5, 11, 13, 17, 20, 21, 24, 27-31, 33, 34, 36, 38 [L. Jakob-Rost 1963a, 1963b]

CTH 523 KBo XVI 77

CTH 524 2. KUB XXV 22
3. KUB XXV 24
4. KUB XXV 25
5. KUB XXXVIII 25
[L. Jakob-Rost 1963b]

CTH 525 4. KUB XXXVIII 35 [L. Jakob-Rost 1963b]

CTH 532 II. 3. KUB VIII 5+11/y [H. Otten-C. Rüster 1972]

CTH 537 II. KBo XIII 33 [K. Riemschneider 1970]

CTH 540 II. 1. KBo II 35
2. KBo VI 25+KBo XIII 35
3. KUB VIII 42
4. KBo VIII 44
5. KBo XIII 34
[K. Riemschneider 1970]

CTH 544 2. KBo XIII 29 [K. Riemschneider 1970]

CTH 549 b. KUB VIII 34 [E. Laroche 1952]

CTH 561 KUB V 1 [A. Unal 1974]

CTH 562 1. KUB XXII 25
2. B. KUB XL 106
[E. von Schuler 1965; H. Klengel 1961]

CTH 566 KUB XXII 70 [A. Unal 1978]

CTH 567 KUB V 10+XVI 83 [M. Vieyra 1957]

CTH 570 KUB V 6 [F. Sommer 1932]
I. KBo XVI 98 [P. Cornil-R. Lebrun 1972]

KUB XVI 32 [A. Ünal 1974]

A. KUB XV 17+XXI 61+XXVI 61(+) Bo 4268
B. KUB XV 16
C. KUB XXXI 52+566/v
D. KUB XXXI 51+XXVI 5+Bo 8522
E. KBo III 39+Bo 7266
F. KUB XXVI 64
G+I. KUB XXXI 53+1320/u+ABoT 51+585/u
H. KUB XXXI 50
J. KUB XXXI 58(+)75
K. KUB XXVI 60
L. VBoT 71
M. KUB XXVI 63+XXXI 63+73+Bo 7550+486/u
N. KUB XXXI 56
O. KUB XXXI 54
P. KUB IV 33+Bo 3795
Bo 2628+7878(+) VAT 6697b; Bo 2955+584/u; Bo 4652, 7506, 8212, 8303
u: 491, 1043, 1340, 1381, 1384, 1407, 1409, 1421, 1638, 1342/v
[H. Otten-V. Souček 1965]

A. KBo X 20
B. KUB XXX 39
C. KUB X 94
[H. Güterbock 1960]

1. IBoT III 1 [V. Haas-M. Währer 1976]
2. KBo XIX 128 [H. Otten 1971a]

1. KUB XX 4

I. A. KUB XXXII 128
B. KBo XV 60
C. KBo VII 45
D. KBo XV 50
E. KBo XV 49
F. KUB XXXII 99
G. KUB XXXII 100
H. ABoT 2(?)2520/c
[A. Dingol 1969]

1. KUB XL 2 [A. Goetze 1940]

1. KUB XXIX 56
3. KBo X 44
[B. Rosenkranz 1964]

6. KUB XXV 36
13. A. KBo XI 45
   B. IBoT III 87
   [V. Haas 1970]

CTH 661 1. KUB XXXVI 120
2. KUB XI 11(+)+XI 4
3. KUB XXXVI 121+XI 7
4. KUB XI 10
5. KUB XI 8(+)9
   [H. Otten 1951b]

CTH 662 4. KUB XXV 31+1142/z [H. Otten–C. Rüster 1972]

CTH 669 25. A. ABoT 6
29. A. KBo XV 16
   [H. Kümmel 1967]

CTH 670 IBoT II 91; IBoT III 3, 47; KUB X 4, 35; KUB XX 10
   [H. Güterbock 1969; V. Haas 1970]

CTH 671 KUB XXXVI 89 [V. Haas 1970]

CTH 672 KBo II 4 [V. Haas 1970]

CTH 673 KUB XXVII 68 [V. Haas 1970]

CTH 676 2. KUB XXXI 57

CTH 678 3. KUB IX 24
4. KUB X 88
5. KUB XXVIII 92
7. KUB XXVIII 99
8. A. KBo XI 60
12. KBo XVI 81
   [V. Haas 1970]

CTH 710 KUB XXXII 130 [J. Danmanville 1956]

CTH 712 C. IBoT II 50

CTH 714 1. KUB XXVII 16
2. KUB X 27
   [M. Vieyra 1957; H. Güterbock 1960]

CTH 715 KUB X 63 [M. Vieyra 1957]

CTH 720 KUB XII 15; KUB XX 98 [M. Vieyra 1957]

CTH 727 A. KUB XXVIII 4
B. KUB XXVIII 3
C. KUB XXVIII 5(+)VBoT 73
   [A. Kammenhuber 1955a]

CTH 733 I. 2. KUB XXVIII 76
II. 5. KUB XXXI 145
[E. Laroche 1947]

CTH 734 3. KUB XXVIII 60 [V. Haas 1970]

CTH 744 8. KUB XXVIII 98 [V. Haas 1970]

CTH 750 1. A. KUB II 4
   B. IBoT II 37
   2. KUB XLI 26+XX 29
   3. IBoT II 38
   4. IBoT II 71
   5. KBo XIII 215
   6. KBo XIII 217
   7. KBo XIII 266

CTH 757 A. HT 1 I-II 16
   B. KUB IX 31 I-II 42

CTH 759 4. KUB XXXV 40+1062/u [H. Otten-C. Rüster 1972]

CTH 764 I. KBo IX 127 (+)KUB XXXVI 41 [E. Laroche 1965b]

CTH 772 3. A. KUB XXXII 123

CTH 783 1. KUB XXX 26

CTH 790 KUB XXXVIII 22 [L. Jakob-Rost 1963a]

CTH 822 A. ABoT 49+2007/u = B. KBo XII 42
   [H. Hoffner 1968]

CTH 832 KUB XXXI 23 [A. Ünal 1974]
Appendix B

HITTITE WORDS WHICH ARE NOT NEUTER PLURAL

Included in this appendix are words cited in the literature as Hittite neuter plurals, but which are actually not.

B.1 I-STEMS

484. kappi– *small*

J. Friedrich [1954:98] refers to a form kap-pi in KUB X 89 I 29 as neuter plural, but in fact the word is correctly read HUB!·HI.A (G. Beckman, personal communication):

a. CTH 591 LH KUB X 89 I 27-29 GIS ar-kam-mi
   URUDU
gal-gal-tu-u-ri GUL-an-ni-eš-kân-zi LU
   HUB!·HI.A tar-ū-iš-kân-zi *They keep striking the
   arkammi instrument and the tambourine. The dancers keep
dancing.*

485. karsi– *frankly, without hesitation*

a. CTH 19 LH* KBo III 1+ II 47 nu-uš-ši kar-ši te-it-te-en
   *And speak to him frankly!*

b. CTH 62 LH KBo V 9 II 3-4 ]-ni-it IS-TU KA[RAS
   ANŠU.KUR.RA
   a-pu-u-un] LU KUR kar-aš-ši-ya
   Ū-[UL za-ah-hi-iš-ki-ši *You] do not [fight that] enemy
   without hesitation with troops [and cavalry.*
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c. CTH 67 LH KBo V 4 Rs. 29–30 nu a-pu-u-un LUKUR tu-e-e[1 IŞ-TU ERİNMEŞ ANŞU.KUR.RAMEŞ Ü IŞ-TU KUR-KA kar-ša-ya Ú-UL za-ah-hi-iš-ki-ši. And you do not fight that enemy without hesitation with your foot troops (and) cavalry and with your land.

d. CTH 68 LH KUB VI 41 III 56–57 nu me-mi-an pí-ra-an pa-ra-a kar-ša-ya QA-TAM-MA SU-PUR ‘And write the word frankly thus beforehand!’

e. CTH 76 LH KUB XXI 5 III 8 na-an A-NA DUTU-ŠI pí-ra-an pa-ra-a kar-aš-ša-ya SU-PUR ‘And write it to my majesty frankly beforehand!’

f. CTH 259 MH KUB XIII 20 I 7 nu LUKUR kar-ši za-ah-hi-ya-ad-du-ma-at ‘Fight the enemy without hesitation!’

g. CTH 268 MH KUB XXI 47 I? 17’ na-an hu-u-ma-an-te-eš tak-ša-an kar-ši za-ah-hi-ya-at-[ten ‘And all of you fight him together, without hesitation!’

Based on use of the LH forms karsaya and karsiya in phrases parallel to those with karsi in Middle Hittite, C. Watkins [1981 forthcoming] analyzes karsi as nominative-accusative neuter plural of the adjective karsi- (cf. karsis nom. sg. c. KBo IV 14 III 38 LH) in adverbial function. In contrast J. Friedrich [1954:103] takes karsi, karsaya, and karsiya as varying shapes of the dative-locative singular. Watkins offers no justification for taking them as neuter plural instead, although karsi and karsaya are equally well-formed adjective neuter plurals or dative singulars, while karsiya
would be a well-formed noun dative — and adjectives do occasionally adopt noun inflection, thus *parkuyas* rather than *parkuwayas* in KUB V 6 II 61, III 4 — but would be a unique neuter plural. No other i-stem noun or adjective ever uses such a neuter plural ending. Since both the old directive and the dative are found in adverbial use in Hittite, there is no compelling reason to analyze *karsi, karsaya, karsiya* as neuter plurals, especially when doing so requires recognition of an otherwise unattested type of neuter plural.303

486. salli- ‘great’
a. CTH 303 LH KBo I 42 IV 24 ] RA-PA-A-DU šal-la-i

The text is a vocabulary list. The Akkadian form, which as attested is the infinitive ‘to run around’, has apparently been misinterpreted as RA-BÁ-A-TÙ fem. pl. ‘big’ (rabû). *sallai* is tentatively identified by J. Friedrich [1954:179] as neuter plural, but, given the Hittites’ poor knowledge of Akkadian, is just as likely to be dative due to scribal misinterpretation of RA-PA-A-DU as an oblique.

487. tuppi- ‘tablet’
a. CTH 61 LH KUB XXVI 79 I 16 nlu ku-iš ki-e TUP-PAĎI.A [ ‘And whoever [ ] these tablets...’
b. CTH 106 LH KBo IV 10 I 38-39 ki-e-ma DUB.BAĎI.A

iš-hi-ū-ul-la-aš ka-ru-ú a-ni-ya-an e-eš-ta na-at I-NA URU [ -na DUB.BAĎI.A ū-UL a-ni-ya-an. ‘But these tablets of

303 Interesting in this context is the use of nouns in the directive with verbs expressing various types of combat, as discussed by H. Hoffner 1978:247.
the treaty formerly were drawn up. And in the city [ ] tablets (were) not drawn up.

c. CTH 200 MH ABoT 60

1. Vs. 3-6 ]me-mi-an ka-ru-u [T]UP-PA_HI.A

(h)a-[at-r]a-a-nu-un 'I wrote the word formerly on the tablets.'

2. Rs. 5 TUP-PA_HI.A; see no. 77.a

d. CTH 628 LH KBo XV 52 VI 43'-44' na-aš-ta ki-e TUP-PA_HI.A Š[A E]ZEN hi-šu-wa-a-aš a-pí-ya UD-at a[r-h]a a-mi-ya-at 'And on that day he finished these tablets of the hisuwa festival.'

The form DUB.BA is the Sumerian plural, TUPPA the Akkadian version. No Hittite spelling such as tup-pi_HI.A is known to me.

B.2 AI-STEMS

488. tallai- type of vessel

J. Friedrich [1954:206], followed by J. Weitenberg [1979: 295], cites tallāya as a possible nominative-accusative neuter plural to tallai-. However, L. Zuntz [1937:492] and A. Goetze [1969b:351] take the form as ablative, and in fact in both copies that is the correct reading:

a. CTH 483 KUB XV 34 I 31 ]x tal-la-a-i-az Š IŠ-TU Í.DU[G.GA š]a-ra-a da-a-i 'x from the vessel and from the oil he takes [ ] up.'

(KUB XV 33b+ I 31-32 tal-la-a-ya-a[ž]
B.3 T-STEMS

489. tivarit ‘wagon’

a. CTH 292 LH* sect. 122 KBo VI 14+ I 15 GIŠMAR.GID-it; 
   see no. 102

transcribing this word, but Friedrich later [1969:66] adopts 
the reading of A. Goetze and H. Pedersen [1934:45] and takes 
<it> as a miswriting for <da>. This gives GIŠMAR.GID.DA, 
the normal spelling of the word, and eliminates the posited 
neuter plural tivarit.

B.4 L-STEMS

490. memal- ‘groats’

a. CTH 284 LH KUB I 13 1k. Rd. 4 1 [ŠA-A-D]U
   me-ma-al-la-ya an-da im-mi-ya-an-da-[an a-]da[-an-zi
   ‘They eat also groats, 1 measure, mixed.’

J. Friedrich [1954:140] analyzes this as memallaa ntr. pl. 
plus -ya ‘and’. However, elsewhere in this text the author, 
who knows Hittite imperfectly, uses -aya in place of -a/ya
‘and’; thus he writes watarraya for watarr-a ‘and water’
where the noun is certainly singular. Hence memallaya is 
equally likely to stand for memal sg. plus -aya, especially
since only singular memal is used in similar sentences 
throughout the text.

491. warsul- ‘drop, tear, refreshment’

a. CTH 284 LH KBo III 2 II 11 wa-[a]r-šu-la-ya-aš-ma-aš

IHITTITE WORDS WHICH ARE NOT NEUTER PLURAL

kat-ta pi-e-da-i 'And he brings them refreshment.'

This form could be analyzed as warsula-ya-smas ntr. pl., but all other attestations are common gender (e.g. warsulas nom. sg. c. LH* KUB XXIV 1 I 11; warsulan acc. sg. c. KUB XXIV 14 I 22). warsula ought therefore to be an error for warsulan acc. sg. c. The author of the text does not know Hittite well and makes numerous errors in gender; thus hūman, hūmanda, hūmandan all modify GE₆-an acc. sg. c.

B.5 NOUNS WHOSE STEM CLASS IS UNCERTAIN

492. aʔrwanalla type of bird

a. CTH 363 LH KUB XXIV 7 III 66-68 IMMEŠ sar-ku l-ŠU šar-[DU]MU-li še-ir MUŠEN[H.A?] za-r[i]-y[a-na]-al-la MUŠEN[ ]-a-te-li nu MUŠEN[H.A] [a]r?-wa-na-a[1-1]a DUMU-li [še-i]r t[i- 'The winds strongly once [ ] above the child the zariyanalla bird[s?] (and?) the [ ] bird[s?]. And the aʔrwanalla birds above the child['

J. Friedrich [1954:34] and A. Kammenhuber [1975:349] take aʔrwanalla, zariyanalla as neuter plural. However, MUŠEN is normally common gender and we would in any case expect the names of animate beings to be in the common gender, so that the neuter is unexpected here. As both words are hapax legomena and quite likely foreign, it seems better to take them as uninflected.

493. kurpisi 'helmet?'

a. CTH 242 LH KUB XXVI 66 III 6 3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1 KI.LAL

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A. Mušen A-na 2 kūr-pī-ši. H1.A ‘3 minas of silver and one eagle weight for 2 helmets (?)’

J. Friedrich [1954:118] lists this as an i-stem neuter plural, but in fact the word is an unassimilated Hurrian loan word used here as a quasi-ideogram following ANA.

494. kuttašari ‘wall’

a. CTH 209 LH KUB XXVI 92.11 a-pa-a-aš-ma-wa-ra-at-kān NA4 ku-ut-ta-aš-ša-ri an-da wa-al-a[h-ta ‘But that one struck it against the wall.’

If this word were an r/n-stem as E. Laroche [1954a:103 ff.] and J. Friedrich [1957b:11] say, it should be a neuter i-plural. However, use of the accusative rather than the dative with anda is rare, and H. Güterbock [1956b:121 ff.] instead takes kuttašari as a CL r-stem dative singular.

495. misteliya a ritual meal?

a. CTH 416 OH KBo XVII 6+ 5'-6' ma-a-a]n mi-iš-ti-li-ya me-ê-hu-ur Mušen ha-ra-na-an an-da [pi-e-ta]h-hi ‘When (it is) time for the misteli, I take the eagle in.’

b. CTH 631 OH KBo XVII 11+ IV 9'-10' ma-a-na-pa ha-aš-ša-an-zi mi-iš]-ti-li-ya me-hu-ur tu-un-na-ak-ki-iš-na [pa-a-an-zi ‘And when they open’ (and it is) time for the misteli, [they go] to the chamber.’


[hal-z]i-ya-ri 'The king goes into the palace. And
'misteli' is called out.'

d. no CTH number (OH?) 44/u.4 ff. t]i-an-zi šal-li
mi-ış-te-l[i 'And they place [ ]. The great misteli['

E. Neu [1980b:38-39] takes misteliya as a nominative-accusative neuter i-stem adjective modifying plural mēkur. However, as the phrase seems to refer to a specific point in time at which a cult meal is eaten, it seems unlikely to be plural or collective as Neu suggests. Further, I know of no other use of mēkur as a collective. It is frequently attested in the singular, and once in the plural (mehurriHI.A, no. 270). No other i-stem plural ends in -iya, and even if such an ending existed it would be proper to an i-stem noun and not an adjective. In nos. a and b, translating 'time for the misteli' or the like with misteliya interpreted as the dative-locative singular of a noun is possible, while in d the conjunction -ya may be expected because misteli is the first word of the sentence. Also, it here occurs without mēkur and so is very unlikely to be an adjective modifying a deleted noun in the collective or plural.

Neu assumes that misteliya is an i-stem, citing N. van Brock's derivation of it [1962:127] as an -ili-/eli-adjective to an unattested Hurrian stem mist(a/i)-. But E. Laroche in his Hurrian dictionary [1977] mentions neither the proposed Hurrian stem nor misteliya itself. Formally misteliya could be an a-stem neuter plural, but as there is
no good reason to assign neuter plural value to either misteliya or mehur in these sentences, interpretation of misteliya as a dative singular is preferable.

496. sattā type of tool
a. CTH 662 LH KUB XV 31 II 13-14 EGĪR-ŠU-ma-za GĪŠša-at-ta
   GĪŠMAR GĪš hu-u-up-pa-ra-an-na da-a-i 'But he thereafter
takes for himself sattā, a spade, and a hūppara.'
   (KUB XV 32 II 8 š]a-at-ta-an)

The only indication that this word is neuter plural comes
from its final -a. This is most likely to be an error for
-an judging from the duplicate and from sattān in KUB XXX 35
I 4.

497. sehilliya 'purity'

a. CTH 777 MH KUB XXIX 8 II 14-16 še-e-hi-el-li-ya; see
   no. 71.b.2
b. CTH 475 LH KBo IX 115+ Vs. 3-4 še-hi-il-li-ya; see no.
   278.f
c. CTH 481 LH KUB XXIX 4 IV 11-13 še-hi-el-{el}-li-ya; see
   no. 278.g.4

E. Neu [1980b:39] discusses the collocation sehilliya widār,
but the -iya ending of Hurrian loans like sehilliya is not
necessarily to be interpreted as a plural ending. Rather,
as V. Haas and G. Wilhelm [1974:130 ff.] demonstrate, Hur­
rian loan words in -iya vary widely in use in Hittite. They
may be treated by the Hittite scribe as i-stem datives, as
iya-stems, or as uninflected quasi-ideograms. Thus we find
the inflected form sehilliyas widār/wātar 'water(s) of
purity' in contexts parallel to those with the quasi-ideo-
gram sehelliya.

498. wasanna 'course, stadion'

a. CTH 284 LH KUB I 11+ IV 20-23 na-aš ar-ra-an-du-uš tu-u-ri-ya-an-zi na-aš 1 DANNA 20 IKUHI. A pár-ha-an-du-uš pa-a-an-zi wa-ša-an-na na-aš pár-ku-wa-tar-še-it 5 IKU DAGAL-ZU-ma 3 IKU 'And they harness them, washed. And they go 1 DANNA 20 IKU galloping around(?) the course. And its length (is) 5 IKU, and its breadth (is) 3 IKU.'

J. Friedrich [1954:248] cites this as a neuter plural, but since it is a foreign word in a text whose author makes frequent grammatical errors (cf. nos. 490, 491), the chances that it is neuter plural are slim. See also A. Kammenhuber 1961b:121.

499. waskuwana 'error?'

a. CTH 383 LH KUB XXI 19 IV 13-16 ]x ki-i ku-it [(gap)]x DINGIR MES š pi-ra-an a-pí-ya wa-aš-ku-wa-na e-eš-zi-pát ku-it-ki nu-u-wa nu-kán a-pí-e-da-ni HUL-u-i ud-da-ni-i DINGIR LIM iš [k]u-iš-ki ū-e-ri-iz!-zi 'I what is this [ ] before the gods then (there is?) still some error(?) And for that evil word some god calls.'

Although J. Friedrich [1954:248] refers to this as neuter plural, it is modified by kuitki and should be neuter singular. The relation of waskuwana to wasku(i)- 'error' is not clear.

500. zarinalla type of bird

a. CTH 363 LH KUB XXIV 7 III 66-68 za-ri-ya-na-al-la; see no. 492
B.6 PRONOUNS

501. mase 'how much, so much'

a. CTH 670 LH KUB X 52 I 5-9 ] LŪMES NGAN URU a-ri-in-na [ ] Į LŪ NGAN URU zi-ip-pa-la-an-[a-] ša-ra-a

 ti-iš-kăn-zi ma-še-e ma-še-e NINDA ta-kar-mu-uš LUGAL-uš pár-si-ya ] the priests of Arinna [ ] and the priest of Zippalanda (all) stand up. The king breaks so many tarkamu loaves.

J. Friedrich [1960:69] identifies this form as neuter plural. However, since -e can be a common gender accusative plural as well as a neuter plural pronoun ending (cf. kue acc. pl. c. in AT 125 Vs. 5, 11) there is no reason not to take mase as common gender modifying tarkamus.
Appendix C

AVESTAN CONSONANT-STEM NEUTER PLURALS

The existence of a consonant-stem neuter plural formation ending in -i has been claimed for Avestan by Kuiper [1955:12 ff.; 1976:242 ff.; 1978:87 ff.] following previous scholars. The forms cited are GA.V. afšmânî, sâxvânî, varâcâhî; YA.V. âsâonî, asti, baevani, ârâzatô.pai'î, zaranyô.pai'î, cinmânî, nâmôni. These forms contrast with the well-attested Avestan plural type with lengthened grade shown for example by GA.V. n-stem damân, nt-stem mîzdavan, s-stem raocâ, raocas-ca, r-stem sâxvârâ; YA.V. n-stem nâmâm, s-stem vacâ. Investigating the linguistic reality of the plurals in -i is the subject of this appendix. (I am indebted to Stanley Insler for his invaluable help with this discussion.)

For stems in obstruents only three plurals in -i are cited: asti, ârâzatô.pai'î, zaranyô.pai'î; and in fact all three have been incorrectly identified. With regard to asti 'bone', forms with both consonantal and thematic inflection are attested: consonant-stem asca acc. sg. (*ast-ca) in V.5.9; astâm gen. pl. in V.6.29, 46; azdibîs inst. pl. in Y.37.2; but thematic astâm acc. sg. in V.5.16, 6.10; astanâm

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The form asti is supposed to be the plural of the consonant stem type. However, in both attestations the better manuscripts read asta. For asta-ca in Yt.13.11 rather than asti-ca see F₁, Pt₁; for asta in V.15.11 rather than asti see L₄, Jp₁, and note that the thematic genitive plural occurs eight lines above in V.15.3. Because it appears in the fixed collocation ast- uštāna- 'body and soul' -- and facilitated perhaps by a dual dvandva *asta uštāna- -- ast- has been thematicized to give asta-uštāna-, and it is the thematicized neuter plural which is actually attested. ārəzatō.paiši 'silver-trimmed' and zaranyō.paiši 'gold-trimmed' in Aog.17 have been correctly explained by J. Kellens [1974:50-52] as Persianized versions of *ārəzatō.paišī and *zaranyō.paišī, i.e. feminine nominative singulars; cf. zaranyō.paišīm fem. acc. sg. in V.2.6.

The only type of obstruent-stem neuter plural really attested is that in -āC, e.g. GAv. nt-stem mīzdarawn, about which there is no controversy.

A single plural in -i to an s-stem has been proposed, GAv. varcāhī- in Y.32.14. This form has been explained by S. Insler [1975:208] as a locative singular 'they fix their intentions on plundering' (nī ... xratuḥ dadat varcāhīca) rather than accusative, leaving as the only attested

Contrast, for example, the translation of C. Bartholomae, "Richten auch die Kavay ihre Absichten und Kräfte schon lange..." [1905:30-31], or that of H. Humbach, "...und die Kavis alle immer wieder ihren Geist hinein und ihr Ansehen, wenn sie Opferaufstellung nehmen..." [1959:99].
neuter plural the type \textit{raocá}(s-). Kuiper in order to explain the contrast of \textit{varocähī} and \textit{raocá} must invoke dialect mixture [1978:90-91]. He derives \textit{varocähī} from a different dialect than all other Av. s-stem neuter plurals; yet in Zarathustra's language dialect mixture is notably scarce. Further, the dialect Kuiper posits has as its only distinctive feature just the outcome of \textit{*-Cx} as \textit{-Ci} [1976:247 ff.]. Insler's explanation is therefore superior. In any case, little weight can be put on a single form.

No r- or r/n-stem in Avestan has attested a neuter plural in \textit{-i}. We find only \textit{ayārs}, \textit{saxvārs}, and so forth, although a type in \textit{-i} would be expected if such were a valid Avestan neuter plural formation.

We are left with the n-stems, where a number of plurals in \textit{-i} have been proposed. For Gathic we find \textit{afśmānī}, \textit{sāxvēnī}, but both of these have been otherwise explained by Insler. For \textit{sāxvēnī} in Y.53.5a he reads \textit{*sāxvānī} \textit{these words} [1975:274, 16-17], and offers as support \textit{ciprā ī these things are clear} (Y.31.22), where ī also falls after the noun [personal communication]. Although the two passages are not exact syntactic parallels, Y.31.22 does show that ī can be used in second position. \textit{afśmānī} in Y.46.17 Insler takes as a locative singular \textit{in verse} (along with \textit{anafśmām}), which during the process of transmission has replaced the expected \textit{*afśmainī} under influence of the following \textit{sānghānī} [1975:274, 5-9].

Kuiper seems to have missed this part of Insler's
well founded Gathic plural in \(-i\).

The remaining forms are all YAv.: cinmānī, baēvani, aśaoni, and nāmāni. cinmān-, as Kuiper himself points out [1978:83], has \(a\) throughout its paradigm. The form cinmānī in Y.12.3 may therefore be taken without undue difficulty as the neuter dual with the virtual dvandva astō uṣṭānahe \(\text{the two desires of body and of soul}\).

As for baēvani, the regular neuter plural baēvan \(\text{myriads}\) is attested in Yt.13.59, where it is paralleled by other correct neuter plurals. Therefore in 13.64, five lines later, the form baēvani is reasonably taken as a locative, possibly to be translated \(\text{in a myriad}\). Again Kuiper claims dialect mixture and again we may ask how likely such mixture is within five lines in a single hymn, and how well established the dialect is from which the aberrant form is to be derived.

With regard to aśaoni in Y.71.6, the grammar of that passage as a whole is uncertain. We find vīspāca dāma mazdaōāta vazamaide ... aśaoni\(^{312}\) \(\text{We worship all the truthful creations created by Mazda ...}\), with dāma for the expected dāmām. If in fact neuter plural, the form aśaoni could have arisen analogically: since the feminine singulars in \(-ā\) built to thematic stems matched the thematic neuter plurals in \(-ā\), then the feminines in \(-ā\) to athematic stems could have led to an athematic neuter plural in \(-ī\), especi-

\(^{312}\) The better manuscript reads aśaoniī.
ally since the i-stem neuter plural was originally *-ī.

Only nāmōni remains to be discussed. This form must be
treated in concert with the strange form nāmōnís, for the
two occur in the same contexts. While nāman- 'name' has
frequently attested forms which correspond to the normal
n-stem paradigm, e.g. nāma nom-acc. sg. in Yt.1.3, Yt.1.5,
nāmān nom-acc. pl. in Y.38.4, Yt.19.6, nāmanām gen. pl. in
Y.36.3, we also find several peculiar forms functioning
syntactically as instrumentals. We have nāma in Yt.15.45,
50 tāscā mē nāma zbayaēsā 'And you should call these by my
name'; nāman in Y.15.1 amōsē spēntē vaghūs srīrāis nāman
āzaya 'Summon the good Amēsē Spēntē with their splendid
names!'; nāmōnís in Y.51.22 ta yazāi xāis nāmōnīs 'I shall
worship them with their own names...'; finally, nāmōni in
Y.37.3 tōm (=Ahura Mazda) ... šēirvā nāmōni mazdā.varā ... 
yazamaide 'We worship him with his Ahuryan name which has
choice of wisdom' and Yt.13.79 nāmōni āpō yazamaide nāmōni
urvarā yazamaide ... 'We worship the waters by name, the
plants by name...'. None of these forms have the correct
shape for the instrumental singular or plural.

We find nāmōni and nāmōnís acting syntactically as nomin­
ative-accusative plurals as well. nāmōnís occurs in Yt.1.16
vasca.mē ... imā nāmōnīs drēŋjāyō 'And who would murmur
these names of mine'. Note that nāmōnīs is interpreted as a
feminine and modified by imā, and note also the miswriting
of -ō for optative -ōit. nāmōni acts as an accusative plu­
ral in Yt.4.2 yō ... nāmōni amēšānām spēntānām ... zbāyōit
'Who would call the names of the Amēšē Spēntō', and as
nominative plural in Yt.4.7 nāmōni aēšam ... janaiti "The names of these ... strike". It may be noted that manuscript F reads nāmōnē in both lines.

nāmōnīš and nāmōni, acting as both instrumental and nominative-accusative, are equally irregular morphologically and syntactically in both uses. There is no clear etymological explanation for either as instrumentals, nor is there any evidence that they originated as nominative-accusatives. Since no other -āni neuter plurals exist in Avestan, nāmōni, which is used interchangeably as instrumental and nominative-accusative, should not be assumed to be historically a neuter plural, especially since no such forms appear in Indic either, but only the lengthened-grade type.

Having evaluated all of the proposed neuter plurals in -ī, we find that a number of them are certainly to be rejected, and that none of the rest are securely founded. It therefore appears that this type in fact has no linguistic reality in Avestan, in contrast to the well attested endingless type in lengthened grade.

Kuiper has denied the entire existence in Indo-European of an endingless nominative-accusative neuter plural and instead assumes for Indo-European consonant-stems neuter plurals only in e-grade plus the ending *-x, based primarily on the Avestan forms we have been discussing. To these he compares Lat. nōmina, Gk. onōmata, etc. with -a from the "consonantal" laryngeal, as he terms it [1955:12 ff.; 1976:242 ff.; 1978:87 ff.]. Only for the n-stems does he
assume a PIE lengthened grade formation, to which *-x was added, giving the shape *-onx reflected in Skt. námāni, Go. haírtona. All other Ilr. lengthened grade formations he assumes are created within that branch on analogy to the námāni type. He rejects Hit. widār, Av. avārō, etc. as evidence for a PIE lengthened grade formation [1978:88 ff.]. The Skt. type nāmā without final -i he explains as arising by analogy of singular nāma to singular vāsu, plural vāsū, ergo plural nāmā [1955:12 ff.; 1978:90].

Kuiper’s views are to be rejected for a number of reasons, chief among them being the way he ignores the compelling evidence for PIE lengthened grade neuter plurals presented by such comparisons as Hit. widār, Gk. hūdōr, Skt. udā, Go. wato, all implying PIE *udōr (see Chapter 6, section 5). It is hardly conceivable that such forms would have arisen independently in the various branches. Also, no explanation for morphologically and lexically isolated words like quattuor can be found under his assumptions. Further, as we have seen, the plural in *-ē/onx cannot be proven to exist in Avestan, and there is no Indic evidence to support the type, whereas both sub-branches do have neuter plurals of the endingless lengthened grade type: Skt. ahā, nāmā, Av. mīḏdavan, ayārā, nāmān, manā(s-).

As for Kuiper’s plural in *-onx, in the first place there is no explanation given as to why the n-stems should have an otherwise unknown type of plural. Secondly, and more dammingly, his reconstruction of the formation rests on evidence from only two branches, Indic, where námāni, etc.
can be explained as secondary, and Germanic, where *hairtona, *augona (implying *hertōno, etc.) must be secondary because these words were root nouns in Indo-European, not n-stems. Compare Skt. hārdi, Gk. kēr, Hit. ker on the one hand, and Skt. āksi, Lat. oculus, Gk. ōsse on the other. In Gothic old n- and r/n-stems have plurals of the type namna, watna, while the singulars namo, wato in fact reflect the PIE lengthened grade formation in the same way as hūdōr. Kuiper’s type in *-ōnx therefore cannot be substantiated on the PIE level. What we can establish is rather the lengthened-grade type with no ending. For further discussion, see Chapter 6, sections 5 and 6.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFO</td>
<td>Archiv für Orientforschung.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AnSt</td>
<td>Anatolian Studies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AOS</td>
<td>American Oriental Series.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ArchOr</td>
<td>Archiv Orientální.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Athen</td>
<td>Athenaeum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belleten</td>
<td>Belleten. Türk Tarih Kurumu.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DanskeVid</td>
<td>Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, historisk-filologiske Meddelelser.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAW</td>
<td>Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HA</td>
<td>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HO</td>
<td>Handbuch der Orientalistik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBK</td>
<td>Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBS</td>
<td>Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF</td>
<td>Indogermanische Forschungen.</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Journal/Book Title</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>IIJ</td>
<td>Indo-Iranian Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</td>
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<tr>
<td>InGr</td>
<td>Incunabula Graeca</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>JCS</td>
<td>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Krat</td>
<td>Kratylos</td>
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<tr>
<td>KZ</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lg</td>
<td>Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDOG</td>
<td>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIO</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNAW</td>
<td>Mededelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSS</td>
<td>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MVAG</td>
<td>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHAI</td>
<td>Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut.</td>
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<tr>
<td>OLZ</td>
<td>Orientalische Literaturzeitung.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Or</td>
<td>Orientalia (Nova Series).</td>
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<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHA</td>
<td>Revue Hittite et Asianique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMEA</td>
<td>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.</td>
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<td>Sprache</td>
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<tr>
<td>StBoT</td>
<td>Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten.</td>
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