

Trends in Linguistics Documentation 1

Editor

Werner Winter

Mouton Publishers
Berlin · New York · Amsterdam

Hittite Etymological Dictionary

by

Jaan Puhvel

Vol. 1 Words beginning with A

Vol. 2 Words beginning with E and I

Mouton Publishers
Berlin · New York · Amsterdam

apparanti- (above), is likewise present in Ved. *aparedyús* 'on the following day', *aparíbhyaś*, *aparíṣu*, *aparám*, *aparáya* 'hereafter, in the future' (cf. e.g. *RV* 2.28.8 *námas purá te Varuṇa utá nūnám utá aparám* 'glory before to thee, Varuna, and now, and hereafter', and in Goth. *in þamma afardaga* 'on the day after'. The protean nature of temporal **pro* has resulted in the Greek subordination and polarization of *πρόσ(σ)ω* to *ὀπίσ(σ)ω*: *πρόσ(σ)ω* normally means 'forwards' in space and time, and *ὀπίσσω* signifies 'backwards' in space, but when contrasted in temporal usage, Homeric *πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω* amount to 'before and after' (*Iliad* 1:343, 3:109, 18:250; *Odyssey* 24:452; cf. Shelley's 'we look before and after', i.e. to the past and to the future). Rather than such opposition, Hittite shows semantic subdifferentiation, *parā siwatti* 'next day' vs. *appa(-)siwatti* 'in the future'; the special sense and formation of *appasiwatt-* also has areal linguistic overtones, for it matches both Sum. EGIR.UD and Akk. [*w*]arkat ūmi 'future', lit. 'back of the day' (*ana warkat ūmim* 'for ever after'; cf. Starke, *Funktionen* 158–9). Cf. also Puhvel, *JAOS* 100:168 (1980), *Kratylos* 25:138 (1980); G. Dunkel, *KZ* 96:66:87 (1982/3).

Cf. *anisiwat* s.v. *anna-*, *an(n)i-*; *zilatiya*, *ziladuwa*.

appat(a)riya- 'seize (as pawn to compel payment of debt), take in pledge, distraint; make seizure, levy distress, exercise distraint', 3 sg. pres. act. in *KBo* VI 3 III 76–77 (= *Code* 1:76) *takku* GUD ANŠU.KUR.RA ANŠU.GIR.NUN.NA ANŠU *kuiski appatrizzi* (dupl. VI 2 IV 4 *appatarizzi*) 'if anyone seizes as pawn cattle, horse, mule (or) ass', *KUB* XIII 8 Vs. 10–11 GUD.HI.A-ya-smas UDU.HI.A *le kuiski appatriyazi n-at-kan hūmantaza arawēs asandu* 'no one shall seize from them cattle (or) sheep, and they shall be free from everything' (spelled *ap-pát-*, vs. usual *ap-pa-at-*, *ap-pa-ta-*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 106), 3 sg. pret. act. in *KBo* XIV 21 I 32 *appatriyat nu-war-as-kan kuenta-pat* '(he) seized (the two consecrated rams) and even killed them'; inf. in VI 26 I 28–29 (= *Code* 2:64) *takku appatriwanzi kuiski paizzi ta sullatar iezzi* 'if somebody goes to make a seizure and causes a conflict'.

Correctly interpreted as denom. from *appatar* 'taking, seiz-

ure', verbal noun of *ep(p)-* (q.v.), already by Sommer, *Heth. II* 42; similarly Friedrich apud Sommer, *ZA* 46:49 (1940), *Heth. Ges.* 43, 75; Haase, *Arch. Or.* 26:28–30 (1958), *Bi. Or.* 26:311–3 (1969). This legal specialization need not exclude other nuances of 'seizure' in some contexts, e.g. 'requisition, appropriate, induct, draft' (cf. Goetze, *JCS* 18:92–3 [1964], 20:130–1 [1966]). For bibliography regarding improbable alternative suggestions ('lend, lease, hire, borrow') cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 15:69 (1961); *Imparati*, *Leggi ittite* 261.

For parallel terms in other ancient IE legal contexts (e.g. OIr. *athgabál* 'distraint' from *gab-* 'take', or Lat. *pignoris capio* 'seizure as a pledge'), cf. D. A. Binchy, *Celtica* 10:22–71 (1973); C. Watkins, *Kratylos* 19:64–5 (1974).

api- (n., rarely c.), necromantic sacrificial pit for summoning up infernal deities or revenants, sometimes personified as ^D*Āpi-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *āpi* (e.g. *KUB* XXIX 4 IV 34 *āpi pedanzi* 'they dig a pit'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 30; XLVII 59 Vs. 6 *nu āpi hēsanzi* 'they open a pit'; cf. H. Otten – C. Rüster, *ZA* 68:155 [1978]), *api* (XXVII 1 III 9; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 81), *a-pi-e* (*KBo* II 9 IV 11 *namma apedani pidi ape kinuwanzi* 'then in that place they open up a pit'), vocative ^D*Āpi* (*KUB* XLI 8 III 17 = *KBo* X 45 III 26; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:130 [1961]), acc. sg. c. *āpin* (e.g. IX 119A, 16 *āpin iyazi* 'makes a pit'; *KUB* XLI 8 III 13 ^D*Āpin GIR-it kinuzi*, with dupl. *KBo* X 45 III 22 ^D*Āpi GIR-it ginuzzi* 'he opens up a pit with a knife'; *KUB* XLI 8 III 16–17 1 GAD ŠA QATI dāi nu-kan ^D*Āpin ser kariyazi*, with dupl. *KBo* X 45 III 24–25 nu 1 GAD ŠA QATI dāi nu-kan *āpin kariyazi* 'he takes a hand-cloth and covers [up] the pit'; *KUB* X 63 I 18 ^D*Āpin kinuzi*; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:88 [1957]; *ibid.* 26 *n-asta* ^D*Āpin ser ištU NINDA KUR₄.RA istāpi* 'then he stops up the pit at the top with thick bread'; cf. XXXII 137 II 27 *nu-kan hattessar istāp[i]* 'he plugs the hole'), *apin* (*KBo* XXIII 3 Vs. 10; *KUB* XLVII 62, 11), gen. sg. *apias* (*KBo* II 8 IV 15), dat.-loc. sg. *āpiya* (XIX 145 III 24; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 302), *āpi* (e.g. XVII 94 III 25 *ANA āpi kattan lāhuwāi* 'pours down into the pit'; *KUB* X 63 I 20 *n-an-kan* ^{L_U}*SANGA ANA* ^D*Āpi kattanda haddāi* 'the priest

slaughters it down into the pit'; cf. XXIX 4 IV 36 *n-a]n-kan hattessni kattanda haddanzi* 'they slaughter it down into the hole'), *api* (XLI 8 III 14–15 ^D*Api anda* BAL-*anti*, with dupl. *KBo* X 45 III 23 ^D*Āpi anda* BAL-*anti* 'libates into the pit'), dat.-loc. sg. (and sometimes pl.) *āpiti* (with Hurrian ending, e.g. *KUB* XV 31 II 17–18 *namma-kan* ^{GIS}KUN₅ KÙ.BABBAR ... *hantezzi āpiti anda dāi* 'then he puts into the first pit a silver ladder'; ibid. 25 *nu kuedaniya ANA* 1 *āpiti* 1 MUŠEN *dāi* 'in each pit he places one bird'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 156–8; XXXIV 96, 6 ^D*Āpiti*), *āpitī* (XXIX 4 II 4–5 1 GIN KÙ.BABBAR *āpitī* 'one shekel of silver for the pit'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 14), *apiti* (e.g. XV 34 IV 21; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 202), *apitī* (e.g. XV 33a IV 7), *apetī* (IX 19, 7), *āpita* (XVIII 56 II 17), abl. sg. *āpitaz* (XXIX 4 II 19–20 *n-asta* ^{LÚ}SANGA DINGIR-LAM *āpitaz sarā* 7-šU *huittiyazzi* 'the priest draws up the deity seven times from the pit'), *apitaz* (*KUB* XV 34 IV 4), *apetaz* (*Bo* 2738 III 16), *āpidaz* (*KUB* XXXIX 54 Vs. 10), *āpidaza* (XLVI 38 II 23; XLVI 40 Vs. 18), *apidaz* (*KBo* VIII 90 II 8), acc. pl. *apīyas* (XI 19 Vs. 1; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 314), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *āpi* (e.g. *KUB* XV 31 II 8–9 7 *āpi kinuwanzi* 'they open seven pits'; ibid. 23 9 *āpi isharnumaizzi* 'he smears with blood nine pits'), gen. pl. *āpiyas* (e.g. ibid. 7 and 10 *āpiyas pedi* 'to the place of the pits'; ibid. 8 *āpiyas-ma uttar* 'but the matter of the pits'), dat.-loc. pl. *āpiyas* (XV 32 II 17 *hūmandās āpiyas* 'to all the pits'; also ibid. 23, vs. dupl. XV 31 II 27 *hūmandas āpiti*, followed in the next line by *āpiyas ser* 'over the pits'), abl. pl. *āpiyaz* (XV 31 II 33), *apiyaz* (XV 32 II 31).

Hitt. *api-* is from Hurrian, cf. e.g. *āpita* in Hurr. context (XXIX 8 IV 26 and 30), or *āpiri* (*KBo* XVII 98 V 10, 11, 17; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 265), or ^D*Apinita* (*KUB* XXVII 1 III 8; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 81), further the variant ^D*Āwa* (XXV 49 III 31). In Hittite, besides *hattessar* (q.v. above and s.v.), such chthonian cavities are also referred to by TŪL 'waterhole, well' (XV 34 III 25 7 TŪL.MEŠ *iyanzi n-at uitenit sunnanzi* 'they make seven wells and fill them with water'; ibid. 36 the gods are 'drawn' out of those wells), AŠRU 'place' (XII 44 III 15 9 AŠRA *pedā[hhi* 'I dig nine spots'; *KBo* XV 25 Vs. 20 3 AŠRA *pedahhi*; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 2), or BURŪ 'hole' (V 1 I 26; cf.

Sommer – Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 2*, 18; *KUB* XXX 31 III 52, 54, 56 and IV 1, 3, 4). The functions of the Hittite pit resemble those of the Greek βόθρος of chthonian sacrifices (cf. the necromantic scene in *Odyssey* 11.23–43) and of the Roman subterranean *mundus* which gave access to infernal regions (cf. Varro apud Macrobius 1.16.18: *mundus cum patet deorum tristium et inferum quasi ianua patet*). A similar role of sacrificial pit was played by *apu* or *abu* 'hole', *ēnu* 'spring, waterhole', and *naqbū* (IDIM) 'spring, fountain' in Assyrian rituals. In Ugaritic there is the problematic 'el 'eb 'deity of the pit' (possibly referring to spirits of the dead and tying in with the "vents" of Ras Shamra tombs), and Hebrew has 'ōb 'ghost, revenant' (cf. the necromancy of the witch of En-dor in 1 *Sam.* 28, 13–14, where the apparition of Samuel to Saul is described as "a god coming up out of the earth"). In the Sumerian *Gilgameš* (= Akk. Tabl. XII, 83–84) Nergal dug a hole (*ab-lāl-kur-ri*) in the earth and (Akk.) raised Enkidu's spirit like a wind-puff from the earth. Cf. Zuntz, *ARIV* 96.2:543 (1936–7); E. Forrer, *Glotta* 26:186–9 (1938); Goetze, *JAOS* 74:187 (1954), *JCS* 22:17 (1968); M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:100–1 (1957), *RHA* 19:47–55 (1961); Ch. Rabin, *Orientalia* N.S. 32:115–6 (1963); H. A. Hoffner, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86:385–401 (1967), also in D. J. Wiseman (ed.), *Peoples of Old Testament times* 216 (1973); M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 6:450–1 (1974); J. Lust, in *Studies on Prophecy* 133–42 (1974); H.-P. Müller, *Die Welt des Orients* 8:68–70 (1975).

The common semantic denominator ('daimon of the) pit' might thus fit Hitt.-Hurr. (*a-*)*a-pi-*, Assy. *abu*, Ugar. 'eb, Hebr. 'ōb, and Sum. *ab(.lāl)*. Vieyra (*RHA* 19:52 [1961]) and Rabin awarded primacy to Sumerian *ab* and assumed Hurrian mediation for the rest. Hoffner, basing himself on Goetze, preferred to Hitt.-Hurr. /ābi-/ a "normalization" **ay(a)bi*, postulating Ugar. 'ēb < *'ayb(i), Assy. *abu* < **ayabum*, and Hebr. 'ōb from (dialectal?) Hurrian, with the ultimate origin obscure ("old substratum word", also in Sumerian *ab*); but the inconsistency of the spelling (*a-*)*a-pi-* and the uncertainties of Goetze's view (cf. e.g. s.v. *ā-* and *ara-*, at the

end) make Hoffner's reconstruction less probable.

G. B. Jahukyan (*Hayerenā ev hndevropakan hin lezunerā* 148 [1970]) adduced also Arm. *op* 'hole'.

apisi- (c.) 'exorcist' (AŠEPU, AŠIPU), nom. sg. ^{LÚ}apisi (KBo XV 9 III 12 and IV 18, 24; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 64, 66), ^{LÚ}AŠIPU (ibid. III 15; KUB XVIII 62, 6), ^{LÚ}AŠEPU (KBo XV 5, 4; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 64), nom. pl. ^{LÚ.MES}apisius (XV 9 IV 17; XV 11 III 12; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 66), ^{LÚ.MES}AŠIPI.HI.A (XV 8 Vs. 6; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 68), ^{LÚ.MES}AŠIPUTI (XVI 99 II 10).

Akk. (*w*)āšipu(*m*) (cf. CAD A 2:431-6) is found in Akkadian texts at Boğazköy: ^{LÚ}ašipu (e.g. KUB XXIX 58 I 30; KBo IX 50 Rs. 5; 87/r II 9), ^{LÚ}ašipi (KUB III 71 Vs. 8), ^{LÚ}ašipa (ibid. 9; KBo I 10 Rs. 42). Hitt. *apisi-* is a loanword from Akk. *ašipi* (with *i*-stem on the basis of Akk. oblique case, as in e.g. *tuppi* [q.v.]), with (Hurrian-based?) *s:p* metathesis as in Akk. *gursipisu*, *gursipu* 'hauberk (part of armor)': Hitt. *kurpisi-* 'id.', *gurzipant-* 'wearing a hauberk' (q.v.). Confusion with Akk. *ēpišu* 'sorcerer' may have been a contributing factor in favor of the Hittite form *apisi-*. Cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 95-8; Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis* 143-5; Otten, *AfO* 25:175-8 (1974-7).

apīya 'there' adv. see pp 88-89 he doesn't treat *apī-ia-ia*
KUB 32.130

apuzzi-, only in É *apuzzi* 'storehouse, storeroom', e.g. KUB XXIX 4 III 66 *namma* DINGIR-LAM INA É *apuzzi asisanzi* 'then they set the (image of the) deity in the storeroom'; ibid. II 22-23 *namma-at-kan ištū* É DINGIR-LIM INA É *apuzzi parā uwanzi* 'then they come out of the temple into the storeroom' (cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 28, 16); KBo XXIII 93 I 28 and IV 11, IBoT I 29 Rs. 6 INA É *apuzzi*; KUB XVIII 11 Rs. 12 EN É *apuzzi* 'storemaster'.

The last-mentioned functionary (repeatedly attested in lists of Hittite officials, e.g. KBo IV 10 Rs. 31; KUB XXVI 43 Rs. 32; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:38 [1974]; XXVI 50 Rs. 25 EN É *apuzi*) is found also in RS 11:732 Recto 8 and Verso 8 *ana* LÚ EN É

abusi 'to the storemaster' (tribute list in Akkadian from king of Ugarit to Suppiluliumas, his family, and Hittite dignitaries); É ... *u abusi-šu* 'house and its storeroom' already in OAssyr. inscription of Šalim-ahum.

Hurrian origin or mediation of Akk. *abūsu* 'storehouse' (CAD A 1:92-3) is possible. The Hittite form shows the typical freezing of the *i*-case variant into an *i*-stem (cf. e.g. s.v. *apisi-*). Cf. Goetze, *RHA* 12:1-3, 5-6 (1952).

Cf. *antuwasalli-*.

appuzzi- (n.) 'animal (sheep) fat, tallow' (^{UZU}YÀ.UDU), nom.-acc. sg. *appuzzi* (e.g. KBo XV 49 I 9 ŠA MÁŠ.GAL *ēšhar* ^{UZU}*appuzzi*[-*ya* 'the he-goat's blood and fat', with dupl. KUB XXXII 128 II 22 ^{UZU}YÀ.UDU-*ya*; XXXIX 15 IV 7; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 82; *appuzzi anda dāi* 'puts in fat', with dupl. ^{UZU}YÀ.UDU; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:360 [1953], III 31; XXVII 1 I 43 ^{UZU}*appuzzi-ya tepu dāi* 'takes a little fat'; ibid. 39 ^{UZU}*wappuzzi-ya tepu dāi*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 76), *appuzi* (dupl. XLVII 64 II 11 ^{UZU}YÀ.UDU-*ya*; ibid. 6 ^{UZU}*appuzi-ya*), *apuzi* (Bo 2839 IV 3 ŠÀ-*as apuzi* 'heart-fat'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 262; 384/i, 8; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 41), gen. sg. *appuzziyas* (KBo IV 2 I 22 [nu U]R.TUR.RA *appuzziyas ienzi* 'they make a small dog of tallow'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90 [1962]; similarly ibid. II 15 and 25, III 5; KUB IX 7 II 9 ^{UZU}*appuzziyas-ma* ŠAH.TUR 'a small pig of tallow'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 79), instr. sg. in *n-at* ^{UZU}YÀ.UDU-*it hūlaliyazi* 'she wraps it with tallow' (dupl. *n-asta appuzzi anda hūlali* 'she wraps tallow within'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:350 [1953], I 42). Cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 37:191 (1927); Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:173 (1936).

appuzziyant- (c.) 'id.', nom. sg. in VBoT 58 I 13-14 *takku-as t[innuzi] nu-ma-asta andurza* ^{UZU}*ap[p]uzziyanza harzi* 'if he paralyzes (the grains), the fat will keep them within' (cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:26 [1962], *RHA* 23:83 [1965]); also KBo XXV 107, 6 (OHitt.) *ap*]puzziyanza.

Rather than a phonetically meaningful lectio difficilior, the hapax *wappuzzi-* is perhaps merely a scribal lapsus, with the regular *appuzzi-* occurring four lines later. Hurrian origin (as