

## THREE CUNEIFORM NOTES\*

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## ABSTRACT

This short contribution consists of three short lexical notes about Hittite cuneiform writing. We will argue that the Luwoid adjective *haššuwašša/i-* is a ghost word, that the reading *wi<sub>4</sub>* for the sign MI did not exist and should be eliminated from the syllabary, and finally that the only occurrence of an alleged Luwian neuter stem *arkamman-* should be considered instead as a Hittite common gender accusative singular.

## 1. The “Gericht des Königs”

In the 17<sup>th</sup> Lieferung of the 3<sup>rd</sup> volume of the Munich HW<sup>2</sup>, a word *haššuwašša/i-* is recorded with the meaning “zum König gehörig”. Formally, it would represent a genitival adjective in *-ašša/i-*, a derivation typical of Luwian and not of Hittite, although, of course, loans of these forms in Hittite texts and contexts are not infrequent. As for *\*haššuwašša/i-*, which we mark with a star because we will show that it is actually unattested, it only allegedly occurs in the substitution ritual Bo. 3648+ obv. 17ff. (with dupl. KUB 12.16 i 10). The text runs as follows:

- (1) Bo. 3648+ obv. 17-19 (MH/NS, CTH 448.4.1.a.A, Taracha 2000, 28-29):

<sup>(17)</sup> [(IŠ-TU É LÚ)]<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠBANŠUR TU<sub>7</sub><sup>HLA</sup> hu[(-u-ma-an-da) TU<sub>7</sub>GÚ.GAL? (<sup>(17)</sup>GÚ.GAL.GAL TU<sub>7</sub>)GÚ.(TUR)]<sup>(18)</sup> [(TU<sub>7</sub> ha-ra-am-m)]a TU<sub>7</sub> SAR TU<sub>7</sub> ga-an-g[(a-ti TU<sub>7</sub>) (-)ha-pát-tu<sup>2</sup>-(u-la-ya ŠA LÚ ME-ŠE-DI)]<sup>(19)</sup> [TU<sub>7</sub> ha-la-an-ti-(ya-aš)] ŠA ME-É GA T[U<sub>7</sub> ha-aš-(šu-wa-aš-ši-in-za)]

‘All soups from the house of the LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠBANŠUR: [GÚ.GAL-soup], GÚ.GAL.GAL-soup, [GÚ].TUR-soup, *haramma*-soup, vegetable soup, *gangati*-soup, *hapattulaya*(?)<sup>2</sup>-soup, [*halanti*]ya-soup of the bodyguard with water (and) milk, so[up] of the [king].’

A full integration of *\*haššuwašša/i-* cannot be based on either of the two duplicates:

Bo. 3648 obv. 19 T[U<sub>7</sub> ]  
KUB 12.16 i 10 ]-š<sub>u</sub>-wa-aš-ši-in-za

Note that no traces of the sign before ŠU exist in KUB 12.16 i 10 (handcopy taken from the KUB 12; photo detail taken from the Mainzer Photoarchiv <http://www.hethiter.net>).

No picture of Bo. 3648 is available to us, so we cannot check line 19 of the obverse, but since even the TU<sub>7</sub> is not complete, the sign that follows is certainly completely lost as duly recorded by Taracha’s excellent transcription and edition.

Therefore, in absence of any positive epigraphic evidence, Taracha (2000, 19 with fn. 42) bases his reconstruction on

an occurrence of the phrase TU<sub>7</sub> LUGAL in a different fragment of the same ritual collection: Bo. 3971+HT 12 i 9<sup>2</sup>: TU<sub>7</sub> du-ni-ša TU<sub>7</sub> LUGAL TU<sub>7</sub> ha-pal-zi-ri. Also compare the different transcription TU<sub>7</sub> LUGAL.G[AL] by Fuscagni in HPMM 6, 62: because in this case no photos are available, we cannot comment on the different readings and restorations. It is, however, self-evident that this passage is neither a duplicate of, nor a parallel to Bo. 3648 obv. 17ff. (with dupl. KUB 12.16 i 10), because the sequence of items determined (or introduced) by TU<sub>7</sub> is different.<sup>1)</sup> Not only do the two lists differ in the order in which the soups are mentioned: even the single entries are not the same (cf. the edition by Taracha 2000, 28-32).

While there is no reason to doubt that the phrase TU<sub>7</sub> LUGAL, apparently meaning a ‘soup of the king’ (vel sim.), exists in this latter text, one may quite reasonably question Taracha’s restoration in KUB 12.16 i 10, where ]-š<sub>u</sub>-wa-aš-ši-in-za can indeed be the end of an unidentified Luwian genitival adjective from a noun ending in <sup>o</sup>-š<sub>u</sub> (or possibly -š<sub>u</sub>wa).

As a matter of fact, the very idea that the root *haššu-* ‘king’ existed in Luwian and not only in Hittite was proposed by Starke (1990, 171) but soon contradicted by Melchert (1993, 52), who obliterated the alleged substantive *\*haššuwati-* from the cuneiform Luwian lexicon.<sup>2)</sup> With no root *haššu-* in Luwian, the word *\*haššuwašša/i-* would have needed to follow a rather complicated path of borrowing:

1. *haššu-* (substantive) ‘king’, borrowed from Hittite into Luwian and fully integrated in the Luwian morphology (as shown by the construction of a genitival adjective);
2. *haššuwašša/i-* (adjective), derived theme, re-entering Hittite as a bare loan while maintaining a Luwian inflection.

This path would be highly unusual in the sociolinguistic behavior of Hittite and Luwian, and, while by no means impossible, it should be hypothesized only as a last resort, basing on an assured attestation and on a solid example, which the fragmentary remains of the putative *\*haššuwašša/i-* certainly cannot provide.

It must also be noted that, contrary to the entry in the HW<sup>2</sup>, the putative form [*ha-aš-(š<sub>u</sub>-wa-aš-ši-in-za)*] cannot be a Luwian collective plural, but given the <-in-za> ending and the context of the alleged attestation it can only be a plural accusative *generis communis*, obeying the morphological pattern of the *i*-mutation (on which see Melchert 2003). Candidate words for the integration are almost impossible to find in the available lexicon, but one may cautiously suggest integrating *waššuwašša/inza* ‘of the good things’ (vel sim.), which is already attested in the singular nominative-accusative neuter *waššuwaššanza* (cf. Melchert 1993, s.v. *waššu*).<sup>3)</sup> While this proposal is merely speculative, and it is advanced here only to help raising some reasonable doubts of the existence of the ghost word *haššuwašša/i-*, one may wish to compare

<sup>1)</sup> Especially for lexical items of limited attestation, it is sometimes difficult to understand whether the initial logogram is a determinative or a logogram.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. also the study of the corresponding title *hantawata/i-* in Giusfredi (2010, 82-88): *hantawata/i-* is evidently the reading of all Hieroglyphic Luwian occurrences of the logogram REX.

<sup>3)</sup> While *waššu-* in Luwian seems to relate to the semantic field of “moral goodness”, it is associated with eating and drinking in KUB 35.133 ii 24f.: <sup>D</sup>U AN a-wa za-aš-ti wa-at-ta-ne-i <sup>(25)</sup> az-za-aš-ti-iš wa-a-š<sub>u</sub> ú-ut-ti-iš wa-a-š<sub>u</sub>.

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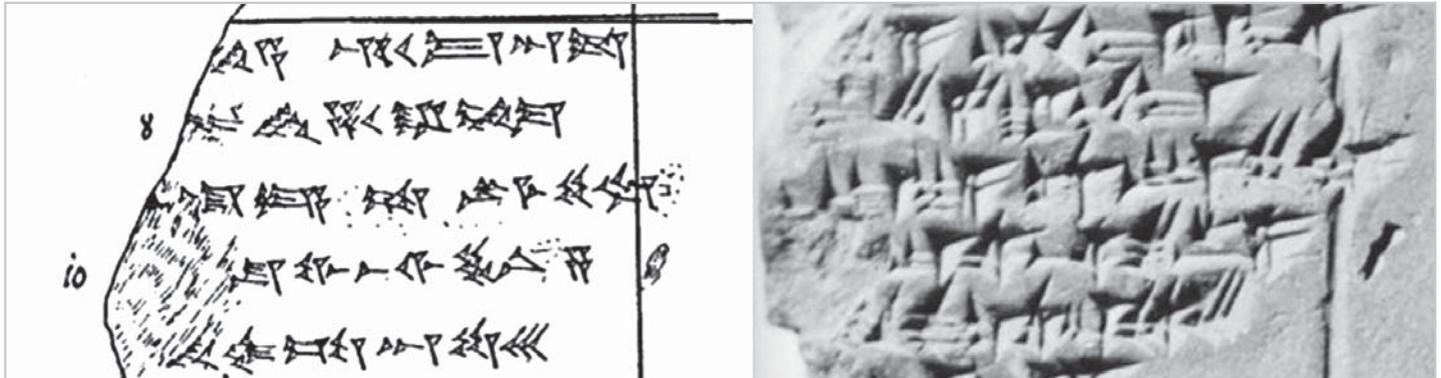


Fig. 1. KUB 12.16 i 10, handcopy and photo (hethiter.net/: PhotArch BoFN00509a).

the Sumerian sequence  $tu_7 sig_5$  already in early lexical lists (e.g. Nippur SLT 12 obv. i 5) and the phrase  $tu_7 sig_5-ga$  (MSL XI/89 = Akkadian *tusiggû*, clearly a Sumerian adapted and integrated loan).

In any case, whatever the correct integration, one may safely conclude that (1) a ‘soup of the king’ existed in the Hittite ritual tradition, but it corresponded to the rare Sumerographic writing  $TU_7 LUGAL$ , whose reading is unknown; (2) the existence of the word *\*haššuwaššali-* is instead highly unlikely, and at present it should be stricken as a ghost-word.

## 2. Dispensing with $wi_4$ (MI)

According to the HZL n° 267 and to Del Monte in TAVO (6, 42), a reading  $wi_4$  should be assumed, in order to account for the writing  $A]r-za-MI-ya$  for the name of the toponym Arzaw(iy)a<sup>4</sup> in KBo 3.1 ii 2. The HW<sup>2</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup> volume (A, 307b), adds another putative occurrence KUB 44.47 ii 7<sup>5</sup>  $^E ar-ki-ú-wi_4$ , for ‘vestibule’, ‘anteroom’ ( $^E arkiwi(t)-$ ).<sup>5</sup>

After checking the passage on the photograph available on the Mainzer Photoarchiv <http://www.hethiter.net>, however, it became clear that the former occurrence, the one in the toponym Arzaw(iy)a, looks very different from the handcopy offered by the KBo 3:

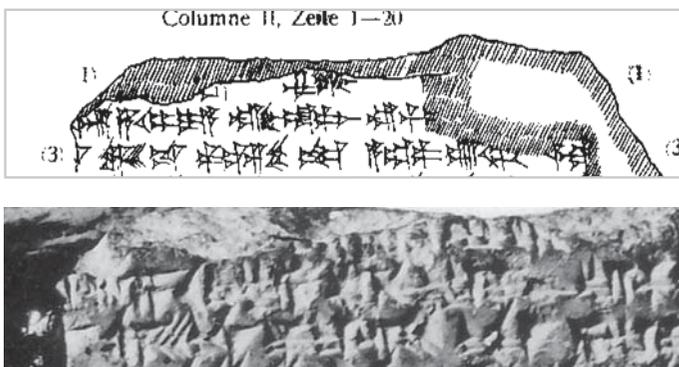


Fig. 2. KBo 3.1 ii 2, handcopy and photo (hethiter.net/: PhotArch BoFN01211).

<sup>4</sup> On the toponym Arzawa and the variant Arzawiya, cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 11.

<sup>5</sup> The word  $^E arkiwi(t)-$  itself is probably a loan from Luwian, and exhibits two competing stems *arkiwit-* (*generis neutri*) and *arkiwi-* (*generis communis*).

Judging from the photograph, there are indeed very good chances that the reading proposed by Forrer (KBo 3.1 = BoTU 2, 23a), *Ar-za-u-i'-ya*, with the first single wedge being a regular U and the following horizontal wedges being a part of a poorly written I, is still to be preferred. Certainly no clear instance of the sign MI is recognizable.<sup>6</sup>

As for the second alleged occurrence, which Puhvel (HED A, 148) following his usual criteria transcribes as  $^E ar-ki-ú-wi$ , it is indeed sufficient to check the autography in KUB 44 to notice that the sign is not  $wi_4$  (MI), but  $wi_5$  (GĚSTIN), absolutely normal for the orthography of the Late Hittite documents:<sup>7</sup>



Fig. 3. KBo 44.47 ii 7, handcopy from the KBo volume.

Therefore, with a solid explanation for the writing of the toponym in the first occurrence, and having dispensed with the second one which was, in all likelihood, merely a mistake in the transcription, there is no longer any reason to assume that the sign MI had a local (and quite unexpected) value  $wi_4$  in the Hittite scribal praxis. This reading should simply be eliminated from the current inventory.

## 3. The gender of *arkamman-* ‘tribute’

The Hittite noun *arkamman-* ‘tribute’ shows several morphological, semantic, and etymological problems. Its origin is not completely clear: according to the most credited hypothesis, it would be a loanword from the Akkadian *argamannu* ‘red-purple wool’ (cf. Goetze 1928, 130-131), with a semantic shift from ‘purple’ to ‘tribute’, because purple-dyed fabrics had an important role in tributes. However, other possibilities have been taken into account: some scholars

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also Heinhold-Krahmer (1977, 317), who, however, proposes that the sign is in fact MI, “verschrieben [...] für [A]r-za-u-i-ia”.

<sup>7</sup> It should be duly noted that in the transcription conventions by Friedrich (1960) the sign GĚSTIN is rendered as *wi* in the table of vowels and semivowels (1960, 7) and as *wí* in the general sign list (n° 112).

tried to reverse the semantic shift, from an original meaning ‘tribute’ to ‘purple’ (Dietrich – Loretz 1966, 218-219), while others preferred to consider the Hittite and the Akkadian words as unrelated to each other (Rabin 1963, 116-118).<sup>8)</sup>

That the word should be one and the same seems to be shown by several elements: (1) Akk. *argamannu* also means ‘tribute’, although occurrences with this meaning are only found in Akkadian texts from Boğazköy, probably representing loan translations of the Hittite word; (2) Ugaritic *’rgmn/irgmn* means both ‘purple’ and ‘tribute’, the latter meaning being possibly due to Hittite influence;<sup>9)</sup> (3) as shown by Singer (2008),<sup>10)</sup> it is highly likely that in the Manapa-Tarhunta Letter (KUB 19.5+, CTH 191) the Hittite word *arkamman-* means ‘purple-dyed wool’, and the derived agent noun *arkammanali-* means ‘purple-dyer’ (matching Akk. LÚ.MEŠŠĀRIPŪTU). Therefore, the hypothesis of the semantic shift seems to be the most convincing, although the direction of this change remains a matter of debate.

As for the etymology of the word, the situation is far from clear: it could be a Semitic word that later entered Hittite, possibly derived from the root *rgm*, seen in the Akkadian verb *ragāmu* ‘call, lodge a claim, bring a legal complaint’,<sup>11)</sup> as Laroche (1968, 244 with fn. 13) suggested.<sup>12)</sup> However, since Akk. *argamannu*, outside Boğazköy, is attested quite late,<sup>13)</sup> the reverse path is possible, and several scholars suggested a derivation from the Hittite verb *ark-* ‘divide, set apart, parcel’ (cf. e.g. Starke 1990, 262-263).<sup>14)</sup>

Be it a loanword or an original Anatolian word, it is unclear to which Anatolian language, Luwian or Hittite, the stem *arkamman-* belongs. All its occurrences are in Hittite context, where, as far as can be seen, the noun is usually a common gender *n*-stem, which regularly loses the final *-n* in the nominative singular (*arkammaš*). The same loss consistently occurs in the accusative singular, which is always attested as *arkamman*, never as *\*arkammanan*, while in other cases the presence of the *-n* is fluctuating (cf. dat.sg. *arkammani* vs. *arkammi* and acc.pl. *arkammanuš* vs. *arkammuš*).<sup>15)</sup> However, two forms are marked by the *Glossenkeil*: the acc. sg.c. : *arkamman* in KBo 50.59c+ iii 3’ (NS, CTH 85.1.B) and the gen.sg. : *arkammanaš* in KUB 26.92, 5’ (NS, CTH 209.3.B). In both cases, the copies of the texts – KUB 23.127+ iii 7’ (NS, CTH 85.1.A) and KUB 8.79(+) rev. 20’ (NS, CTH 209.3.A), respectively – show the same forms unmarked.

According to Friedrich (HW, 30), the stem is “vielleicht luwisch”, while it is regarded as Hittite by Friedrich, Kamenhuber (HW<sup>2</sup> A, 302-304), Tischler (HEG A-K, 59-60), and Puhvel (HED A, 143-146),<sup>16)</sup> who, however, adds that “*arkamma(n)-* is common to Hittite and Luwian” (p. 144), although he does not register any Luwian form of the noun. In these dictionaries, the only form labelled as Luwian (“Luwoid” in HED A, 144) is the derived first-person

singular present : *arkammanallāwi* (< *arkammanalli-* ‘tributary’ + the factitive suffix *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-*).<sup>17)</sup> However, some other alleged Luwian forms are listed by Laroche (1959, 31), i.e. the gen.sg. : *arkammanaš* in KUB 26.92, 5’, marked by the *Glossenkeil*, and the doubtful *ar-kam-ma-an-?zi* in KUB 14.2 i 8’, understood as a possible Luwian nominative plural in Hittite context.<sup>18)</sup>

A different scenario has been suggested by Starke (1990, 260-263), who regards *arkamman-* as a Luwian neuter stem borrowed into Hittite, although it is near always attested as a Hittitised common gender stem. In his view, the definitive argument for the assumption of an original neuter gender would be the occurrence of the form *arkamman* as a nominative singular in the ritual text KBo 10.45+ iv 50 (NS, CTH 446.B), matching the nom.sg. *argamaš* in the earlier copy KUB 7.41 iv 17’ (MS(?), CTH 446.A).<sup>19)</sup> This hypothesis is partly accepted by Melchert (1992, 311),<sup>20)</sup> but with an important remark: although the NH stem *arkamman-* is a Luwianism, as shown by the neuter nominative *arkamman* and by the verbal form *arkammanallāwi*, the OH and MH stem *argama(n)-* should be regarded as a genuine Hittite cognate form, since it is highly unlikely that Hittite assimilated a loanword by means of the unproductive inflectional pattern of the *n*-stems.<sup>21)</sup>

According to Melchert (1993, 28), two occurrences of an alleged nom.-acc.sg. *arkamman* would show the Luwian neuter stem: KUB 14.2 i 8’ (not to be read as *arkammanzi*, as per Laroche and Starke) and KBo 10.45+ iv 50.

Conversely, in our view, the existence of a Luwian neuter stem *arkamman-* cannot be directly proven. In order to demonstrate the neuter gender of the form *arkamman*, we would need a context in which it is undoubtedly a nominative, since an accusative *arkamman* could belong either to a common or a neuter stem. The text of KUB 14.2 is fragmentary, and the grammatical analysis of *arkamman* in i 8’ is uncertain:

- (2) KUB 14.2 i 6’-10’ (NH/NS, Prayer of Muršili II/Muwattalli II/Urhi-Teššub (?), CTH 214.12.A; Beckman – Bryce – Cline 2011, 158-159):

(6’) [k]u-iš UN-aš ŠA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> URU[...] (7’) [n]u-uš-ši-kán ŠA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> ar-kam-m[a-an ... pí-ih-hu-un?] (8’) nu A-NA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> ar-kam-ma-an rzi? [...] (9’) ku-iš-ma-za UN-aš Š[A] DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> a[r-kam-ma-an ...] (10’) rÚ-UL me-em-ma-aš

<sup>17)</sup> From a semantic point of view, this verb corresponds to the morphologically puzzling Hittite *arkammanahh-* ‘make tributary’, which is a factitive verb in *-ahh-* seemingly built on *arkamman-*, while this suffix usually derives verbs from adjectives, with few possible exceptions (cf. Hoffner – Melchert 2008, 175 with fn. 8). Furthermore, the semantics is also problematic, because, if the base is *arkamman-* ‘tribute’, the meaning of the verb cannot be ‘make tributary’. Starke’s (1990, 262) explanation that an adjective *\*arkammanant-* should be assumed seems to be unlikely.

<sup>18)</sup> Thus already Rosenkranz (1952, 24, “allerdings nicht sichere”) and Güterbock (1956, 120). According to Laroche (1959, 31), *arkamman-* is a “Mot d’emprunt commun au hitt. et au louv.”.

<sup>19)</sup> The possible counter-example *arkammanzi* in KUB 14.2 i 8’, explained by Laroche (1959, 31) as a common gender nominative plural, is regarded by Starke (1990, 262) as a third-person plural present.

<sup>20)</sup> Briefly also in Melchert 1993, 28.

<sup>21)</sup> Note that this word shows two different spellings, in a clear chronological distribution: *ar-ga-ma-°*, consistently spelled with the sign GA and a single /m/, occurring only in MS tablets and in some NS copies of older texts, and *ar-kam-ma-°*, consistently written with KAM and double /m/, only occurring in NS and LNS manuscripts.

<sup>8)</sup> See Puhvel (HED A, 145-146) for an overview of the different etymological explanations.

<sup>9)</sup> See already Friedrich 1942, 483.

<sup>10)</sup> See also Hoffner 2009, 293-296.

<sup>11)</sup> Cf. CAD R, 62-67.

<sup>12)</sup> However, in our view, this solution poses some formal and semantic problems.

<sup>13)</sup> Cf. AHw I, 67 and CAD A/2, 253.

<sup>14)</sup> Other references can be found in HED A, 145 and HEG A-K, 59-60.

<sup>15)</sup> See also Hoffner – Melchert 2008, 111-112.

<sup>16)</sup> See also Kronasser 1966, 180, 271.

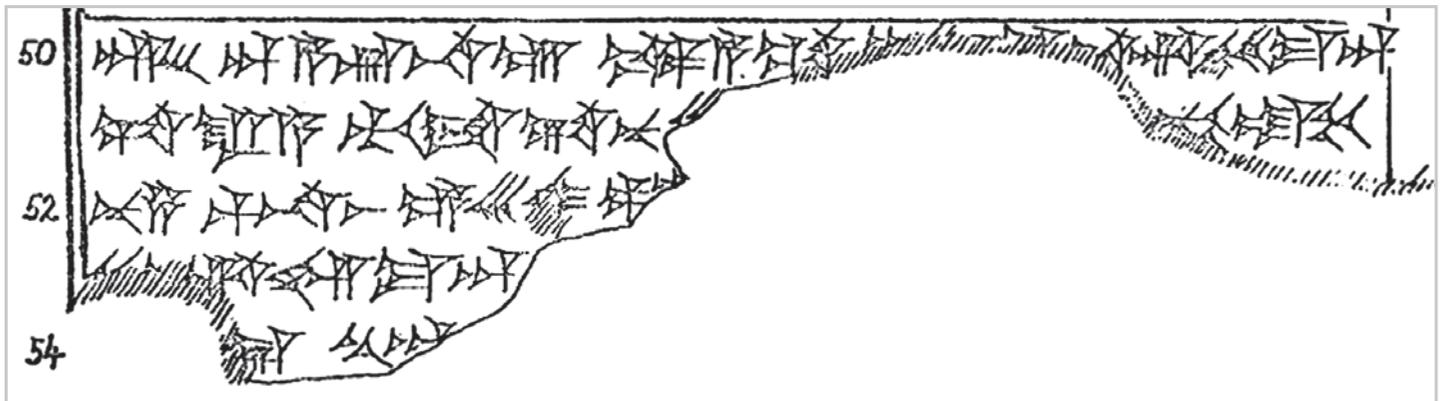


Fig. 4. KBo 10.45+ iv 50-54, handcopy and photo (hethiter.net/: PhotArch BF00479).

‘[I gave ...] the contribution due to the deity to whichever person of the deity of the city [of ...]. And [...] the contribution to the deity [...]. Whatever person [...] the c[ontribution] of the deity [...] did not refuse’.

The occurrence in KBo 10.45+ iv 50 is a more complex matter. As previously stated, the text is the duplicate of the earlier manuscript KUB 7.41 iv 17’, which has the undeniable nom.sg. *argamaš*. The two passages run as follows:

- (3) KUB 7.41 iv 17’-18’ (MS(?), Ritual for the purification of a house, CTH 446.A):

<sup>(17)</sup> *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ya-aš* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ka-a-ša ar-ga-ma-a[š*  
*ša-ra-a]* <sup>(18)</sup> *ti-it-ta-nu-an-za*

- (4) KBo 10.45+ iv 50-51 (NS, CTH 446.B; transliteration according to Starke 1990, 260 with fn. 884, following Otten 1961, 140):

<sup>(50)</sup> DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> DA.NUN.NA.KE<sub>4</sub> *ka-a-ša ʿšu-um-ma-ašʿ ar-*  
*kam-ma-an* <sup>(51)</sup> *ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-w[a-an<sup>22</sup>]* ...]

‘Ancient gods, here and now the tribute is established for you’.

Oettinger (1980, 60 with fn. 63) explained the alleged neuter nom.sg. *arkamman* in (4) as an isolated innovation, which does not point to an original neuter inflection. According to the HW<sup>2</sup> (A, 303) and, implicitly, Otten (1981, 139), *arkamman* should be instead regarded as a mistake for the nominative, whereas Starke (1990, 260-261) and Melchert (1993,

28), as previously discussed, consider it to be a real Luwian neuter nominative-accusative singular.

In our view, despite the duplicate, it could be instead an accusative singular, thus making it impossible to decide between common and neuter gender. Looking at the photo of the passage in KBo 10.45+, it is clear that the traces of the sign after *ti-it-ta-nu-* in l. 51 before the break, read as *wa* by Otten (1961, 140) and Starke (1990, 260 with fn. 884), are hardly compatible with this sign (figs. 4 and 5). Taking into account the shape of the signs on the tablet (tab. 1), it is likely that the broken sign is UT, and the verbal form, therefore, could be the 3sg.pret. *tittanut*. If this is correct, *arkamman* would be an accusative singular, and the sentence would mean ‘here and now he has established the tribute for you?’. Possibly, the subject of *tittanut* could be represented by the broken sequence of signs in l. 50, which is lacking in the duplicate (the reading *šu-um-ma-aš* by Otten and Starke is very uncertain, as can be seen from the photo).

Therefore, we can conclude that no Luwian neuter form can be undoubtedly identified among the occurrences of *arkamman-*, which can be all assigned to a common gender inflection.

Also, the two *Glossenkeilwörter* are not significant in this respect: the gen.sg. *:arkammanaš* in KUB 26.92, 5’ does not prove anything,<sup>23)</sup> and *:arkamman* in KBo 50.59c+ iii 3’ is

<sup>22)</sup> Despite the form *arkamman*, Otten (1961, 140) restores *ti-it-ta-nu-w[a-(an-za ...)]* as in the duplicate.

<sup>23)</sup> Theoretically, the form is Hittite, as well as several other Luwianisms in Hittite context with the genitive ending *-aš*, but the issue is more complex. Cuneiform Luwian (i.e. Kizzuwatna Luwian) has replaced the original genitive ending with a genitival adjective in *-ašša/i-*, but



Fig. 5. KBo 10.45+ iv 51, particular.

clearly a common accusative singular, since it agrees with the relative pronoun *kuin* (restored after the dupl. KUB 23.127+ iii 6<sup>7</sup>) and is resumed by the clitic *-an*.

Finally, the distinction between the older stem *argama(n)-* and the later one *arkamma(n)-* does not necessarily point to a replacement of the original Hittite stem with an alleged Luwian one. Indeed, we should note that the same opposition between an older stem with single /m/ and a later one with double /m/ is found in the noun *arkam(m)i-*, probably ‘drum’,<sup>24</sup> whose OS attestations are consistently spelled (*a-*) *ar-ka/ga-mi-*, whereas the spelling (*a-*) *ar-kam-mi-* occurs only in NS tablets.<sup>25</sup> The origin of the word is unknown, and it is probably a loanword, but nobody, to our knowledge, has suggested a Luwian etymology, and there are no reasons to do it.

To conclude, the only evidence for the existence of a Luwian stem *arkamman-* would be, so far, the verbal form *arkammanallāwi*, built on a derivative noun. Theoretically, this might be enough to posit a Luwian base, and since Luwian nouns in *-mman-* are neuter, an alleged Luw. *arkamman-* should be neuter, even though direct evidence is lacking. However, if the word is a Semitic loanword, such a scenario would be undermined.

Hieroglyphic Luwian (i.e. Empire Luwian) sometimes shows, beside the genitival adjective, a genitive ending *-a-sa*, which could be interpreted as /-as/ (cf. Melchert 2003, 187). Some hints show that the Luwian dialect of the *Glossenkeilwörter* is closer to Hieroglyphic Luwian than to Cuneiform Luwian (see especially Melchert 2003, 173 and Yakubovich 2010, 68-73); therefore, if Hieroglyphic Luwian has a genitive in *-as*, Luwianisms in Hittite texts showing this genitive ending could be genuine Luwian forms, and not Hittitised forms (cf. van den Hout 2007, 240 with fn. 107 and Yakubovich 2010, 43), unless we think that the genitive ending *-as* could be a Hittite loanword in Empire Luwian. However, according to Yakubovich (2010, 43-45), some Hieroglyphic Luwian genitive ending *-a-sa* could be interpreted as /-assa/, matching the genitives in *-ašša* sometimes occurring also in Cuneiform Luwian, previously explained as mistaken forms of the genitival adjective, and now taken as genitive forms secondarily introduced in Cuneiform Luwian under the influence of the Empire Luwian. In any case, as Yakubovich suggests, this hypothesis does not exclude that the Hieroglyphic Luwian genitive ending *-a-sa* can be sometimes interpreted as /-as/, leaving open the issue about the status of the Luwianisms in *-aš* in Hittite. By the way, for the purposes of our discussion, a genitive, be it Luwian or Hittite, does not tell us anything about the gender of the word.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Polvani 1988.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. HW<sup>2</sup> A, 304-306 and Otten 1981, 138.

Tab. 1. WA and UT in KBo 10.45+  
(photo: hethiter.net/: PhotArch Phb00303).

WA		
	ii 9	ii 23
UT		
	ii 7	ii 23

Therefore, until further evidence becomes available, there are no compelling reasons to posit a Luwian neuter stem *arkamman-*.

#### 4. Summary

In this paper, we reviewed the evidence regarding three specific issues of the cuneiform Anatolian orthography, with consequences for our understanding of the Hittite lexicon. Firstly, we demonstrated that the existence of a Luwian bare loan *\*haššuwaššali-* in Hittite is not supported by the available evidence. Secondly, we proposed the elimination of the value *-wi<sub>4</sub>-* for the sign MI, which is based on mistaken readings/transcriptions. Finally, we argued that at present, basing on the attested writings, there is no evidence for the existence of a neuter gender stem *arkamman-* in Hittite.

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