

Birgit Christiansen  
**Schicksalsbestimmende  
Kommunikation**

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Fluch-, Segens- und Eidesformeln bilden in der hethitischen Kultur ebenso wie in anderen Kulturen des Altertums einen festen Bestandteil verschiedener offizieller und ritualisierter Situationen und finden in dieser Form ihren schriftlichen Niederschlag unter anderem in Staatsverträgen, Treueiden, Instruktionen, Ritualvorschriften und Briefen. Durch ihre bindende und schicksalsbestimmende Kraft dienen sie dazu, Normen unter und gegenüber Menschen und Göttern zu etablieren und zu festigen.

In dieser Monographie werden die hethitischen Belege innerhalb ihrer jeweiligen Kontexte untersucht, wobei sowohl sprachliche als auch gesellschaftliche und religiöse Gesichtspunkte berücksichtigt werden.

Ein Kernstück der Studie stellt neben der philologischen Bearbeitung der relevanten Textpassagen die sprachliche Detailanalyse der Formeln dar, die anhand eines für diesen Zweck entwickelten Klassifikationsmodells erfolgt. Mit Hilfe dieses Schemas, das auch auf ähnliches sprachliches Material übertragbar ist, werden die zentralen formalen und inhaltlichen Charakteristika der Formeln herausgearbeitet. Damit wird zugleich eine solide Grundlage für einen Vergleich mit Formeln anderer Kulturen geschaffen. Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede sowie etwaige traditionsgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge lassen sich auf diese Weise weitaus zuverlässiger bestimmen als durch einen rein inhaltlichen Vergleich.

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Mit *Pax Hethitica* erscheint die Festschrift für Itamar Singer, langjähriger Professor an der Universität Tel Aviv und führender Hethitologe und Historiker des Alten Orients. Die Festschrift enthält 34 Beiträge von seinen Kollegen aus der Altanatolistik und Altorientalistik vor allem zu hethitologischen, aber auch zu assyriologischen, syrischen, indogermanischen und ägäischen Themen. Die vielfältigen Beiträge entsprechen den umfassenden Forschungsinteressen des Jubilars, die weit über die Grenzen Anatoliens und der Hethitologie hinausreichen.

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[Korrekturnote (ad S. 170): Die im letzten Absatz angeführte Stelle Yt. XIII,71 ist unseres Erachtens als <sup>+</sup>yaθa.nā satēm° [...] <sup>+</sup>paršanqm <sup>+</sup>nijatēm hiiāt 'as if a hundred [...] of sheaves would be beaten down' zu fassen. – Ed. (Chlodwig H. Werba, Heiner Eichner).]

## Neuter Stems with Suffix \*-(e)n- in Anatolian and Proto-Indo-European\*

H. CRAIG MELCHERT

Hittite attests a small group of deverbative action/result nouns with a suffix *-an*: *henkan* 'doom, death' < \*'fate, lot' < *henk-* 'offer, bestow' (impossible Puhvel 1991, 300: to Lat. *nex* etc.; improbable Rasmussen 1999/II, 406: < an acrostatic neuter *o*-stem \**h<sub>2</sub>énkom*); *lagan-* 'inclination' < *lag-* 'to bend'; *maškan* 'gift; bribe' < *maške-* \*'give gifts' (*maškiške-*); *takšan-* 'middle, half' < \*'joint, place of joining' < *takš-* 'bring to, join'.<sup>1</sup> These nouns inflect with an invariant stem: *he/inkan*, *hinganaš*, *he/ingani*, *hinganaz*; gen. sg. *laganaš*; abl. *maškanna[z]* (sic!).

The example *maškan* from a lexicalized \**-ske/o*-stem is certainly a creation of Hittite, and there is no positive evidence to suggest that any of the other synchronically transparent deverbative examples are older. A likely older layer of derivatives is represented by examples with no associated verb: *kuššan* 'wage, salary' < \**kuHs-* (~ OE *hȳr* 'hire'); *šaḫḫan* 'service obligation' < \**seh<sub>2</sub>-* 'bind' (Rieken 1999, 287); *šakan-* 'oil, fat' (~ Lat. *sagīna* 'fattening'). For the last example compare also CLuv. *dāin* 'oil, fat'.<sup>2</sup> The first two nouns cited show an invariant stem: *kuššan*, *kuššani/ī* (OS), *kuššanaz* (OS)

\* What follows represents a heavily revised version of a paper presented at the 28th East Coast Indo-European Conference in Reykjavík, Iceland, June 9, 2009. I am indebted to Brent Vine, Dieter Gunkel, Jón Axel Harðarson, Norbert Oettinger, Andrew Byrd, and especially Alan Nussbaum for invaluable references and suggestions. The usual disclaimer applies, and I am solely responsible for all views expressed except those explicitly attributed.

<sup>1</sup> *naḫḫān-* 'fear' does not exist; all instances are neut. nom.-acc. sg. of the participle of the verb *naḫḫ-*. Thus also Puhvel 2007, 5 f. contra earlier citations.

<sup>2</sup> Hitt. *inan* 'illness' is etymologically obscure, while *ku(wa)nnan-* 'copper; bead' is unlikely to be inherited. The synchronic *n*-stem *pluralia tantum* <sup>GIS</sup>*hanzan-* '(loom) beam' (Tanaka 2008) or more likely '(loom) frame' and <sup>GIS</sup>*karzan-* 'swift, niddy noddy' (meaning thus contra Melchert 1999) may be either old *n*-stems or reanalyzed *r/n*-stems. For the latter analysis of *karzan-* see Eichner 1973, 98 note 78 (< \**kért-sōr*, \**kṛts-n-*).

(*kušni* and *kušnaz* are only NS); *šaḫḫan*, *šaḫḫanaš*, *šaḫḫani* (1× NS *šaḫḫāni*), *šaḫḫanaz*, *šaḫḫanit*. Note, however, for *šakan-* gen. sg. *šaknāš* beside dat.-loc. sg. *šakni-* and archaic inst. *šakanda*.

A pre-Hitt. \**ge/iman-* 'winter' is also required by *ge/imaniye-* 'spend the winter' and "individuated" *ge/immant-* 'winter' (whose geminate *-mm-* can only be derived from a virtual \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>(e)imn-*).<sup>3</sup> Also belonging here is CLuv./HLuv. /*k<sup>w</sup>alan-/* \*'army', attested in HLuv. nom.-acc. sg. EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-za*, dat.-loc. sg. EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-ni* and in CLuv. *kuwalanalliya-* 'pertaining to an army'. The original sense is \*'camp, fort' as seen in Lyc. \**telē-* in *telēzi(je)-* 'camp, fort' (or sim.). For the semantic change compare Hitt. *tuzzi-* 'army' < 'camp' (NB denominative *tuzziya-* 'to encamp'). The Luvo-Lycian word is derived from < \*'circle' < \**k<sup>w</sup>el-* 'turn' (cf. OIr. *dún* 'ring fort' < \**d<sup>h</sup>eu<sub>h</sub>₂-* 'finish' [Watkins 1991] and CLuv. *kuḷāni(ya)-* 'bring to [a successful] end').<sup>4</sup>

How this small but without doubt mildly productive class in Anatolian is to be explained in historical terms is not obvious. The comparison by Kronasser (1966, 269) with Skt. *dhūrvaṇe* 'for harming' (?) (1× at RV IX,61,30), following Sturtevant, is a dead end. There simply is no class of simple neuter *n*-stems in Sanskrit or anywhere else. The only good candidate for a Proto-Indo-European deverbative neuter *en*-stem is \**h<sub>3</sub>éng<sup>w</sup>-n*, \**h<sub>3</sub>ng<sup>w</sup>-én-* 'salve, grease' > Lat. *unguen*, Umb. *umen* 'ointment', OIr. *imb*, Bret. *amann* 'butter' to the root \**h<sub>3</sub>eng<sup>w</sup>-* 'anooint' of Skt. *añj-* (*anākti* < \**h<sub>3</sub>ṇ-né-g<sup>w</sup>-ti*), Lat. *unguō*, and Umb. *umtu* 'shall anooint'. Compare also OHG *anc(h)o* 'butter' < holokinetic \**h<sub>3</sub>eng<sup>w</sup>-ōn*. The reconstruction given of a proterokinetic paradigm follows Klingenschmitt (1982, 180 f.), Nussbaum (1986, 51 f. note 10) and Schrijver (1991, 62). Stüber (2000; followed by LIV, 267) argues rather for acrostatic \**h<sub>23</sub>óng<sup>w</sup>-n*, \**h<sub>23</sub>éng<sup>w</sup>-n-* (with a root \**h<sub>2</sub>eng<sup>w</sup>-* after Janda 2000, 282 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Hitt. *ge/imaniye-* and *ge/immant-* are derivable from a locative \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>éim-en* attested in Ved. *hēman* 'in winter' (see in detail Friedman 2003, 3). Grk. *χείμα* may likewise be back-formed from the same source (Schindler apud Nussbaum 1986, 52 note 11. 189). There is thus no compelling evidence for a denominal *men*-stem as posited by Tremblay (1996, 126 with note 87). However, for reasons given below a genuine *men*-stem cannot strictly be excluded. See the extensive discussion of this problem complex in Wodtke et al. 2008, 162 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Also descriptively in this class is Lyc. *gehñ* '?' (an installation qualified as 'local' and that is 'made to stand', but a mechanical back projection \**h<sub>2</sub>wés-n* leads nowhere.

Discussion of the problem of *\*en*-stems must also include the Proto-Indo-European word for 'name' and the family of words represented by Grk. στόμα (neuter) and Av. *stamanəm* (masc. acc. sg.) 'mouth' and Hitt. *ištama(n)/ištamin-* (animate) 'ear' and CLuv. *tūm(m)an(t)-* (neuter) '\*ear; hearing; renown' (on the formation of the last see Oettinger 2003, 147 ff. with refs.).<sup>5</sup> I remain unpersuaded by the arguments of Stüber (2000) for an acrostatic *en*-stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>nóm-ŋ*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>ném-n-* and retain the analysis of 'name' as a proterokinetic *men*-stem: *\*h<sub>1</sub>néh<sub>3</sub>-mŋ*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>ŋh<sub>3</sub>-mén-* (Schindler 1975, 263; Peters 1980, 244 note 198; et al.). Although Anatolian has entirely eliminated the full grade of the weak stem shown by OCS *imę* and OIr. *anm(a)e* (see further below), the zero-grade root of the proterokinetic weak stem is reflected in HLuv. *á-ta/i<sub>4</sub>s-ma"-za* and Lyc. *alāma* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>ŋh<sub>3</sub>-mn-*.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, as argued by Oettinger (2003, 148 ff.; forthc.), the word for 'mouth; ear' reflects (virtual) preforms *\*(s)tómh<sub>1</sub>-ŋ*, *\*(s)tómh<sub>1</sub>-én-* and *\*(s)tŋmh<sub>1</sub>-ón(-t)* with a suffix *\*-en-*. These represent derivatives of the root *\*(s)temh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to cut', and both body part names are based on an original sense '\*slit, aperture' (thus with Wennerberg 1972, 30 f. with note 46). One crucial piece of evidence for this analysis (and for the required assumption of an *s mobile* otherwise unattested in this root) has previously been overlooked. CLuv. <sup>KA</sup>*āš-tumant-* 'gateway' can only be analyzed as a determinative compound '\*mouth aperture' (i.e. an aperture shaped like an open mouth), where *-tumant-* preserves the older sense.

<sup>5</sup> The CLuvian word and its derivatives show a variety of spellings, but the oldest attestation *tūmantiyaš* 'obedience' (KUB 17, 10 iv 33, MS) likely shows the true shape, with a long *ū* and single *-m-*. The spellings *tum-ma-*<sup>o</sup> and *t/du-um-ma-*<sup>o</sup> are not probative evidence for a geminate consonant, for the reasons given in Hoffner / Melchert 2008, 19.

<sup>6</sup> However, the phonetics of the scenario sketched in Melchert (1994, 82 f.) must be seriously revised. First, the Lycian word must be read as *alāma* with an *-l-* (contra e.g. Melchert 2004, 1). Second, it is now clear that the HLuvinian signs conventionally transliterated *tà*, *ta/i<sub>4</sub>* and *ta/i<sub>5</sub>* represent a voiced coronal continuant reflecting the partial merger of */r/*, */l/* and intervocalic */d/*: see Rieken 2008; Yakubovich 2009, 13 f. (Yakubovich argues for a flap [ɾ], but a retroflex [ɻ] or other sound is also possible). There is thus no basis for a dissimilation of *\*n* to *d* (Lydian *ētamv* of uncertain meaning does not belong here). There was after loss of laryngeals rather a dissimilation of *\*nVmn-* > *lamn-* (with a sound identified in word-initial position with */l/* in both Hittite and Luvian) and of *\*anmnV-* > *\*a[mnV-* or similar in word-internal position. Hittite leveled the strong stem in *lāman*, *lamn-* (reflected indirectly also in HLuv. */lamniya-/* 'call'), while the Luvo-Lycian noun */ala(:)man-/* represents either a 'blend' of the strong and weak stems or shows anaptyxis.

There are in principle two possible accounts for the attested distribution of *en*-stems. First, there was a pre-PIE productive type of action/result noun with suffix *\*-en-* beside those in *\*-men-* that was already moribund in Anatolian and virtually eliminated thereafter. The very limited productivity in Anatolian would thus reflect a slightly more archaic state of affairs in the sense of an 'Indo-Hittite' feature. Second, the only productive type was that with the suffix *\*-men-*. The suffix *\*-en-* of limited existence was secondarily extracted from instances of *\*-men-* due to the effects of minor PIE (and probably still post-PIE) synchronic phonological rules. I will argue here for the second analysis, following separate suggestions of Jens Rasmussen and Alan Nussbaum.

Rasmussen (1999/II, 647) argues that OIr. *neim* 'poison' reflects *\*ném-mŋ*, an action/result noun '\*gift' from *\*nem-* 'allot', via *\*némŋ* with a Proto-Indo-European reduction of geminate *\*/-mm-/* to *\*[-m-]* (for the semantics compare NHG *Gift*).<sup>7</sup> While the more productive pattern for neuter *men*-stems is proterokinetic, Grk. πῶμα 'lid, cover' < *\*peh<sub>2</sub>-* 'protect' shows that there were some neuter *men*-stems with acrostatic *ó/é*-inflection. We may therefore likewise assume that an underlying sequence *\*/stómh<sub>1</sub>-mŋ/* '\*cut, slit' first lost the laryngeal by the 'Saussure-Hirt effect' and *\*[stómŋ]* was then regularly reduced to *\*[stómŋ]*, the direct source of Grk. στόμα.<sup>8,9</sup> In similar fashion a hysterokinetic stem *\*/stomh<sub>1</sub>-mén-/* with nom. sg. *\*/stomh<sub>1</sub>-mé:/* (with *o*-vocalism of the root after the acrostatic neuter, as per Oettinger forthc.) would have led regularly to *\*[stomén-]*, *\*[stomé:]*, the source of Hitt. *ištamin-* with nom. sg. *ištamaš\** (see Oettinger 2003, 145 ff.).

Oettinger also derives Av. *stamanəm* from the same preform, explaining the lack of length in the first vowel expected by Brugmann's Law by shortening in an antepenultimate syllable. It is by no means certain that the Avestan shortening rule would apply in this word (see de Vaan 2003, 131), so one should also consider an alternative account. Since the secondary meaning

<sup>7</sup> As Andrew Byrd (personal communication) reminds me, in optimality theoretic terms this reduction is part of the general Proto-Indo-European constraint against geminates (at least heteromorphemic geminates) at the surface phonetic level. One may compare the better-known reduction of PIE *\*/-ss-/* to *\*[-s-]*.

<sup>8</sup> From the weak acrostatic stem was formed a secondary derivative *\*/stemh<sub>1</sub>-n-eh<sub>2</sub>/*, the source of Gmc. *\*stemnō* 'voice' (Goth. *stibna* etc.) with regular loss of medial laryngeal in Germanic (on the latter see most recently Ringe 2006, 137 f.).

<sup>9</sup> If one chooses to derive PIE 'name' from a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>nem-* as per Stüber 2000, obviously it could likewise still reflect an underlying *men*-stem, with the same reduction of the geminate *\*/-mm-/*.

'mouth' is attested in Avestan, Greek and indirectly in Germanic, it surely developed already in Proto-Indo-European alongside the basic sense 'slit, opening'.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the use as 'ear' is likely a peculiarly Anatolian innovation from 'slit, opening', which as per above also must have persisted, as shown by CLuv. <sup>KA</sup>*āš-tumant-* 'gateway'.

Therefore despite appearances the Avestan and Hittite animate stems may well represent independent formations instead of a common preform. As suggested to me by Alan Nussbaum, Av. *stamanəm* could thus reflect a virtual *\*stṃh<sub>1</sub>-én-*, a 'regular' hysterokinetic strong stem with zero-grade root, analogical to a weak stem *\*stṃh<sub>1</sub>-n-* reduced from *\*stṃh<sub>1</sub>-mn-* by the process described below.<sup>11</sup>

The type of Hitt. *lagan-* and Lat. *unguen* clearly cannot be explained by a rule simplifying geminate \*/-mm-/. For these I adopt a suggestion of Alan Nussbaum, who has reminded me of the minor Proto-Indo-European rule by which *\*-m-* is deleted when it appears between an obstruent and non-syllabic *\*n*. Two well-known examples cited are Skr. gen. sg. *áśnas* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>(e)k-mn-és* vs. nom. sg. *áśmā* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ék-mō* and Skr. *budhná-* 'bottom, base, foot' < *\*b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>-mn-ó-* (see Mayrhofer 1988, 159; 1993, 228 f. with refs.).<sup>12</sup> It is striking that all of the Anatolian neuter examples for an apparent suffix *\*-en-* involve roots ending in an obstruent (including laryngeal), none in a sonorant.

We may thus assume for 'ointment, salve' an original Proto-Indo-European acrostatic paradigm (following Stüber 2000): *\*h<sub>23</sub>óng<sup>w</sup>-mn<sub>1</sub>*, *\*h<sub>23</sub>éng<sup>w</sup>-mn-*. The latter before endings with initial vowel would have led regularly to *\*h<sub>23</sub>éng<sup>w</sup>-n-*, after which the nom.-acc. was leveled to *\*h<sub>23</sub>óng<sup>w</sup>-n<sub>1</sub>*, whence Lat.

<sup>10</sup> Assuming such coexisting meanings is not problematic, since the use for 'mouth' was probably colloquial and possibly derogatory. The use of 'trap' in English for 'mouth' has existed since at least the late 18th century with no effect on the core meaning.

<sup>11</sup> Whether Hitt. *ištamin-* could likewise be derived from a zero-grade *\*stṃh<sub>1</sub>-én-* is unclear to me. I insist only that all the attested forms for 'mouth' and 'ear' can be derived ultimately from a *\*men-* stem.

<sup>12</sup> We owe the discovery of this rule to Johannes Schmidt (1895, 87 ff.). As Andrew Byrd points out to me, the commonly assumed iterative right-to-left rule for syllabification of sonorants in Proto-Indo-European makes wrong predictions in some cases (see the discussion by Kobayashi 2004, 22 ff.). CLuv. *m(a)nāti* (/mna:di/) 'sees' and Grk. *μνῆμα* 'memorial' show that [mn-] was a permissible onset in Proto-Indo-European and thus a sequence such as *\*b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>mnó-* would have resulted in *\*[b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>.mnó-]* with non-syllabic *\*m*. However, the cluster [mn] would have been perceptually difficult medially after another consonant, leading to the widespread deletion of one of the two nasals as described by Schmidt.

*unguen* and cognates. I have presented this scenario in Proto-Indo-European terms, because there are reflexes of this word in a number of languages. However, the rule deleting *\*m* in such complex consonant sequences may well have persisted for some time, so I would not insist that this or any other particular example is of Proto-Indo-European date.<sup>13</sup>

If we apply this rule to what appear to be the older of the Anatolian examples, we may assume for 'fat, oil' likewise an acrostatic paradigm *\*sóHg-mn<sub>1</sub>*, *\*séHg-mn-* 'fattening; fat', again with regular development of the weak stem before vocalic endings to *\*séHg-n-* and leveling of the nom.-acc. to *\*sóHg-n<sub>1</sub>* (cf. without laryngeal Kloekhorst 2008, 698).<sup>14</sup> We must also allow for the possibility that this noun was created only within the prehistory of Anatolian, with the Anatolian version of a proterokinetic *men-* stem paradigm in which the full grade suffix in the weak stem had already been replaced by zero-grade (Starke 1990, 243 f., after Schindler 1975, 263). That is, we may start from a virtual *\*séHg-mn<sub>1</sub>*, *\*s<sub>e</sub>Hg-mn-és* (cf. Rieken 1999, 294).<sup>15</sup> The overall shape of CLuv. *dāin* 'fat, oil' (possibly to be read as disyllabic /da:yin-/) requires derivation from a hysterokinetic paradigm, as per Oettinger (forthc.), but the initial stop requires a preform *\*sHeg-(m)én*, *\*sHeg-(m)n-* or the like, not *\*so(H)g-én*.<sup>16</sup> This word may be a collective, as sugges-

<sup>13</sup> As Norbert Oettinger has reminded me, this case with evidence from Germanic, Celtic and Italic could well represent a 'Northwest Indo-European' innovation.

<sup>14</sup> I assume the presence of a laryngeal for two reasons. First, I consider cognate Lat. *sagīna* 'fattening' (cf. for the type *rapīna* 'plundering' but also secondarily 'plunder'). Second, because the contrast between CLuv. *ši(h)wa-* 'sour, bitter' with initial *s-* < *\*séh<sub>2</sub>wo-* and CLuv. *dūr/dun-* with initial *d-* < weak stem *\*sh<sub>2</sub>un-* compels me to conclude that the peculiar development of initial *\*s* > *t/d-* in Luvian somehow reflects in all instances a word-initial sequence *\*sH-*. For proof that Hitt. *šēhur* and CLuv. *dūr/dun-* 'urine' must continue a PIE *\*s-* see Le Feuvre 2007. Likewise then, as has often been suggested, Hitt. *šāku(wa)-* ~ Luv. *tawa/i-* ~ Lyc. *tewe-* 'eye' is to be derived from *\*sh<sub>3</sub>ók<sup>w</sup>-* (after Rieken 1999, 59 f. contra Melchert 1994, 61 et alibi). Space does not allow a full discussion of this complex problem here. I stress only that the rule deleting *\*-m-* requires only one preceding obstruent (*\*/-TmnV-/*), so the presence or absence of a laryngeal in the root of 'fat' is irrelevant to the proposed derivation here from an original *\*men-* stem.

<sup>15</sup> The long vowel in Hitt. gen. sg. *šaknāš* (OS) might seem to argue for this alternative, but dat.-loc. *lamnī* 'moment, time', securely from an original acrostatic paradigm *\*nóm-<sub>1</sub>*, *\*ném-n-*, shows that this type could also secondarily acquire ending accent in the weak cases (cf. Kloekhorst 2008, 519).

<sup>16</sup> I personally find it likely that by the time of its creation this noun was derived from a base already without an *\*-m-*. For the productivity of this kind of hysterokinetic collective in Anatolian compare the *\*h<sub>3</sub>(e)pér* 'sales, commerce' reflected by Hitt. *hap-*

ted by Oettinger, but one cannot exclude a mere formal renewal with no change in meaning, as in the case of \*/stomh<sub>1</sub>-mén-/ beside \*/stómh<sub>1</sub>-mp/ 'slit, opening' discussed above.

Rieken (1999, 283 ff.) has presented indirect evidence for original proto-kinetic inflection in Hittite *šahhan-* 'service obligation', namely *išhanittar-*, 'relative by marriage',<sup>17</sup> built on the original weak stem of the paradigm of *šahhan-* \*'binding, union'. If the latter word is an inner-Anatolian creation, as seems likely, we may posit a virtual \**séh<sub>2</sub>-mē*, \**sh<sub>2</sub>-mn-és*. The latter was reduced regularly to \**sh<sub>2</sub>n-V-* (whence the *išhan-* in *išhanittar-*). The nom.-acc. was leveled to \**séh<sub>2</sub>-ē*, and this was then generalized in *šahhan-* (as in 'name' above). Compare the similar analysis (without \*-m-) by Kloekhorst (2008, 692).

Note that the evidence presented by Rieken for root ablaut in this example supports the idea that it is relatively old among the Hittite nouns in -an, while CLuv. *šahhan-za* 'obligation' and its derived verb *šahhanišša-* 'impose a service obligation on' also suggest that this noun is older than pre-Hittite. I therefore find it plausible that *šahhan-* could have served as the model for the few other deverbative nouns in Hittite and Luvo-Lycian. Since all nouns that descriptively appear to reflect a suffix \*-en- can apparently be accounted for as originating in \*-men-, I conclude that there probably was no independent Proto-Indo-European primary suffix \*-en- that formed action/result nouns.

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*piriya-* '\*market; city' and less certainly *hašduēr* 'twigs; splinter' (on which see now Rieken 1999, 346 f.).

<sup>17</sup> However, *išhanattalla-* means 'murderer' and is derived from the word for 'blood': see Groddek 2007, who also shows that a noun \**išhalli-* does not exist.

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# Die Etymologie von vedisch *pārā-* n. 'das andere Ufer'

THOMAS ZEHNDER

## 1. Ausgangslage

Vedisch *pārā-* ist ein Substantiv, das primär 'das andere (jenseitige) Ufer' von Gewässern bezeichnet, nämlich, entsprechend den geographischen Gegebenheiten des frühvedischen Siedlungsraums im gebirgigen Nordwesten des indischen Subkontinents, vor allem von Flüssen.

In sekundärer Übertragung heisst *pārā-* dann auch 'die andere Seite, das andere Ende' in einem allgemeineren Sinn, etwa auf eine Gefahr (*duritā-*), einen Raum (*rājas-*), die Nacht (s. Beispiel (3)) oder einen zu gehenden Weg bezogen:

- (1) RV V,54,10d *sadyó asyādhvāṇaḥ pārām āsnutha* 'am selben Tag noch erreicht ihr (: die Maruts) das andere Ende dieses Weges'.

Eine besondere Relevanz hat das andere Ufer dort, wo man es erreichen kann, nämlich an Furten:

- (2) AVP II,19,1ab *yadi gādhānām yadi nāvīyānām<sup>1</sup> nadīnām pāre nṛpatis sakhā naḥ* 'Ob sich unser Gebieter und Bundesgenosse am anderen Flussufer von Furten, ob (am anderen Ufer) von Fährübergängen befindet ...' (vgl. Zehnder 1999, 61).

Die Handbücher weisen *pārā-* als Neutrum aus (s. z.B. Böhtlingk / Roth IV, 666b). Anhand des vedischen Materials lässt sich das Genus allerdings nicht auf Anhieb bestimmen, typische Kontexte verwenden das Wort im Richtungsakkusativ *pārām* 'ans andere Ufer' und im Lokativ *pāre* 'am anderen Ufer', die auch einem Maskulinum zugehören könnten. Aus einer vedischen Stelle geht das neutrale Genus aber deutlich hervor:

- (3) AVŚ XIX,7,2ab (≈ AVP VI,20,2ab) *nā yasyāḥ pārām dādṛṣe nā yóyuvad<sup>1</sup> víśvam asyām ní víśate yád éjati* 'Deren (: der Nacht) anderes Ende nicht sichtbar ist, (und) nicht das abweisende (*yóyuvat*), in dieser geht alles, was sich regt, zur Ruhe'.

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