Notes on Hittite, Greek, and Indo-European Poetics

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For thoughtful feedback, much of which I can’t answer, I am grateful to Nicole Guilleux, Charles de Lamberterie, Kathryn Morgan and Jesse Lundquist, as well as to Stephanie Jamison and Hayden Pelfia for earlier readings. It is my pleasure to offer these observations to Norbert Offtinger, as a token of over forty years of friendship, admiration and affection.

An Indo-European syntactic and stylistic figure

In a contribution to the volume in memory of Erich Neu I called attention (Watkins 2010) to an Indo-European stylistic figure in Hittite: The A A B triad and the climactic formula V1...Vn...Vn. Chapter 13 of Watkins 1995 describes and illustrates another, related Indo-European stylistic figure: The repetition or iterations of a verb form (V1) by a nominal form from the same root (N1) in a semantically equivalent verb phrase (N1 + V). Examples were given from Umbrian, Old Latin, Old Armenian and Greek. Chapter 42.1 added Common West and North Germanic with the formula ‘become the bane of’ (Old English as being wearied and cognates), in which the verb phrase with bane (*gwen*in + BECOME) has completely replaced any finite verbal reflexes of the verbal root *gwen* in probably already in Common Germanic. Homeric Greek shows cognate verb phrases like ἐνιαύτειν ἠμμανίων ἠλὼνεὶν (II. 16.144). We may take as emblems Aeschylus fr. 44.1–2,


πέφυον τε ματάρα θήρα τε Αίγγαθον ἐν θάνατον

“Slew his mother and laid Agisthos low in his blood.”

The figure (V1) ... (N1 + V) and sometimes the A A B triad as well share features both with figura etymologica and polyptoton. Both are present in old Nestor’s pompous asseveration to Agamemnon in Il. 9.104–5:

οὐ γὰρ τὰ τόπαν ἀλλότρον ἀγένεντα ὀῖς φθατε

ολον οἷον νοεῖτο πάλαι πάλιν φθατε ὦ καὶ νῦν

“No one else shall think a better thought than this

I have been thinking for a long time up to now.”

Charles de Lamberterie pointed out to me (p. 8 May 2009) that the Old Armenian passage, the first strophe of the song of Golm, the birth of Vahanh quoted by Movses Xorenaci’s 1.31 (discussed in Watkins 1995:167), is stylistically “un bel exemple” of both a climactic A A B triad and an iterative (V1) ... (N1 + V) figure, where A A are the repeated (V1) and B is (N1 + V),

ερνέρ ερκερ ερνέρ ερκερ

ερνέρ ερνέρ ερκην ερκην ερκην ερκην ερκην

“Heaven was in labor, earth was in labor,

the purple sea too was in labor.

Labor pangs in the sea seized the little crimson reed.”

Jesse Lundquist calls attention to the “rhetorically charged” speeches of Nestor to Agamemnon at the beginning of Il. 9, like that just quoted, adducing the lapidary double etymological and ([V1] + N1) syntactic figures in 9.70:

δεῖν δαίμονον ἡμοῖον ἐμοὶ τοι, οὐ τῷ ᾠσίῳ

“Feast feasts for the elders; it befits you, it is not unbefitting.”

The verb is gapped in ᾠσίῳ, and the figure is also Argument plus Negated Counter-Argument.

In what follows I present a few further examples of the (V1) ... (N1 + V) figure, in Hittite, Homer, Pindar and Aeschylus.

1.1 Hittite

1.1.1. In Muršili’s “First” Plague Prayer to the Assembly of Gods and Goddesses [KUB 14.34 Vs. 5–7 (CTH 378.1)] we read:

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ings for the same verb phrase or whether they are different. Kammenhuber (HWW 1:69, 401-2 and 507) appears to suggest the former, "SIG, -anza / alla‘yanna," while translators of the passage prefer the latter: Neu 1968:19 ‘gut sein – lieb sein,’ Pulver 1984:289 ‘be good – be dear,’ Strauss 2000:134 ‘gut sein – lieb sein.’ Despite the consistent writing SIG, -anza etsu for the second and alla‘yanna etsu for the third, Kammenhuber’s assumption that they are the same verb phrase in both is probably correct. SIG, may stand for both a form of alla‘y (adj.) alla‘y, alla‘y (verb) and a form of laa‘yu – verb. There are no other possibilities to my knowledge. Judging from a passage cited in the CCHS s. v. laa‘yu, this verb never carries a personal pronominal dative argument, ‘be (dear) good to someone’. The presence of lumah/a-ban ‘to you’ therefore argues for reading SIG, -anza etsu as alla‘yanna etsu. I am grateful to Craig Melchert for this decisive argument.

The iteration figure is thus double, both in the Middle Hittite and Neo-Hittite versions: (V) . . . (N + V) . . . (N + V). The literal meaning of (V) alla‘y, alla‘y and (participle N) alla‘yant- is ‘be good/be dear’: the idiomatic sense is ‘is good to me’ = ‘I like’, cf. Irish is maith liom ‘id.’

1.2 Homer

Perhaps the most familiar example of our figure, and the only one regularly noticed in the Cambridge and Oxford commentaries, is that noted as the unique example of a (V) . . . (N + V) figure among the 20 (V) . . . (V) collected from the Odyssey by O’Nolan (1978), II. 157, Od. 2.9 al. The liad line is:

οί δ’ εἶτι ὁδεγεῖται ομφαρεῖς σ’ ἐγένοτο

“So, when they were assembled and met together…”

The Odyssey passages 2.9, 8.24, 24.421 replace the first colon by αἴτητο ἐτείμι ἐμί. The line in this version also is noted as II. 24.790, but is omitted in one major papyrus, in the Vetus A, and in two other older manuscripts, T and Y. West omits it, I think rightly.

That there are further examples of this figure is not to be doubted. A nice one may be found in liad 9.138, where the line is bound by V, . . . N (N + V):

ἄφηται Ἀθηνάς τὸ ἀμφότερον τ’ ἀδελφάτων

“Let him give way. For Hades gives not way, and is pitiless.” (translation Latimore)

Or again in Patroclus’ speech to Achilles in liad 16.42-3:

. . . ἀναπαρθένως δ’ Ἀρείου όλς Ἀρείου

. . . and the fighting sons of the Achaeans get wind again after hard work. There is little breathing space in the fighting.” (translation Latimore)

Many more examples remain to be discovered.
1.3 Pindar

In his *Greek Metre M. L. West* (1982:4) states “the Greek verse line or period... has the following properties, which are inherited from the Indo-European verse.” He goes on to definitions of *period*, *strophe*, and *colos*, concluding with, “[I]t is a characteristic of Greek poetry that it is based on a stock of common cola.” Citing this in *Watkins 2002a* on Pindar’s word order I added (n. 3): “We should note in passing that the characteristic Greek ‘stock of common cola’ coincides in large part with the ‘stock of common verbal formulas’ in Greek which are characteristic building blocks of oral composition.”

It can be of interest to look in one or more authors like Pindar at narratives of the same or similar events, mythical episodes or themes, like the boyhood deeds of Herakles (Pindar *Pa.* 20 and *Nem.* 1.35-50), or the floating island of Delos and the birth of Apollo and Artemis (Pindar *Py.* 7b, 12, fr. 33d), to see if any “common cola” or “common verbal formulas” are present. While the former yields relatively little (Rutherford 2001:401), the latter is quite rich (ibid. 243-52, 370-1).

Traditionally the older or perhaps alternative names for Delos/Delos were Ortygia and Aestasia (‘star’). Pindar figures this as a Homeric opposition of “language of gods” and “language of men”: fr. 35c. 4-6, his Hymn to Zeus:

> ἵνα τε βοηθήσῃ δὲ Ὕλομαι παλαιὸν τοὺς τε διὸς πάνταν ἀργόν
> ὑμνημέναι μοι ὡς τε Θεοῦ ἱεράν πάλαι

> “whom mortals
call Delos, but the blessed gods on Olympus
call the far-shining star of the dark-blue earth.”

In *Pausanias* 7b (Rutherford C2).48 we find:

> καλέσατε μοι Ὑπερτυχίων ναυτάς πᾶλιν
> “Sailors have long called it Ortygia.”

καλέσαι (2 x) and καλέσατε (4 x) are precisely the two verbs that Homer uses in the six passages showing the language of gods/language of men figure, and their appearance in Pindar is a Homeric reminiscence, adjusted for literary dialect.

*Pausanias* 7b (Rutherford C2).48 just cited is followed immediately in the papyrus by line 49, still of the floating island of Delos/Ortygia:

> περάσας δὲ ἐκ Νιάρχου θωμάς
> “And she was often borne over the Aegean.”

Pindar tells the same tale as follows some eight lines after 33c.4-6 above:

> ὡς γὰρ τὸ πόρφυρα φανέρα
> κυματεσθέντων παντοτεστικὸν ἀνάθεμα

> “For previously she was borne
on the waves by blasts of winds
of all sorts.”

Pindar’s cognitive linkage of the two passages is precisely our iteration figure (Vₙ) (... (N + Vₙ); pluperfect and copula + verbal adjective:

> περάσας δὲ ἐκ Νιάρχου θωμάς

It would be of interest to know which of the two was the earlier.

Both new examples from Pindar are special cases of intextual reminiscences of a verb or verb phrase the author had used before, and are thus cases of cognitive linkage rather than exposition. They are very interesting for that reason, however, since they are apt to shed light on the cognitive question of just how the stock of common verbal formulas is remembered by the poet.

1.4 Aeschylus

The chorus in *Pers.* 215-225 (tactus tetrameters) responded to the Persian queen’s recital in trimeters of her nightmare about Xerxes and Darius. The chorus directs the queen to ask the shade of Darius to send her and her son ‘blessings’:

> εὖ πᾶν τιμήσει πέλευ στα τοῦτο κρίματος πέρι
> “to send you and your son blessings from beneath the earth to the light.”

They conclude:

> εὖ δὲ παντοπώλη τελευ στα πώει κρίματος πέρι

> “In every way these matters will work out well for you in our judgement.”

“one of the most mistaken pieces of divination in Greek literature” as Edith Hall (1996: 126) wryly commented, in keeping with the sinister overtones of ἔθελος in Aeschylus, as we will discuss in §2.3 below.

The setting of the scene between the chorus and the Queen is in view of the tomb of Darius, and the chorus’s instruction to her will be prayers and libations to her husband’s ghost, that he send blessings, ἔθελον... πένθειν, up from the netherworld, γῆς ἔκχειες.

Aeschylus won with the *Persians* in 473/2. Fourteen years later in 459/8 came his production of the *Oresteia*, and for the beginnings of the *Choephoroi* and the entrance of Electa Aeschylus created a virtually identical mise-en-scène, in view of the tomb of Agamemnon, with Electra’s prayers and libations invoking the spirits beneath the earth, τοῖς γῆς ἔκχειες δαίμονας (125), and calling to her father’s ghost:

> ἧμιν δει τοῦτον ἐθέλον ἐκθάνον λαῖα

> “But for us be a sender of blessings to the upper world.”
2 Aeschylean Echoes

I put together in this final section some scattered gleanings from earlier publications of my own in the hope that they may stimulate others to seek further examples of possibly shared linguistic and thematic comparanda between a single Greek author and Hittite tradition. The first two of these, if they are not simple coincidences, accidental similarities or quasi-universals, might be attributable to cultural and linguistic diffusion from Anatolia to Hellas via contact and bilingualism. The third I was led to by the linguistic study of Anatolian; but as it stands it is not an 'echo' but a purely synchronic presentation of the overtones of a single lexeme, ἀσθένεια, in the idiolect of Aeschylus.

2.1 The Old Hittite Baourual and Ag. 1003-4

In Watkins 2000a and 2002a I cited the Old Hittite hymn in strophe style in the Baurual KUB 29:1 (CTH 414) iii 29-34, "When they begin plastering new houses, they speak these words":

\( (V) + \text{Obj} \ldots \) \( (N) + V \) + \text{Obj} \_ ἀσθένεια \ldots \\

πανατακτικά: ἀσθένεια ἄρα ἀσθένεια

Though separated by fourteen years this cognitive linkage or intertextual reminiscence—whether conscious or unconscious—goes in the same direction as the synchronic linkages we have catalogued in this paper and in the book, Watkins 1991. The verb \( (V) \) is echoed, reiterated or remembered as the verb phrase \( (N) + V \); ἀσθένεια ... πανατακτικά is echoed as πανατακτικά and not the other way around. We can only speculate whether the chronological relation between Pindar’s πανατακτικά and ἄρα ἀσθένεια is the same. Such relations are worth looking for in the future. There is probably a generalization to be made here, of the type "ontology repeats phylogeny".

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And when you plaster it outside,
plaster Aue,
plaster Dominion."

I added, "The house is a microcosm of the Hittite world, the city and the kingdom, at once in peace and at war: facing in, Longevity and Prosperity; facing out, Authority and Mastery. They are in two sides of the same wall."

The notion of the common wall metaphorically shared by opposites like war and peace we find expressed first in Greek, apparently (cf. LSJ s. v. ἀσθένεια), by Aeschylus. Following an "incorrectly corrupt" passage in the Agamemnon (Denniston and Page 1957 ad loc.) we read (1003-4) ἀσθένεια 'γίνεται ἀσθένεια ἐρέα 'sickness presses upon it (sicl. health), its neighbor with a common wall'. Aeschylus could well have coined the compound ἀσθένεια himself.

In Aeschylus the common wall is a metaphor. In the Hittite ritual and its accompanying spell the common wall is real and physically present.

2.2 Hittite anna-negel

In Watkins 1991a I discussed Hittite anna-negel lit. ‘mother-sisters, sisters by the same mother’ and popa-nenel lit. ‘father-brothers, brothers by the same father’ and their Luvian and Lycian cognates. Since this article appeared in a 1995 Festschrift and its title makes no reference to Greek, it could easily escape the attention of Hellenists. I take the liberty of reproducing the final two paragraphs here below:

The semantics of the Anatolian compounds are not immediately obvious. In Sanskrit, मातृ-मातृ- in Mama and the Msh. means ‘mother’s sister’. In Greek, μητέρα-μητέρα from Homer and Hesiod means ‘father’s brother’ (U. 21.469, Od. 6.350, 13.423, Hes. Th. 501). Similarly in Pindar πατέρα-αδελφός ‘father’s brother’, μητέρα-αδελφός ‘mother’s brother’. For this reason we should pay attention when we find in Greek an exact semantic equivalent of anna-negel ‘sisters by the same mother’, with the same formal structure.

In the Eumenides of Aeschylus 961-2, the chorus of the Furies invoke the Moirai, the Fates (West at Thesig. 237): θάνατος, τα Μοῖρα, τοὺς πεπατωμένους ‘goddesses of destiny, sisters from my mother [night]’. We must situate the word in the context of the dramatic conflict of Aeschylus’ play: the Furies, the ancient divinities, female, pursuing Orestes to avenge the crime of matricide, must be reconciled to a new role in a new order of the world. Is the Furies’ calling out their μετατωμένους, their ‘anna-negel’, in Aeschylus’ play of 458 BC a vestige—possibly preserved in the language of cult—of an areal semantic structure spread by contact and first observed in the geographically adjacent culture of Anatolia more than a millennium earlier?
We may have another element to add to the growing dossier of Greek and Anatolian contact.

2.3 The etymology of ἱσθήσις and its use in Aeschylus

Some recent works of José Luis García Ramón (1996 and 2008) and Georges-Jean Pinault (2006) treat the root ἤσθε- of Ved. śāṣṭi, Lat. στασ and (ad)sinātre. Pinault’s paper builds on an earlier study by Nicole Loraux (1982) treating the Greek pair neuter ἱσθήσις ‘prize’, masculine ἱσθήσος ‘contest, competition’ (the winning of which leads to a recompense or prize). The Greek neuter, which is basic, is with Pinault to be analyzed as ἦσθ-θος, with García Ramón’s root ἦσθε-. The ‘instrumental’ suffix -θος- is to be taken with a mediative value, in the sense described by Serbat (1971:374), ‘óμε παρ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀντίθεσιν’, ‘that by which the favor accorded to the winner is manifested’, in short ‘the prize’.

This rather complex introduction is intended as background, for it supports and in a sense vindicates—by providing theoretical underpinnings—my etymology of Greek ἱσθήσις ‘good’. This etymology is found in the final paragraph of an Appendix to a Gedenkschrift article (Watkins 1982) on the formation of the neuter plural in Hittite, reprinted in Watkins 1994:286-7. As such it might likewise not be immediately accessible to Hellenists (and indeed it is omitted from Beeke’s EDG s.v. ἱσθήσις). As stated there, “I postulate that from a neuter substantive ἤσθαθ-θlim (with the suffix in -θlim, Lat. -θlosum) is derived a possessive adjective in accented thematic vowel ἤσθαθθλιος. The root ἢσθ- is to be the verb of existence; the derivative ἤσθαθ-θlim would have meant ‘that by which one really is’, ‘that which establishes one in his prerogative’, whence the range of meanings in the possessive adjective which we have in Greek ἱσθήσις.”

The possessive adjective in accented thematic vowel was demonstrated by Schindler in an unpublished but classic paper on thematic vowel secondary derivatives, including possessives in -θs: his examples include ἢσθεθθλε ἢσθεθθλε θομφ ‘having a hump, hump-backed’ and many others in Greek like ἢσθεθθλε θομφ ‘having a hump, hump-backed’. That these substantives and adjectives meaning ‘good’ are derived from the substantive verb ἤσθ- was first seen in passing by Brugmann (1917:38, 374) both for Greek ἵσθι and ἱσθήσις, and developed much further with new Anatolian data (Hitt. ἰλθις) by de Lamberterie (1990:706-20, esp. 811-5). The latter scholar insisted rightly on the semantic importance of the present value of the substantive verb in these developments. The verb of existence often carries the present value ‘to be of substance, to be real, to be true’, particularly in participles and other nominal derivatives. The possessive adjective ‘having that by which something is of substance’ is equivalent to just ‘goods, means, substance’. Pr. Py. 8.73 πάντα τὰ ἔντιμα τῶν ἱσθήσις ‘for if someone has acquired means’. And the possessive adjective ‘having that by which something is true’ is equivalent to just ἱσθήσις.

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‘true’. Od. 19, 547 ἐστὶν ἐν ἴσθαθθλιόν ἑστιν ἱσθήσις ‘not a dream but a true vision, which will be accomplished for you.’

De Lamberterie himself (1990:809 n. 12) follows Brugmann’s morphological analysis of ἱσθήσις as showing an enlargement of *ήσθ- by -θ- as purportedly in Ved. śāṣṭi, plus an unmotivated adjectival suffix -θ-. But Vedic śāṣṭi belongs rather with indic farellas as shown by Thieme (1971:169-9) and means ‘be radiant, shine, glorious’ and the like, followed by Renou, Jamison, Proferes and LV. Hence Brugmann’s -θ- simply disappears. Greek not surprisingly shows no intermediary *ἰσθήσω. *

By my analysis the link of ἱσθήσις with *ήσθ- be is direct: the neuter substantive ἤσθαθ-θlim accounts for the mediative value ‘that by which’, and the possessive suffix -θ- accounts directly for the present imperative of ‘having that by which something or someone has value’, whence ‘good, good thing(s), blessings’. For these reasons I remain with my etymological analysis of ἱσθήσις as *ήσθαθ-θlim (ἐνθόθ-θlim), despite the aporia of XII. 343 n. 18, and pass to the promised remarks on the use and overtones of ἱσθήσις in Aeschylus.

For there is something sinister lurking in almost every Aeschylean use of ἱσθήσις and particularly the plural ἱσθήσις. Commonly translated ‘blessings’ or ‘good tidings’, the true value of these ‘good things’ is more often than not in jeopardy. In Suppl. 221 the chorus of Danaids greet the image of Hermes in Argos with the words ‘may he herald good tidings (ἱσθήσις) to the free’. But the events will prove otherwise. And in Pers. 222 the chorus on hearing Queen Atossa’s nightmarish dream of Darius and Xerxes direct her to offer libations to the shade of Darius so that he send her ‘blessings’ (ἱσθήσις) from the netherworld to the light, and the reverse of those (πανελαομον ἐν τῷ)—the dream which did occur—fade away. Denniston and Page (1957) comment on the “abnormality” of the usage of ἱσθήσις here, ad Ag. 443. A few lines later in Pers. 348 the chorus catch sight of a Persian courier, ‘bearing some fresh report of weal or woe’, σφάζω τι πρόβατον ἱσθήσις ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κόσμῳ. Which it will be the audience knows full well.

In Ch. 124-40 Electra prays with libations on her father’s grave to Netherworld Hermes Khthonios. Addressing the shade of Agamemnon, she prays for an avenger to appear and for his slayers to be slain, τοῖς κτειστόις τοῦτον τοῦτον, an inherited topos and syntactic figure: cf. II. 18.309 καὶ τι τειστότων κατατάτα καὶ Watkins 1997:ch. 31. She continues (the text of 145 is uncertain) to them I utter this prayer for evil (πᾶν τοῦτον κακον ἱσθήσις), but for us be the sender of ‘blessings’ to the upper world: ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ ἔσθαθθλιόν τῶν ἱσθήσιων ἔσθαθθλιόν (147). The ‘blessings’ (ἱσθήσις) are the same as those we saw in Pers. 222. On these two Aeschylean passages see also §14.4 above.

The theme of the false dream or vision, as in Pers. 222 above, recurs in the choral passage Ag. 442ff., describing Menelaos’ dream of Helen: ἐστὶν ἦν ἔνθός τοῦ δῶρον ἱσθήσις (433) ‘whenever one seeming to see desirable things...’, ‘when one sees what seems to
be desirable' (Denniston and Page, but with a different text). The usage of ἐσθάλα is here too "abnormal", as they suggest for Pfr. 222 and Ag. 350.

Most striking perhaps are the two uses of ἐσθάλα which Aeschylus puts in the mouth of Khtaimestra. The first is Ag. 350: πολλά τοι ἐσθάλα τῷ θεῷ ἀθανάτῳ, a cryptic sentence, with Denniston and Page. It might mean 'many are the blessings whose enjoyment I have chosen', i.e. 'there will be many good things for me to enjoy', especially vengeance for her daughter's death. Alternatively, 'the enjoyment (viz. enjoyment over the success implicit in the preceding τῷ ἔθνος ἐπέφερεν 'may the good prevail') I have chosen over a wealth of blessings'. In either case the 'good things' or 'blessings' (ἐσθάλα) and 'the good' (τῷ ἔθνος) are sinister indeed. Sommerstein, in his Loeb edition ad loc., includes the note, concerning the 'continued enjoyment of blessings', ἐσθάλα τῷ θεῷ, "In fact, of course, the 'enjoyment' she will gain from the return of Agamemnon will be of a kind undreamed of by the Elders."

Khtaimestra's last use of ἐσθάλα in Ag. 626–14 is part of her elaborate boast of fidelity and chastity, and as such stands the whole truth function of the verb of existence on its head. Note the framing ring from 626 γονεία πατέρως to 614 γονεία γονεία. 'Let him come and find that his wife is faithful (γονεία πατέρως) just like he left her, a watchdog of the house, “good dog” to him (ἐσθαλός κωνίτω), hostile to his enemies...’ The rhythmic imagery runs from δυνάτων καὶ through the final verb 'no shame for a hightborn lady (γονεία γονεία) to λακεύς.' The verb denotes both human and animal phonation, and is appropriate to the ambiguity of the passage.

Abbreviations


HWB = Friederich, Johannes, Annelies Kammenhuber, and Inge Hoffmann, eds. 1975–. Hettsches Worterbuch. 2nd ed. Heidelberg: Winter.


References


García Ramón, José Luis. 1996. "Lat. aléa 'désolé', (ad)unaver 'ayudar' y IE *h₂e₂h₂, 'dar preferencia, apreciar'." In Actes des VIII. Internationaux Kolloquium zur latèneischen Linguistik, ed. Alfred Bannewitzer and Friedrich Hebelrind, 32-49. Heidelberg: Winter.


The Thematic Vowel *e/o in Hittite Verbs

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1 Introduction

Norbert Oettinger's splendid book on Hittite verbal morphology published in 1979 and its updated version in 2002 are still indispensible to students in this field. I am pleased to be able to dedicate this work to him as a small token of gratitude for his many contributions to Hittite and Indo-European studies. I hope this offering will contribute to a deeper understanding of the Hittite verbal system. In what follows I will discuss a problem of thematic verbs in Hittite and other Anatolian languages with particular reference to the distribution of the thematic vowels *e- and *o-. It is well-known that the Anatolian languages have virtually no attestation of simple thematic verbs in *e/o- (cf. Lehman 1985), but thematic verbs with a suffix are abundantly attested in the Anatolian languages. Five types of thematic verbs will be discussed in the following sections: verbs in *-he/a- (§2), verbs in *-je/a- (§3), derivational verbs in *di/-a- (§4), causatives in *e/a- (§5), and some Luwian verbs in *-i/(i)a- (§6). A radically new finding will be shown in §4, but it seems appropriate to place the problem in its overall context first.

2 Verbs in *-he/a-

Shown below is a table that includes the attested spellings of the suffix *-he/a- in Old Hittite original manuscripts (Kloekhorst 2008:135–6):

3Earlier oral versions of this paper were presented at the 30th East Coast Indo-European Conference at Harvard University in June 2011 and at Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg in March 2013. On the latter occasion Norbert Oettinger was in attendance and gave me helpful comments on his typical generosity. I assume that he never imagined that his comments then would be incorporated in a paper to appear in a festschrift for himself. I am gratified to be able to offer him this study in both oral and written versions.

4According to Jasnow 2003:127, the strongest candidate is H/Luv. tamati (< *-add < *-ati) 'builds', pret. tamati, which can be compared with Grk. ἀρίστα 'build' and Gmc. *tarniz 'be fitting'.