

HITTITE (NINDA) KAZ(ZA)MI(T)-*

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The Hittite noun kazmi- is generally considered to be a Hurrian or Luwian loanword, representing a kind of bread. Through the analysis of its occurrences, I will make some remarks about its meaning, morphology, etymology, and the function of the Sumerogram NINDA, which sometimes is found.

Keywords: Hittite; Hurrian; Luwian; Akkadian; loanwords

It is mostly believed that the Hittite noun *kaz(za)mi(t)-*, possibly of Luwian or Hurrian origin, represents a kind of bread,¹ since it sometimes occurs with the Sumerogram NINDA, which is generally understood as a determinative. This noun is attested since MS tablets and its use seems to be restricted to the cultic offerings in festivals and magical rituals, all of them showing a Kizzuwatnean background.²

At present, the following forms are documented (broken occurrences are marked by *): **acc.sg.c.** *ka-az-mi-in* (KBo 33.195+, 6'), (^{NINDA})*ga-az-mi-in* (KBo 17.65+ rev. 23, KBo 38.260+ obv. 32), ^{NINDA}*ka-az-za-mi-in* (KBo 15.37 V 51*); **nom.-acc.sg.n.** ^{NINDA}*ka-aš-mi* (?) (ABoT 1.23, 2); **acc.pl.c.** ^{NINDA}*ga-az-za-mi-uš* (KBo 17.65+ rev. 24*); **nom.-acc.pl.n.** *ka-az-mi-ta* (KBo 40.88, 2'*; KBo 24.68+ III 5, KBo 23.67+ III 3, KBo 40.91 + KBo 39.163 IV 17, KBo 40.46 + KBo 35.156 III 9*), *ka-az-mi-da* (KBo 35.158 + KBo 20.113+ III 7), *ga-az-mi-ta* (KUB 45.50+ II 19', KBo 58.216+ I¹ 4'*); **fragm.** *ka-az-m[i- ...]* (Bo 7860 I 4');³ **uncertain (instr.?)** ^{UZU}*ka-az-mi-it* (KBo 61.80, 6', 7'*; 8').⁴

It is generally agreed that these forms belong to a single noun;⁵ as far as I know, the only exception among the lexicographers is represented by Ahmet Ünal, who distinguishes a common gender noun (^{NINDA})*gazmi-/gazzami-* «a kind of bread or cake», and a common or neuter one *kazmi(t)-/kazzami-/kašmi-*, for which he does not give any meaning.⁶ For the latter, the Sumerogram NINDA, when it occurs, should be read as numeral «four».

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¹ Cf. HED K, 140 («a kind of bread»), HEG A-K, 550 («ein Gebäck»). See also the translations offered by various scholars for the example (1) below: «*gaz(za)mi(-loaf)*» (Beckman 1983, 141, with reference to Hoffner 1974 in the commentary), «*kazmi-bread/pastry*» (CHD Š, 175 s.v. ^{NINDA}*šaniddu-*), «un pain *gaz(za)mi-*» (Mouton 2008, 118), «un pane *gaz(za)mi-*» (Fuscagni 2011), «ein *gazmi(-Gebäck)*» (HEG Š, 833 s.v. ^{NINDA}*šaniddu-*). As regard to the example (2), Kompalla (2011, 25) translates «ein kazzami-Brot».

² Cf. Trémouille 2002, 850 n. 53.

³ Cf. Hoffner 1974, 168.

⁴ *Contra* Hoffner (1974, 168) and Puhvel (HED K, 140), in KBo 17.7+ IV 6' and 7' read ^{GIŠŠU}A-*ka-az-mi-it*, i.e. ^{GIŠŠU}A-*kaz=(š)mit*, and [*tu-ug-g*]*a-az-mi-it*, i.e. [*tugg*]*az=(š)mit*, respectively (cf. Otten - Souček 1969, 40 and Montuori 2017). Quite uncertain is ^{UZU}*ka-az-mi-it* in the Kizzuwatna ritual fragment KBo 61.80, 6', 7', 8' (NS, CTH 500.515), which is possibly to be read ^{UZU}KA-*az-mi-it* (cf. Weeden 2011, 262), although the common Sumerogram for «mouth» is KAxU: KBo 61.80 ⁽⁶⁾[... MÁ]Š[?].GAL ^{UZU}*ka-az-mi-it* ⁽⁷⁾[... ^{UZU}k]*a-az-mi-it* PA-NI^dIŠTAR ⁽⁸⁾[... MÁ]Š[?].JGAL-*ma* ^{UZU}*ka-az-mi-it* ⁽⁹⁾[...]*x-nu-an-zi*.

⁵ Cf. HED K: 140 and HEG A-K: 550.

⁶ Ünal 2007, 335.

A. Ünal does not make explicit the reasons of this choice in his dictionary, but some hints emerge taking into account the few occurrences of the term (in the following passages, I provisionally transliterate the sign NINDA as a determinative, according to the usual custom):

- (1) KBo 17.65+ rev. 21-24 (MH²/MS, Birth ritual, CTH 489.A):⁷
⁽²¹⁾ *na-aš-ta* MUNUS-za I[Š]-TU É DINGIR^{LIM} p[a-ra-a ú-i]z-zi pé-ra-an-ma a-aš-ki^{NINDA} a-a-an-ta¹ p[ár-ší¹]-[ya]-an⁽²²⁾ na-an^{NINDA} p[ár-šu-u[l]-li-e-eš i-en[-zi na-a]š-ta ma-aḥ-ḥa-an MUNUS-za pa-ra-a a-ri¹ NINDA^ša-n[i]-id-du⁽²³⁾ **ga-az-mi-in** p[í-a]n-zi^{LÚ.MEŠ} pa-a-[ti-li-y]a-aš-ša^{MUNUS.MEŠ} kat-ra-aš^{LÚ.MEŠ} zu-up-pa-ri-¹ya-la¹-aš⁽²⁴⁾ NINDA^{ga-az-za-mi-u}[š] pí-an-[zi]
 «The woman comes out of the temple. In front, at the (temple) gate, hot loaves are brok[e]n, and they mak[e] them into cru[m]bs. When the woman arrives, they g[i]ve (her²) one *šaniddu*-loaf (and) a *kazmi*(-loaf), and they also gi[ve] *kazmi*-loave[s] to the *pa[tili-]*priests, the *katra*-women, (and) the torch-bearers».
- (2) KBo 38.260+ obv. 30-32 (MS, The Ritual of Kizzuwatna, CTH 479.3):⁸
⁽³⁰⁾ ... nu^{NINDA} a-a-an^{Hl.A} NINDA.GÚG^{Hl.A} NINDA.KU⁷^{Hl.A} TU⁷^{Hl.A1} ⁽³¹⁾ IŠ-TU LÚ^{MEŠ} x[...]*x-an-zi na-aš-ta ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* DINGIR^{MEŠ} a-ku-an-na aš-nu-wa-an-zi⁽³²⁾ nu-kán^{NINDA} **ga-az-mi-in** [...]
 «They [...] the hot breads, the legume-breads, the sweet breads, (and) the stews from the men [...]. When they are done with drinking the gods, a *kazmi*-loaf [...]».
- (3) KBo 15.37 V 50-51 (MH²/NS, (*h*)išuwa- festival, CTH 628.Tf13.A):⁹
⁽⁵⁰⁾ LÚ^{NAR} S[(Ī)]R^{RU} nu LUGAL-i⁽⁵¹⁾ NINDA<sup>ka-az-¹za¹-(mi-in)]¹ p[ra-ra-a ap-pa-an-zi]¹
 «The singer sings and they give the king a *kazmi*-loaf».</sup>
- (4) ABoT 1.23, 1-2 (NS, Festival fragment, CTH 670.1534):
⁽¹⁾ [...] *ták-kán* LUGAL-uš⁽²⁾ [...]x-ni^{NINDA} **ka-aš-mi** kiš-an BAL-ti
 «[...] and the king [...] ... offers a *kašmi*-loaf in this way».

As is clear from the translations, it is not difficult to understand ^{NINDA}*kazmi*- as a kind of bread in these passages. Possibly, the only doubt could concern the belonging of the *hapax* ^{NINDA}*ka-aš-mi* in the example (4) to the stem ^{NINDA}*kazmi*-.

On the contrary, the understanding of the following passages would be more problematic:

⁷ Beckman 1983, 140; Fuscagni 2011.

⁸ Trémouille 2002, 849.

⁹ Kompalla 2011, 19. Dupl. KBo 33.195+, 5'-6' (NS, CTH 628.Tf13.K): ^{NINDA}*ka¹-az-mi-in*.

- (5) KBo 24.68+ III 1-8 (MS, Festival for Teššub and Ḫepat, CTH 706):¹⁰
⁽¹⁾ [*m(a-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-ša-an)*] TU₇^{HLA} *a-ri* ⁽²⁾ [(*nu-za* ^{MUNUS}SANGA ^dḪé-pát)]
^{LÚ}SANGA ^dIŠKUR-ya *a-da-a[n-na]* ⁽³⁾ [*e-ša-an-da-ri (nu)*] ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dIŠKUR
^{NINDA}*a-a-an*^{HLA} ⁽⁴⁾ [NINDA.KU₇ ...]-*la-an*^{HLA} *ku-e pá-r-ši-ya-an-ḫa-na-i*¹ ⁽⁵⁾ [(*na-*
aš-ta pé-ra-a)*n ar-ḫa ka-az-mi-ta* ⁽⁶⁾ [(*pár-ši-ya-az-zi pá-r-š*)]*u-u-ra-az-zi-ya-*
kán ⁽⁷⁾ [(^{UZU}*ku-u-tar da-a-i*)] *na-at-ša-an EGIR-pa* ⁽⁸⁾ [*iš-ta-na-a-ni*] *da-a-i*
 «But [w]hen the stews arrive, the priestess of Ḫepat and the priest of the Storm-
 god [sit] to ea[t]. The hot breads, [the sweet breads], (and) the [...-]la-breads
 which the priest of the Storm-god breaks, he breaks *kazmi*(-loaves) from the
 front, takes the shoulder from the stew and places it back [on the altar]».
- (6) KBo 23.67+ III 1-5 (MS, List of Hurrian gods, CTH 704.I):¹¹
⁽¹⁾ [*ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-aš-š*]a-an TU₇^{HLA} *a-ri* ⁽²⁾ *nu* 1 ^{NINDA}*a-a-a[n]* 1
^{NINDA}.KU₇-ya¹² *pár-ši-ya* ⁽³⁾ *na-aš-ta ka-az-mi-ta pé-ra-an ar-ḫa d[a-a-i]* ⁽⁴⁾
na-at-ša-an EGIR-pa ^{GIŠ}*la-ḫu¹-u-ri* ⁽⁵⁾ *ti-an-zi*
 «But when the stews arrive, one hot brea[d] and one thin bread are broken; he
 t[akes] *kazmi*(-loaves) from the front and places them back on the offering
 table²».
- (7) KBo 40.91 + KBo 39.163 IV 15-19 (MS, List of Hurrian gods, CTH 704):¹³
⁽¹⁵⁾ [(*ma-aḫ-ḫ*)]a-an-ma-aš-ša-an TU₇^{HLA} ḫa¹-ri *nu* ^{NINDA}*a-a-an* ⁽¹⁶⁾ [...]^{HLA} *ú-*
da-an-zi na-[at] ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dIŠKUR *pár-ši-ez-zi* ⁽¹⁷⁾ [(*na-aš-ta*)] *ka-az-mi-ta pé-*
^ḫ*ra-an*¹ *ar-ḫa pá-r-ši-ya* ⁽¹⁸⁾ [*na-a*]t-kán EGIR-pa A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} *da-a-i* ⁽¹⁹⁾
^[UZU]*wa-al-la-aš ḫa-aš-ta-ya-kán EGIR-pa da-a-i*
 «But when the stews arrive, they bring the hot bread (and) the [...-]s here, and
 the priest of the Storm-god breaks th[em]; he breaks *kazmi*(-loaves) from the
 front [and] places [th]em back for the deity. He places back also the thighbone».
- (8) KUB 45.50+ II 16'-20' (NS, List of Hurrian gods, CTH 704.I.1.H):¹⁴
^(16') ... *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-aš-ḫa-an*¹ ^(17') TU₇^{HLA} *a-ri nu a-da-an-na ú-e-kán-zi* ^(18')
^{nu} ^{NINDA}*a-a-an*^{HLA} NINDA.KU₇ *ku-e pá-r-ši-ya-an-na-i* ^(19') *na-aš-ta ga-az-mi-ta*
pé-ra-an ar-ḫa ^(20') *da-a-i na-ḫa-at-ša-an* EGIR-pa PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} *da-a-i*
 «But when the stews arrive, they ask to eat. The hot breads (and) the sweet bread
 which he breaks, he takes *kazmi*(-loaves) from the front and places them back in
 front of the deity».

¹⁰ Wegner 2002, 128. Dupls. KBo 40.88, 2' (MS, CTH 705): [... -t]a; KBo 35.158 + KBo 20.113+ III 3-8 (NS, CTH 706.I): *ka-az-mi-da*.

¹¹ Wegner 2002, 76.

¹² Wegner (2002, 76) restores <*ku-e*>.

¹³ Wegner 2002, 120.

¹⁴ Wegner 2002, 84. Dupl. KBo 58.216+ I 1'-5' (NS, CTH 704): [... -]mi-ta.

- (9) KBo 40.46 + KBo 35.156 III 7-10 (NS, List of Hurrian gods, CTH 704):¹⁵
 (7) *nu* LÚSANGA d[IS]KUR NINDA a-a-an^{HLA(8)} NINDA.SIG^{HLA} k[u-e]¹⁶ pá-r-ši-ya-
 ʽna-iʽ⁽⁹⁾ na-ʽašʽ-t[a ka-az-m]i-ta pé-[ra-an a]r-ḫ[a]⁽¹⁰⁾ d[a-¹⁷ ...]
 «The hot breads (and) the thin breads w[hich] the priest of the [St]orm-god
 breaks, he t[akes] [kazmi]i(-loaves) [f]ro[m] the fr[ont ...]».

It is clear that, if the *kazmi(t)*- was a kind of bread, as in the translations offered here, only the examples (6) and (7) would be acceptable. Conversely, in (5), (8), and (9), where a relative clause is involved, we are forced either to insert a parenthetical clause (*he also breaks the kazmi-loaves*) between the relative and the main clause, or to leave the relative clause hanging, if we consider the resuming clitic of the main clause to be referred only to the *kazmi-loaves*.

This is possibly one of the reasons why A. Ünal distinguishes two lemmas in his dictionary; however, I think that the gap between them can be easily closed by assuming that NINDA^{kazmi(t)}- does not denote a kind of bread, but a piece of bread. In this way, we can retrieve the main clause of the relative clause: «the loaves he breaks, from them (=ašta) he breaks/takes *kazmi*-samples from the front and places them back on the altar».

This solution is not new; indeed, although it seems to have gone almost completely unnoticed, and it is generally not reflected in the later editions of the texts too, it had been already offered by Volkert Haas:

«Das Nomen *kazmi*- ist von J. Tischler HEG I 550 (H. A. Hoffner, Alimenta 168 folgend) als «NINDA^{kazmi}- (ein Gebäck)» gebucht. Ein Gebäck *kazmi*- jedoch existiert nicht. Der Ansatz scheint sich auf ABoT 21 + KBo 17.65 Rs. 23-24 zu beziehen, wo nicht NINDA, sondern 4 *ga-az-za-mi-u[š] pi-an-[zi]* zu lesen ist. Im luvischen N.-Akk. Pl. *kazmit* ist das Nomen stets in der Wendung «*našta gazmita piran arḫa dai*» belegt, der die Phrase «*našta anaḫi piran arḫa dai*» entspricht. Der hurritische Terminus *anaḫi* bezeichnet einen Teil des Opfers, der der Gottheit vorweg angeboten wird; seien es Gebäcke, Fleischstücke oder auch nur Haarbüschel als pars pro toto des Opfertieres».¹⁸

Therefore, according to V. Haas, an alleged *kazmi*-loaf does not exist: the word, of Luwian origin, would be a meronym, such as *anaḫi(t)*- «sample, morsel». The sign NINDA, which sometimes precedes it, should always be understood as a numeral.

We can largely agree with V. Haas' arguments, and the comparison with the noun *anaḫi(t)*-, of Luwian or Hurrian origin,¹⁹ is striking, since several of the contexts in which it occurs fully resemble those given above:

¹⁵ Groddek 2000, 364; Wegner 2002, 130; Groddek - Kloekhorst 2006, 189.

¹⁶ But Groddek (2000, 364) and Groddek - Kloekhorst (2006, 189) read NINDA.SIG^{HLA}.y[a].

¹⁷ Probably *dāi* or *daškanzi*.

¹⁸ Haas 1992, 107. As far as I know, Haas' suggestion has been followed only by Wegner (2002, 49; 2004, 111), who translates *kazmi*- with «Kostprobe». Conversely, other scholars persist in considering it to be a kind of bread (see n. 1 above).

¹⁹ The etymology of *anaḫi(t)*- is quite problematic and cannot be extensively discussed here. If we leave aside the alleged Indo-European cognates suggested by Juret (1942, 30: Skt. *ānuḥ*, Gr. *vāvoç*, and Lat. *īna*), *anaḫi(t)*- has been mostly explained, following Friedrich (HW, 21) and Kronasser (EHS, 191-193), as a technical term of the Hurrian cultic lexicon, with a secondary stem in *-ta* (see e.g. HW² A, 72 and HEG A-K, 25). Conversely,

- (10) KBo 21.33 + KUB 32.49a+ IV 45-51 (MS, Drink offerings for the Throne of Hepat, CTH 701.a.A):²⁰
⁽⁴⁵⁾ EGIR-*an-da-ma* ^{LÚ}AZU 1 NINDA.SIG *pár-ši-ya-an-na-i še-e-ra-aš-ša-an*
⁽⁴⁶⁾ ŠA UDU 1 ^{UZU}TI *zi-ik-ke-ez-zi nu-uš-ša-an PA-NI DINGIR*^{LIM} ⁽⁴⁷⁾ A-NA
^{GIŠ}BANŠUR.GIŠ-*ša-an A-NA PA-NI*^{NINDA}*zi-ip-pí-in-ni zi-ik-ke-ez-zi* ⁽⁴⁸⁾ **a-na-a-**
hi-*ma-kán pé-ra-an ar-ḥa da-aš-ke-ez-zi na-at-ša-an* ⁽⁴⁹⁾ *an-da A-NA* ^{DUG}*a-ḥ-*
ru-u-uš-ḥi ^{Ì.GIŠ}*šu-ú-ni-iš-ke-ez-zi* ⁽⁵⁰⁾ *na-at-ša-an ḥu-u-up-ru-u-uš-ḥi ḥa-aš-ši-*
i pí-iš-še-eš-ke-ez-zi ⁽⁵¹⁾ GĒŠTIN-*ya EGIR-an-da 1-ŠU ši-pa-an-za-ke-ez-zi*
 «Then the sorcerer breaks one thin bread, puts one rib of sheep above and places (it) in front of the deity, on the wooden table, in front of the *zippinni*-bread. But he takes a sample from the front, he dips it in the censer with oil, and throws it in the firebox on the hearth. Then he offers wine one time».
- (11) KUB 27.70+ II 11-14 (OH/LNS, Festival of Karahna, CTH 681.1):²¹
⁽¹¹⁾ I-NA U₄.3^{KAM} *ma-a-an lu-kat-ta* ^{GIŠ}IG *ḥé-e-ša-an-zi* ⁽¹²⁾ KUŠ.NÍG.BÀR *da-a-*
an-zi ta I-NA UDUN ḥal-zi-ya ^{NINDA}*a-a-an NINDA.TU*⁷ ⁽¹³⁾ *ku-e pár-ši-ya-an-*
na-i nu-kán 4 a-na-ḥi *da-aš-kán-zi na-at-kán* ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA ⁽¹⁴⁾ EGIR-*pa zi-*
ik-ke-ez-zi
 «On the third day, in the morning, they open the door. They “take” the curtain, and “In the oven” is called out. The hot bread (and) the stew-bread which he breaks, they take four samples (from them), and he places them back on the altar».
- (12) KUB 58.71 II 15'-20' (LNS, Festival fragment, CTH 670.1965):²²
^(15') *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-aš-ša-an* ^{TU}⁷^{HIA} *a-ri na-aš-ta IŠ-TU* 1 ^{DUG}UTÚL
^{TU}⁷.[SAR[?]] ^(16')UZU[?] *ku-du-úr-ri*^{HIA} *da-an-zi na-at-kán* DINGIR^{MES}-*aš* ^(17') EGIR-
pa ti-an-zi nu NINDA[!].GUR₄.RA^{HIA} ^{NINDA}[!]*a-a-an*^{HIA} ^{NINDA}[!].GÚG^{MES}
^{NINDA}[*ma-r*]ⁱ^{HIA} ^(18')LÚSANGA *pár-ši-ya-an-n[a]-[†]i¹ na-aš-ta a-na-ḥi-ta pé-ra-*
an ^(19') *ar-ḥa pár-ši-ya-an-[†]na¹-i na-at-ša-an* DINGIR^{MES}-*aš da-pí-aš* ^(20') EGIR-
pa [†]*zi¹-ik-ke-ez-zi*
 «But when the stews arrive, they take the shanks from one pot with [onion[?]] stew and place them back for the deities. The priest brea[k]s the thick loaves, the hot breads, the legume-breads, (and) the [*mar*]*i*-breads, he breaks samples from the front and places them back for all the deities».

Laroche (1970, 68-70; GLH, 48) claimed that the noun was Luwian, and it would have been later borrowed into Hurrian. This hypothesis was welcomed by Starke (1990, 158-159) and Melchert (CLL, 12-13), who regard *anaḥi(t)-* as a *nomen actionis* derived from the verb *anā(i)-* (uncertain meaning), whereas, according to Puhvel (HED A, 58), both the Luwian and the Hurrian origins are credible. Recently, the question has been examined by Giorgieri (2012), who convincingly suggested a Hurrian etymology. Indeed, in Hurrian both *anaḥi* (*an=aḡ=i*, possibly «delizia»), and *anaḥiti* (*an=aḡ=idi*, «delicatezza») are found: the two terms, borrowed into Luwian, would have merged in the noun *anaḥi(t)-*, later borrowed into Hittite. Unfortunately, as we will see, such a wealth of contributions is not found for the noun *kazmi(t)-*.

²⁰ Salvini - Wegner 1986, 67.

²¹ McMahan 1991, 64.

²² Groddek - Trabazo 2005, 185.

The similarities are clear: the context is the same, and so are the verbs involved (*dā-* «to take» and *paršiya-* «to break»); therefore, *kazmi(t)-* and *anaḥi(t)-* must denote more or less the same thing.

Moreover, further evidence that we are dealing with meronyms comes from the following analogous passages, where, instead of *kazmi(t)-* or *anaḥi(t)-*, we find a generic *tepu* ‘a little’:

- (13) KUB 10.72+ II 21'-24' (pre-NH/NS, Large festival fragment, CTH 669.4.A):²³
^(21') [...] NINDA.Ī NINDA.KU₇-ya *pár-ši-ya-an-na-i* ^(22') [*pé-r*]a-an ar-ḥa-ya-
kán te-pu ^(23') [*pár-ši*]-ya-an-na-i nu du-wa-an ^(24') [*du-w*]a-an-na iš-ḥu-u-wa-iš-
ke-ez-zi
 «[...] he breaks fat bread and sweet bread, [bre]aks a little (of them) from the
 [fr]ont and scatters (it) here and [th]ere».
- (14) KBo 30.69 III 11'-15' (NS, AN.TAḤ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival, 29th day: to Ea and his
 group, CTH 616.Tg28.1):²⁴
^(11') ... nu LUGAL-uš ^{NINDA}a-a-an ^(12') NINDA.KU₇^{HIA} ku-e *pár-ši-ya na-aš-ta*
ḥu-u-ma-an-da-az ^(13') *pé-ra-an ar-ḥa te-pu* *pár-ši-ya-an-na-i* ^(14') *na-at-ša-an*
^{LÚ}AZU EGIR-pa ^{NA}ḥu-u-wa-ši-¹ya¹ ^(15') *da-a-i*
 «The hot bread (and) the sweet breads which the king breaks, from the front he
 breaks a little from all (of them), and the sorcerer places them back on the stele».

As to the Sumerogram NINDA, there are three possible explanations: 1) the sign should be read as «four», as per V. Haas; 2) it properly is NINDA, which should be understood as a determinative; 3) it is NINDA, but it represents a noun, not a determinative.

It seems to me that the parallel with the noun *anaḥi(t)-* could help us to solve the problem: in the example (11) above – but it is not the only one – *anaḥi(t)-* is preceded by this Sumerogram, which I have transliterated and translated as «four», following Gregory McMahon's edition. However, nothing prevents the reading NINDA, especially because the noun *anaḥi(t)-* surely occurs with this Sumerogram at least in the following passage:²⁵

- (15) IBoT 1.29 obv. 50-53 (MS², *ḥaššumaš* festival, CTH 633.A):²⁶
⁽⁵⁰⁾ [nu] DUMU.LUGAL *ar-za-na pár-na pa-iz-zi nu DUMU.LUGAL a-da-an-*
na ú-e-ek-zi ⁽⁵¹⁾ [n]u 5 ^{NINDA}a-a-an 10 NINDA LA-AB-GA 10 NINDA.ŠE 12
 NINDA.KU₇ 10 ^{NINDA}ta-kar-mu-uš ⁽⁵²⁾ 2 UP-NU AR-ZA-NU 2 wa-ak-šur GA 1
NINDA a-na-ḥi 1 DUG KAŠ 1 DUG mar-nu-an ⁽⁵³⁾ nu A-NA DUMU.LUGAL
^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA *ḥu-u-ma-an-te-eš pé-ra-an-še-et e-ša-an-da-ri*
 «The prince goes to the *arzana*-building. The prince asks to eat: five hot breads,
 ten moist breads, ten barley breads, twelve sweet breads, ten *takarmu*-breads,
 two handfuls of groats, two *wakšur* of milk, one sample of bread, one vessel of

²³ Fuscagni 2010, 138.

²⁴ Popko - Taracha 1988, 84.

²⁵ Hoffner (1974, 151) claims that this is the only assured case in which the sign should be read NINDA, and that it would be unlikely elsewhere.

²⁶ Mouton 2011, 8.

beer, (and) one vessel of *marnuan*-beer. All the priests sit down in front of the prince».

In this example, the presence of the numeral «one» prevents the reading of the following sign as «four». Therefore, here the question is whether it is better to transcribe ^{NINDA}*anaḫi* or NINDA *anaḫi*. In my view, the latter solution is preferable: indeed, as noted by V. Haas, *anaḫi(t)-* is a generic meronym, which denotes a part of an offering, not necessary a piece of bread; see e.g. the following example:

- (16) KUB 39.71+ III 23-27 (NS, Ritual for Ištar-Pirinkir with Akkadian recitations, CTH 718.1.A):²⁷
⁽²³⁾ *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma* ^{LÚ}*ša-ku-un-ni-iš* A-WA-TE^{MEŠ} ⁽²⁴⁾ ^{URU}*pa-a-bi-li-li me-mi-ya-u-wa-an-zi zi-in-n[a]-[i]* ⁽²⁵⁾ *nu-kán* A-NA ^{UDU}A-NA SAG.DU-ŠU ZAG-ni-ya ⁽²⁶⁾ ^{UZU}*pal-ta-ni a-na-ḫi da-a-i *na-at-kán** A-NA NINDA.SIG ⁽²⁷⁾ *da-a-i na-at-kán* ^{DUG}*ḫu-u-up-ru-uš-ḫi da-a-i*
 «And when the priest finishes speaking the words in Akkadian, he takes samples from the head and from the right shoulder of the sheep, he places them on the thin bread and puts them in the firebox».²⁸

As a consequence, the HW² is probably right in transcribing as NINDA *anaḫi*,²⁹ although the grammatical function of the noun NINDA remains quite uncertain: it could represent a noun in genitive case, but maybe we should expect a phonetic complement or the Akkadian preposition ŠA, or – and I think it is a better solution – it could be an accusative in partitive apposition (or στήμα καὶ ὄλον καὶ μέρος), albeit this kind of construction seems to be found almost exclusively in relation to body parts.³⁰

In the light of the above, there are three possible ways for explaining Hitt. *kazmi(t)-*: 1) we can distinguish, with A. Ünal, ^{NINDA}*kazmi-*, which denotes a kind of bread, from *kazmi(t)-*, which now we know is a piece of bread or the like; 2) we can suppose that we are dealing with one single stem with two different meanings; 3) finally, we can assume that it is the same word having the same meaning – a piece of bread – in all its occurrences, as per V. Haas.

In support of the first hypothesis there would be at least a morphological difference between the two terms: ^{NINDA}*kazmi-* is always a common gender noun, if we do not consider

²⁷ Beckman 2014, 16-17.

²⁸ For this translation see Beckman 2014, 37; HED A, 57; and HW² A, 73. See also KUB 45.47+ (MS, Ritual for Ningal, CTH 494.A; Bawanypeck - Görke 2016) I ⁽⁵²⁾ *nu-kán* ^{LÚ}AZU A-NA MUŠEN *a-na-a-ḫi da-a-i*: «The magician takes a sample from the bird».

²⁹ HW² A, 73: «NINDA *a-na-ḫi* “des Brotes Kostprobe” (nicht ^{NINDA}*a*! nicht 4 *a*. mit Darga-Dinçol Anatolica 3. 104ff.)».

³⁰ Cf. Friedrich 1960, 123-124 and GrHL, 247. Exceptions are e.g. KBo 6.26 (OH/NS, Hittite Laws, §168, CTH 292.II.a.B; Hoffner 1997, 135) I ⁽⁴⁶⁾ *ták-ku* A.ŠA-an ZAG-an *ku-iš-ki pá-r-ši-ya*: «If someone violates the boundary of a field (lit. ‘a field, the boundary’)», and possibly KUB 21.17 (NH/NS, Decree of Ḫattušili III regarding the estate of Arma-Tarḫunta, CTH 86.1.A; Ünal 1974, 24-26) III ⁽⁹⁾ *nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* MU^{KAM}-za *me-ḫur ti-ya-ḫi* / ⁽¹⁰⁾ *še-li-aš šu-un-nu-ma-an-zi*: «And when the time of the year (lit. ‘the year, the time’) for the filling of the *šeli-s* arrives» (cf. GrHL, 243-244).

the uncertain ^{NINDA}*kašmi* in ABoT 1.23 (which A. Ünal assigns to the other lexeme), whereas *kazmi(t)-* is a neuter noun and shows plural forms in *-ta*.³¹ This argument would be strengthened by two differences in spelling: 1) the Sumerogram NINDA never occurs, as far as I know, with the neuter stem *kazmi(t)-*, the only exception being ^{NINDA}*kašmi* (if it belongs here); 2) the noun *kazmi(t)-* is never spelled **k/ga-az-za-mi-°*, but this is quite insignificant.

However, the close similarity between the two terms and their close semantic field make it highly likely that they are at least cognate forms. Moreover, the term is not Hittite; therefore, morphological differences could be due to the manners of borrowing, as will be shown later. The presence or not of the Sumerogram NINDA – if it is significant and not a merely scribal variant – might be easily explained: in those contexts, in which a *kazmi*-sample is taken from the loaves which are being broken, there is no necessity to specify that the word refers to bread. On the contrary, where this is not evident from the context, the Sumerogram NINDA occurs to make it clear. After all, if we are allowed to carry the comparison with *anaḫi(t)-* a little farther, the noun *kazmi(t)-* too could be a generic meronym, not only a piece of bread. Unfortunately, current evidence does not really support such a claim, the only possible hint being the uncertain UZU *ka-az-mi-it* of KBo 61.80, 6'-8', which occurs in fragmentary context.³²

To sum up, in my view it is not necessary to make a distinction between the stems ^{NINDA}*kazmi-* and *kazmi(t)-*, since both terms can refer to the same thing, i.e. a piece of bread or, in general, a sample of an offering. I do not see compelling reasons for rejecting the reading NINDA, rather than «four», for the Sumerogram which sometimes precedes the term; indeed, the fact that the noun *kazmi(t)-* would not occur with any other number but four is quite suspicious (although we must emphasize that there is a very small number of occurrences). Therefore, I think that the sign should be read NINDA, and it represents a noun – probably an accusative in partitive apposition – rather than a determinative. Thus, in my view, NINDA *kazmi(t)-* is the correct transcription.

Concluding, it remains the question about the etymology of the term. If in the case of *anaḫi(t)-* there have been several contributions, and the problem has finally found a good solution in Mauro Giorgieri's explanation,³³ in the case of the rare *kazmi(t)-* few attempts are found.

On the basis of the secondary stem *-ta*, Jaan Puhvel³⁴ and Johann Tischler³⁵ suggest that the term has a Hurrian origin,³⁶ whereas V. Haas, as seen before, explains it as a Luwian

³¹ However, Ünal (2007, 335) states that both common and neuter forms belong to the stem *kazmi(t)-*; therefore, it is not very clear why the two stems would have to be distinguished. I suspect that, according to Ünal, only the forms *gazmin* and ^{NINDA}*gazzamiuš* in KBo 17.65+ rev. 23 and 24 belong to his common stem ^{NINDA}*kazmi-*.

³² See n. 4 above.

³³ Giorgieri 2012 (see n. 19 above).

³⁴ HED K, 140.

³⁵ HEG A-K, 550.

³⁶ See also Richter 2012, 192. For the Hurrian character of the secondary stem *-ta* cf. Friedrich (1960, 60), Kronasser (EHS, 192), and Berman (1972, 92-99), who, however, do not quote the noun *kazmi(t)-*. For a different explanation, see Carruba 1967 and the discussion below.

noun in *-it*.³⁷ Previously, Howard Berman too considered the «hapax» (sic!)³⁸ NINDA *gazzami-* in KBo 17.65 rev. 24 to be a Luwian term, but he explained it as a Luwian participle in *-m(m)i-*.³⁹ However, this solution does not fit with the *-ta* extension, since the Luwian participle «inflects like an ordinary adjective with ‘*ī*-mutation’». ⁴⁰

In my view, the term could ultimately be an Akkadian loanword, borrowed into Hittite through Hurrian intermediation, reflecting the Akkadian verbal adjective *kasmu* «cut up, chopped» (with thematization in *-i*⁴¹), from *kasāmu* «to cut, to chop», although this verb is always referred to wood, plants and trees, never to loaves.⁴² As a parallel, we can quote e.g. the Hittite noun ^{DUG}*kazzi-*, a container, for which «[t]he homophone Hurr. *ga-az-zi* (KBo XIX 144 IV 11) and the secondary stem with *-t-* point to Hurrian origin, which in turn reflects Akk. *kāsu* ‘cup’». ⁴³

Finally, it is necessary to account for gender fluctuation in the Hittite stem *kazmi(t)-*. As Onofrio Carruba has shown,⁴⁴ the *t*-stem in Hittite neuter nouns borrowed from Hurrian is often due to Luwian intermediation,⁴⁵ but Hittite also shows some direct borrowings from Hurrian, adapted as common gender nouns (e.g. Hitt. ^{GIS/URUDU}*zakki-* «locking bolt», beside Luw. *zakkit-*, both from Hurr. *zakki*⁴⁶). Therefore, we can assume that the Hittite common *i*-stem *kazmi-* directly reflects Hurrian **kazmi-* (possibly from Akk. *kasmu*), whereas the neuter *t*-stem *kazmit-* reflects the Luwian adaptation of the same Hurrian noun. I stress again that there is no evidence for a semantic difference between the two stems: the meaning «sample, piece (of bread)» fits well in all contexts.⁴⁷

Unfortunately, at present, there is not enough data in support of the Akkadian etymological explanation, and hints for fully understanding the difference between *kazmi(t)-*

³⁷ However, Starke (1990) does not quote the term, and it is not recorded in Melchert’s dictionary (CLL), nor in the new *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts* on-line.

³⁸ Apparently, Berman does not connect ^{NINDA}*ga-az-za-mi-u[š]* to the *ga-az-mi-in* found in the preceding line of the same text; he only quotes the broken ^{NINDA}*ka-az-z[a-* in KBo 15.37 V 51.

³⁹ Berman 1972, 180.

⁴⁰ Melchert 2003, 194.

⁴¹ Cf. Giorgieri 2000, 198-199.

⁴² Cf. CAD K, 240-241, 244 and AHw, 453-454. On the semantic level, Akk. *kasāpu* would be better, since it is sometimes referred to bread (cf. CAD K, 242), but it is formally more difficult.

⁴³ HED K, 141-142. See also Hitt. ^Ē*apuzzi-* < Akk. *abūsu* «storehouse» and Hitt. *hazzizzi-* (pl. *-ta*) < Akk. *ḥasīsu* «ear, wisdom», both through Hurrian intermediation (HED A, 102-103; HED Ḫ, 284-286; HW² A, 192-193; HW² Ḫ, 547-548).

⁴⁴ Carruba 1967.

⁴⁵ The Luwian suffix *-it-* is often used to adapt loanwords, e.g. Luw. *nathit-* «bed» < Hurr. *nathe* < Sum. *ná(d)* (cf. Melchert 2003, 198). Without Hurrian evidence, there is no necessity to posit two different Hurrian stems, **kazm=i* and **kazm=idi*.

⁴⁶ Cf. Starke 1990, 221 and CLL, 275. Hurr. *zakki* is attested in Nuzi (cf. CAD S, 78 s.v. *sakku* A) and in the letter from Tušratta of Mitanni to Amenophis III EA 22 IV (23) 2 SAG.KUL.ZABAR 30 *za-ag-gi* ZABAR: «Two bronze door bolts, thirty bronze *zaggi-s*» (Knudtzon 1915, 176).

⁴⁷ If my explanation of NINDA *kazmi-* as partitive apposition is correct, the phrase 1 ^{NINDA}*šaniddu gazmin* in the example (1) above – which is the only occurrence of the common stem *kazmi-* without the Sumerogram NINDA – can be easily understood as «a *kazmi*-sample of one *šaniddu*-loaf».

and *anaḫi(t)*- in Hittite texts are lacking.⁴⁸ We hope that future discoveries and publications of texts will help us to solve the question.

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⁴⁸ I admit that it is difficult to imagine that two different words, borrowed from the same language, show the very same meaning; therefore, it is likely that there was some semantic difference between *anaḫi(t)*- and *kazmi(t)*-, but we lack positive evidence.

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