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Some Hittite Etymologies


1. The bird ardas in KUB 34.65.1 should be connected with ON ardu, Lat. ardea, heron; Serb. rda, stork. Teal, heron, and stork are water birds, and one can expect Hitt. ardas to be some kind of water bird as well.

2. Hitt. arwanalli-, a bird, may be analyzed as arwa- + -nalli- or as arwa- + nalli-. If the reading of arwa- in arwanalli is entirely correct, then the stem arwa- probably represents the Hitt. adj. arwaš, free.

3. Hitt. hppar, 'price, business transaction' has already been tentatively connected with Lat. opus, work as well as with Lat. ops, opis, possessions, fortune. But neither of these suggestions tallies with the morphological structure of Hitt. hppar. Rather, hppar could be a cognate of Lat. aper, apri, 'wild boar'. Umbrian acc. pl. apri, 'pigs'. Goth. ahrs, 'strong, violent', from OH *Hapr, beside *Hspr, as in OHG ebur, OE esfor, OCS vepr, all 'wild boar'. The semantic change from 'boar' to 'price, business transaction' in Hitt. hppar would have to be explained on a basis similar to the change from 'livestock' to 'money' in Goth. faihu, 'property, money'.

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1 Cf. H. Otten, Hethitische Totenritle 59 fn. 2 (Berlin, 1938).
2 G. Neumann (ap. Friedrich, HWE 1.2) compares Hitt. arwas with Lith. arvas, 'free'.
3 E. Sapir, Lg. 14.199. Objections by E. H. Sturtevant, Lg. 14.109; Sturtevant called hppar a r/n-stem, but the gen. sg. hpparas shows it to be a r-stem.
4 A. Goetze, Lg. 39.403.
5 IE equation in Pokorny, IEW 322. R. Kent, Lg. 2.185, characterizes Lat. aper with a- by analogy of the -a- in Lat. esper, 'he-goat', which would now be no longer necessary. Even if the equation reflected an IH *Hspr beside *Hspr, the resulting alternation a/æ in Indo-European would not be altogether uncommon (cf. F. Specht, Ursprung 204 fn. 1). OCS vepr, with prothetic v, through some analogy, see Kent, Lg. 2.185.
ever, the domestication of the swine cannot be located in the Proto-IH period; the domestication of this animal is considerably later. The Hittites, possibly, only became familiar with its domestication upon their arrival in Asia Minor, and then could have used the reflex of IH *H₇prₗ as meaning 'domesticated boar'. Pig breeding was widespread during the period of Hittite Anatolia; the Kaskan tribesmen in northern Anatolia are said to have subsisted mainly on swineherding⁶.

Derivatives of Hitt. ḫappar are ḫapporaizzi 'trades, sells'⁷ and possibly ḫappiras 'town, city', properly 'market-place'. Of particular interest is the latter, which probably referred originally to 'swine market' or 'community of swineherders', unless the meaning 'price, business transaction' of ḫappar was already firmly established before the formation of ḫappiras.

4. Hitt. ḫatta- 'to slit' has its cognate in Arm. hat 'cut', with another instance where an Arm. h corresponds to an Anatolian ḫ. Some scholars in the past considered whether Arm. h should be interpreted as the reflex of some Proto-IH laryngeals. In a few instances, such a laryngeal is actually attested in Hittite: Hitt. ḫannaš : Arm. hana 'grandmother'; Hitt. ḫarakzi 'is (being) destroyed': Arm. harkanel 'to hit, kill', arkanel 'to throw'; Law. ḫawì 'sheep': Arm. hov-iw 'shepherd'; Hitt. ḫinikzi 'fixes, fastens, determines': Arm. ḫong- 'to rest', ank- 'to fall'; Hitt. ḫhubas : Arm. havu, gen. sg. havu 'grandfather'; Hitt. ḫahûr : Arm. hur, gen. sg. hroy 'fire'. However, for most of the h's in Armenian the Anatolian evidence is either lacking or not yet forthcoming. Moreover, it must be assumed that h in Armenian could expand far beyond its etymological domain. Yet, it should

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⁶ A. Goetze, Kleinasien 178f.
⁸ Hitt. ḫappiras < *hapusrapas, H. Kronasser, EHS 186. Cf. also *hapus-riyašker 'population of a town', Sturtevant, HG 67 and fn. 1.
⁹ The meaning 'slit' has been established by A. Goetze, JAS 74.189.
¹⁰ E. H. Sturtevant, III 29f.; W. M. Austin, Lg 18.22-5; cf. A. Martinet, Phonetics 1.24f.
¹¹ Cf. the unrelated group of Hitt. gan and English hang.
¹² A. Jerejian, Word 9.147, interprets the h in Arm. hur 'fire' (gen. sg. hroy) as the reflex of IE p, as in πυρ. Yet, it seems more probable that the h reflects the hḥ of Hitt. pḥṣur, IH *peḥwur; this laryngeal was eliminated in πυρ. Possibly, after a more extensive investigation, the theory according to which Arm. h sometimes reflects IE p could be abandoned, and a new hypothesis established: Initial p was lost under certain conditions through some effect of a contiguous laryngeal. The postulated effect of a laryngeal upon the preceding consonant p in Armenian would have been facilitated by the zero-grade of the vowel between p and h: e.g. IH *peḥwur > *pHwur > Arm. hur. In some instances, initial p was lost in Armenian when contiguous to some other consonant: Arm. t'ir 'flight (of a bird)': Hitt. pittar 'wing (of a bird)', etc. No one would wish to see in Arm. t the reflex of IE p.
be noted that neither the evidence in favor of, nor the evidence against the interpreting of Arm. $h$ as the reflex of IH laryngeals is conclusive. Another interesting feature of Classical Armenian is the $h$/zero alternation. A. Jerejian has conclusively shown that some forms with $h$-, when opposed to $h$-less forms, are characterized by an additional semantic feature: e.g. *arkanel*, to throw; *harkanel*, to hit, kill. This phenomenon is not entirely absent in Hittite: zero seems to alternate with $h$ in Hitt. *annaš*, mother; *hannaš*, grandmother, *ark-,* to cut off; cut up: *hark-,* to be destroyed, be lost. If Arm. $h$ were to be identified as the reflex of IH laryngeals, it would be necessary to explore to what extent a similar alternation $h$/zero was of relevance in Indo-Hittite. After having established the principles of such alternations, one might look forward to a more satisfactory explanation of the IE ablaut and the Hitt. alternation $a/e$.

5. A notable correspondence may be indicated for Hittite and Balto-Slavic: Hitt. *kammaraš*, smoke (?); cloud (?); swarm of bees; OCS *komaro*, mosquito; Russ. *komar*, gen. sg. *komar, mosquito*, Serb. *kómar*, gen. sg. *komára*, mosquito*. Lett. *kamne*, bumblebee, bee; OPruss. *camus*, bumblebee, Lith. *kamné*, bee, *kamné*, wild bee. The comparison Slavic-Baltic-Hittite implies a contiguity of mosquito with bee as insects, and of the single insect with a body of insects. Possibly, this comparison can enable us to conjecture the extent to which Hitt. *kammaraš* is polyvalent. The *smoke* (?), cloud (?)' of *kammaraš* is the suggested translation of KUB 17.10.1.5: *əstlu-ul-ta-a-š kam-na-ra-a-aš IŠ-BAT 𒈭-ir tuḫ-hu-š IŠ-BAT, (dust-)clouds (?) beset the windows, smoke (?) beset the house; and KUB 17.10.4.21: *əstlu-ul-ta-i kam-na-ra-aš tar-na-aš IŠ-ir tuḫ-hu-taš tar- na-aš, the (dust-)cloud (?) left the windows, the smoke (?) left the house. Since *tuḫhuš* has to be now translated as *smoke*; we should now find for *kammaraš* an interpretation which would account for the functional opposition of *kammaraš* : *tuḫhuš*; *smoke* and *smoke* are obviously interchangeable; (dust-)cloud and *smoke*, among other things, line up different levels of observation. It is unwarranted to assume that the Hitt. author would notice dust-clouds at windows which did not in the least resemble our modern glass-windows, and would overlook the swarms of mosquitoes which must have already haunted the daily scenery of Hittite Anatolia. If, to the contrary, we assume that at this stage of civilization windows were to some extent adapted to the climatic and other conditions existing in Anatolia and resembled a mosquito net (or screen) more closely, then the obvious thing to notice at the windows would be the mosquitoes. KUB

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14 Word 9.146-51.
15 KUB 17.10.1.5, 4.21; Hittite Code § 91.
16 The Balto-Slav. equation may be found in R. Trautmann, *ESW* 115f. Cf. also [11 fn. 30], below.
17 J. Friedrich, *HWE* 2.25.
17.10.1.5 and 4.21 can now be tentatively translated as: 'swarms (of insects) beset the windows, smoke beset the house'; and: 'the swarms left the windows, the smoke left the house'.

6. Hitt. *amaranaššiš, an oracle bird, may be analyzed as marša- + -n- + -ašši-. The stem marša- probably represents the Hitt. adj. maršaš 'bad, corrupt'.

7. Another Hitt.-Slav. correspondence is peraš, a kind of bird, partawar, inst. partanawit 'wing' (or 'bird's nest'?): OCS pero 'feather, wing', paro 'fly', perо 'fly up', peronas 'winged'; cf. Skt. parṣama 'wing', OGH farn 'fern'. The relationship of *per- to *pert- is analogous to that which prevails between *ker- 'cut' and *kert- 'cut off'.

8. H. Kronasser's comparison of Hitt. puķk-. 'to be hated' with perγος is objectionable, mainly for phonological reasons: Hitt. -kk- cannot reflect an IE voiced velar or palatal stop. Kronasser seems to frequently question the generality of Sturtevant's discovery, that Hittite made a distinction between voiced and voiceless stops and other phonemes by writing the latter double where the cuneiform syllabary makes this possible. Yet, Kronasser's most 'eindeutige' instances may all be interpreted in a way which reconciles their consonantism with Sturtevant's general theory. Hitt. puķk- is no exception to this, since it may be compared more readily with Goth. fasto 'fox' (literally 'the hated one'), OCHI harks 'fox', ON fox 'fraud, deception, deceit', etc.

9. Hitt. šaši- 'to press down, crush; set; shoot, thrust in (a weapon), sting (of a bee)' corresponds formally to the IE *sāši- 'to wound, hurt, injure; pain, illness' as reconstructed by J. Pokorny. IE *sāši- was retained in the IE languages mainly through derivatives. The Hitt. evidence compels us to posit IH *seHšy- as a verbal stem.

10. The etymology of Hitt. *šanni- in ḫakku-šanni 'horseman, equerry' has become a controversial issue. Whatever the IE cognate of *šanni- may be, there is the Luw. verb šanna(i)- 'to tend, take care of' which appears to be a denominative formed from a Luw. or Hitt. *šanni-. Con.

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18 Hitt. kammaraš is probably collective; thus, nom. sg. kammaraš 'swarms'.
19 The relationship Hitt. partawar: OCS parití was already put forward by A. Goetze, Lg. 30.402.
21 EHS 14.
22 HGo 26.
23 mektāš: Sturtevant, HGo 30 and fn. 4; ugga, ammugga, etc.: Sturtevant, HGo 28, 103; akkalaš, aggalaš: E. Benveniste, HIE 107f.
24 IEW 277; cf. R. Trautmann, BSW 261.
25 H. Kronasser, EHS 143f., gives a brief account of this controversy.
26 Cf. hHitt. sanawus 'kind; kindness, benevolence'?
27 The relationship šanna(i)-: *šanni- is analogous to arka(i)- 'to plant (a field)'; oršiš 'field'; kurtuwā(i)- 'to provide witness'; kutuwāš 'one who provides witness'; parkuwa(i)- 'to be pure'; parkuwiš 'pure'; warri(i)- 'to help'; warriš 'help', warriš 'helpful'; etc. Cf. E. H. Sturtevant, HGo 124.
sequently, *šanni- should be interpreted as 'one who tends', e. g. 'one who tends (takes care of) horses' in aššu-šanni.

11. Hitt. dammarasu, some kind of menial connected with a temple, has to be compared with Serb. (dial.) dòmar, gen. sg. domára, 'steward, janitor; (pl.) domestic servants', đëmvar (gen. sg. đëmvaro, 'housewife, spouse'. The first element in this equation reflects IE *dem-, 'house, dwelling place' which is unattested for the Anatolian languages. The second element in Hitt. dammarasu: Serb. dòm-ar is reminiscent of Hitt. šaráš, 'companion, associate'.

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28 E. Boisacq, DELG 165, gives the literal meaning of đëmvar as 'qui administre la maison'.

29 Another derivative of *dem- is Lat. domo, 'tame, subdue', Goth. gatamjan 'to tame', etc.: Hitt. damašši 'oppresses, shuts in' (E. H. Sturtevants, Lg. 8.119f., BG 61). The pejorative qualities attached to both dammarasu and damašši could account for the loss in Hittite of what has been preserved in Indo-European as *dern-. Cf. also A. Goetze, Lg. 30.357 fn 63, who connects the name of the goddess Dammuḫḫaraš with dammarasu.

30 Of course, Hitt. dammarasu: Serb. dòmar strangely calls to mind Hitt. kammaraš: Serb. kòmar [5]. However, Hitt. kammaraš: Serb. kòmar seems to be opaque; if any transparency were to be detected at all, then the first element would be reminiscent of Russ. kom 'ball, lump, clod' and the second of Hitt. aqši-1 'to rise, arise, fly (up)'.