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## Some Hittite Etymologies

The following abbreviations in the present article may be unfamiliar to the reader: *AOF* = *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Berlin, 1926ff.); E. Benveniste, *HIE* = E. B., *Hittite et indo-européen* (Paris, 1962); E. Boisacq, *DELG* = E. B., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*<sup>3</sup> (Paris, 1938); J. Friedrich, *HW* = J. F., *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1952-4), *E* = *Ergänzungshefte* (1957, 1961); H. Kronasser, *EHS* = H. K., *Etymologie der Hethitischen Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1962ff.; Lieferungen 1-2, pp. 1-224 only); E. H. Sturtevant, *HG*<sup>2</sup> = E. H. St., *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*<sup>2</sup> (New Haven, 1951); E. H. Sturtevant, *IHL* = E. H. St., *Indo-Hittite Laryngeals* (Baltimore, 1942); R. Trautmann, *BSW* = R. T., *Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1923).

1. The bird *ardaš*<sup>MUSEN</sup> in KUB 34.65.1.1<sup>1</sup> should be connected with ON *arta*, 'teal', Lat. *ardea*, 'heron', ἔρωδιός, 'heron', Serb. *róda*, 'stork'. Teal, heron, and stork are water birds, and one can expect Hitt. *ardaš*<sup>MUSEN</sup> to be some kind of water bird as well.

2. Hitt. *arwanalli-*, a bird, may be analyzed as *arwa-* + *-n-* + *-alli-* or as *arwa-* + *-nalli-*. If the reading of *arwa-* in *arwanalli* is entirely correct, then the stem *arwa-* probably represents the Hitt. adj. *arawaš*, 'free'<sup>2</sup>.

3. Hitt. *ḥappar*, 'price, business transaction' has already been tentatively connected with Lat. *opus*, 'work'<sup>3</sup> as well as with Lat. *ops*, *opis*, 'possessions, fortune'<sup>4</sup>. But neither of these suggestions tallies with the morphological structure of Hitt. *ḥappar*. Rather, *ḥappar* could be a cognate of Lat. *aper*, *apri*, 'wild boar', Umbrian acc. pl. *apruſ*, 'pigs', Goth. *abrs*, 'strong, violent', from IH \**H<sup>e</sup>pr-* beside \**H<sup>e</sup>ep-*, as in OHG *ebur*, OE *eofor*, OCS *veprь*, all 'wild boar'<sup>5</sup>. The semantic change from 'boar' to 'price, business transaction' in Hitt. *ḥappar* would have to be explained on a basis similar to the change from 'livestock' to 'money' in Goth. *faihu*, 'property, money'. How-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* 59 fn. 2 (Berlin, 1958).

<sup>2</sup> G. Neumann (ap. Friedrich, *HWE* 1.2) compares Hitt. *arawaš* with Lith. *arvas*, 'free'.

<sup>3</sup> E. Sapir, *Lg.* 14.109. Objections by E. H. Sturtevant, *Lg.* 14.109; Sturtevant called *ḥappar* a *r/n*-stem, but the gen. sg. *ḥapparaš* shows it to be a *r*-stem.

<sup>4</sup> A. Goetze, *Lg.* 30.403.

<sup>5</sup> IE equation in Pokorny, *IEW* 323. R. Kent, *Lg.* 2.185, characterizes Lat. *aper* with *a-* by analogy of the *-a-* in Lat. *caper* 'he-goat', which would now be no longer necessary. Even if the equation reflected an IH \**H<sup>e</sup>pr-* beside \**H<sup>e</sup>ep-*, the resulting alternation *a/e* in Indo-European would not be altogether uncommon (cf. F. Specht, *Ursprung* 204 fn. 1). OCS *veprь*, 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 \*H<sup>e</sup><sub>v</sub>pr- 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 swineherding<sup>6</sup>.

Derivatives of Hitt. *ḥappar* are *ḥapparaizzi* 'trades, sells'<sup>7</sup> and possibly *ḥappiras* 'town, city', properly 'market-place'<sup>8</sup>. Of particular interest is the latter, which probably referred originally to 'swine market' or 'community of swineherders', unless the meaning 'price, business transaction' of *ḥappar* was already firmly established before the formation of *ḥappiras*.

4. Hitt. *ḥatta-* 'to slit'<sup>9</sup> has its cognate in Arm. *hat* 'cut', with another instance where an Arm. *h* corresponds to an Anatolian *ḥ*. 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<sup>10</sup>: Hitt. *ḥannaš* : Arm. *han* 'grandmother'; Hitt. *ḥarakzi* 'is (being) destroyed' : Arm. *harkanel* 'to hit, kill', *arkanel* 'to throw'; Luw. *ḥawi-* 'sheep' : Arm. *hov-iw* 'shepherd'; Hitt. *ḥinikzi* 'fixes, fastens, determines' : Arm. *hang-* 'to rest', *ank-* 'to fall'<sup>11</sup>; Hitt. *ḥuḥḥas* : Arm. *haw*, gen. sg. *hawu* 'grandfather'; Hitt. *paḥḥur* : Arm. *hur*, gen. sg. *hroy* 'fire'<sup>12</sup>. 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<sup>13</sup>. Yet, it should

<sup>6</sup> A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup> 178f.

<sup>7</sup> E. H. Sturtevant, *HG*<sup>2</sup> 124.

<sup>8</sup> Hitt. *ḥappiras* < \**ḥappariras*, H. Kronasser, *EHS* 186. Cf. also \**ḥapp-a/i* ?-*riyašeššar* 'population of a town', Sturtevant, *HG*<sup>2</sup> 67 and fn. 1.

<sup>9</sup> The meaning 'slit' has been established by A. Goetze, *JAOS* 74.189.

<sup>10</sup> E. H. Sturtevant, *IHL* 29f.; W. M. Austin, *Lg* 18.22-5; cf. A. Martinet, *Phonetica* 1.24f.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the unrelated group of Hitt. *ganki* 'hangs', Goth. *hāhan*, English *hang*.

<sup>12</sup> A. Jerejian, *Word* 9.147, interprets the *h* in Arm. *hur* 'fire' (gen. sg. *hroy*) as the reflex of IE *p*, as in πῦρ. Yet, it seems more probable that the *h* reflects the *ḥḥ* of Hitt. *paḥḥur*, IH \**peḥur*; this laryngeal was eliminated in πῦρ. 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 \**peḥur* > \**pḥur* > 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*.

<sup>13</sup> A. Jerejian, *Word* 9.146-51; cf. A. Martinet, *Phonetica* 1.24f.

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'<sup>14</sup>. This phenomenon is not entirely absent in Hittite: zero seems to alternate with *ḫ* in Hitt. *annaš* ,mother' : *ḫannaš* ,grandmother', *ark-* ,to cut off; cut up' : *ḫark-* ,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'<sup>15</sup> : OCS *komarъ* ,mosquito', Russ. *komár*, gen. sg. *komará* ,mosquito', Serb. *kòmar*, gen. sg. *komára* ,mosquito', Lett. *kamīne* ,bumblebee, bee', OPruss. *camus* ,bumblebee', Lith. *kamānė* ,bee', *kamīnė* ,wild bee'<sup>16</sup>. 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: <sup>GIŠ</sup>lu-ut-ta-a-uš kam-ma-ra-a-aš IŠ-BAT É-ir tuḫ-ḫu-iš IŠ-BAT , (dust-)clouds (?) beset the windows, smoke (?) beset the house'; and KUB 17.10.4.21: <sup>GIŠ</sup>lu-ut-ta-i kam-ma-ra-aš tar-na-aš É-ir tuḫ-ḫu-iš tar-na-aš ,the (dust-)cloud (?) left the windows, the smoke (?) left the house'. Since *tuḫḫwiš* has to be now translated as ,smoke'<sup>17</sup>, we should now find for *kammaraš* an interpretation which would account for the functional opposition of *kammaraš* : *tuḫḫwiš*; ,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

<sup>14</sup> Word 9.146-51.

<sup>15</sup> KUB 17.10.1.5, 4.21; Hittite Code § 91.

<sup>16</sup> The Balto-Slav. equation may be found in R. Trautmann, *BSW* 115f. Cf. also [11 fn. 30], below.

<sup>17</sup> 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'<sup>18</sup>.

6. Hitt. *maršanaššiš*, 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. *partaunit* 'wing' (or 'bird's nest'?) : OCS *pero* 'feather, wing', *pařo* 'fly', *perq* 'fly up', *pernatъ* 'winged'<sup>19</sup>; cf. Skt. *parṇam* 'wing', OHG *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. *pukk-* 'to be hated' with φεύγω<sup>20</sup> is objectionable, mainly for phonological reasons: Hitt. *-kk-* cannot reflect an IE voiced velar or palatal stop. Kronasser<sup>21</sup> 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'<sup>22</sup>. Yet, Kronasser's most 'eindeutige' instances may all be interpreted in a way which reconciles their consonantism with Sturtevant's general theory<sup>23</sup>. Hitt. *pukk-* is no exception to this, since it may be compared more readily with Goth. *faiho* 'fox' (literally 'the hated one'), OHG *fuhs* 'fox', ON *fox* 'fraud, deception, deceit', etc.

9. Hitt. *šai-* 'to press down, crush; set; shoot, thrust in (a weapon), sting (of a bee)' corresponds formally to the IE *\*sāi-* 'to wound, hurt, injure; pain, illness' as reconstructed by J. Pokorny<sup>24</sup>. IE *\*sāi-* was retained in the IE languages mainly through derivatives. The Hitt. evidence compels us to posit IH *\*seH<sup>ay</sup>-* as a verbal stem.

10. The etymology of Hitt. *\*šanni-* in <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>*aššu-ššanni* 'horseman, equerry' has become a controversial issue<sup>25</sup>. Whatever the IE cognate of *\*šanni-* may be, there is the Luw. verb *šanna(i)-* 'to tend, take care of'<sup>26</sup> which appears to be a denominative formed from a Luw. or Hitt. *\*šanni-*<sup>27</sup>. Con-

<sup>18</sup> Hitt. *kammaraš* is probably collective; thus, nom. sg. *kammaraš* 'swarms'.

<sup>19</sup> The relationship Hitt. *partawar*: OCS *pariti* was already put forward by A. Goetze, *Lg.* 30.403.

<sup>20</sup> *AOF* 16.317-9.

<sup>21</sup> *EHS* 14.      <sup>22</sup> *HG*<sup>2</sup> 26.

<sup>23</sup> *mekkiš*: Sturtevant, *HG*<sup>2</sup> 30 and fn. 4; *ugga*, *ammugga*, etc.: Sturtevant, *HG*<sup>2</sup> 28, 103; *akkalaš*, *aggalaš*: E. Benveniste, *HIE* 107f.

<sup>24</sup> *IEW* 877; cf. R. Trautmann, *BSW* 261.

<sup>25</sup> H. Kronasser, *EHS* 143f., gives a brief account of this controversy.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. hHitt. *sanawas* 'kind; kindness, benevolence'?

<sup>27</sup> The relationship *šanna(i)-* : *\*šanni-* is analogous to *arša(i)-* 'to plant (a field)' : *aršiš* 'field'; *kutruwa(i)-* 'to provide witness' : *kutru(wa)š* 'one who provides witness'; *parkuwa(i)-* 'to be pure' : *parkwiš* 'pure'; *warra(i)-* 'to help' : *warri* 'help', *warriš* 'helpful'; etc. Cf. E. H. Sturtevant, *HG*<sup>2</sup> 124.

sequently, \*šanni- should be interpreted as 'one who tends', e. g. 'one who tends (takes care of) horses' in *aššu-ššanni*.

11. Hitt. *dammaraš*, some kind of menial connected with a temple, has to be compared with Serb. (dial.) *dòmar*, gen. sg. *domára* 'steward, janitor; (pl.) domestic servants', *δάμαρ* (gen. sg. *δάμαρτος* 'housewife, spouse'<sup>28</sup>. The first element in this equation reflects IE \**dem-* 'house, dwelling place' which is unattested for the Anatolian languages<sup>29</sup>. The second element in Hitt. *damm-araš* : Serb. *dòm-ar* is reminiscent of Hitt. *L<sup>U</sup>araš* (<sup>SAL</sup>*araš*) 'companion, associate'<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> E. Boisacq, *DELG* 165, gives the literal meaning of *δάμαρ* as 'qui administre la maison'.

<sup>29</sup> Another derivative of \**dem-* is Lat. *domō* 'tame, subdued', Goth. *gatanjan* 'to tame', etc.: Hitt. *damašzi* 'oppresses, shuts in' (E. H. Sturtevant, *Lg.* 8.119f., *HG*<sup>2</sup> 61). The pejorative qualities attached to both *dammaraš* and *damašzi* could account for the loss in Hittite of what has been preserved in Indo-European as \**dem-*. Cf. also A. Goetze, *Lg.* 30.357 in 63, who connects the name of the goddess *Damnaššaraš* with *dammaraš*.

<sup>30</sup> Of course, Hitt. *dammaraš* : 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. *arai-*<sup>1</sup> 'to rise, arise, fly (up)'.