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Die Aufnahme von Repliken und persönlichen Erklärungen wird prinzipiell abgelehnt; die Mitarbeiter sind andererseits zu einer streng sachlichen Formulierung eventueller Polemiken angehalten.

Some Hittite Etymologies II

This article continues a first installment in *Sprache* 10, 144-8 (1964), items 1 to 11. It includes a number of reconsiderations as well as some new entries. The following abbreviations appear for the first time: C. D. Buck, CGGL = C. D. B., Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin (Chicago, 1933); J. Friedrich HWE 3 = J. F., HW, *Ergänzungsheft* 3 (1966); E. H. Sturtevant, *HG*¹ = E. H. St., A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language¹ (Philadelphia, 1933); SHE I = 'Some Hittite Etymologies', *Sprache* 10, 144-8.

1. In this entry I had connected the Hitt. bird *arda-* with ON *arta* 'teal', Lat. *ardea* 'heron', Serb. *róda* 'stork', etc. Re-examining the unique passage of the death ritual in which it occurs gives more ground for expecting that *arda-* may very well be a water bird as well. It is a common belief in ancient mythologies that water birds embody the souls of the dead. In African mythology, the heron is the reincarnated and indestructible soul of the dead. We also find the heron as the form of the Egyptian god Uteš and as a favorable form of reincarnation in India. The heron's cry also appears as a good omen in Homer's *Iliad*. On the other hand, the stork is a symbol of birth in large parts of Europe; a symbol of death in North Africa. Lastly, water birds are of frequent occurrence in cremation ceremonies. If *arda-* were to be a water bird, it certainly would explain its presence and use in a Hitt. death ritual.

3. Mme A. Kammenhuber has informed me in a letter that this item appears to her to be quite questionable. I am myself no longer much in love with it and would tend to share her doubts.

5. This entry attempted to show why Hitt. *kammara-* should be interpreted as 'swarm (of insects)' rather than 'smoke' and connected it to Russ. *komár* 'mosquito', etc. In SHE I, fn. 30, I suggested that Russ. *komár* may have something to do with Russ. *kom* 'ball, lump, clod'. It would seem to me a good idea to include *kamarš-* and *kamaršuwant-* in the comparison, since they are now identified as 'cacare' and 'Kot' respectively¹. The analysis of *kamarš-* as **kam-* + *arš-*² 'Klumpen fallen (fließen) lassen; to clod, to lump' would no doubt make its interpretation as 'cacare' a more convincing one³.

11. In this item, Hitt. *dammara-* (some kind of 'Kultdiener', temple menial) was connected to Serb. *dòmar* 'steward, janitor; (pl.) domestic servants', etc., as a derivative of IE **dem-* 'house, dwelling place'. Georgiev would like to see in *dammara-* a cognate of Etruscan *tamera*⁴. Without

¹ Friedrich, HWE 2.15, and HWE 3.18.

² *kamarš-* and *arš-* are both of class I 1d.

³ For more on *kammara-*, see L. Frank, RHA (24).78.94.

⁴ V. Georgiev, *Hethitisch und Etruskisch: Die hethitische Herkunft der etruskischen Sprache* 50 (Sofia, 1962).

taking issue with Georgiev's inclinations and preferences, it is nevertheless interesting to note that Trombetti established already in 1928 the meaning of *tamera* as 'nome di una carica sacerdotale'⁵.

NEW ITEMS.

12. Hitt. *terippi-* 'Feld' should be compared with Goth. *þaurp* 'Acker, Feld', ON *þorp* 'Gehöft, Platz', OCymr. *treb* 'Haus, Wohnung', Osk. *trībbum* (acc.) 'house', Lith. *trobd* 'building'; the verb *terip-* 'to plough' with Lith. *dīrbu, dīrbti* 'to work', OIr. *a-treba* 'er wohnt', and possibly with Lat. *turbare*. However, if we do not want to overlook Sturtevant's 'law', then we have to account somehow for the gemination in *terippi-*. Of course, for the objection to be valid, it would have to be shown that the *b* in OCymr. *treb* really goes back to an IH *b'*, since there is no evidence for an IH *b*. On the other hand, the gemination could be due to a *terip-* + *-pi-*,⁶ or the product of some analogic change.

13. Hitt. *ambašši-* has been tentatively identified in Friedrich, HW 20, as 'Park' and in Kronasser, EHS 228, as some kind of 'Opferstelle'. Both interpretations are unlikely, since the *ambašši-* may be found apparently within a *hīlammār*. It seems even that a dog ought to be able to get to it, so it should be something tangible, possibly liquid. Without prejudice to the status of Hurr. *ambašši-* for the time being⁷, Hitt. *ambašši-* should be connected to Skt. *ambhas-* 'water', Av. *awra* 'cloud', Lat. *imber* 'shower', etc. If *hīlammār*s are really constructed as one thinks they are, and if *ambašši*s are to be found on top (as at least one text suggests), then we might very well be faced here with something close to 'rain water'.

14. Laroche, RHA (13). 57. 81 ff., shows the meaning of Hitt. *išmeri-* to be 'bridle, rein' and connects it with Gk. *ἵμαξ*, gen. sg. *ἱμάκτος*. Without prejudice to the semantic interpretation of *išmeri-*, the etymological conjecture seems an unlikely one, particularly since *ἵμαξ* has rather the meaning of 'leathern strap, thong' and in the plural 'harness (of a chariot)'. As not all straps are bridles and bridles are only parts of harnesses, the semantic rapprochement STRAP-HARNESS : BRIDLE is only valid as long as no better candidate for *ἵμαξ* with more coinciding deep and surface structures convince us otherwise. And, such an alternative exists in the Hitt. nom. sg. *išhimaš*. abl. sg. *išhīmanaz*, etc., 'leathern strap, cord'. I should like to in-

⁵ A. Trombetti, *La lingua etrusca* 228 (Firenze, 1928).

⁶ Kronasser, EHS 224, takes *terippi-* to be ohne Grundwort. Yet, in alternations such as *malteššar/maltešnaš*, the gemination is obviously non-phonemic and ought to be distinguished from gemination in minimal pairs such as *daššu-want-/daššuwant-*. Cf. also Sturtevant, HG² 28, on pseudo-gemination.

⁷ Friedrich himself deems any relation to Akk. *ambassu* unlikely.

clude in this comparison $\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}$ 'rope of a draw-well', Ir. *sīm* 'chain'. ON *sīmi* 'Schnur', *sēimr* 'Strick', OS *sīmo* 'Band', OE *sīma* 'Band', etc. Ultimately, the whole equation ought to be connected with Hitt. *išhiya-*, *išhai-*, IH **seHey-* 'to bind'⁸. Not to be included here is the group of OCS *silo*, OHG *silo*, *seil*, ON *sili*, *seil*, etc., all 'cord', since the oppositions ON *sīmi* 'string': *sili* 'cord', Skt. *syāti* 'binds': *śvyati* 'sews' reflect Hitt. *išhima(n)-* 'strap': *šuil-* 'cord', IH **seHey-* 'to bind': **syu-* 'to sew'⁹. Consequently, Pokorny's linking of IE **syu-* 'to sew' with **sei-* 'to bind' (IEW 915) is not justified.

15. Benveniste (BSL 50. 39f.) compares Hitt. *išhamai-* 'song', *išhamiḫhi* 'I sing' with Gk. $\sigma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ and $\sigma\lambda\mu\eta$ 'song'. However, the Gk. items are objectionable on two counts: (1) the meaning 'song' is metaphorical, the primary meaning being 'way, path'; (2) it is not possible to reconstruct aspiration in this case for Proto-Hellenic. A more likely correspondence is Gk. $\zeta\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'song, hymn', $\delta\mu\acute{\nu}\epsilon\omega$ 'to sing', from a Proto-Hell. stem **hom-* with shift from *o* to *u* like in gen. sg. $\nu\omicron\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ beside Lat. gen. sg. *noctis*¹⁰. Benveniste's inclusion of Skt. *sāman-* 'song', of course remains beyond reproach.

16. Due to the ambiguity of the sign $\blacktriangleright\blacktriangleleft$ (which reads *pat* or *pīt*), Friedrich (HW 166, 171) reads both KORB-TABLETT and FLÜGEL alternatively as *pattar* and *pittar*. However, the number of true homonyms in Hittite being very low, it would be more normal for the two to be in phonological opposition. As a matter of fact, since Friedrich, HWE I. 15f., the reading of 'Korb' as *pattar* may now be taken for granted¹¹. It would now appear indicated to prefer for 'Flügel' the reading of *pittar* in preference to *pattar*, especially since Sturtevant and others in the past have suggested deriving *pittar* 'wing' from *piddai-* 'to flee, fly'. Now the *i* in *pittar*, traditionally connected to Skt. *patra-* 'wing', would reflect IH *e*¹², whereas *pattar* 'Korb, Tablett' could be related to Skt. *pātra-* 'Trinkgefäß, Schale, Becher'.

17. Hitt. *pe-* as a preverb (i.e. verbal prefix) has been a well-established fact for a long time¹³, whereas there has been no evidence up to now for a nominal prefix of any kind. However, there are a few instances where a Hitt. *pe/ḫ-* seemingly alternates with \emptyset :

- a. *paḫhur* 'fire': *ḫur-šakniya-* 'to burst (from fire)'
- b. *panku-* 'all, entire, whole': *anku* 'entirely, wholly'

⁸ IH **seHey-*: **seḪey-* (SHE I, item 9) represents, phonemically speaking, a minimal pair for Indo-Hittite.

⁹ Hitt. *išhai-*, *išhiya-* 'to bind', Skt. *syāti* 'binds', Sturtevant, HG¹ 142. Lat. *suere*, Goth. *siujan*, OHG *siuwan*, etc., all 'to sew', Skt. *śvyati* 'sews' beside *syūman-* 'seam, ribbon, rein', Hitt. *šuil-* 'cord' beside *šummanza(n)-* 'rope', Sturtevant, HG¹ 97, 111.

¹⁰ Cf. Buck, CGGL 110.

¹¹ KBo. 8.74.1.7 nom. and acc. sg. *pa-at-tar*.

¹² Cf. Sturtevant, HG² 59, 63; IE equation in Pokorny, IEW 825f.

¹³ Sturtevant, HG² 116f., Benveniste, HIE 32f., Kronasser, EHS 158f.

- c. *paršdu-* 'bud, stalk, Trieb': *arši-* 'vegetation, plantation'¹⁴
 d. *peda-* 'place': dat. sg. *edi* 'on the other side', abl. sg. *ediz* 'from the other side'
 e. *peru-* 'rock': *aru-* 'high'

The evidence suggests the existence of an old (in Hitt. times already largely unproductive) IH pre-nominal modifier **pe-* distinct from the Hitt. preverb *pe-* 'thither', IH **b'e*-¹⁵.

In SHE I, p. 145 fn. 12, I had compared Hitt. *paḥḥur*, *pittar* with Arm. *hur*, *t'ir* phonologically. At that time, I wished to show that in these (and similar) instances IE initial *p* was lost in Armenian. Consequently, the *h* in *hur* could not reflect IE *p*, as claimed by Jerejian. Now, it is possible to interpret the absence of *p* in *hur* and *t'ir* as the zero-grade of an old IH alternation \emptyset -/*pe*-¹⁶.

Of the five alternating pairs, three have forms with accepted etymologies: *paḥḥur*, *panku-*, *peda-* (Cf. Sturtevant, HG²). Of the others, *peru-* is reminiscent of IE **p₁*- 'hervor, high, far', whereas *aru-* might reflect Skt. *uru-* 'wide, far', *urvibh₁t-* 'mountain'¹⁷, or is reflected in Gk. *ἔρνος* 'stem, scion, sprouting plant', Skt. *arṇa-* 'turbulent (of the sea)', *arṇava-* 'high tide, flood tide', Hitt. *aruna-* 'high sea'¹⁸.

18. Sturtevant was probably the first to posit a Hitt. prefix *ḫa-* of IH origin¹⁹. In SHE I, p. 146, the alternation of this prefix with zero was briefly compared to the *h*-/ \emptyset - alternation in Armenian. To expand the evidence, the following pairs are offered:

- a. *ḫant-* 'front, outside': *anda(n)-* 'in, within, inside'
 b. *ḫurki-* 'wheel': *urki-* 'track; wheel rut'
 c. *ḫuwant-* 'wind': *uwant-* 'coming, rushing on'
 d. *ḫwek-* 'to conjure': *wek-* 'to demand'

To this, we add here for the sake of completeness the three classical pairs already quoted in SHE I:

- e. *ḫanna-* 'grandmother': *anna-* 'mother'
 f. *ḫantaiš* 'heat': *ant* 'hot' beside *wantai-* 'to be hot', *wanteš-* 'to heat'

¹⁴ *Aršiya-*, 'to grow, plant' should be denominative, unless derived from *arš-* 'to flow'.

¹⁵ Sturtevant, HG² 117 fn. 4: Hitt. *paizzi* < IH **bce-eyty*. It is tempting to connect IH **bce-* with Gmc. *bi*, *bi-*. Otherwise, Benveniste, HIE 32f. The meaning of IH **pe-* seems to be akin to the German 'empor' in most cases.

¹⁶ The same may be partly true for the loss of initial *p* in the Celtic languages.

¹⁷ Unless *uru-*: Hitt. *uri-* 'big'.

¹⁸ It should be possible to extend this comparison beyond the original sample of five pairs. There are probably a large number of incomplete pairs, among which one would surely expect *para*, *piran* 'forth' and *pir*, *parnaš* 'house, plot of land'. Also to be included is IE **peku-*/**ku-* 'livestock' as evidenced in Hitt. *šu-ppala-*, Skt. *paśu-*, *śu-* in compounds, Goetze, Lg. 30, 404 and fn. 17.

¹⁹ See Sturtevant, HG² 51, 117, with literature. Differently, Kronasser, EHS 159.

g. *ḫark-* 'to be destroyed': *ark-* 'to cut off, up'

Seven cases would be too much of a coincidence to be credited to chance. An adequate grammatical description has no choice but to account for the regularity of this pattern.

19. Hitt. *arawa-* 'free' was successfully compared by G. Neumann with Lith. *arvas* 'free'²⁰. Laroche, on the other hand, rejects Neumann's etymology and links *arawa-* with Hitt. *ara-*²¹. One fails to see how the two conflicting positions can be anything but complementary to each other. Neumann's proposal opens the way to positing an IE **arwo-* beside **aryo-*, as in Skt. *ārya-* 'Aryan, lord, host, gentleman; Aryan, hospitable', OPers. *āriya-* 'Aryan', OIr. *aire* 'free, noble'. Since *-wo-/-yo-* is only an alternation of suffixes, it is only natural to expect behind IE **ar-* a reflection of Hitt. *ara-* 'law' and ^{LÚ}*ara-* 'friend', as already anticipated by Benveniste (HIE 108-10).

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²⁰ Cf. SHE I, fn. 2.

²¹ In *Hommages Dumézil* 124-8.