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ИЗБРАНИ СТАТИИ ПО ИНДОЕВРОПЕЙСКО ЕЗИКОЗНАНИЕ И ЕТИМОЛОГИЯ

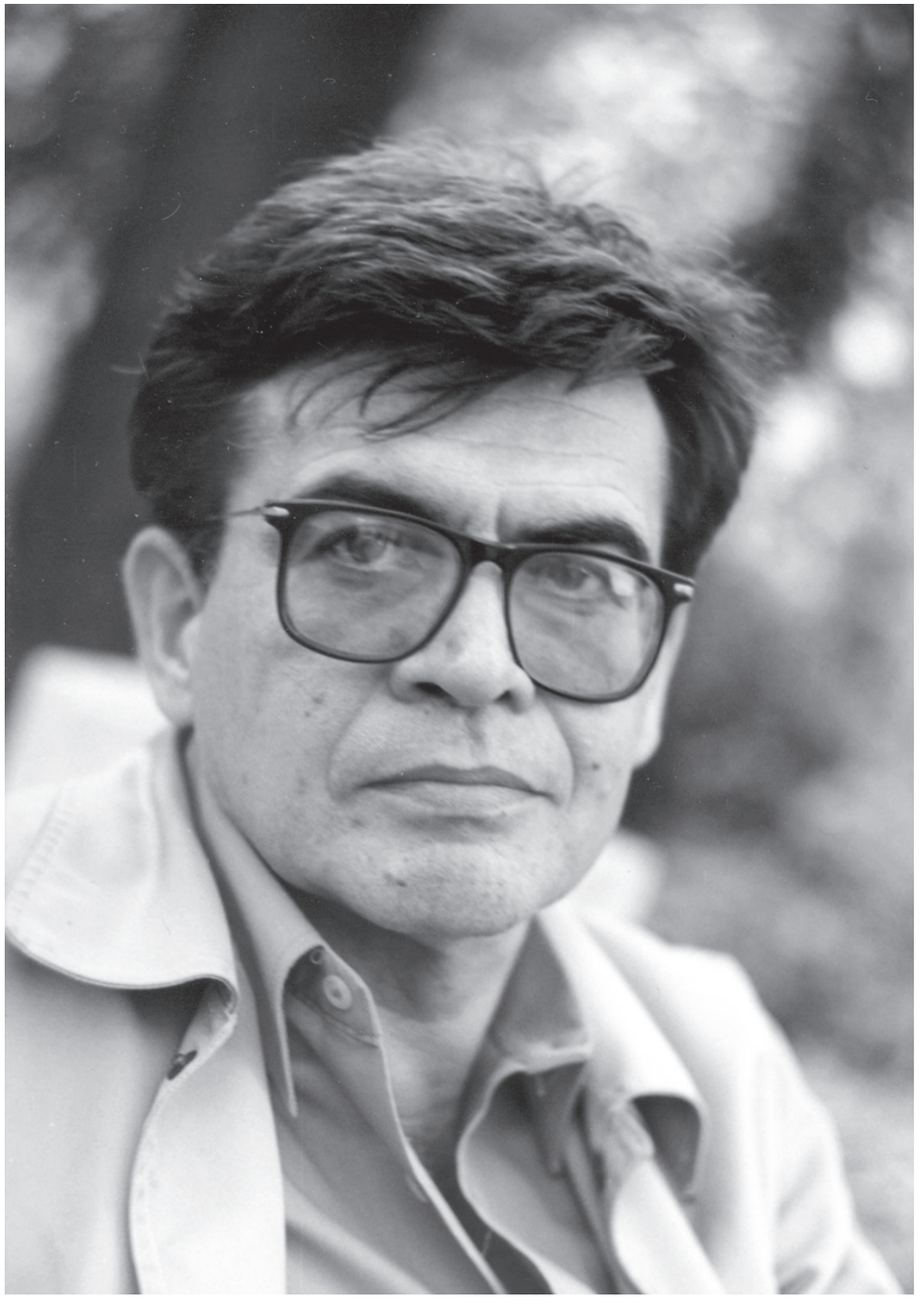
SELECTED PAPERS ON INDO-EUROPEAN LINGUISTICS AND ETYMOLOGY

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Георги Т. Риков
Georgi T. Rikov
1946 – 2002

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Сборникът с избрани статии на Георги Риков се издава с любезното съгласие на неговата сестра Рени Рикова и на списанията *Балканско езикознание*, *Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies*, *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia, Studia Indogermanica Lodziensia.*
Съставителите изказват благодарност на Факултета по славянски филологии на СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“, който финансира това издание по проект за научни изследвания с договор № 8010-48/17.04.1018.
Начинът на издаване, наложен от специфично трудния текст, доведе в определени случаи до не съвсем естетичен вид на печата, но стойността на съдържанието компенсира това техническо несъвършенство.
Налага се да бъде направена и една бележка по отношение на особените символи за означаване на индоевропейските ларингали, използвани в някои от по-ранните статии на Георги Риков: ’ = h_1, h = h_2, x = h_3.

The collection of selected papers by Georgi Rikov is published with the kind permission of his sister Reni Rikova and the journals *Linguistique Balkanique*, *Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies*, *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia, Studia Indogermanica Lodziensia.*
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The phototype edition imposed by the particularly difficult text has in some cases led to a not aesthetically pleasing appearance, but the value of the content compensates for this technical imperfection.
It is also necessary to make a note with regard to the specific symbols for the Indo-European laryngeals used in some of the earlier Georgi Rikov’s articles: ’ = h_1, h = h_2, x = h_3.

Съставители: Биляна Михайлова, Петя Асенова, Екатерина Търпоманова, Димитър Илиев, Елина Боева

Editors: Bilyana Mihaylova, Petya Assenova, Ekaterina Tarpomanova, Dimitar Iliev, Elina Boeva

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Проф. Георги Т. Риков[i]

Георги Риков е един от най-надарените учени, работили в областта на индоевропейското езикознание през последната четвърт на XX век. Ерудиран и благороден човек, изобретателен и проницателен лингвист, ценен и взискателен учител, с жар и себеотдаване той посвети целия си живот на науката.

Георги Риков е роден в Пазарджик на 14 август 1946 г. Завършва българска филология в СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“. От 1977 г. е назначен за научен сътрудник в Секцията по общо, индоевропейско и балканско езикознание в Института за български език при БАН. Негов ментор е големият български езиковед Владимир Георгиев. Към своя учител Георги Риков изпитваше благоговение и ревностна признателност, но с характерния си анекдотичен стил разказваше как го убедил да стане негов дипломант, оспорвайки упорито едно от схващанията му. През 1978 – 1979 по време на специализацията си в Ягелонския университет в Краков той се запознава с Йежи Курилович, Францишек Славски и Ян Сафаревич. Срещите с тези знаменити полски езиковеди оставят неизличима следа в съзнанието на младия учен. С много топлота и малко носталгия той разказваше за тези времена и пазеше в личната си библиотека Балтийско-славянския речник на Траутман, подарен му от Йежи Курилович с посвещение, написано лично от великия лингвист през февруари 1979 г.

От 1992 г. до смъртта си през 2002 г. Георги Риков работи в Катедрата по общо, индоевропейско и балканско езикознание във Факултета по славянски филологии на СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“. Водеше лекции по общо езикознание, индоевропейска лингвистика и палеобалкански езици в Софийския и Великотърновския университет.

На списание *Orpheus*, чийто главен редактор беше през последните години, той отдаде много любов и сили, за да го превърне в авторитетен научен орган в областта на индоевропеистиката и тракологията.

Научното творчество на Георги Риков обхваща цялото поле на индоевропейското езикознание – той решава проблеми на фонетиката,

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[i] Първоначалният вариант на този опит за биографична статия е публикуван на френски език в списание *Балканско езикознание* XLV, (3), 2006, 311-319 – книжка, посветена на шестдесетата годишнина от рождението на Георги Риков.

морфонологията и морфологията на почти всички индоевропейски езици. Предлага много нови етимологии, като особено внимание обръща на въпроси на славянската и българската етимология. Централно място в трудовете му заемат и проблемите на хетския език. Многобройните му и значими приности в тази област утвърждават авторитета му сред хититолозите.

Георги Риков притежаваше изключителна езиковедска интуиция и търпение на изследовател, които го отведоха до оригинални научни решения. Анализите му са винаги трезви и солидно обосновани. Научното му творчество е проникнато от откривателски дух, съчетан с вниманието към финия детайл, със забележителната привързаност към точността и будната съвест, които са характерни за големите учени. В следващите страници ще бъдат отбелязани основните приноси на Георги Риков в областта на сравнителната фонетика и морфология, както и в областта на индоевропейската етимология.

В областта на сравнително-историческата граматика Георги Риков решава най-вече проблеми на анатолийската фонетика. Той доказва, че ие. **KsC* преминава в хет. *šC* (хет. *paške-* ‘закрепвам’ от **ph₂ǵ-ske-,* срв. πήγνυμι, аор. ἐπάγην ‘закрепвам, правя твърд’, стинд. *pajrá-* ‘твърд, здрав’, лат. *pangō* ‘заковавам, закрепвам’ или от **ph₂ḱ-ske-,* срв. гр. πήσσω ‘πήγνυμι’, стлат. *paciō*, лат. *paciscor* ‘сключвам договор’; хет. *maškiške-* ‘давам дарове’, *maškan-* ‘дар, подарък’ от ие. **meǵʰ-*, срв. стинд. *maghám* ‘подарък, отплата, блага)[1].

Георги Риков показва различието в отраженията на **h₂* и **h₃* пред *i* и *y* в хетски. Докато **h₂* изпада пред *i* и *y* (срв. например *inan-* ‘болест’, сродно със стинд. *énas-* ‘грях, вина, нещастие’, гр. αἰνός ‘ужасен’ от ие. **h₂ino-*; хет. *inu-* ‘топля’, сродно с гр. αἴθω ‘изгарям, запалвам’; хет. *tayezzi* ‘крада’ от ие. **teh₂yeti* или **toh₂yeti*, сродно с гр. τητάομαι, дор. τᾱ- ‘лишавам се, не ми достига’, авест. *tāya-* ‘кражба’), **h₃* се отразява в *ḫ* в тази позиция (срв. хет. *sarhiya-* ‘нападам’ от ие. **sr̥h₃-ye/o-*, сродно най-вероятно с гр. ῥώομαι ‘устремявам се’, ῥώμη ‘жизнена сила’, хет. *hissa-* ‘прът, дръжка’ с **h₃-* в началото на думата от един произход с гр. οἴαξ ‘дръжка на кормило’, праслав. **oje, *ojesa* срхр. *óje*)[2].

В монографията си „The Indo-European ex-Conjugation“ и в няколко статии[3], следвайки и обогатявайки теорията на Владимир Георгиев за спрежението в индоевропейския праезик, Георги Риков успява да обясни произхода на протеродинамичното спрежение, което се характеризира с удължена степен на коренния вокализъм в силните си форми и с пълна степен в слабите. Според теорията на Георгиев индоевропейският праезик е имал две атематични спрежения: *-mi* et *-ex* (*-eh₃*). Спрежението *-eh₃* се отличава с пълна степен във всички свои форми, срв. сегашно време, активен залог :

ед. ч. *CéC-eh₃*	мн. ч. *CéC-mes*
CéC-eys	*CéC-te*
CéC-ey	*CéC-onti*

Формирането на тематичното *-eh₃* спрежение се дължи на морфологично преразлагане на формите за 1., 2. и 3. лице, ед. ч. и на 3. лице, мн. ч., при което гласната от флексията е добавена към корена и впоследствие е реинтерпретирана като тематична гласна. Според Г. Риков слабите форми на протеродинамичния тип могат да бъдат обяснени като реликтни атематични форми на спрежението *-eh₃*. По-късно те са се интегрирали в спрежението на *-mi*, което единствено остава атематично. Това довежда до появата на силни форми с удължена степен на корена в съответствие с пропорцията на отгласните степени на спрежението на *-mi*.: *CéC-ti : CC-́ = CéC- : CéC-*. Така например първоначалната парадигма на ие. **stew-* е **stew-eh₃*, докато **stēw-mi* е всъщност иновация (срв. стинд. *stáumi*). В същата монография Георги Риков обяснява сигматичния аорист като преоформен коренен аорист. Ствиснем. *wāgi* (2. л., ед. ч., претерит), алб. *vodha* (1. л. ед. ч., аорист), взети заедно с девербатива стинд. *váhana-*, показват коренен аорист *wēgʰ-m̥*, *wēgʰ-s*, *wēgʰ-t*, въз основа на който е построен сигматичният аорист (срв. вед. *avākṣam*, лат. *vēxi*, стб. вѣсь).

Г. Риков обяснява елейските оптативи γνοῖαν и ἐπιθεῖαν (3. л., мн. ч.) като архаизми, продължаващи спрежението на *-eh₃*, чиито предшественици произлизат от протеродинамични оптативи **gneh₃-ih₁-n̥t* и **dʰeh₁-ih₁-n̥t*.

Едно от важните постижения на съвременното индоевропейско езикознание и в частност на хетитологията е откриването на непознатия до този момент тип сегашно време с назален инфикс *CRenH-*, чието съществуване Георги Риков установява в непубликувания си дисертационен труд „The Formations of the Indo-European Nasal Infix Present *ultimae laryngalis*“ и в редица статии. Той обяснява образуването и произхода на хето-лувийските глаголи на **-anna-*, **-anniya-*, индо-

иранските на *-*ána*-, **anyá*- и балтийските на *-*ena*-, които произлизат от назално сегашно време от типа *CRenH*-.

Повечето от хето-лувийските глаголи на *-*anna*- и *-*annya*-, както и индо-иранските глаголи на *-*ána*-, **anyá*- са суфиксални. Геминатата -*nn*- в анатолийските форми показва *-*nH*- в праезика. Хетските и лувийските глаголи на *-*anya*- (принадлежащи към *mi*-спрежението) *mi*- и индо-иранските глаголи на **anyá*- са образувани със суфикса *-*ye/o*- от глаголи на *-*enH(-e/o)*-, които са засвидетелствани също и в балтийските езици посредством девербативите на *-*ena*-.

Суфиксите, служещи за образуване на тези интензивни и каузативни глаголи, са извлечени от глаголи с назален инфикс, образувани на базата на основи от типа *CeRH*-, *CReH*-. Реликтни представители от този тип инфигирани глаголи със структура *CRenH(-e/o)*- са засвидетелствани в анатолийски, индо-ирански, както и в други индоевропейски езици.

Хетският глагол *(i)yanna*- ‘вървя, отивам’, пал. *iyanna*- ‘също’ и тох. Б *ynem* (1. л., мн. ч., сег. вр., акт.) ‘ние вървим’ и *yanem* (3. л., мн. ч., сег. вр., акт.) ‘те вървят’ продължават формата *$h_1$yenh$_2$(-e/o)*-, образувана с назален инфикс въз основата на *$h_1$yenh$_2$*- ‘вървя, идвам’ (срв. тох. Б *iyā*- , стинд. *yā́ti* ‘върви’, лит. *jóti* ‘яздя’).

Стинд. *kṣaṇa*- ‘влача вълна, преда, тъка’ произлиза от ие. **ksenH(-e/o-)* от което са образувани (през **sene/o*- със закономерно изпадане на ларингала след консонантен сонант и пред гласна) лат. *sentus* ‘трънлив, грапав’ и *sentis* ‘трън, трънлив храст’. Гр. ξαίνω ‘влача вълна, преда’, аор. ἔξηνα произлиза от ие. **ksn̥H-ye/o*-.

Стинд. *iṣaṇa*- ‘раздвижвам’ се извежда от ие. *$h_1$isenh$_2$(-e/o)*-, откъдето произхожда сегашното време на -*y*- стинд. *iṣaṇyá*- (<*$h_1$isenh$_2$-ye/o*-). Староиндийските форми са сродни с гр. ἰαίνω ‘топля’ < ие. *$h_1$isn̥h$_2$-e/o*-.

В балтийските езици, където девербативите със суфикси на -*ena*- и -*ina*- са добре засвидетелствани, са запазени също и латентни назални глаголи: *trenù* ‘руша се, гния’, латв. *trenu* ‘също’, които отразяват ие. **trenh$_1$(-e/o)*-, докато лит. *trinù* ‘трия’ и латв. *trinu* ‘също’ продължават нулевата степен на корена **trn̥h$_1$(-e/o)*-, от която е образуван също и гръцкият редуплициран презенс τετραίνω ‘дупча, пробивам’. Гр. τέρετρον ‘свредел’ (ие. **terh$_1$-tro*-), τρητός ‘пробит, продупчен’ (ие. **tr̥h$_1$-to-s*) свидетелстват за корен *seṭ *terh$_1$-/*tr̥h$_1$*-.

Два други случаи, отразяващи типа *CRenH(-e/o)*-, са без съмнение архаизми.

Стинд. *vánate* ‘обичам’, авест. *vanaiti* ‘побеждавам, достигам’ и прагерм. **wenna* (> гот. *winnan* ‘боря се, сражавам се, страдам’ и т. н.) продължават ие. **$h_2$wenH(-e/o)*-. Германските глаголи с двойно -*nn*- и стинд. *vánitar*-, както и други сродни форми, показват наличието на корен, завършващ на ларингал. Формите с назален инфикс са образувани въз основа на индоевропейския *seṭ* корен **$h_2$ewH*-, засвидетелстван от стинд. *ávati* ‘той се харесва; стреми се, помага’, авест. *auuaiti* ‘помага’, лат. *aveō*, *avēre* ‘желая’, гр. ἀΐτης ‘любим, приятел’.

Староиндийският *iṣ* аорист *ádhvanīt* ‘той изчезна’ (*dhvan^i*-) и авестийското отглаголно съществително *duuąnman*- ‘облак’ продължават ие. **d^{h}wenh$_{2/3}$*-, докато стинд. *dhvāntá*- ‘тъмен’ (с -*n*- по аналогия) отразява ие. **d^{h}wn̥h$_{2/3}$-to*-. Латв. *dviñga* ‘мараня, дим’ е отглаголно съществително, образувано от **d^{h}wn̥h$_{2/3}$-e/o*-. Коренът *seṭ*, от който произлизат тези думи, е добре известен, срв. стинд. *dhūmas* ‘дим’, гр. θῡμός ‘душа, дух, жизнена сила’, и т.н. (< ие. **d^{h}uh$_{2/3}$-mo*-), хет. *tuḫḫai*- ‘задъхвам се, дишам тежко; димя, пуша’.

Формите на сегашното назално време от типа *CRenH*- се характеризират с липса на отглас в парадигмата и принадлежат към тематичното спрежение: по тази причина за този тип назален презенс трябва да се реконструира парадигмата 3. л. ед. ч., сег. вр., акт. *CRenH-ey*, 3. л. мн. ч., сег. вр., акт. *CRenH-n̥ti*, която е типична за спрежението на -*eh$_3$*.

Реконструкцията на сегашно време с назален инфикс от типа *CRenH-ey*, *CRenH-n̥ti* се подкрепя от структурната му идентичност с добре засвидетелствания в индоевропейските езици тип *CRenC-ey*, *CRenC-n̥ti*, срв. лит. *treñkti*, *trenkiù* ‘блъскам, втурвам се, хвърлям’, гот. *þreihan* ‘натискам, бутам’, стангл. *þringan* ‘притискам, стискам, бутам’, (от ие. **trenk^w*- с вторично сегашно време на *yod*) [4].

Георги Риков предлага множество нови решения в областта на именната морфология, от които по-долу ще бъдат посочени най-важните.

Отхвърля категорично хипотезата за *dativus auctoris* в хетски[5]. Обяснява хетския „директив“ на -*a*, който функционира също и като локатив, като конструкция, построена въз основа на архаични локативни форми, към които е добавен суфиксът **ā* < ие. **oh$_1$*. В потвърждение на анализа си той цитира паралелни ирански форми, образувани

по същия модел – следлогът *ā* се прикрепя към локативни форми, срв. авест. *tači.apaya* ‘в течащата вода’[6].

Подкрепяйки мнението на Херман Хирт, който извежда някои гръцки форми на -αvo- и староиндийски на *-ana* от ие. *-m̥no-*, Георги Риков обяснява образуването на инструментал, ед. ч. в стинд. *dānā́* < ие. *deh₃m̥n-e/oh₁* и *drāghmā́, raśmā́* < ие. *-mn̥h₁*)[7].

Георги Риков успява да обясни произхода и словообразуването на многобройни думи от различни индоевропейски езици. Етимологиите му са едновременно находчиви и добре обосновани, тъй като той притежаваше най-важните качества за добрия етимолог – лингвистична прозорливост, внимание към дребния детайл, предаността към научните принципи и неизменно изпитваше дълга да издири грижливо предложените от предшественици и съвременници решения за дадена дума.

Тук ще представя някои от най-изобретателните етимологични решения на Георги Риков.

Три от тях са свързани с формулирането на звукови закономерности – тези на хет. *paške-* и *maškan-* (вж. по-горе), а също и паралелът между гр. αἰνός и хет. *inan* (вж. по-горе).

С оглед на становището, че хет. *hatta-* е номинална основа със значение ‘умен, мъдър’, Г. Риков я сближава с гот. *aha* ‘ум, разум’, ствиснем. *ahta* ‘размишление, разсъждение, мисъл’, стангл. *eaht* ‘обмисляне, съвет’ и др. и с гръцкото субстантивирано прилагателно на *-no-* ὄκνος ‘колебание, нерешителност, страх’. Хет. *hatta-* произхожда от ие. *h₃ek-to-* (ие. *-kt- > хет. -tt-*)[8].

Обяснява като сродни хет. *argatiya-* ‘побеснявам’[ii] и авест. *arəza-* ‘бия се, сражавам се’[9].

Георги Риков показва, че стинд. *sā́ra-* ‘сила, твърдост’ е сродно с гр. ῥώμη ‘жизнена сила’, ῥῶσις ‘укрепване’, като ги извежда от ие. *serh₃-*. Гръцките думи представляват нулевата степен на корена *sr̥h₃-*, докато староиндийската с удължена степен е образувана най-вероятно въз основа на вторичен *aniṭ* корен, произлизащ от тематично сегашно време *sara- < ие. *serh₃-e/o-*, срв. *cāra-* от *cárati* (<*$k^{w}elh_1$-), *tārá-* от *tárati* (< *terh₂-*)[10].

Георги Риков свързва староиндийските и авестийските образувания на *-tu-* стинд. *yātú*, авест. *yātu* ‘магия’ с хет. *iyezzi* ‘той прави’ и тох. А *ya-* ‘правя’, привеждайки като семантичен паралел срхр. *čara* ‘магия’, словен. *čára* ‘магия, магьосница’, струс. *чара* ‘магия’, които произхождат от индоевропейския корен *$k^{w}er$- ‘правя’ (срв. стинд. *karóti*, *kr̥nóti* ‘той прави’, аор. *ákar* ‘той направи’)[11].

Според него лув. клин. *(i)yasḫa-* ‘вярвам на някого’ е деноминатив на *-aye-*, производен от абстрактното име *yasha-*. Предвид девербативния произход на абстрактните хетски и лувийски съществителни на *-sḫa-*, лув. *yasha-* най-вероятно се основава на глагол *ya-, който бихме могли да свържем с хет. *ḫa(i)-* ‘вярвам’. Хетският глагол е редуплициран тематичен перфект: ие. *h_2e-h_2i- > общоанат. *hahy-e/a-*, преосмислен като глагол на *-ye/a- > *hah-ye/a- > прахет. *ha-ye/a- > хет. *ḫai-/ ḫa-*. Лувийският глагол представлява нулевата степен на индоевропейския корен *h_2ye/o- > пралув. *ya-*. Възможно е анатолийските форми да са сродни с гр. οἴομαι, епич. ὀΐομαι, дор. οἰῶ ‘предчувствам, предполагам, подозирам’, лат. *ōmen*, стлат. *osmen* ‘знак, белег, предзнаменование’[12].

Хетският глагол *zinna-/zinni-* ‘свършвам, престава’ е сроден със стирл. *tinaid* ‘изчезвам, топя се’ (възможно е двете форми да са сродни и със стангл. *þinan* ‘мокря’). Хет. *zinna-* е образувано въз основа на 3 л. мн. ч. на сег. вр., акт. *$tinh_x enti$ > хет. *zinnanzi*[13].

Според Г. Риков стинд. *dūrśám* ‘козя кожа; груба дреха от козя кожа’ и общоиран. *darsa-* ‘козя кожа’ са сродни с общослав. *dȍlka* ’козина, косъм’. Интонацията на славянските форми сочи протоформа *$dolh_x keh_2$*, докато индоиранските форми се извеждат от *$dl̥h_x ḱom$*[14].

Една от любимите ми етимологии на Георги Риков, отличаваща се с изключителна изобретателност и изящество, е сътворена от своя автор, докато той бди над болничното легло на своя баща. Тогава му хрумва, че гр. πᾱνός ‘факла’ може да бъде свързано с πῦρ ‘огън’, ако се анализира като субстантивизирано съществително и се предположи протоформа *παϜενό-ς < *$ph_2wenó$-s* ‘огнен’, образувано с тематизация на *ph_2wen-*. Последната форма е стара косвена основа на хетероклитно име със значение ‘огън’, чийто имен./вин. пад. ед. ч. *$peh_2wr̥$ е засвидетелстван в хет. *paḫḫur*, тох. А *por*. Косвената основа е запазена в

[ii] Обяснено по-късно от Пухвел като квазикомпозит, чиято първа част *arga-* се извежда от индоевропейския корен *$h_3erǵ^{h}i$- ‘тестис’, срв. стинд. *r̥ghāyáte* ‘буен съм, беснея’ (Puhvel, Jaan. Hittite Etymological Dictionary. Volumes 1-2. 194. Berlin, стр. 147).

хет. *paḫḫuenas* род. п., *paḫḫueni* дат., лок. ед. ч. (с пълна степен на корена по аналогия със силните падежи), както и в гот. *fon* и стпрус. *panno*[15].

Г. Риков смята, че гот. *airkniþa* ‘искреност’ и сродните му германски форми са възникнали въз основа на прагерманското прилагателно **erknaz* < **h₁erg-no-*. Родствени с тях са хет. *arkuwā(i)-* ‘апелирам’ и лат. *arguō* ‘изяснявам, доказвам, изобличавам’. Формите в хетски и латински предполагат деноминативен глагол, производен от слабата основа **h₁r̥g-u-* на прилагателно на *-u-* от корена **h₁erg-* [16].

Хетското редуплицирано съществително *duwanda-* ‘подводна река’ е изведено от добре засвидетелствания индоевропейски корен **dhew-*, към който принадлежат стинд. *dhávate* ‘тече, тича’, гр. θέω ‘тичам’, нем. *Tau* ‘роса’, а също и речните имена нем. *Düna*, западнослав. *Dvina* и вероятно предгр. δύαν῾κρήνην. Hsch[17].

Като съавтор в Българския етимологичен речник и автор на многобройни статии за произхода на диалектни български думи, Георги Риков внася значителен принос в българската и славянската етимология.

Той доказва родството на прасл. **njūxāti*, **njūxājǫ* ‘мириша нещо’ със стангл. *fnēosan* ‘кихам’, стисл. *fnýsa* ‘пръхтя’ от ие. **pnewHs-*, което е германо-славянска иновация по отношение на по-древното **pnewH-*, засвидетелствано в гр. πνέω ‘духам, вея, благоухая, дишам’[18]. Обяснява образуването на българския глагол *мръ̀цкам* ‘топя нещо във вода или друга течност’ като производно на *-ка-*, от имперфектив на **-āti*, **-ājǫ* **мъ̀рцам*, **мръ̀цам*, произлизащ от корена **merk-* ‘гния, топя’[19]. Успява да изясни фонетизма, словообразуването и произхода на многобройни български и славянски думи: бълг. *кӳнка, чӳнка*[20], бълг. *стрък* (< праслав. **strąkъ*)[21], бълг. диал. *стракà*, *струкà*[22], бълг. диал. *мр’ега*, рус. *моргота́*[23], бълг. диал. *лӳдам*[24]; бълг. диал. *мръждори*[25], стб. ѡүнии[26], и др.

Съдбата ни отне твърде рано забележителния лингвист, ерудирания и грижовен учител, благородния човек. Но Георги Риков остава завинаги с нас в паметта ни чрез своето научно дело, от което продължаваме да се учим, и с научните принципи, които възпита у нас.

Бележки:

[1] Hittite Etymologies II (4–8) (LB XXV (2), 1982, p. 24); Hittite *paške-*, *išpant-*, *maškan-*, Cluster Simplification and Anaptyctic Vowels (Orpheus 5 1995, 53–57).

[2] On the Distinction between Indo-European H_2 and H_3 in Hittite (LB XXIII (1), 1980, 75–82); The Indo-European *h_2- and *h_3- before *y and *i in Hittite (Kuryłowicz Memorial Volume. Part One. Cracow. 1995, 187–190).

[3] The Indo-European ex-Conjugation and the Origine of the Proterodynamic Verb Inflection (LB XXIX, 1, 1986, 19–58; XXX, 4, 1987, 209–245; The Elean 3rd Plural Optative Forms γνοῖαν and ἐπιθεῖαν (LB XXXVI (2), 1993, 125–128); The Long Root Vowels in the Slavic Verbs of the Type *běžǫ*, *sěkǫ*, *zějǫ* (Prasłowiańszczyzna i jej rozpad. Warszawa. 1998, 107–115).

[4] Sonants, Laryngeals and the Indo-European Nasal Infix Presents (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 2, 1992, 87–96); Lithuanian *penėti*, *pęslas* and the Indo-European Nasal Infix Presents (Linguistica Baltica 2, 1993, 115–119); Hittite *šuwa-* ‘to fill’, *šuta(i)-* ‘to fill up’ and Slavic **sytъ* ‘satisfied, replete’ (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 4, 1994, 67–74); Hittite *duwarna-*, *duwarni(ya)* (Studia Iranica, Mespotamica et Anatolica 1, 1994, 101–105); Hittite *šanna-* and Greek ἄνεω (Analecta Indo-Europaea Cracoviensia Ioannis Safarewicz memoriae dicata. Cracoviae. 1995, 331–335); Palaic *bānnu-* and Lithuanian *penėti*, *penù* (Ponto-Baltica 6, 1995, 49–51); On the Formation of the Hittite Nasal Infix Verbs in *-na-*/*-niya-* (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 6, 1996, 71–79); Hittite *ḫarnant-*, *ḫarnammar* and *ḫarnu-* (Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia 2, 1997, 219–226); Hittite *(i)yanna-*, Tocharian B *yaneṃ* and the Indo-European Nasal Infix Presents of the Type *CRenh$_x$*-(Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 7, 1997 /1999/, 9–36); On Hittite *ḫulla-* and Greek ἀλῶναι. (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 7, 1997 /1999/, 129–134).

[5] ‘To be born’ with locative of mother’s name: a Hittito - Sanskrit Parallel (LB XXII (2), 1979, 35–37).

[6] Notes on Hittite and Luwian Grammar (LB XXV (3), 1982, 21–38); Zum hethitischen *a*-Lokativ (LB XXVI (2), 1983, 81).

[7] The Vedic Istrumental Singular Forms *dānā́* and *drāghmā́*, *raśmā́* (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 3, 1993, 73–77).

[8] Hittite Etymologies I (1-3) (LB XXIV (3), 1981, 79–83).

[9] Two Etymologies (LB XXV (1), 1982, 81–82).

[10] Two Etymologies (LB XXV (1), 1982, 81–82); Greek ῥώμη, ῥῶσις and Sanskrit *sā́ra* (Glotta, LXVI (1-2), 1988, 124–125).

[11] Этимологические заметки (Этимология 1982. Москва 1985, 148–51).

[12] Cuneiform Luwian *(i)yasḫa* ‘to trust (?)’ and Hittite *ḫa(i)-* ‘to believe, to regard as true’ (LB XXXVI (3) , 1993, 245–248).

[13] On the Formation of the Hittite Nasal Infix Verbs in **-*na*-/-*niya*-** (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 6, 1996, 71–79).

[14] Sanskrit *dūrśám*, Iranian **darsa-* and Slavic **dòlka* (Studia Indogermanica Lodziensia 2, 1998 /1999/, 53–55).

[15] πᾱνός (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 9, 1999 /2000/, 53–54).

[16] Gothic *airkniÞa*, Old High German *erchan* and Hittite *arkuwa(i)-*, Latin *arguō* (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 9, 1999 /2000/, 55–56).

[17] Hittite *duwanda-* “underground water-course (?)” (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 10, 2000 /2002/, 66).

[18] Праслав. **njuxāti*, **njuxāją* (бълг. диал. *нюам*) (БЕ XXXVII (6), 1987, 472–474).

[19] Бълг. диал. *мръ̀цкам* ‘топя нещо във вода или друга течност’ /Самоковско/ и *мрàка* ‘ниско водно място’ /Граово/ (БЕ XXXIX, 2, 1989, 144–146).

[20] Бълг. *кȕнка*, *чȕнка* (БЕ XXXI (1), 1981, 46–47).

[21] Праслав. **strąkъ* (> бълг. *стрък*), норв. диал. *strange* „дърво без клони, тояга, пън” и пр (БЕ XXXVII (4), 1987, 307–310); Germano-Slavica (Studia Etymologica Brunensia 1, 2000, 351–356).

[22] Бълг. диал. *стракà*, *струкà* (БЕ XXXVIII (1), 1988, 27–28).

[23] Бълг. диал. *мр’ѐ̏га* (БЕ XXXVIII (2), 1988, 116).

[24] Бълг. диал. *лȕдам* (БЕ XXXVIII (4), 1988, 309–310).

[25] Бълг. диал. *мръждȍри*, сръб. диал. *мрждȍрити* и рус. диал. *морозгà* (БЕ XXXIX (5), 1989, 453).

[26] Germano-Slavica (Studia Etymologica Brunensia 1, 2000, 351–356).

Съкращения

LB = Linguistique balkanique

БЕ = Български език

Биляна Михайлова

Prof. Georgi T. Rikov[i]

Georgi T. Rikov est un des savants les plus doués de la linguistique indo-européenne contemporaine.

Homme érudit et noble, linguiste créateur et sagace, maître précieux et exigeant, il consacra sa vie avec ardeur et abnégation à la science.

Georgi Rikov est né dans la ville de Pazardjik. Il étudie la philologie bulgare à l’Université de Sofia « St. Clément d’Ochride ». En 1978 – 1979, pendant sa spécialisation à l’Université Jagellonne de Cracovie, il fait connaissance avec des linguistes polonais éminents – Jerzy Kuryłowicz, Franciszek Sławski, Jan Safarewicz, et ces rencontres laissent une empreinte ineffaçable dans son esprit de savant. Il travaille d’abord à l’Institut de langue bulgare, ensuite à l’Université de Sofia. Il donne des cours de linguistique indo-européenne, de langues paléobalkaniques et de linguistique générale à l’Université de Sofia et à l’Université de Veliko Tarnovo.

Georgi T. Rikov fut membre du Conseil international de recherches indo-européennes et thracologues, rédacteur en chef de son organe, la revue „Orpheus“, rédacteur responsable de « Славистични изследвания », membre du comité éditorial des revues « Български език » et « Studia Indogermanica Lodziensia », membre du Comité bulgare d’études balkaniques.

L’œuvre scientifique de Georgi T. Rikov (une centaine d’articles, une monographie, ses deux travaux de dissertation non-publiés) s’étend dans tout le champ de la linguistique indo-européenne. Il résout des problèmes dans les domaines de la phonétique et de la morphologie liés à presque toutes les langues indo-européennes. Il propose beaucoup d’étymologies nouvelles en attribuant une attention particulière aux questions de l’étymologie bulgare et slave. Les problèmes de la langue hittite occupent une place centrale dans le travail scientifique de Georgi T. Rikov. Ses contributions nombreuses et signifiantes dans ce domaine affirment son autorité dans l’hittitologie.

Georgi T. Rikov possède une intuition linguistique exceptionnelle et une patience de chercheur qui l’emmènent à des solutions originales. Ses analyses sont toujours sobres et sérieusement fondées. Son œuvre est im-

[i] Cet essai d’article biographique est publié pour la première fois dans *Linguistique balkanique* XLV, (3), 2006, 311-31- un volume dédié au soixantième anniversaire de la naissance de Georgi Rikov.

prégné de l'esprit de la découverte combiné avec l'attention aux détails fins, avec le remarquable attachement à la précision et la conscience éveillée qui caractérisent les grands savants. Dans les pages qui suivent j'indiquerai les apports les plus importants de Georgi T. Rikov dans le domaine de la phonétique et de la morphologie comparée, de même que dans le domaine de l'étymologie indo-européenne.

Dans le domaine de la phonétique historique comparée Georgi T. Rikov a contribué surtout à résoudre certains problèmes de la phonétique anatolienne.

Il a prouvé le passage d'ie. **KsC* > hitt. *šC* (hitt. *paške-* 'fixer' de **ph₂ǵ-ske-,* cf. gr. πήγνυμι, aor. ἐπάγην 'planter, fixer, rendre solide', skr. *pajrá-* 'firme, solide', lat. *pangō* 'fixer, rendre solide' ou de **ph₂ḱ-ske-,* cf. gr. πήσσω 'πήγνυμι', v. lat. *paciō* 'conclure un contrat' ; hitt. *maškiške-* 'donner des présents', *maškan-* 'présent' d'ie. **meǵh-*, cf. skr. *maghám* 'présent, récompense, biens')[1].

Georgi T. Rikov montre la différence entre le traitement d'ie. **h₂* et **h₃* devant *i* et *y* en hittite. Alors que **h₂* disparaît devant *i* et *y* (cf. par exemple hitt. *inan-* 'maladie' lié à v. ind. *énas-* 'péché, faute', gr. αἰνός 'terrible' d'ie. **h₂ino-* ; hitt. *inu-* 'chauffer' lié à gr. αἴθω 'brûler'; hitt. *tayezzi* 'voler' d'ie. **teh₂yeti* ou **toh₂yeti* lié à gr. τητάομαι, dor. τᾱ- 'être dans le besoin, être privé de', av. *tāya-* 'vol'), **h₃* est reflété par *ḫ* dans cette position (cf. hitt. *sarhiya-* 'attaquer' d'ie. **sr̥h₃-ye/o-* relié peut-être à gr. ῥώμη 'force vitale', ῥῶσις 'renforcement, encouragement', hitt. *hissa-* 'manche, perche' avec **h₃-* à l'initial apparenté à slave **oje, *ojesa* 'idem')[2].

Dans la monographie „The Indo-European ex-Conjugation" et dans quelques articles[3], en continuant et en enrichissant la théorie de Vladimir Georgiev sur la conjugaison dans l'indo-européen, Georgi T. Rikov arrive à expliquer l'origine de la conjugaison protérodynamique qui est caractérisée par le degré allongé dans ses formes fortes et par le degré plein dans les formes faibles. Selon la théorie de Georgiev, l'indo-européen possédait à l'origine deux conjugaisons athématiques : *-mi* et *-ex* (*-eh₃*). La conjugaison *-eh₃* montrait le degré plein dans toutes ces formes, cf. celles du présent actif :

sg. *CéC-eh₃*	pl. *CéC-mes*
CéC-eys	*CéC-te*
CéC-ey	*CéC-onti*

La formation de la conjugaison thématique *-eh₃* est due à une nouvelle segmentation morphologique des formes de la 1ère, 2ème et 3ème personne du singulier et de la 3ème personne du pluriel lors de laquelle la voyelle de la flexion est ajoutée à la racine et ensuite est réintérprétée en tant que voyelle thématique. Selon Georgi T. Rikov, les formes faibles du type protérodynamique peuvent être expliquées comme des formes athématiques relictes de la conjugaison *-eh₃*. Elles se seraient intégrées à la conjugaison *-mi* qui seule reste athématique. Cela mène à l'apparition de formes fortes au vocalisme allongé selon la proportion des degrés apophoniques dans la conjugaison *-mi* : *CéC-ti : CC-́ = Cé́C- : CéC-*. Ainsi, d'après Georgi T. Rikov, le paradigme originel d'ie. **stew-* est **stew-eh₃*, alors que **stēw-mi* serait une innovation (cf. véd. *stáumi*). Dans la même monographie G. T. Rikov explique l'aoriste sigmatique en tant qu'aoriste radicale remodelé. V. h. a. *wāgi* (2p. sg. prét.), alb. *vodha* (1p. sg. aor.), pris ensemble avec le déverbatif v. ind. *vā́hana-*, font preuve d'un aoriste radical protérodynamique : *wēgʰ-m̥*, *wēgʰ-s*, *wēgʰ-t* à la base duquel l'aoriste sigmatique serait bâti (cf. véd. *avākṣam*, lat. *vēxi*, v. bulg. вѣсь).

G. T. Rikov explique les optatifs éléens γνοῖαν et ἐπιθεῖαν (3 p. pl.), en tant qu'archaïsmes, continuant la conjugaison *-eh₃*, dont les précurseurs remontent aux optatifs protérodynamiques **gneh₃-ih₁-n̥t* et **dʰeh₁-ih₁-n̥t*.

Une des acquisitions importantes de la linguistique indo-européenne contemporaine et de l'hittitologie en particulier est la découverte du type de présent à infixe nasale *CRenH-* inconnu jusqu'alors dont Georgi T. Rikov établit l'existence dans son travail de dissertation non-publiée „The Formations of the Indo-European Nasal Infix Present *ultimae laryngalis*" et dans une série d'articles. Il explique la formation et l'origine des verbes hittite-louvites en **-anna-*, **-anniya-*, indo-iraniens en **-ána-*, **anyá-* et baltiques en **-ena-* qui proviennent du présent nasal du type *CRenH-*.

La plupart des verbes hittites et louvites en **-anna-* et **-annya-*, de même que les verbes indo-iraniens en **-ána-*, **anyá-* sont des verbes suffixaux. Le *-nn-* géminé dans les formes anatoliennes indique ie. **-nH-*. Les verbes hittites et louvites en **-anya-* (appartenant à la conjugaison *mi-*) et les verbes indo-iraniens en **anyá-* sont formés à l'aide du suffixe **-ye/o-* de verbes en **-enH(-e/o)-* qui sont attestés aussi dans les langues baltiques par les déverbatifs en **-ena-*.

Les suffixes servant à former ces verbes intensifs ou causatifs sont abstraits de verbes à infixe nasal, formés à la base de thèmes du type *CeRH-*

ou *CReH-*. Des représentants relictes de ce type de verbes infixés avec la structure *CRenH(-e/o)-* sont attestés en anatolien, en indo-iranien, de même que dans d'autres langues indo-européennes.

Le verbe hittite *(i)yanna-* 'marcher', pal. *iyanna-* 'idem' et tokh. B *ynem* (1p. pl., prés. act.) 'nous marchons' et *yanem* (3p. pl., prés. act.) 'ils marchent' continuent le verbe indo-européen **h₁yenh₂(-e/o)-*, formé avec infixe nasal à la base d'ie. **h₁yenh₂-* 'marcher' (cf. tokh. B *iyā-* 'marcher', v. ind. *yā́ti* 'il marche', lit. *jóti* 'aller à cheval').

Véd. *kṣaṇa-* 'carder de la laine, filer' sort d'ie. **ksenH(-e/o-)* duquel sont formés (via **sene/o-* avec chute de la laryngale régulière après une sonante consonantique et devant voyelle) lat. *sentus* 'épineux, buissonneux, inculte' et *sentis* 'ronces, buissonns épineux, griffes'. Gr. ξαίνω (présent à *yod*) 'carder de la laine, peigner', aor. ἔξηνα, est issu d'ie. **ksn̥H-e/o-*. Dans ce cas la racine *setE* de base n'est pas attestée.

Véd. *iṣaṇa-* 'faire mouvoir' provient d'ie. **h₁isenh₂(-e/o)-* duquel est dérivé le présent à *yod* védique *iṣanyá-* (<**h₁isenh₂-ye/o-*). Les formes védiques sont probablement apparentées au présent grec à *yod* ἰαίνω 'réchauffer', dérivé d'ie. **h₁isn̥h₂-e/o-*.

Dans les langues baltiques où, les déverbatifs contenant les suffixes *-ena-* et *-ina-* sont bien attestés, sont conservés aussi les verbes latents à infixe nasal lit. *trenù* 'se détruire, pourrir', lett. *trenu* idem qui reflètent ie. **trenh₁(-e/o)-*, alors que lit. *trinù* 'frotter' et lett. *trinu* idem continuent le thème à degré zéro **trn̥h₁(-e/o)-* duquel est formé aussi le présent grec à réduplication τετραίνω 'percer, trouer'. Gr. τέρετρον 'foret, tarière' (ie. **terh₁-tro-*), τρητός 'percé, troué' (ie. **tr̥h₁-to-s*) indiquent une racine *seṭ *terh₁-/*tr̥h₁-*.

Deux autres représentants du type *CRenH(-e/o)-* sont sans doute des archaïsmes.

Véd. *vánate* 'il accepte, il emporte', av. *vanaiti* 'l'emporter sur, atteindre' et le pragerm. **wenna* (> got. *winnan* 'endurer, souffrir', etc.) reflètent ie. **h₂wenH(-e/o)-*. Les verbes germaniques à double *-nn-* et le v. ind. *vanitar-* 'récepteur', de même que d'autres formes reliées, exigent la recon-struction d'un thème à laryngale finale. Les formes à infixe nasal sont bâties à la base de la racine *seṭ* indo-européenne **h₂ewH-*, attestée par v. ind. *ávati* 'il plaît ; il aspire à qch, il aide, il protège', av. *auuaiti* 'il aide', lat. *aveō*, *avēre* 'désirer', gr. ἀΐτης 'ami, bien aimé'.

L'aoriste *iṣ* védique *ádhvanīt* (*dhvan^i-* 'fumer') et le substantif déverbatif avestique *duuąnman-* 'nuage' continuent ie. **dʰwenh₂/₃-*, alors que véd. *dhvāntá-* 'obscure' (avec *-n-* analogique) reflète ie. **dʰwn̥h₂/₃-to-*. Lett. *dviñga* 'buée, fumée' est un substantif déverbatif formé sur **dʰwn̥h₂/₃-e/o-*. La racine *seṭ*, de laquelle ces mots sont formés, est bien connue, cf. v. ind. *dhūmas* 'fumée', gr. θῡμός 'âme, cœur ; ardeur', etc. (< ie. **dʰuh₂/₃-mo-*), hitt. *tuḫḫai-* 'étouffer, tousser'.

Les formes du présent nasal du type *CRenH-* sont caractérisées par le manque d'apophonie paradigmatique et appartiennent à la conjugaison thématique : pour ces raisons il faut reconstruire pour ce type de présent nasal le paradigme 3 p. sg. prés. act. *CRenH-ey*, 3 p. pl. prés. act. *CRenH-n̥ti* qui est typique de la conjugaison *-eh₃*.

La reconstruction du présent à infixe nasal du type *CRenH-ey*, *CRenH-n̥ti* est étayée par son identité structurale avec le type *CRenC-ey*, *CRenC-n̥ti*, bien attesté dans les langues indo-européennes, cf. lit. *treñkti*, *trenkiù* 'bousculer, se ruer, jeter', got. *þreihan* 'presser, écraser', v. angl. *þringan* 'presser, opprimer', (d'ie. **trenk-* avec un présent à *yod* secondaire)[4].

Georgi T. Rikov offre plusieurs nouvelles solutions dans le domaine de la morphologie nominale dont j'indiquerai les plus importantes.

Il rejette de manière catégorique l'hypothèse pour l'existence de *dativus auctoris* en hittite[5].

G. T. Rikov interprète le „directif" hittite en *-a* (fonctionnant aussi comme locatif) en tant qu'une construction bâtie de formes locatives archaïques aux quelles le postfixe **ā* < ie. **oh₁* est ajouté. Pour étayer son analyse, il cite des parallèles iraniens formés sur le même modèle (cf. av. *tači.apaya* 'dans l'eau courante')[6].

En soutenant l'analyse que Hirt propose pour certaines formes grecques en -αvo- et vieux indien en *-ana* d'ie. **-m̥no-*, Georgi T. Rikov explique la formation de l'instrumental singulier dans skr. *dānā́* (d'ie. **deh₃m̥n-e/oh₁*) et *drāghmā́, raśmā́* (ie. *-mn̥h₁*)[7].

Georgi T. Rikov arrive à éclairer l'origine ou la formation d'un grand nombre de mots de différentes langues indo-européennes. Sa perspicacité linguistique, le soin du moindre détail, la fidélité aux principes scientifiques, le devoir qu'il sentait toujours de chercher minutieusement les analyses proposées pour le mot étudié par ses précurseurs et par ses contemporains rendaient les étymologies qu'il offrait ingénieuses et bien fondées.

J'indiquerai ici un petit nombre des étymologies les plus inventives de Georgi T. Rikov.

Trois d'entre elles sont liées à la formulation de lois phonétiques – celles de hitt. *paške-* et *maškan-* (v. ci-dessus, p. 1), de même que le rapprochement de gr. αἰνός et hitt. *inan* (v. ci-dessus, p. 1).

Partant de l'avis que hitt. *hatta-* est un thème nominal avec le sens de 'intelligent, sage', G. T. Rikov le rapproche à got. *aha* 'esprit, intelligence', v. h. a. *ahta* 'intention, considération', v. angl. *eaht* 'délibération, conseil', etc. et à l'adjectif grec en *-no-* substantivé ὄκνος 'hésitation, timidité' . Hitt. *hatta-* ressort d'ie. *h_3ek-to-* (ie. *-*kt-* > hitt. *-tt-*)[8].

Il établit une isoglosse hittite-iranienne en reliant hitt. *argatiya-* 'lutte' et av. *arəza-* 'bataille'[9].

G. T. Rikov rapproche skr. *sā́ra-* 'force, solidité' à gr. ῥώμη 'force vitale', ῥῶσις 'renforcement, encouragement', en les sortant de la racine ie. *$serh_3$-. Les mots grecs représentent le degré zéro *$sr̥h_3$-, tandis que la forme du sanskrit à degré allongé est formée, selon toute probabilité, à la base d'une racine *aniṭ* secondaire résultant d'un présent thématique *sara-* < ie. *$serh_3$-e/o-*, cf. *cāra-* de *cárati* (<*k^welh_1-), *tārá-* de *tárati* (< *$terh_2$-)[10].

Georgi T. Rikov rattache les dérivatifs vieux indien et avestique en *-tu- yātu* 'magie' à hitt. *iyezzi* 'il fait' en attirant le parallèle sémantique de s.-cr. *čara* 'magie', slovène *čára* 'magie, magicienne', v. russe *чара* 'magie', dérivés d'ie. *k^wer-* 'faire' (cf. skr. *karóti*, *kr̥nóti* 'il fait', aor. *ákar* 'il a fait')[11].

D'après lui le verbe louvite cunéiforme *(i)yasḫa-* 'faire confiance à' est un dénominatif en *-aye-*, dérivé du nom abstrait *yasha-*. En vue de l'origine déverbative des noms abstraits hittites et louvites en *-sḫa-*, louv. cun. *yasha-* reposerait sur un verbe *ya-* que l'on pourrait relier à hitt. *ḫa(i)-* 'croire'. Le verbe hittite est analysé en tant qu'une forme de parfait thématisé à réduplication : ie. *h_2e-h_2i- > anat. com. *hahy-e/a-*, conçu comme verbe en *-ye/a- > *hah-ye/a- > protohitt. *ha-ye/a- > hitt. *ḫai-*/ *ḫa-*. Le verbe louvite représenterait le degré zéro de la racine ie. * h_2ye/o- > protolouv. *ya-*. Les formes anatoliennes peuvent être apparentées à gr. οἴομαι, ép. ὀΐομαι, dor. οἰῶ 'avoir l'impression que ; avoir le sentiment que ; croire personnellement', lat. *ōmen*, v. lat. *osmen* 'augure, signe, pronostic'[12].

Le verbe hittite *zinna-*/*zinni-* 'finir, cesser' est relié à v. irl. *tinaid* 'disparaître, fondre' (les deux formes peuvent être apparentées aussi à v. angl. *þinan* 'humecter'). Hitt. *zinna-* est formé à partir de la 3 p. pl. du présent actif *$tinh_xenti$ > hitt. *zinnanzi*[13].

Georgi T. Rikov rattache skr. *dūrśám* 'peau de chèvre ; vêtement rêche de poils de chèvre', ir. com. *darsa-* 'poils de chèvres' à slave com. *dȍlka* 'poils, cheveux, peau'. L'intonation des mots slaves indique une protoforme *$dolh_xkeh_2$, tandis que les formes indo-iraniennes doivent être tirées de *$dl̥h_xḱom$[14].

En reliant gr. πᾱνός 'torche' à πῦρ 'feu', il l'analyse en tant qu'un adjectif substantivé et pose une protoforme *παϜενό-ς < *$ph_2wenó$-s* 'de feu', formée avec thématisation de *ph_2wen-*. Ce dernier est un ancien thème oblique d'un nom hétéroclite signifiant 'feu', dont le nom./ acc. sg. *$peh_2wr̥$ est attesté par hitt. *paḫḫur*, tokh. A *por*. Le thème oblique est remodelé dans hitt. *paḫḫuenas* gen. sg., *paḫḫueni* dat., loc. sg. (avec le vocalisme plein de la racine par analogie des cas forts), de même que dans got. *fon* et v. pruss. *panno*[15].

Georgi T. Rikov considère que got. *airkniþa* 'sincérité' et ses congénères reposent sur un adjectif protogermanique *erknaz.* Il rapproche les formes germaniques à hitt. *arkuwā(i)-* 'faire un appel, exposer ses arguments' et lat. *arguō* 'éclaircir, rendre manifeste, démontrer, affirmer'. Les formes de l'hittite et du latin supposent un verbe dénominatif, dérivé du thème faible *$h_1r̥g$-u-* d'un adjectif en *-u-* de la racine *h_1erg-*. Les formes du germanique, bâties sur un adjectif en *-no-* à côté de celui-ci en *-u-*, prouvent l'identité de la laryngale initiale[16].

G. T. Rikov suppose une parenté entre le nom hittite à réduplication *duwanda-* 'cours d'eau souterrain' et la famille bien connue de véd. *dhávate* 'il court, il coule', gr. θέω 'courir', all. *Tau* 'rosée', à laquelle appartiennent aussi les noms de rivières all. *Düna*, slave occidental *Dvina* et peut-être l'appellatif prégrec δύαν˙κρήνην. Hsch[17].

Étant coauteur du Dictionnaire étymologique bulgare et auteur de nombreux articles sur l'origine de mots dialectaux bulgares, Georgi T. Rikov a un apport considérable dans l'étymologie bulgare et slave.

Il prouve la parenté des descendants de prasl. *ŋjūxāti*, *ŋjūxājǫ* 'sentir qch' et de v. angl. *fnēosan* 'éternuer', v. isl. *fnýsa* 's'ebrouer' d'ie. *pnewHs-*, qui est une innovation germano-slave à côté de *pnewH-* plus ancien, attesté par gr. πνέω 'souffler, exhaler une odeur, respirer'[18].

G. T. Rikov explique la formation du verbe bulgare *мръ̀цкам* 'tremper qch' qui est un dérivé en *-ка-*, d'un imperfectif en **-āti*, **-ājǫ* **мръ̀цкам*, **мръ̀цам* provenant de la racine **merk-* 'pourrir, tremper'[19].

Il arrive à éclairer le phonétisme, la formation et l'origine de plusieurs mots bulgares et slaves, parmi lesquels sont : bulg. *кȕнка, чȕнка*[20], bulg. *стрък* (< prasl. **strąkъ*)[21], bulg. dial. *стракà*, *струкà*[22], bulg. dial. *мр'ега*, russe *моргота́* [23], bulg. dial. *лùдам*[24]; bulg. dial. *мръждòри*[25], v. bulg. ѳ҃нии[26], etc.

La fortune nous a enlevé trop tôt la présence du linguiste remarquable, du maître érudit, soigneux et exigeant, de l'homme qui possédait une noblesse d'esprit rare. Mais Georgi Rikov vit toujours avec nous par notre mémoire, par son œuvre qui ne cesse pas de nous instruire, par les principes scientifiques qu'il nous a appris.

Notes:

[1] Hittite Etymologies II (4–8) (LB XXV (2), 1982, p. 24); Hittite *paške-*, *išpant-*, *maškan-*, Cluster Simplification and Anaptyctic Vowels (Orpheus 5 1995, 53–57).

[2] On the Distinction between Indo-European H_2 and H_3 in Hittite (LB XXIII (1), 1980, 75–82); The Indo-European *h_2- and *h_3- before **y* and **i* in Hittite (Kuryłowicz Memorial Volume. Part One. Cracow. 1995, 187–190).

[3] The Indo-European ex-Conjugation and the Origine of the Proterodynamic Verb Inflection (LB XXIX, 1, 1986, 19–58; XXX, 4, 1987, 209–245; The Elean 3rd Plural Optative Forms γνοῖαν and ἐπιθεῖαν (LB XXXVI (2), 1993, 125–128); The Long Root Vowels in the Slavic Verbs of the Type *běžǫ*, *sěkǫ*, *zějǫ* (Prasłowiańszczyzna i jej rozpad. Warszawa. 1998, 107–115).

[4] Sonants, Laryngeals and the Indo-European Nasal Infix Presents (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 2, 1992, 87–96); Lithuanian *penėti*, *pęslas* and the Indo-European Nasal Infix Presents (Linguistica Baltica 2, 1993, 115–119); Hittite *šuwa-* 'to fill', *šuta(i)-* 'to fill up' and Slavic **sytъ* 'satisfied, replete' (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 4, 1994, 67–74); Hittite *duwarna-*, *duwarni(ya)* (Studia Iranica, Mespotamica et Anatolica 1, 1994, 101–105); Hittite *šanna-* and Greek ἄνεω (Analecta Indo-Europaea Cracoviensia Ioannis Safarewicz memoriae dicata. Cracoviae. 1995, 331–335); Palaic *bānnu-* and Lithuanian *penėti*, *penù* (Ponto-Baltica 6, 1995, 49–51); On the Formation of the Hittite Nasal Infix Verbs in *-na-*/*-niya-* (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 6, 1996, 71–79); Hittite *ḫarnant-*, *ḫarnammar* and *ḫarnu-* (Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia 2, 1997, 219–226); Hittite *(i)yanna-*, Tocharian B *yaneṃ* and the Indo-European Nasal Infix Presents of the Type *CRenh$_x$-*(Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 7, 1997 /1999/, 9–36); On Hittite *ḫulla-* and Greek ἀλῶναι. (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 7, 1997 /1999/, 129–134).

[5] 'To be born' with locative of mother's name: a Hittito - Sanskrit Parallel (LB XXII (2), 1979, 35–37).

[6] Notes on Hittite and Luwian Grammar (LB XXV (3), 1982, 21–38); Zum hethitischen *a*-Lokativ (LB XXVI (2), 1983, 81).

[7] The Vedic Istrumental Singular Forms *dānā́* and *drāghmā́*, *raśmā́* (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 3, 1993, 73–77).

[8] Hittite Etymologies I (1-3) (LB XXIV (3), 1981, 79–83).

[9] Two Etymologies (LB XXV (1), 1982, 81–82).

[10] Two Etymologies (LB XXV (1), 1982, 81–82); Greek ῥώμη, ῥῶσις and Sanskrit *sā́ra* (Glotta, LXVI (1-2), 1988, 124–125).

[11] Этимологические заметки (Этимология 1982. Москва 1985, 148–51).

[12] Cuneiform Luwian *(i)yasḫa* 'to trust (?)' and Hittite *ḫa(i)-* 'to believe, to regard as true' (LB XXXVI (3) , 1993, 245–248).

[13] On the Formation of the Hittite Nasal Infix Verbs in *-na-*/*-niya-* (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 6, 1996, 71–79).

[14] Sanskrit *dūrśám*, Iranian **darsa-* and Slavic **dòlka* (Studia Indogermanica Lodziensia 2, 1998 /1999/, 53–55).

[15] πᾱνός (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 9, 1999 /2000/, 53–54).

[16] Gothic *airkniÞa*, Old High German *erchan* and Hittite *arkuwa(i)-*, Latin *arguō* (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 9, 1999 /2000/, 55–56).

[17] Hittite *duwanda-* "underground water-course (?)" (Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 10, 2000 /2002/, 66).

[18] Праслав. **njuxāti*, **njuxāją* (бълг. диал. *нюдам*) (БЕ XXXVII (6), 1987, 472–474).

[19] Бълг. диал. *мръ̀цкам* 'топя нещо във вода или друга течност' /Самоковско/ и *мрàка* 'ниско водно място' /Граово/ (БЕ XXXIX, 2, 1989, 144–146).

[20] Бълг. *кȕнка*, *чȕнка* (БЕ XXXI (1), 1981, 46–47).

[21] Праслав. **strąkъ* (> бълг. *стрък*), норв. диал. *strange* „дърво без клони, тояга, пън" и пр (БЕ XXXVII (4), 1987, 307–310); Germano-Slavica (Studia Etymologica Brunensia 1, 2000, 351–356).

[22] Бълг. диал. *стракà*, *струкà* (БЕ XXXVIII (1), 1988, 27–28).

[23] Бълг. диал. *мрьѐга* (БЕ XXXVIII (2), 1988, 116).

[24] Бълг. диал. *лùдам* (БЕ XXXVIII (4), 1988, 309–310).

[25] Бълг. диал. *мръждóри*, сръб. диал. *мрждóрити* и рус. диал. *морозгà* (БЕ XXXIX (5), 1989, 453).

[26] Germano-Slavica (Studia Etymologica Brunensia 1, 2000, 351–356).

Abréviations

LB = Linguistique balkanique

БЕ = Български език

Bilyana Mihaylova

Георги Риков като етимолог

В научната работа на Георги Риков етимологията заема значително място. Той е автор на многобройни етимологии от всички индоевропейски езици. Често те са интегрална част на по-обширно изследване, напр. трудът му „*The Formations of the Indo-European Nasal Infix Presents ultimae laryngalis*“ предлага редица съвършено оригинални етимологии. Като съавтор на *Български етимологичен речник* той съществено допринася този речник в много отношения да надхвърли чисто компилативен труд.

Етимологиите му се отличават с рядка комбинативност и инвенция, а същевременно с голяма трезвост и научна добросъвестност. Като проучваше щателно научната литература, той подлагаше и общоприетите като сигурни етимологии на критична преоценка – припомням откритието му, че лат. *mare* ‘море’ не може да бъде автохтонна латинска дума (*БЕР 4,241*). Ръководно начало в етимологичната му работа е строгото придържане към фонетичните закони. Той беше дълбоко убеден в тяхната абсолютна неотменимост като база за прецизна лингвистична работа. С това той е наследник на класическото сравнително-историческо езикознание, като обаче разширява и задълбочава възможностите за етимологичен анализ с прилагане на ларингалната теория, която самият той обогатява с установяването на някои закономерности като: *ие.* $*h_2i$ > *хет. i*, *ие.* $*h_3i$ > *хет. hi.*

Може да се каже, че за Георги Риков фонетичните закони се равняваха на математически закони. Понякога наричаше етимологичен проблем „*уравнение*“, което „*(не) излиза*“. Тенденции в езикознанието, които се отклоняват от строгите закономерности и не подлежат на емпирична проверка – глотогонически, ностратически, звукосимволични и митопоетични, според него спадат под границата на вероятността и са по принцип ненаучни, затова той се отнасяше към тях с ирония, докато някои езиковеди ги възприемат като особено „дълбоки“. Етимологиите му са разработени на морфофонематично равнище в рамките на етимологично гнездо, в което и семантичното развитие намира ясно логично обяснение – напр. реконструираната от него за старобългарски оүнии ‘по-добър’ праславянска форма *иnъ* ‘желан’ се потвърждава от глагола оүнити ‘желая’, запазил първоначалното значение на праславянското прилагателно

преди семантичния преход > ‘добър’ (*Germano-Slavica. Studia etymologica Brunensia 1, 2000: 352*).

Той работеше със страстно увлечение, което не го напускаше и в свободното му време. Редовно продължаваше обсъждането на етимологични проблеми след служебните заседания на чаша кафе, при такива случаи обичаше да цитира лингвистични шеги и анекдоти, напр. аргумента, че произношението на старогръцкото *η* трябва да е било *e* , а не *i* както в новогръцки, защото предаването на гласа на овцете с *μη*, *μη* в комедиите на Аристофан явно отразява *мее*, *мее*, а не *ми*, *ми*, и шеговитата критика, отправена от Дьорфер (*G. Doerfer, Lautgesetz und Zufall, Innsbruck 1973;23-24*) към ларингалната теория, че индоевропейските бебета викали на родителите си по „ларингално-праиндоевропейски“ **meH₂meH₂* и **peH₂peH₂*, т.е. поради фонологичната нерелевантност на *e* **mxmx*, **pxpx* – затова той наричал ларингалната теория *Pchpch-Theorie*.

Шегуваше се за себе си, че би трябвало да влезе в „Червената книга“ като застрашен от изчезване вид.

Всъщност Георги Риков с научното си дело доказва, че индоевропейското езикознание далече не е изчерпило потенциала си, а като преподавател той е успял да предаде научните си принципи на достойни ученици.

Уте Дукова

Георги

Целта на редовете, които следват, не е да бъде оценено научното дело или академичната дейност на Георги Риков. Това са по-скоро отделни спомени от едно далечно вчера, когато господстваха личности, белязали историята на българското езикознание като Владимир Георгиев, Максим Младенов и Ангелина Минчева, за да се огранича в кръга на някои от хората, с които бях свързан в по-голяма степен. В тази среда, културно близка (за един човек от Балканите) и политически екзотична (за един западноевропеец) се вписва и познанството ми с Георги Риков и в тази рамка ще опиша и личността му.

Мога да опиша Г. Риков като човек с два лексикални балканизма в гръцкия език съответно с български и албански произход: *ντόμπρος* (< бълг. *добър*) ‘който има прям характер’ и *με μπέσα* (алб. *besë* ‘вяра, вярност, клетва’) ‘на когото може да се има доверие’. Той беше сред първите български езиковеди, и изобщо сред първите българи, с които се запознах, и първоначалните ни разговори бяха монотематични: отнасяха се до личността на Владимир Георгиев. Впоследствие се разшириха, но не престанаха да са монотематични, засягаха езикознанието и по-специално индоевропейското езикознание, а също хората, свързани с него в България и по света. Лека полека в тях започнаха да се открояват и по-лични страни – Пазарджик, майка му – и да се разкрива една интересна личност, стояща далеч от всякакви групи и притежаваща една симпатична непохватна учтивост.

Георги Риков беше винаги готов да помогне. Не беше необходимо да го молиш – взимаше сам инициативата и настояваше: „*дай да го намерим*“. Сваляше речници и носеше томове пред обърканите погледи на служителите на Университетска библиотека. Правеше кратки разходки и с нетърпение питаше „*намери ли го?*“. Връзката на Риков с индоевропейското езикознание беше технократска и любителска – технократска по отношение на методичността и постоянството в анализите му и любителска по отношение на страстния подход към научните проблеми. Незабравима за мен ще остане щедрата му критика към мои несигурни научни предложения. Ентусиазираше се и се смееше гръмко, когато изслушваше решенията ми. Още си спомням първоначалното впечатление, предизвикано в ушите на един грък, от ярката звукосимволична стойност на неговото „*блестящо!*“.

Не се интересуваше от политика или поне в нейния приложен вид, стараеше се обаче да ме предпази с тактични обяснения от последиците на добронамерената ми, но леко иронична критика към някои обществени ситуации и личности. Когато политическата ситуация се измени, временно експериментираше с границите на „капиталистическата свобода“ и възприе практики, които по-късно щяха да станат израз на Движението „не плащам”. Беше ми направило положително впечатление безразличието му към парите и понякога си мислех, че напомня на безразличието му към трансформативната граматика. За съжаление подобно безразличие проявяваше и към здравето си, като пренебрегваше съответните предупреждения, а понякога даже изглеждаше като че да се наслаждава на острите забележки по този повод на свои колежки от катедрата, които бяха загрижени за него.

Уважаваше изключително духовното усилие на другите. Спомням си, че беше публикувал статия за едно явление в хетския и когато разбра, че преди него откритието е направено от Х. Айхнер, нямаше търпение кога ще бъде издаден следващият брой на списание *Балканско езикознание*, за да отдаде заслуженото предимство на чуждия специалист. Когато веднъж му обърнах внимание, че възгледите на мой колега съвпадаха с по-раншни мои публикации „дори и с правописните им грешки“, той настоя да пиша по въпроса, добявяйки „*но да не се заяждаш*“. Не се наложи да пиша, но изразителността на глагола *заяждам се* издигаше съвета му на нивото на стабилен механизъм за разрешаване на подобни конфликти. Притежаваше една здравословна връзка с процеса на публикуване на научните си тези и не можеше да разбере нежеланието ми да издавам готови, по негово мнение, работи, като постоянно ме подтикваше „*дай да го допишем*“. Подтиците станаха още по-настойчиви, когато той пое редакторския пост на “*Orpheus. Journal of the Indo-European and Thracian Studies*” – списание, което успя за кратко време да издигне до нивото на едно от най-авторитетните в областта си и да спечели доверието на изтъкнати и взискателни колеги.

Достоен продължител на делото на езиковеда корифей Владимир Георгиев, той беше най-големият специалист индоевропеист на своето поколение на Балканите и един от най-сериозните учени в Европа. Спомням си лаконичната оценка на известен австрийски колега, който беше пестелив на хвалебствия: „*Риков го ценим много тук*“, като ‘тук’ се отнасяше за Виена – град с историческо и бих казал символично значение за индоевропейското езикознание.

Бяхме се уговорили да дойде в Солун във връзка с поредица от лекции по индоевропейско езикознание в рамките на едноименна магистратура. Понеже обичаше да казва, че на Владимир Георгиев се дължи възраждането на индоевропейската наука в Съветския съюз, на шега му отвръщах „*Ела да направиш същото в Гърция*“. Вярвах в това, което казвах, и бях сигурен, че ще предаде на студентите си знания, но и най-вече своя ентусиазъм. Въпреки здравословните си проблеми, за които избягваше да говори, нямаше търпение да дойде за лекциите в Солун. В края на декември едно телефонно позвъняване на познат, който имаше контакти с България, завърши по следния начин „Разбра ли, че приятелят ти....“.

Христос Дзидзилис
превод от гръцки език
Фотини Христакуди

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съставена от Биляна Михайлова

I. ИНДОЕВРОПЕЙСКО ЕЗИКОЗНАНИЕ. ФОРМАЦИИТЕ НА ИНДОЕВРОПЕЙСКИЯ НАЗАЛЕН ПРЕЗЕНС *ULTIMAE LARYNGALIS*

I. INDO-EUROPEAN LINGUISTICS. THE FORMATIONS OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN NASAL PRESENT *ULTIMAE LARYNGALIS*

ORPHEUS 2 (1992)

SONANTS, LARYNGEALS AND THE INDO-EUROPEAN NASAL INFIX PRESENTS

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

I. The syllabification of the sequence $CRRh_x$ and the nasal infix presents

1. The vowel gradation in the paradigm of the Indo-European nasal infix presents, formed from *set* roots, can be exemplified by forms such as Ved. pres. 1st sg. act. *punắmi* 'I purify, cleanse, illume', *pr̥ṇắmi* 'I fill, nourish, sate', *śr̥ṇāmi* 'I smash, crush, break', *str̥ṇắmi* 'I spread, scatter', 2nd sg. act. *pr̥ṇắsi, śr̥ṇắsi,* 3rd sg. act. *punắti, pr̥ṇắti, śr̥ṇắti,* 1st pl. act. *śr̥ṇīmasi,* 2nd pl. act. *str̥ṇīthána,* 3rd pl. act. *punánti, pr̥ṇánti, str̥ṇánti,* 3rd pl. middle *punaté* and *punáte,* etc.; the *-ī-* in the weak forms replaces an earlier **-i-*[1] Similarly, the Avestan presents 3rd sg. act. *frastərənāiti* 'hinstreut' N. 70 (cf. Skt. *str̥ṇắti*), 3rd pl. act. *dərənənṇti* 'they tear' V. 19,28 (cf. Skt. 3rd sg. opt. act. *dr̥ṇīyāt* ŚB.; *dr̥-* 'pierce'), etc. and Greek 1st sg. act. δάμνημι 'I tame', 1st pl. act. δάμναμεν, etc. represent the regular apophonic pattern of this type nasal presents. The comparative data indicate that the Indo-European paradigm must be reconstructed as follows:

pres. 1st sg. act. $C\r{R}neh_x$-*mi* 1st pl. act. $C\r{R}nh_x$-*me-*
2nd sg. act. $C\r{R}neh_x$-*si* 2nd pl. act. $C\r{R}nh_x$-th_1*e-*
3rd sg. act. $C\r{R}neh_x$-*ti* 3rd pl. act. $C\r{R}nh_x$-*enti,* etc.[2]

2. In the sequence $C\r{R}nh_xCV$, attested by the weak forms of this paradigm, it is the first sonant that is always syllabic; the second sonant — in fact, the infixed **-n-* — is always non-syllabic. This distribution of syllabic and non-syllabic allophones in such a sequence is irregular; there are two well-known rules which, taken together, suggest that this distribution is not the original one.

(1) As Cuny (1912:102) pointed out, in sequences of the type CRh_xC, the sonant is syllabic and the laryngeal behaves as a consonant; cf. for instance Skt. *pūrṇá-*, OIr.

[1] According to Jamison (1988:224), in the weak forms of the Sanskrit ninth-class present, „in order to make it clear that there is a morpheme boundary after the **i,* that the **i* is not an *i*-liason, the **i* is lengthened".

[2] The nasal infix presents of the type $C\r{R}neh_1$-/$C\r{R}nh_1$- are attested by forms such as the thematicized Gk. βάλλω 'I throw' < IE **g^{w}l̥nh_1-e/o-*, cf. also the future βαλλήσω which possibly continues IE **g^{w}l̥neh_1-* (: Gk. Arcad. 3rd. sg. aor. act. ἔξελε < IE **é-g^{w}elh_1t*); Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *pr̥ṇắti* 'fills' RV. < IE **pl̥neh_1-ti* beside the thematicized Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *pr̥ṇáti* RV. < IE **pl̥nh_1e-ti* (: Gk. 3rd sg. aor. middle πλήτο 'filled' < IE **plh_1-to*), etc. The type $C\r{R}neh_2$-/$C\r{R}nh_2$- (cf. Gk. δάμνημι : δάμναμεν, etc.) is well attested in the Indo-European languages. Presents such as Gk. ὄμνῡμι 'I swear', στόρνῡμι 'I spread, lay low' are possibly remodelled nasal infix presents of the type $C\r{R}neh_3$-/$C\r{R}nh_3$- (see Cowgill 1965:154—157; Strunk 1967:35—59; Beekes 1969:250—253).

lān, W. *llawn*, Goth. *fulls*, Lith. *pìlnas*, SCr, *pȕn* 'full' > IE **pl̥h₁nó-* (: Skt. *pr̥nā́ti* 'fills' RV. < IE **pl̥neh₁ti*, Gk. aor. πλῆτο 'filled' < IE **pleh₁to* or **pl̥h₁to*, etc.); Skt. *jātá-* 'born', Gk. -γνητος (in κασίγνητος 'brother'), Lat. *(g)nātus* 'born' < IE **ǵn̥h₁tó-;* Gk. τλητός Doris τλᾱτός 'patient', Lat. *lātus* < IE **tl̥h₂tó-;* Gk. στρωτός 'spread, laid, covered', Lat. *strātus* 'paved' < IE **str̥h₃tó-*, etc[3].

(a) The sequence *Cnh$_x$#* represents the same development of **-nh$_x$-* as the sequence *Cn̥h$_x$C-*, cf. the nom.-acc. pl. nt. forms to the *n*-stems Ved. *śīr̥ṣā* 'heads' < IE **kr̥h₂sn̥-h₂*, *áhā* 'days'< IE **h₂eg^{h}n̥-h₂* and see Georgiev (1973:45), Beekes (1988:62).

(b) In the sequence *Cnh$_x$V*, the laryngeal behaves as a consonant and the sonant is syllabic, cf. Skt. *śiras* 'head' < IE **ḱr̥h₂-os;* Skt. *purás* 'forward; before, in front', Gk. πάρος 'before' > IE **pr̥h₂os*, etc[4].

(2) In sequences of the type *CRRC* (two neighbouring sonants between consonants), the first sonant is always non-syllabic and the second is syllabic, cf. for instance Skt. loc. pl. *śvásu* < IE **ḱwn̥su*, dat. pl. *śvábhis* < IE **ḱwn̥b^{h}is* (beside gen. sg. *śúnas* < IE **ḱunes*, dat. sg. śúne < IE **ḱunoi;* *śvan-* 'dog'), and see Osthoff (1881:285)[5], Kuryłowicz (1968:201) Schindler (1977:56–57)[6].

The rules (1) and (2), when taken together, lead to the conclusion that the distribution of syllabic and non-syllabic allophones in the Indo-European sequences of the type *CRRh$_x$C/V* should be *CRR̥h$_x$C/V*. There is a number of well-known instances which confirm this conclusion:

a. *RRh$_x$C*

(1) Skt. *yātár-* 'husband's brother's wife' and Afghan *yōr* 'id.' < Iran. **yāθr-* represent the paradigmatic zero grade IE **yn̥h₂t(e)r-*[7] of the weak cases. The full-grade IE **yenh₂ter-*, generalized on the basis of the strong case forms, is attested by Gk. ἐνατέρες, Hom. εἰνατέρες (with metrical lenghtening) 'sister-in-law', Lat. *ianitrīcēs*, „transformed after *genitrīcēs* from **ianiter* < **yanater*", the first *a* of which is due to the assimilation of **yena-* into **yana* (see Szemerényi 1977:92), OLith. *jentė* (gen. sg. *jenters*) 'wife of brother's husband', Latv. *ietere* 'id.', Slav. **jętry* 'id.' which is transformed along the line of **svekry*.

(2) Skt. *mūrdhán-* 'top, summit, head, forehead' (RV., etc.) < IE **ml̥h₃d^{h}en-*, Gk. βλωθρός 'tall' (Hdt. Thphr.) < IE **ml̥h₃d^{h}ro-*, OE *molda* 'the top of the head'.

(3) Skt. *mūrṇá-* 'crushed' (AV.) < IE **ml̥h$_x$nó-*, MW. *blawt* 'meal', OCorn. *blot* 'id.', Bret. *bleut* 'id.', Lith *mìltai* (pl.) 'id.' < IE **ml̥h$_x$to-* beside IE **ml̥h$_x$V-* in Gaul. *malu* 'I grind', Arm. *malem* 'I crush' vs. the the *o*-grade presents Hitt. 3rd sg. act. *mallai* 'mills, grinds' (*-ll-* < IE **-lh$_x$-*), Lat. *molō* 'I grind', Goth. *malan* 'grind' (attested by the participle nom. pl. fem. *malandeis*), OIcel. *mala* 'id.', OS, OHG *malan* 'id.', Lith. *málti*, *malù* 'id.' and the *e*-grade presents in **-ye-* OIr. *melim* 'I grind', OBg. *meljǫ* 'id.'.

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[3] See Mayrhofer (1986:122–123), Lindeman (1987:29–32), Beekes (1988:65 ff.).

[4] See Beekes (1988:65 ff.).

[5] As far as I know, Osthoff, *loc. cit.*, first formulated this rule: „gerieten bei der silbenbildung zwei sonorlaute als bestandteile derselben silbe neben einander, so übernahm ursprünglich stets der erste derselben die rolle des consonanten, der zweite wurde sonant".

[6] The exceptions to this rule (see Schindler 1977:57) are due to analogy, as in the case of the weak forms of the Sanskrit seventh class, discussed below at the end of § 3.

[7] Cf. Mayrhofer (1986:122 n. 105).

(4) GK. βλᾰ́ξ gen. sg. βλᾰκός 'lazy, inactive, sluggish' < IE **mleh₂k-s* or, with generalized zero grade along the line of the weak cases, **ml̥h₂k-s*, gen. sg. **ml̥h₂k-os*, βληχρός 'weak, feeble, sluggish' < IE **ml̥h₂k-sro-*, Lith. *mùlkis* 'Dummkopf' < IE **ml̥h₂ki-* beside IE **ml̥h₂ek-* in Gk. μαλακός 'soft, gentle, mild'.

b. *CRR̥h$_x$C*

(5) Skt. *śrānta-* 'wearied, fatigued, tired' R. (with restored *m* along the line of *śram-* 'become weary or tired') <IE **ḱrm̥h₂to-* vs. the full-grade Skt. 1st pl. act. *iṣ-*aor. *śramiṣma* RV. B. as well as Gk. κρέμαμαι 'hang up, hang' < IE **ḱremh₂-* and the *o*-grade Lith. *kàrti*, *kariù* 'hang, hang up' (cf. Bechert 1967:5–8); according to Hamp (1969:57), OHG, MHG *hirmen* and MNDl. *hermen* 'ruhen, rasten' can be added to these forms.

(6) Skt. *bhrānta-* 'wandering, roaming about' E. (with restored *m* after the full-grade *bhrámati* 'wanders, roam about' SB., etc.) < IE **b^{h}rm̥h$_x$to-;* on the etymology see Mayrhofer (1956–1980 II: 528).

(7) Skt. *dhvāntá-* 'dark', nt. 'darkness' RV (with restored *n* after *dhvan-)* <IE **d^{h}wn̥h$_x$to-*, cf. the Latvian deverbative noun in *-ga dvińga* 'Dunst, Kohlendampf', the intonation of which also points to IE **d^{h}wn̥h$_x$-;* the full grade of this Indo-European *set* root is attested by the Rigvedic *iṣ*-aorist 3rd sg. act. *ádhvanīt* 'smoked', Gk. Dor. θνᾱ́σκω, Att. θνῄσκω (with secondary ι) 'I die', θάνατος 'death', Dor. θνᾱτός 'dead', etc. must be separated from these forms; according to Ruijgh (1971:272), „la présence originale d'un F dans le trème de θνῄσκω est improbable: comme résultat de + ϝτθανον ou attendrait +ἔσσανον (cf. ἔ-τϜεισον > ἔσσειον) ou +ἔτθανον (cf. εδδεισα, forme qui recouvre **ἐ-δϜεισα*) chez Homére, non pas ἔθανον. . ." Kent (1935:207–210) compares Gk. θνᾱ́σκω, etc., with θείνω 'strike' < IE **g^{wh}en-ye/o-*, but it seems that Oettinger's connection of Gk. θάνατος and θνᾱτός with Hitt. *danduki-* 'mortal' (Oettinger 1979:550) is better; then, Gk. θάνατος < IE **d^{h}n̥h₂eto-*, θνᾱ́τος < IE **d^{h}n̥h₂to-*, θνᾱ́σκω < IE **d^{h}n̥h₂sḱe/o-*, etc.

(8) Skt. *jūrní-* 'blaze, glowing fire' RV. < **jvūrni-* < IE **ǵwr̥h$_x$-ni-*, Skt. *jūrti-* 'fever' (Pan.) < **jvūrti-* < IE **ǵwr̥h$_x$ti-* vs. the full-grade Skt. *jvárati* 'is feverish' (Dhātup.), Latv. *zvêrs* 'funkelnd'.

(9) Skt. *dhūrtá-* 'cunning, fraudulent', masc. 'rogue, cheat' (Yājñ., Mhbh.) < **dhvūrtá-* < IE **d^{h}wr̥h$_x$to-*, Skt. *dhūrtí-* 'injury, damage, harm' RV. < **dhvūrtí-* < IE **d^{h}wr̥h$_x$ti-* vs. the full-grade Skt. *dhvárati* 'bends, injures, causes to fall' TS. < IE **d^{h}werh$_x$eti* and the Hittite nasal infix present *duwarna-/duwarni(ya)-* 'break'.

(10) The Indo-European sequence *h$_x$RR̥h$_x$C* is a variant of *CRR̥h$_x$C* and represents the same distribution of the syllabic and non-syllabic allophones of the sonants; the forms of the Indo-European word for 'wool' confirm this. Ved *ū́rnā* 'wool' (RV. IV 22,2), Av *varənā* 'id.', Lat. *lāna* 'id.', W. *gwlan* 'id.', Lith *vìlna* 'id.', Latv. *vìlna* 'id.', OPruss. *wilna* 'cloack', Slav. **vъlna* 'wool' and Hitt. *ḫ̬ulana-* 'id.' point to IE **h$_{2/3}$wl̥h$_x$-ne-h₂* which, according to Lindeman (1990:22) is possibly „originally a collective (or neuter plural) to a neuter stem". The Ionic and Attic λῆνος represent a *s*-stem which is analogically formed along line of εἶρος, πέκος (see Chantraine 1968–1980:637). Doric λᾶνος, given by most of the handbooks and etymological dictionaries, does not exist (Lindeman 1990:23). It seems that λείνα · ἔριa. Κίπριοι Hesych. and the metathesized νῆλα · ἔριον. ἄμεινον λῆνος Hesych. point to Proto-Greek **wlēnā*, although Lindeman, *loc. cit.*, doubts this; if so, we can reconstruct IE **h$_{2/3}$wl̥h₁ne-h₂*. The Greek forms do not attest the reflex of the initial laryngeal which is assured by *ḫ̬-* of Hitt.

hulana- and this presents a problem; a possible solution is given by Peters (1980:23 n. 18). Hitt. *ḫuliya-* 'wool', with its single *l*, goes back to IE *$*h_{2/3}wl̥h_1yo$-* and confirms the opition that the larungeals were lost before **y* at a very early date, cf. for instance Lith. *kraũjas* 'blood' < IE **krewh$_2$yo-* (: Gk. κρέας 'meat', Skt. *kravis-* 'raw flesh' <**krewh$_2$-s-*), etc. and see Mayrhofer (1986:140).

(11) The Indo-European sequence $h_xR\dot{R}h_xC$ is also represented by the weak case forms of Ved. *yuvan-* 'young', masc. 'youth, young man' as well as by the derivatives Skt. *yūnī-* fem. 'young, young woman' (Gramm.) and possibly Lat. *iūnīx, -īcis* 'young cow, heifer' (if not from **iuven-ī-*, see Walde and Hofmann 1938—1956:736). As Benveniste (1937:104) points out, the family of Ved. *yuvan-*, Av. *yvan, yavan-* masc. 'youth', etc. is related to Ved. *áyu-* nt. 'vital force, life', Gk. αἰών 'lifetime', αἰέι 'always', δην-αι(F)ός 'long-lived', OLat. *aeuom*, Lat. *aevum, aevus* 'a long time, an age', etc.; then, the Greek and the Latin forms clearly indicate that the initial laryngeal can be identified as the *a*-colouring one. If so, we have IE **h$_2$oyu-* which, according to Brugmann's law, yields Ved. *áyu-* and IE **h$_2$eyu-* which is the predecessor of Gk. δην-αι(F)ός, OLat. *aeuom*, etc.; cf. also Gk. αἰέι < IE dat. sg. **h$_2$eyw-ey* and see Klingenschmitt (1975:78 n.7), Peters (1980:76). According to Hoffmann (1955:39—40), Ved. *yuvan-*, Av. *yvan-, yavan-*, etc. are formed with the Indo-European possessive suffix **-h$_x$en-* and go back to IE **h$_2$yuh$_x$en-*; this is confirmed by the intonation of Lith. *yáunas* 'young' which, formed with full grade of the root and zero grade of the suffix, continues IE **h$_2$yeuh$_x$n̥-o-*. Now the Vedic gen. sg. *yúnas* and the dat. sg. *yúne* can be derived from IE **h$_2$yuh$_x$n̥-os* and **h$_2$yuh$_x$n̥-oy* respectively; these forms, together with Skt. *yūnī-* and possibly Lat. *yūnīx* < IE **h$_2$yuh$_x$n̥-ih$_2$-* are representatives of the sequence $h_xR\dot{R}h_xC$. Ved. *yuvaśá-* 'youthful, young', masc. 'youth' (RV. I 161,3,7; VIII 35,15) and Lat. *iuvencus* 'youth' continue IE **h$_2$yuh$_x$n̥ko-*, where **h$_x$* appears between two syllabic sonants, as in the Vedic instr. pl. *yúvabhis* RV. < IE **h$_2$yuh$_x$n̥b^{h}is* and dat. pl. *yuvabhyas* RV. < IE **h$_2$yuh$_x$n̥b^{h}os.*

c. $CRRh_x$

(12) The Indo-European sequence $CRRh_x$ # is represented by a number of nominative-accusative plural neuter forms to *man*-stems in Indo-Iranian. The first sonant is always consonantal, the second is syllabic and the distribution of syllabic and non-syllabic sonants in the sequence $CR\dot{R}h_2$ # is identical with that in the sequence $CR\dot{R}h_xC$; cf. the following examples, where **-h$_2$* is the nom.-acc. pl. nt. ending:

Ved. *jánimā* and *janima* < IE **génh$_1$mn̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *jániman-* 'generation, birth, origin');

Ved. *dhármā* and *dhárma* < IE **d^{h}ermn̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *dhárman-* 'support, prop');

Ved. *nā́mā* and *nā́ma*, Av. *ŋma*, OPers. *n^{a}m^{a}a, n^{a}m^a* < IE **h$_1$neh$_3$mn̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *nā́man-* 'name', etc.), see Georgiev (1973:45);

Ved. *bhū́mā* and *bhū́ma* < IE **b^{h}uh$_2$mn̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *bhū́man-* 'earth, world');

Ved. *sádmā* and *sádma* < IE **sedmn̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *sádman-* 'seat, abode');

Ved. *kárma* < IE **k^{w}ermn̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *kárman-* 'deed');

Ved. *dhā́ma* < IE **d^{h}eh$_1$mn̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *dhā́man-* abode');

Ved. *mánma* < IE **menmn̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *manman-* 'thought');

Ved. *róma* < IE **rewmn̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *róman-* 'hair on the body of men and animals');

Ved. *śármā* < IE **ḱermn̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *śárman-* 'shelter, protection, refuge, safety'), etc.

d. RRh_xV and $CRRh_xV$

(13) Forms such as Arm. *malem* 'I crush', Gaul. *malu* 'I grind' < IE **mlh$_x$elo-* (see above, № 3), Gk. μαλακός < IE **mlh$_2$eko-* (№ 4) indicate that in sequences of the type RRh_xV, it is the first sonant non-syllabic, the second is syllabic; i.e. we have $R\dot{R}h_xV$.

(14) The sequence $CR\dot{R}h_xV$ is possibly represented by Skt. *dhuraś* 'violently' (SB. 10, 5, 2, 12) < **dhvuraś* < IE instr. sg. **d^{h}wrh$_x$-o-h$_1$* (or **d^{h}wrh$_x$-e-h$_1$*) which is related to Skt. *dhvárati* 'bends, injures, causes to fall', *dhūrtá-, dhūrtí-*, etc., discussed above, № 9.

(15) The Lithuanian 1st sg. pret. *svilaũ* 'sengte, schwele' < IE **swlh$_x$-eh$_2$-* and the related Old English *swol* 'Flamme' < Gmc. **swul-a-m* < IE **swlh$_x$-o-m* are also representatives of the sequence $CR\dot{R}h_xV$; the intonation of the Lithuanian infinitive *svilti* 'sengen, schwelen' indicates that we are dealing with a disyllabic root.

(16) The sequence $h_xR\dot{R}h_x\dot{R}C$, which is a variant of $CR\dot{R}h_xV$, is attested by Ved. *yuvaśá-* 'youthful, young', masc. 'youth' and Lat. *iuvencus* 'youth' < IE **h$_2$yuh$_x$n̥ko-* as well as by the Vedic instr. pl. *yúvabhis* < IE **h$_2$yuh$_x$n̥-b^{h}is* and dat. pl. *yúvabhyas* < IE **h$_2$yuh$_x$n̥-b^{h}yos* (: Ved. *yuvan-* 'young', masc. 'youth, young man'); see above, № 11.

3. In the case of the Indo-European nasal infix presents, derived from disyllabic roots, the distribution of the syllabic and non-syllabic sonants in the Indo-European sequence $CR\dot{R}h_xC$ (and $CR\dot{R}h_xV$) would produce a paradigm which is in fact suppletive; thus, we should reconstruct

pres. 1st sg. act.	$CR\dot{n}eh_x$-*mi*	1st pl. act.	$CRn̥h_x$-*me-*
2nd sg. act.	$CR\dot{n}eh_x$-*si*	2nd pl. act.	$CRn̥h_x$-*th$_1$e-*
3rd sg. act.	$CR\dot{n}eh_x$-*ti*	3rd pl. act.	$CRn̥h_x$-*enti*, etc.

The alternation between $CR\dot{n}eh_x$- in the strong forms (act. sg.) and $CRn̥h_x$- in the weak ones (pl. and du. act. and the middle) destroys the pradigmatic unity; the root appears as $CR(\text{-})h_x$- in the strong forms and $CR(\text{-})h_x$- in the weak ones, whereas the tense-sign (i.e., the nasal infix) alternates between *-n-* and *-n̥-*. Now it is clear that this paradigm, which represents the original state of affairs, was uniformed by a redistribution of the syllabic and non-syllabic sonants in the weak forms; the development of the phonologically regular $CRn̥h_x$- into $CRnh_x$- was carried out along the line of the strong forms ($CR\dot{n}eh_x$-). This process of redistribution must be dated to Common Indo-European; as it was mentioned above (see § 1), the available data from the Indo-European dialects guarrantee the reconstruction of an uniformed paradigm IE pres. 1st sg. act. $CR\dot{n}eh_x$-*mi*, 2nd sg. act. $CR\dot{n}eh_x$-*si*, 3rd pl. act. $CR\dot{n}eh_x$-*ti*, 1st pl. act. $CRnh_x$-*me-*, 2nd pl. act. $CRnh_x$-*th$_1$e-*, 3rd pl. act. $CRnh_1$-*enti*, etc.

This redistribution of the syllabic and non-syllabic sonants in the weak forms of the Indo-European nasal infix verbs from disyllabic roots is paralleled by a similar process in the weak forms of the nasal infix presents of the type of Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *yunákti* 'joins' RV., *bhinátti* 'splits' RV., *unatti* 'wets' RV., etc. which go back to IE 3rd sg. pres. act. **yuneǵ-ti*, **b^{h}ined-ti* and **uned-ti* respectively. We can expect that the rule $CR\dot{R}C$ (see § 2) would operate in forms such as Skt. 3rd pl. pres. act. *yuñjánti* RV., 3rd sg. pres. middle *yuṅkte* RV. and *yunte* AV. as well as the related Lat. *iungō* 'I join, put in the yoke' which represents a generalization of the zero-grade verb stem in the whole paradigm; Skt. 3rd pl. pres. act. *bhindánti* RV. and Lat. *findō* 'I split'; Skt. 3rd pl. pres. act. *undánti* RV. and Lat. *unda* 'a wave', etc. All these forms, however, represent a syllabification $CR\dot{R}C$ which, as Osthoff (1881:314) pointed out, is phonologically irregular. Edgerton (1943:110—110; 1962:354—355) tries to explain the irregular Skt.

bhind-, *yuñj-*, etc. on the basis of the proportion *cinómi : cinvánti = bhinádmi : x (x = bhindánti)* and mentions that „**-inw-* is regular at least in some phonetic surroundings" (Edgerton 1962:355). The right solution is given, however, by Eichner (1982:20 n. 18), according to whom „Die Sonantizitätsstruktur der „schwachen" Formen *CCR̥RC** hat sich in ihren ersten vier Segmenten analogisch nach der „regularen" Struktur *CCRReC* der „starken" Formen gerichtet; dies scheint im Urindogermanischen bei den Nasalinfixverben von Wurzeln auf Verschlusslaut üblich gewesen zu sein, vgl. etwa 3. Sg. Medium **b^{h}u-n-k-tó(i)* (ai. *bhuṅkté*, lat. *fungitur*)".

II. The Sanskrit imperatives in *-ānáˊ*

4. The 2nd singular active imperatives of the Sanskrit ninth class presents are formed in two different ways. The final *-nīhíˊ* (and its full-grade variant *-nāhíˊ*), consisting of both class-sign and the ordinary imperative ending *-hi* (<IE **-dʰi*), appears only after syllabic sounds, cf. e. g. *punīhíˊ* (RV.), *punāhíˊ* (SV.): 3rd sg. pres. act. *punāˊti* 'purifies'; *mr̥nīhíˊ* (RV.): 3rd sg. pres. act. *mr̥ṇāˊti* 'crushes', etc. The isolated final *-ānáˊ*, restricted only to this present class, is found only after consonants. Thus, we have two Rigvedic imperatives of this type, *aśāna* I.170,5; III.21,1 (:3rd sg. pres. act. *aśnāˊti* 'eats, consumes') and *gr̥hāna* X. 103.12 (:3rd sg. pres. act. *gr̥bhnāˊti* 'seizes'); Vedic *badhāna* (:3rd sg. pres. act. *badhnāˊti* 'binds, ties, fixes') and *stabhānáˊ* (:3rd sg. pres. act. *stabhnāˊti* 'fixes firmly') occur firstly in the Atharvaveda, *skabhāna* (:3rd sg. pres. act. *skabhnāˊti* 'supports, fixes') is from the Brāhmanas, etc. (see for instance Whitney 1896:261—262, Macdonell 1910:317—318, 349, 350).

5. Whereas the final *-na* of the Vedic imperatives in *-ānáˊ* is rightly equated with the *-na* of the 2nd plural endings *-tana* and *-thana*[8], there is no convincing explanation of the preceding *-ā-* so far.

5.1. According to Persson (1893:258), the *-ā-* of *gr̥hāna* continues IE **ā* (i. e., **eh$_2$*); Renou (1952:267) shares this opinion. Persson, *loc. cit.*, assumes that this **-ā-* is assured by Vedic *gr̥bhāyati* as well as by the lst pl. *gr̥hāmahi* RV. VII. 21, 16 and that the other imperatives in *-ānáˊ* are analogically built on *gr̥hāna*. The lst pl. middle *gr̥hāmahi*, however, is formed from the root *gr̥h-* 'klagen' (e. g. 3rd pl. pres. middle *gr̥hate*, with *-ate*<IE**-n̥toy*, etc.), see Wackernagel (1932:23—27). Furthermore, Persson's explanation of the Vedic verbs of the type of *gr̥bhāyati* (similarly Kuryłowicz 1928:31—62)[9] is hardly acceptable. As Insler (1971:574 n. 4) points out, there is no evidence for an Indo-Iranian verb stem **ghr̥bhā-;* therefore, following de Saussure (1887:251), he prefers to derive Ved. *gr̥bhāyati* from IE **g^{h}r̥b^{h}nh$_2$-ye/o-*[10]; thus also Peters (1980:323), Hollifield (1981:168), Jasanoff (1981:228). Thus, the lack of the evidence for an Indo-European stem **g^{h}r̥b^{h}eh$_2$-* is the main weakness of Persson's and Renou's explanation of *gr̥hāna;* the attested forms point to IE **g^{h}reb^{h}h$_2$-/*g^{h}r̥b^{h}h$_2$-* (cf. Ved. 3rd sg. aor. act. *ágrabhīt*, etc.).

5.2. Brugmann (1916:305—306) repeats Persson's explanation, but also assumes that Ved. *grhāna* can be derived by dissimilation of *n — n* as *ø — n* from a preform*gr̥bhnāna;* the latter possibility is accepted by Thumb and Hauschild (1959:273). Apart from the fact that such a dissimilation, as an occasional phonetic change, is beyond proof, this explanation leaves open the problem of the vowel gradation.

In fact, the earliest 2nd singular active imperatives of the ninth class presents have consistent zero grade of the root and the class-sign; the forms in *-nāhi* occur later in the history of the language. Thus, we have Ved. *punīhíˊ* RV., later *punāhíˊ* SV. (:3rd sg. pres. act. *punāˊti*); *mr̥nīhíˊ* RV.(:3rd sg. pres. act. *mr̥ṇāˊti* 'crushes'); *śr̥nīhíˊ* RV., later *śr̥nāhíˊ* SV. (:3rd sg. pres. act. *śr̥nāˊti* 'mixes') as well as the future imperative *punītāt* RV. It is significant in this respect that, as for the vowel gradation, the 2nd singular active imperatives of the fifth class present exactly parallel these of the ninth class, cf. the Rigvedic 2nd singular imperatives in **-dʰi kr̥nuhíˊ* (:3rd sg. pres. act. *kr̥nóˊti* 'makes'), *cinuhíˊ* (:3rd sg. pres. act. *cinóti* 'gathers'), *hinuhíˊ* (:3rd sg. pres. act. *hinóti* 'impels') as well as the future imperatives *kr̥nutāt* and *hinutāt*. Then, the reconstruction of a preform **gr̥bhnāna* with full grade of the class-sign (hence *gr̥hāna* by dissimilation) is unacceptable.

6. Thus, it is clear that the Sanskrit imperatives in *— ānáˊ* should continue preforms with consistent zero grade of the verb stem. Then, the right way of explanation is suggested by the distribution of the finals *-nīhíˊ* and *-ānáˊ*.

As it was mentioned above (see § 4), the final *-nīhíˊ* occurs after syllabic sounds; in this case we are dealing with an analogical syllabification *CR̥nh$_x$C* which is also reflected by other weak forms of the Sanskrit ninth-class present, see above, § § 1—3.

The final *-ānáˊ* is found, however, only after consonants. In this case the situation is quite different; in the sequences of the type *-Cn̥h$_x$C*, it is only the nasal that can be represented by its syllabic allophone. It is well known that IE **n̥h$_x$* yields Skt. *ā* when it appears (1) between consonants and (2) after a consonant and before the pause, see § 2 above and cf. for instance (1) Skt. *jātá-* 'born'<IE **ǵn̥h$_1$-to-*, Skt. *sātá-* 'gained'<IE **sn̥h$_x$-to-* and (2) Skt. *dhā* 'days'<IE **h$_2$eg^{h}n-h$_2$*, etc.

Then, due to the environment of **n̥h$_x$*, a paradigm of the type 3rd sg. pres. act. *C(R̥)Cneh$_x$-ti*, 3rd sg. pres. middle *C(R̥)Cnh$_x$-toy* cannot be uniformed by an analogical redistribution of syllabic and non-syllabic allophones in the weak forms, as it is uniformed in cases such as 3rd sg. middle *CRn̥h$_x$-toy→CR̥nh$_x$-toy* (>Ved. *punīté, str̥nīte*, etc.). Thus, we should expect Skt. *gr̥bhnā-* in the indicative and injunctive active singular forms and Skt. **gr̥bhā-*<IE**g^{h}r̥b^{h}nh$_x$-* before the endings beginning with consonants in all the weak forms (pl. and du. act. and middle); i. e., the regular paradigm, inherited from Indo-European, can be exemplified by Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act.*gr̥bnhā́ ti* vs.the non-attested 3rd sg. pres. middle **gr̥bhāte* (<IE**g^{h}r̥b^{h}nh$_x$-toy*). In fact, more than a hundred years ago de Saussure (1887:251) reconstructed this passage. True, his statement "Dans *punītha, pr̥nītha*, rien que de régulier: ainsi que dans *gánitár, n*[A] se trouve précédé d'une voyelle" is unacceptable; we have seen above (§ 3) that the regularity in this case is due to analogy[11]. But he rightly continues: "Au contraire *gr̥bhnītha, musnītha*, offraient le groupe dans les conditions voulues pour qu'il produisît *ā*. De fait, nous sommes persuadé que sans le frein puissant de l'analogie, on serait arrivé à conjuguer *gr̥bhnāti, *gr̥bhāthá*". There is no doubt that the replacement of the original weak forms with **-ā-<*-n̥h$_x$-* in the Sanskrit (or Indo-Iranian) paradigms of the indicative and injunctive is based on the identical structure of the strong forms of the types *punāti* and *gr̥bhnāti;* then, the proportion is as follows:

strong forms *-RnāC(−):* weak forms *-RnīC(−) =*
strong forms *-CnāC(−):* weak forms *x; x = CnīC(−)-*,
which replaces the older **-CāC(−)*<IE **-Cn̥h$_x$C(−)*.

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[8] See Persson (1893:254—255), who rightly rejects Thurneysen's analysis of *aśāna* as *aśān-a* (see Thurneysen 1885:180); yet Thurneysen alternatively offered the right segmentation: „Man könnte auch *açâ-ná* trennen, cf. die II pl. *punîtá-na* etc. . .". Persson's explanation is now generally accepted; see for instance Renou (1952:267), Thumb and Hauschild (1959:273). The Hittite 2nd plural ending *-ten* is from IE **-tene*, see Eichner (1975:79).

[9] Kurylowicz explains the verbs of the type of Ved. *gr̥bhāyáti* as presents in *-yá-* to aorists in **-ā-* (i.e., IE **-eh$_2$-*).

[10] Similarly, *stabhāyati* comes from IE **stmb^{h}n̥h$_x$yeti*. As far as I know, there are no presents in *-āyá-* beside *aśnāti* and *badhnāti*.

[11] In fact, the phonologically regular result would be Skt. **pvāthá, *prāthá*, cf. § 2.

The paradigm of the Vedic imperative is heterogeneous in its origin; it consists of imperative and injunctive forms. Then, the appearance of *-nī-* in forms such as 2nd du. impv. act. *aśnītám* RV., *gr̥hnītam* AV., 2nd pl. impv. act. *gr̥bhnīta* RV., etc. is not surprising; all these forms are original injunctives and, on the basis of the proportion given above, they replace the older forms with **-ā-*<IE *-n̥hₓ-*.

As for the Sanskrit imperatives in *-aná*, in view of the expected original zero grade of their stem, they should represent the regular reflex of IE **-nhₓ-* between consonants; thus, Vedic *aśāna*, *gr̥hāna* *badhāna* and *stabhānáˊ* continue IE **h₁eḱn̥hₓ-né*, **gʰr̥bʰn̥hₓ-né*, **bʰn̥dʰn̥hₓ-né* and **stmbʰn̥hₓ-né* respectively[12].

These imperatives, which represent a remarkable residue of the older paradigm, can hardly undergo an analogical change; as Kuryłowicz (1964:137) points out, "the status of the 2nd p. of the imperat. differs from that of the rest of its paradigm (if there is one). It is in fact the 2nd p. (sing.) that is fundamental in the imperat. as against the 3rd p. (sing.) of all the other paradigms, whether ind., subj., or opt." Therefore, only occasional analogical forms such as *gr̥bhnīhi* AV., *gr̥hnāhi* AV. and the Classical Sanskrit *badhnīhi* occur beside the imperatives in *-āná*.

7. The nasal presents of the type of Gk. Hom. ἰζάνω trans. 'I make to sit', intr. 'I sit', ἰσχάνω 'I hold in check, hinder, get, contain', λαγχάνω 'I obtain as my portion', χανδάνω 'I take in, hold, contain', λιμπάνω 'I leave', ἰαίνω 'I heat, melt, warm, cheer', Arm. *anicanem* 'I course', *gtanem* 'I find', *lk'anem* 'I leave', *lucanem* 'I untie, unyoke', *lucanim* 'I am loosened, untied', *usanim* 'I learn' support this explanation. Gk. -ανε/ο- and Arm. *-ane-* occur only after consonants and indicate that we are dealing in this case with the regular development of the Indo-European sequence *Cn̥hₓV* into Greek and Armenian *-CanV-*. Similarly, the Lithuanian presents in *-ina-*, which are related to the Greek presents in -ανω and the Armenian in *-anem* (see Stang 1942:185) can be explained by the development of IE *Cn̥hₓV* into Lith. *CinV*. This type of nasal infix presents is evidently created on the basis of the reinterpretation of the 3rd plural active forms *Cn̥hₓ-ent(i)* as *Cn̥hₓe-nt(i)*, see Rix (1976:211), Klingenschmitt (1982:160); thus, for instance, IE 3rd pl. pres. act. **gʰn̥dn̥h₂-enti* would yield Gk. **kʰadan-anti*, hence **kʰandan-onti* (with analogically introduced *n* along the line of the perfect κέχονδα and a replacement of **-anti* by **-onti*), on the basis of which is built the paradigm of Gk. 1st sg. pres. act. χανδάνω etc. (see Rix, *loc. cit.*).

True, the majority of the nasal presents of this type are, as Hamp (1975:106–107) points out, remodelled nasal infix presents of the type of Av. 3rd sg. pres. act. *vī nasti* 'finds', 3rd pl. pres. act. *vindənti*, Skt. *vindánti* RV. (hence Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *vindáti* 'finds, discovers, obtains' RV., etc.); thus, Arm. *gtanem* 'I find' possibly represent a transformation of an earlier **windn̥hₓ/o-*[13] which is based on **windeḷo-* (> Skt. *vindáti*)[14]. Similarly, we have Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *bhanákti* 'breaks, shatters' RV. : Arm. *bekanem* 'I break'; Skt. *rinákti* 'leaves, gives up, releases' RV., 3rd pl. pres. act. *riñcanti*: Arm. *lk'anem* 'I leave', etc. Among the Greek presents in -ανω, there is also a group of verbs such as λιμπάνω which evidently represent „an extension or „clarification" of the Sanskrit 7th class" (Hamp 1975:106); then, Gk. λιμπάνω < **link^{w}n̥hₓeḷo-*.

It seems clear, however, that the oldest layer of the verbs of this type would consist of presents, corresponding to the Sanskrit ninth class presents. Thus, for instance, if

[12] This way of explanation is suggested by Thurneysen (1885:180), but he wrongly assumed that *aśāna* can be analyzed as *aśān-a* with *-ān-* < **-ā-* when after consonants and before vowels and that *-a* is possibly along the line of *bhar-a*. The regular development of the Indo-European sequence *Cn̥hₓV* into Sanskrit *CanV* is well known, see for instance Beekes (1988:65); cf. also fn. 8 (on the segmentation *aśān-a*).

[13] Hamp (1975:106) assumes **windn̥- > windan- > *widan- > gtanem*, etc.

[14] According to Watkins (1956:619), Olr. · *fena* (cf. *aspena* 'explains' *doaisbena* 'shows' is a primary *a* verb; if so, Olr. · *fena* and the related Arm. *granem* 'I find' can be derived from a common paradigm 3rd sg. pres. act. **widneh₁-ti* : 3rd pl. pres. act. **widnh₁-enti*.

Osthoff's comparison of Gk. Hom. ἰαίνω 'I heat, melt, warm, cheer' with Skt. *iṣaṇyáti* 'impels' RV. (Osthoff 1881:194–195) is right, we are dealing with secondarily formed *yod*-presents to a nasal infix present **h₁isn̥h₁eḷo-* which, continued by the Rigvedic injunctives 2nd act. *iṣaṇas*, 3rd sg. act. *iṣaṇat*, 3rd pl. middle *iṣaṇanta*, is formed by the reinterpretation of the 3rd pl. act. **h₁isn̥h₁-enti* as **h₁isn̥h₁e-nti*[15]; the non-colouring laryngeal in these nasal infix presents is identified on the basis of the related Gk. ἰερός which, as Beekes (1969:184–185) points out, goes back to IE **h₁ish₁-ro-*.

The Sanskrit present *vi-kṣaṇa-* '(Wolle) krempeln' (AVP., ĀpMP., Kāṭh. GS.) is identified by Hoffmann (1985: 171–177), who rightly compares it with Gk. ξαίνω 'id.' and OBg. *česati* 'to comb, stripe' (attested by the 3rd pl. pres. *česǫtŭ* Zogr. 152b 22, Mar. 219, 21). The assumption that Skt. *kṣaṇa-* is formed with an „Wurzelerweiterung auf *-en-*" (Hoffmann 1985:175) is wrong; the comparison of *kṣaṇa-* with Gk. ξαίνω which points to an older *ξάνω indicates that the common preform of Skt. *kṣaṇa-* and Gk. *ξάνω (to which ξαίνω is a secondarily formed *yod*-present) can be, as it is alternatively assumed by Hoffmann (1985:177 n. 26), **ksn̥h₂eḷo-*[16]; since the laryngeal in this nasal infix present cannot be identified on the basis of the available data, I would prefer **ksn̥hₓeḷo-*.

If so, it is clear that the syllabic *n̥* which is phonologically regular in the sequences of the type *Cn̥hₓC* and *Cn̥hₓV*, is continued by the Sanskrit imperatives in *-āná* and the nasal infix presents of the type of Gk. ἰαίνω, ξαίνω etc. respectively.

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[15] Skt. *iṣaṇa-* can continue IE **hᵢiṣ-enhᵢr-* which can be formed with secondary full grade to an earlier **hᵢisn̥hᵢr-*; cf. also my discussion of Skt. *iṣaṇa-*, etc. in *Ling. Balk.* XXIX, 1 (1986), pp. 26–27.

[16] Yet Skt. *kṣaṇa-* can be derived from **ksenhₓ-* and the related Latin *sentis* 'Dornstrauch' and *sentus* 'horridus' confirm this; Lat. *sentus* can be sincopateb from **senitus* < **senətus* < **senh₁to-*. Since the Indo-European nouns in **-ti-* are regularly formed with zero grade, Lat. *sentis* can be a relatively recent derivative from an underlying verb **senō* < **ksenhₓ-*; Lat. *sentus* can be explained in the same way.

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Lithuanian *penéti, pę́slas* and the Indo-European nasal infix presents

GEORGI T. RIKOV

Correlations such as Lith. *penė̂ti* 'mästen, füttern, nähren' : Lat. *pāscō* 'I feed'; Gk. *φαίνω* 'I bring to light' : Skt. *bhâti* 'shines'; Skt. *bhánati* 'speaks, sounds' : Gk. *φημί* 'I say, affirm, assert' suggest that Lith. *penéti*, Gk. *φαίνω* (which is a *yod*-present, built on an earlier **φάνω*) and Skt. *bhánati* can continue nasal infix presents of the shapes $Cenh_2$- and Cnh_2-*e/o*-, formed from Indo-European Ceh_2-roots. In view of its acute intonation, Lith. *pę́slas* points to IE **penh*$_2$- and confirms this explanation.

1.1. According to the main etymological dictionaries of the Indo-European languages, Lith. *penéti, penù* (East Lith. *peniù*) 'mästen, füttern, nähren', *pẽnas* 'Nährung, Futter, Kost'[1], Latv. *penêt* 'verwöhnen', Lat. *penus, -oris, penus, -ūs* 'food, provisions (esp. as the stock of household; a store-room in a temple of Vesta)'[2] and Goth. *fenea* name of a barley dish, *fingia* (**finja*) 'barley' point to an Indo-European root **pen-*[3]; it is also assumed that this root is related to IE. **pā-* (i.e. **peh*$_2$-), to which are traced

[1]Cf. also Lith. *penìmis* 'Masttier, Mastschwein', *penýba* 'Mästung, Fütterung, Unterhalt', *penyklà* 'Fütterungsplatz, Futterbrett', etc. (see Fraenkel 1962-1965:569) which, together with *pẽnas*, can be explained as deverbative nouns, derived from *penéti, penù*.

[2]Cf. also Lat. *penitus* adv. 'from the inside, from within', *penetrō, penetrāre* (which is formed from *penitus* along the line of *intus* : *intrāre*), *Penātes*, etc. and see Walde and Hofmann 1938-1956 II:283).

[3]See Walde and Pokorny (1927-1932 II:25), Pokorny (1957:807); cf. also Walde and Hofmann, *loc. cit.*, Feist (1939:147-148), Fraenkel, *loc. cit.* The comparison of these forms with Skt. *panasá-* 'breadfruit, *Artocarpus integrifolia*' is uncertain, see Mayrhofer (1956-1980 II:209). Gk. *πανός* 'bread', given as a direct cognate to these forms in many of the etymological dictionaries (cf. for instance Feist, *loc. cit.*, Fraenkel *loc. cit.*), is a loanword from Lat. *pānis* 'bread', see Chantraine (1968-1980:855).

back Hitt. *paḫš-* 'protect, guard', Lat. *pāscō* 'I feed', *pānis* 'bread', etc[4]. The Lithuanian deverbative noun *pẽslas* 'Masttier, Mastschwein'[5], however, given by Fraenkel under *pẽnas* and explained as **pen-slas*[6], radically changes the situation: the acute intonation of Lith. *pẽslas* suggests that we are dealing with an Indo-European disyllabic root **penh$_x$-*. In view of the related IE. **peh$_2$-*, the Indo-European *set* root **penh$_x$-* can be interpreted as a nasal infix present and the laryngeal can be identified as the *a*-colouring one; thus we have a correlation **penh$_2$-* : **peh$_2$-*. Then, Lith. *penė́ti, pẽnas, penìmis*, etc., Latv. *penêt*, Lat. *penus*, etc. and Goth. *fenea, fingia* represent the regular loss of the laryngeal when it appears after a consonantal **n* and before a vowel or **y*.

1.2. Whereas Lith. *pẽslas* clearly suggests that Lith. *penė́ti, penù*, etc. can be traced back to IE. **penh$_2$-*, Gk. Hom. *φαίνω* 'I bring to light' and its cognates are ambigous; they can continue either a *set* root or an *anit* one.

Yet according to Hoffmann (1985:177 n.26), Gk. Hom. *φαίνω* is formed with the suffix *-ιε-/-ιο-* from an earlier nasal infix present **φάνω*[7] < IE. **b^{h}n̥h$_2$e/o-* which can be derived from an underlying IE. **b^{h}eh$_2$-*[8] (> Skt. 3rd. sg. pres. act. *bhā́ti* 'shines' RV., Gk. *φάος* 'light', etc.).

If so, forms such as Gk. *φάνσις* 'appearance' Porphyr., *φαντός* 'visible' Orph. etc. represent inner-Greek derivatives from **φανε/ο-*[9].

As for Gk. Attic *φάσις* 'appearance' and other related nouns and adjectives beginning with *φα-*, they can be explained either as analogical innovations[10] or as archaic deverbatives derived from IE. **b^{h}eh$_2$-*, which is attested in Greek by the 3rd sg. fut. middle *πεφήσεται* (only in Il. 17,155), the zero-grade forms 3rd. aor. act. *φάε* (only in Od. 14,502 *φάε δέ χρυσόθρονος Ἠώς*) < IE. **b^{h}h$_2$wet, φάος* 'light' < IE. **b^{h}h$_2$wo-*, etc[11]. In the latter case Gk. *φάσις* would go back to IE. **b^{h}h$_2$-ti-* which, as a noun in **-ti-*, is formed with regular zero grade of the root.

1.3. Another representative of this type of nasal infix presents is possibly Skt. *bhánati* 'speaks, sounds' RV., later *bhā́ṇati* 'says, speaks, calls' JBr., Class.[12], which is related to Gk. *φημί*, Doric *φᾱμί* 'I say, affirm, assert' (< IE. **b^{h}eh$_2$-mi*), etc[13]. The reconstruction **b^{h}ənō*, assumed by Osthoff (1884:353 fn.1) and accepted by Walde and Pokorny (1929:25) for Skt. *bhánati* is improbable, since IE. **ə* (i.e. **h$_2$* in this case) would yield Skt. *i* in this environment. From the point of view of historical phonology, Persson's **b^{h}en-* (> Skt. *bhánati*)[14] is undoubtedly right, but there is no convincing morphological solution to the correlation **b^{h}eh$_2$-* : **b^{h}en-*. Then, it is attractive to derive Skt. *bhánati* from IE. **b^{h}enh$_2$eti*, which can be interpreted as a nasal infix present, formed on the basis of an underlying Indo-European root present **b^{h}eh$_2$-mi* (> Gk. *φημί*).

2. In view of the forms discussed above, we can assume the existence of a type of nasal infix presents, derived from Indo-European *CeH$_x$*-roots; Lith. *pẽslas*, with its acute intonation, presents the best support of this hypothesis.

The formation of this type of nasal infix presents is parallel to that of the nasal infix presents derived from Indo-European *CeC*-roots; since the Indo-European laryngeals were consonants, this parallelism is not surprising.

Thus, the nasal infix present **b^{h}n̥h$_2$-e/o-* (hence the Greek *yod*-present *φαίνω*) is formed on the basis of the 3rd pl. act. **b^{h}n̥h$_2$-ent(i)* and parallels the nasal infix presents of the shape *CṇC-e/o-*, cf. for instance Skt. *sájati* 'attaches, fixes, fastens on' RV. < IE. **sṇg-e-ti*[15] (: Lith. *sègti, segù* 'heften,

[4]See for instance Persson (1912:568), Walde and Pokorny, *loc. cit.*, Walde and Hofmann, *loc. cit.*, Pokorny, *loc. cit.*

[5]Lith. *pẽslas* is a deverbative noun in *-sla-* like *mė̃šlas*, frequently pl. *mė̃šlai* 'Mist, Dung, Dünger' (: *mė̃žti, mė̃žiu* '(aus)misten'), *mókslas* 'Können, Kenntnis, Kunst' (: *mokė́ti, móku* 'können, sich auf etw. verstehen, etw. zu tun wissen'), *kẽrslas* 'Messerchen zum Aderlassen, Lanzette' (: *kir̃sti, kertù* 'hauen'), etc.

[6]Fraenkel. *loc. cit.*

[7]See Schwyzer (1939:694).

[8]In fact, from the point of view of the historical phonology and morphology, this is the best solution; cf. also §1.3.

[9]Frisk (1960-1972 II:983), Chantraine (1968-1980:1172).

[10]According to Frisk, *loc. cit.*, Gk. *φάσις* and *-φατος* relate to *φαίνω* as Gk. *βάσις* 'a step, walk' and *βατός* 'passable' to *βαίνω* 'I go, walk'; then, *φάσις* and *-φατος* can be analogical formations.

[11]See Chantraine (1968-1980:1170, 1172), who compares Gk. *φάε* and *φάος* with Skt. *vi-bhāva-* and assumes that the future *πεφήσεται* Il. 17,155 is formed with full grade of the root; similarly, Gk. *φάντα·λάμποντα* Hes. can be formed from an earlier **φᾱσι* 'shines' (see also Walde and Pokorny 1927-1932 II:122-123, Pokorny 1959:104, Mayrhofer 1956-1980 II:493).

[12]According to Hoffmann (1960:132), the *ṇ* of *bhā́ṇati* is onomatopoetic; other possibilities are mentioned by Mayrhofer (1956-1980 II:464-465).

[13]Cf. for instance Walde and Pokorny, *loc. cit.*, Pokorny, *loc. cit.*, Mayrhofer (1956-1980:469-470).

[14]Persson (1912:569 with fn.1); accepted also by Pokorny, *loc. cit.*, Mayrhofer, *loc. cit.*

[15]Cf. also OBg. *prisęgšti* 'to touch' Supr. 504,24, which can continue either IE. **sṇg-* or

schnallen', OIr. *sén* 'Fangnetz' < IE. **seg-no-*); OPruss. *sindats* 'sits'[16] (: Skt. 3rd sg. aor. act. *ásadat* RV. < IE. **é-sed-e-t*), etc.

Similarly, IE. **penh$_2$-* (cf. Lith. *penė́ti, penù, pė́slas*, etc.) and **b^{h}enh$_2$-* (cf. Skt. *bhánati*) are structurally the same as Lith. *pasigendù* 'sehne mich' (: *pasigė̀sti* 'sich sehnen', *gedė́ti, gedù, gedžiù* 'sich sehnen; traurig sein, trauern').

The nasal infix of IE. **penh$_2$-*, **b^{h}enh$_2$-* and **b^{h}n̥h$_2$-e/o-* was extended to the non-present forms and the deverbative nouns and adjectives, as it was, for instance, in the case of the Sanskrit 3rd sg. perfect *sasañja* Br. and the deverbatives Skt. *saṅga-* masc. 'Hängenbleiben, Haften, Stockung' TS., Kāṭh., etc., *āsáñjana-* nt. 'Anhängen, Haken' Br. Ś.S., OBg. *prisęga* 'oath' Cloz. (cf. Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *sájati* < IE **sn̥geti*, etc., see above); this suggests that IE. **penh$_2$-*, **b^{h}enh$_2$-* and **b^{h}n̥h$_2$-e/o-* were reinterpreted at an early date as root presents. As for the formation of these presents, however, if we accept the theory that the nasal infix is originally a suffix[17], the creation of nasal infix presents to Indo-European *CeH$_x$-* (and *CeC-*) roots is due to a secondary and relatively recent productivity of the infixation in Indo-European.

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IE. **seng-*.

[16]In view of OPruss. *sindats*, OBg. *sędǫ* 'I sit' Ps. Sin. 30b7 goes back rather to IE. **sn̥d-e/o-* than to IE. *send-e/o-*.

[17]See for instance Kurylowicz (1964:106).

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Sofia University "Sv. Kliment Ochridski"
Faculty of Slavonic Studies
Dept. of General & Indo-European Linguistics
Car Osvoboditel 15
BG–1000 Sofia

Georgi T. Rikov

On the formation of the Hittite nasal verbs in *-na-/-niya-*

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

I. The formation of Hittite *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-* (§ 1–6)
1. Inflection and etymology of Hittite *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-* (§ 1–2). 2. The formation of Hittite *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-*: Attempts at explanation (§ 3). 3. Hittite *duwarna-* and the nasal verbs in *-na-* (§ 4–5). 4. Hittite *duwarniya-* and other deverbatives in *-niya-* (§ 6).
II. On Hittite *zinna-* and *zinni-* (§ 7–8).

I. The formation of Hittite *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-*

1. Inflection and etymology of Hittite *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-*

1. Hitt. *duwarna-* 'to break' follows the *ḫi*-conjugation, cf. pres. act. 1st sg. *duwarnaḫḫi*, 2nd sg. *duwarnatti*, 3rd sg. *duwarnai*, *tuwarnai*, 3rd pl. *duwarnanzi*, pret. act. 1st sg. *duwarnahhun*, impv. act. 3rd sg. *duwarnau*, 3rd pl. *duwarnandu*.

The verb stem *duwarniya-*, alternating with *duwarna-* in Hittite, is inflected in the *mi*-conjugation, cf. pres. act. 3rd sg. *duwarnizi*, *tuwarnizzi*, *duwarniyazzi*, 3rd pl. *duwarniyanzi*, pret. act. 1st sg. *duwarninun*, 3rd sg. *duwarnit*, impv. act. 3rd pl. *duwarniyandu*.

The isolated *mi*-forms 3rd sg. pres. act. *duwarnaizzi*, *tuwarnaizzi* and *duwarniyaizzi* are deverbatives in *-a(i)* from *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-* respectively[1].

2. The etymology of Hitt. *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-* 'to break' is well known.

As H r o z n y [2] and G o e t z e (1954:403) point out, this Hittite verb can be connected with Skt. *dhvárati* 'bends, injures, causes to fall' and its congeners[3].

The possibility that Hitt. *duwarna-/duwarniya-* continues a nasal infix present is suggested by the fact that Sanskrit attests not only related *anit* forms, as the participle *dhrutá-* and the deverbative noun *dhrúti-* 'deceit' (with *-ru-* instead of the original **-ur-* < **-u̯r-*), but also a group of forms which are clearly *set*. Thus, the Sanskrit 3rd sg. pres. act. *dhū́rvati* 'injures, causes to fall, hurts' (RV), the *s*-aorist 3rd pl. middle *ádhūrṣata* (RV V 12, 5) and the deverbative noun in **-ti- dhurtí-* 'injury, damage, harm' (RV) represent the well known development of the Indo-European sequence $*Cu̯rh_xC$ into Indic *CvūrC* which, with subsequent loss of ** -v-* before **-ū-*, yields the attested *CūrC*; similarly, we have Skt. *jū́rní-* 'blaze, glowing, fire' (RV) < **jvūrní-* < IE **ǵu̯rh₂-ni-* (: 3rd sg. pres. act. *jvárati* 'is feverish', Latv. *zvêrs* 'funkelnd'), etc.

Skt. *dhvárati* (TS) is ambiguous; it can reflect either IE **dʰwér-e-ti* or IE **dʰwérhₓ-e-ti*. Similarly, if Cun. Luw *lawarri-* (3rd sg. pret. act. *lawaritta*, pass. part. nt. pl. *lawarrima*, inf. *lauwarruna*) 'to despoil, strip' is related to these forms, it can continue either IE **dʰwer-* or IE **dʰwerhₓ-*[4].

[1] On the data see K r o n a s s e r (1966: 564—565) and O e t t i n g e r (1979: 308—309). The isolated Hitt. *tuwarnazi* Laws I § 12 is preceded by the regular *tuwarnizzi* Laws I § 11 and its *-azi* is probably misspelled instead of *-izi*. On different explanations of *tuwarnazi* see K r o n a s s e r, *loc. cit.* and O e t t i n g e r (1979:310).

[2] See T i s c h l e r (1990:47).

[3] This etymology is generally accepted, see for instance E i c h n e r (1973: 75—76), O e t t i n g e r (1979:151) and M e l c h e r t (1984:36).

2. The formation of Hittite *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-*: Attempts at explanation

3. The formation of Hitt. *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-* remains unexplained so far.

3.1. O e t t i n g e r (1979:151–152) juxtaposes Hitt. *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-* with *zinna-/zinni-* 'to finish' and *ḫurna(i)-/ḫurniya-* 'to spray, sprinkle'. He interprets these verbs as *duwarne-*, *zinne-* and *ḫurne-* and assumes that they continue Indo-European nasal infix presents in **-neh₁-* which can be reconstructed as **dʰwu̯rneh₁ti*, **sineh₁ti* (or **tineh₁ti*) and **h₂urneh₁ti* respectively. According to O e t t i n g e r (1979:307–314), the attested stems in *-na-*, *-niya-* and *-na(i)-* are analogical remodellings of the original verb stems in **-ne-* (< **-neh₁-*) along the line of other Hittite verb classes.

This theory presents a number of difficulties.

Thus, there is no direct inner-Hittite evidence for the assumed nasal verbs in *-ne-* (< **-neh₁*). In fact, the forms *duwarne-*, *zinne-* and *ḫurne-*, given by Oettinger, do no exist; as M e l c h e r t (1984:114–115) points out, Hitt. *du-wa-ar-ni-zi*, *tu-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi*, *tu-wa-ar-ni-ir* and *zi-in-ni-ši*, *zi-in-ni-zi*, *zi-in-ni-it*, etc., are consistently spelled with the NI sign.

Similarly, the comparative data do not confirm the derivation of Hitt. *duwarna-/duwarniya-* from an Indo-European nasal infix present in **-neh₁-*; it is clear that the colour of the laryngeal cannot be identified on the basis of the related Sanskrit *seṭ* forms (cf. § 1).[5]

Moreover, it is well known that the sequence *-uwar-* in Hitt. *duwarna-/duwarniya-* cannot be developed from the Indo-European interconsonantal **-u̯r̥-*; as E i c h n e r (1973:73–76) points out, IE **-u̯r̥-* changes into Hitt. *-ur-*, as in Hitt. *ḫurkil-* 'sin, perversion' (< IE **h₂u̯r̥gel-*), *ḫurna(i)-/ḫurniya-*, etc. Then, as M e l c h e r t (1984:36) mentions, Oettinger's explanation is „phonologically impossible" since „a **dʰwu̯rneh₁-* could only lead to **durne-* in Hittite."

3.2. E i c h n e r (1975:98)[6] supposes IE **dʰworneyé-* („Denominativ zu einem Subst. **dʰworno-*") and **dʰworneh₂-* („Faktiv zu einem Adj. **dʰworne-...*"), from which Hitt. *duwarniya-* and *duwarna-* are derived. However, this assumption cannot account for the *hi*-forms *duwarnaḫḫi*, *duwarnatti*, *duwarnai*, etc.; Eichner's hypothesis that they are transfer forms of both **dʰworneye-* and **dʰworneh₂-* (Eichner, *loc. cit.*) is unfounded. In fact, **dʰworneye-* would only yield Hittite *mi*-forms in *-e-* and *-iya-*, and **dʰworneh₂-* would result in a regular denominative in *-aḫḫ-* in Hittite. It is clear that Eichner's reconstructions are hardly compatible with the attested Hittite forms.

Another difficulty is presented by the *o*-grade of the assumed IE **dʰworneye-* and **dʰworneh₂-*. As M e l c h e r t (1984:36) notes, IE *„w* disappears in Hittite between a dental stop and *o*", as in Hitt. *idalu-* 'bad' (: Cun. Luw. *adduwali-* 'id.' < **h₁edwol-*), etc., and this indicates that Hitt. *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-* cannot be derived from preforms with *o*-grade of the root.

3.3. M e l c h e r t (1984:36, 114–117), who accepts Oettinger's unconvincing interpretation of Hitt. *zinna-/zinni-* and *ḫurna(i)-/ḫurniya-* as **neh₁-*presents[7], shares Eichner's opinion that Hitt. *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-* are of denominative origin. In contrast to Eichner, however, he posits original *e*-grade radical vocalism for Hitt. *duwarna-/duwarniya-* and derives this

[4] On Cun. Luw. *lawarri-* see O e t t i n g e r, *loc. cit.* As Starke points out, the attested forms indicate that the stem is rather *lawarri-* than *lawarr-*, cf. T i s c h l e r, *loc. cit.* The double *-rr-* in *lawarri-* is regular, cf. Cun. Luw. *mallit-* 'honey', etc. and cf. M e l c h e r t (1993:248). See also §4.6.

[5] Similarly, there is no reason for assuming disyllabic roots in **-h₁-*, from which *ḫurna(i) /ḫurni(ya)* - and *zinna-/zinni-* can be derived; see below, fn. 19 and §7-8.

[6] Cf. also E i c h n e r (1973:75—76).

[7] M e l c h e r t (1984:29 fn. 61) also assumes Hitt. *hurnezzi* 'hunts' < **h₂u̯r-né-h₁-ti*. However, this Hittite form does not exist and the attested forms do not confirm Melchert's reconstruction; cf. §4.5.

Hittite verb from a denominative *d^hwerneye- which is formed from a noun *d^hwerno-. In view of the *ḫi*-forms such as *duwarnai*, *zinnai* and the consistent NI-sign in *duwarniya-*, *zinni-*, Melchert needs analogical remodellings of the assumed preforms; therefore, he assumes that the expected Hitt. **duwarnezzi* and **zinnezzi* are reshaped into the attested forms under the influence of the verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-* (M e l c h e r t 1984:114–117).

In fact, it remains unclear on what grounds Melchert follows Eichner's reconstruction of a denominative in *-eye-* not only for Hitt. *duwarniya-*, but also for *duwarna-*; we have seen above (§ 3.2) that the available data do not support the reconstruction of such a denominative. Moreover, the assumed remodelling of *d^hwerneyeti under the influence of the verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-* is beyond proof; in fact, such an influence would be unique. Thus, for instance, the Hittite denominative verb *uš(ša)niya-* 'to offer for sale', which is formed from a noun in *-no- *usno-* (cf. O e t t i n g e r 1979:355; N e u 1980:87–88)[8], is inflected in the *mi*-conjugation and analogical *ḫi*-forms are lacking; cf. Hitt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *uš-ni-ya-zi*, *uš-ša-ni-ya-zi*, lst. sg. pret. act. *uš-ša-ni-ya-nu-un*, 3rd sg. pret. act. *uš-ša-ni-ya-at*, 3rd sg. impv. act. *uš-ša-ni-ya-at-du*.

3. Hittite *duwarna-* and the nasal verbs in *-na-*

4. In fact, Hitt. *duwarna-* is inflected in the *ḫi*-conugation as the Hittite nasal infix verbs in *-na-* such as *tarna-* 'to let go, allow'.

4.1. The opinion that the Hittite nasal infix verbs in *-na-* directly reflect Indo-European nasal infix presents in *-neh$_2$-/*-nh$_2$-[9] is hardly compatible with (1) the fact that the expected *-naḫḫ- in the strong forms of the paradigm is lacking, and (2) the fact that these Hittite verbs follow the *ḫi*-conjugation instead of the expected *mi*-one.

In order to avoid these difficulties, Eichner and Oettinger offer two different explanation.

According to E i c h n e r (1975:97), the Hittite lst sg. pret. act. *tarnaḫḫi* originally belongs to the *mi*-conjugation (**tarnaḫḫ-un*) and represents the strong stem in *-naḫḫ - *tarnaḫḫ -. Then, Hitt. **tarnaḫḫ-un* can be reanalyzed as **tarna-ḫḫun* (i. e., as a from of the Hittite *ḫi*-conjugation) and, together with forms such as *tarnummeni* (< **tr̥nh$_2$weney*), leads to the creation of the attested paradigm: *tarnahhun* : *tarnummeni* : *x* = *daḫḫun* : *dummeni* : *dai*, hence *x* = *tarnai*.

O e t t i n g e r (1979:153–154) assumes that the *-h$_2$- is lost in Anat. 2nd sg. *-neh$_2$ti*, 2nd pl. * *neh$_2$teney*, etc., and that the similarity of the resulting *-nāti*, *-nāteni*, etc. with the forms of the *šuḫḫa*-class leads to the subsequent remodelling of the original paradigm.

4.2.1. However, Hitt. *tarna-* is the only *na*-verb which is formed from a disyllabic root in *-h$_2$-, cf. the related Hitt. *tarḫ* - 'to overcome, be capable' and Lat. *intrāre*.

Then, the Hittite nasal verb *tarna-* can be derived from an Indo-European nasal infix present 3rd sg. act. **trneh$_2$ti*, 3rd pl. act. **tr̥nh$_2$enti* which is formed from the athematic root verb, seen in Hitt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *tarḫzi*, 3rd pl. pres. act. *tarḫanzi* (< IE **terh$_2$ti*, **tr̥h$_2$enti*); cf. also the thematic Hitt. *tarra-* 'to be able' (< IE **terh$_2$-e/o-*), Skt. *tárati* 'crosses over, passes, overcoms' (< IE **terh$_2$-e-ti*), *tiráti* 'id.' (< IE **tr̥h$_2$-e-ti*) and see O e t t i n g e r (1979:222–223)[10].

4.2.2. Hitt *šanna-* 'to keep secret, pass over in silence, conceal, hide' is related to Skt. *sanutár* 'aside, aparat, away from' etc. as well as to Gk. ὄνεω 'in silence'. In fact, the Greek adverb ὄνεω is an adverbially used instrumental form and points to IE instr. sg. *s̥nh$_1$-ew-oh$_1$; the development of the Indo-European sequence *CRh$_1$e* into Greek CαRε is regular, cf. for instance Gk. καλέω 'I call, summon, invite, invoke' (< IE *kl̥h$_1$-es-), etc. Then, Gk. ὄνεω guarantees the reconstruction of an Indo-European *seṭ* root in *-h$_1$-, and this implies that Hitt. *šanna-* can be derived from a nasal infix present 3rd sg. act. *s̥neh$_1$ti* 3rd pl. act. *s̥nh$_1$enti* (see R i k o v 1995:331–335).

4.2.3. Hitt. *šunna-* 'to fill' is related to the Hittite adjective in *-u- *šū-* 'full', the plene writing of which suggests that we are dealing with an Indo-European disyllabic root; cf. nom. sg. anim. *šu-u-uš*, acc. sg. anim. *šu-u-ú-un*, *su-u-un*, nom.-acc. sg. nt. *šu-u-ú*, *šu-u*, acc. pl. anim. *šu-u-wa-mu-uš*. The reconstruction of this *seṭ* root is confirmed by the cognate Slavic adjective **sytъ* 'satisfied, replete'.

In view of the Anatolian data, the laryngeal of the underlying disyllabic root must be reconstructed as the non-colouring one[11].

Then, the Hittite 3rd sg. pret. midddle *šuttati* 'swelled' which points to IE **suh$_1$-to*, the 3rd sg. impv. middle *suttaru* 'may swell' (< IE **suh$_1$-to-ru*) and the 3rd pl. pres. act. *šuwanzi* 'they fill' guarantee the existence of an Indo-European athematic root verb **sewh$_1$-*/**suh$_1$-*, from which the iterative **suh$_1$-ske-* (> Hitt. *šuškiši*) is derived.

The thematized Hitt. *šuwa-* 'to fill', Cun. Luw. *šuwa-* 'id.' and Hier. Luw. *suwa/i-* 'id.' are formed on the basis of the 3rd pl. pres. act. **suh$_1$-onti* (> Hitt. *šuwanzi*).

Then, Hitt. *šunna-* can be derived from an Indo-European nasal infix present 3rd sg. act. **suneh$_1$t(i)*, 3rd pl. act. **šunh$_1$ent(i)*[12].

IE **snneh$_1$-* and **suneh$_1$-* would yield Hitt. **šanne-* and *šune-* respectively. It is clear, however, that the expected strong stems **šanne-* and **šune-* cannot undergo the analogical develpments assumed by Eichner and Oettinger on the basis of Hitt. *tarna-*.

4.3. In fact, the correct solution to the problem is suggested by W a t k i n s (1969:75 76). who explains the Hittite verbs in *-na-* (and *-anna-*) as outcomes of Indo-European thematic presents in *-nə-*e/o-*.

In view of this explanation, which is in accord with the fact that the Hittite *na*-verbs follow the *ḫi*-conjugation, Hitt. *šanna-* and *šunna-* must continue IE **snnh$_1$-e/o-*[13] and **sunh$_1$-e/o-*[14] respectively; if so, the regular development of the Indo-European intervocalic *Rh$_x$* into Hittite *RR* accounts well for the double *-nn-* in Hitt. *šunna-*.

There is also no reason for assuming a different and specific development in the case of Hitt. *tarna-* which can be derived from **tr̥nh$_2$-e/o-*.

However, such thematic nasal infix presents cannot be archaic; they are posterior to the athematic type of nasal infix presents.

The transfer of the original athematics 3rd sg. act. *CRneh$_x$ti*, 3rd pl. act. *CRnh$_x$enti* into the thematic type is based on the reinterpretation of the 3rd plural forms *CRnh$_x$ent(i)* as *CRnh$_x$-ent(i)*. Thus, as R i x (1976:211) points out, Gk. κάμνω 'I am weary, tired, exhausted' is

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[8] The Old Hittite iterative *ušneškatta* points to a denominative **ušna(i)-* which is also formed from **usno-*, see N e u, *loc. cit.*

[9] Cf. S t u r t e v a n t (1931:167—172), S t u r t e v a n t and H a h n (1951:134), K r o n a s s e r (1956:160; 1966.556 557, 559—565), E i c h n e r (1975:198) and O e t t i n g e r (1979:152—160).

[10] On Hitt. *tarna* see especially T i s c h l e r (1993:192—197).

[11] The reconstruction of an Indo-European root **sewh$_2$* (see O e t t i n g e r 1979:158—159) is unacceptable, since IE **h$_2$* cannot be lost in Hitt. *šū-* 'full', *šuwa-* 'to fill', Cun. Luw. *šūwa-* 'id.' etc. (see M e l c h e r t 1984:29).

There is also no convincing evidence that IE **h$_3$* can be lost in Hitt. *šu-*, *šuwa-*, etc., as it is assumed by Watkins (1975:378) and M e l c h e r t (1987:24—26). True, M e l c h e r t, *loc. cit.*, derives the Palaic 3rd sg. pret. *šunat* 'filled' from IE **suneh$_3$ -t*, but Pal. *sūna-* can be a denominative in **-eh$_2$-ye/o-* from a stem in **-no-*.

Then we are left with the possibility that the laryngeal of the underlying *seṭ* root should be identified as the non colouring one (cf. M e l c h e r t 1984:29). In fact, the reconstruction of an Indo-European root **sewh$_1$* accounts well for the attested Anatolian and Slavic forms.

[12] For a more detailed discussion of Hitt. *šū-* 'full', *šuwa-* 'to fill' and their congeners see R i k o v (1994:67 74).

[13] See R i k o v (1995:334).

[14] See M e l c h e r t (1984:29), R i k o v (1994:71).

formed on the basis of the 3rd pl. pres. act. κάμνουσι which (with analogical -αμ– along the line of the aorist ἔκαμον and *-*onti* instead of *-*anti*) continues *ka-n-anti < *$k\acute{m}nh_2$-enti (cf. the Sanskrit athematic 3rd sg. pres. middle śamnīte 'troubles himself'); similary, we have δάμνω 'I tame' (: δάμνουσι, cf. also δάμνημι). In the same way, Skt. *pr̥ṇáti* 'fills' is formed on the basis of the 3rd pl. pres. act. *pr̥ṇánti* (< IE *$plnh_1$-enti*, cf. also Skt.*pr̥ṇáti* < IE *$pl̥neh_1$-ti*), etc. The developments of this type are well known; thus, the reinterpretation of the 3rd plural *mi*-forms in *-*ent(i)* as forms in *-*nt(i)* is the most frequent source of the formation of the *tud*-presents and thematic aorists with zero-grade radical vocalism (e. g. Gk. ἔλιπον). In fact, such thematic forms may have been created independently and at different dates either in the dialectal period of Indo-European or in the (pre)history of the individual Indo-European languages. Then, it is possible that the thematic Hittite *šanna-*, *šunna-* and *tarna-* are formed on the basis of the 3rd plural forms (cf. Hitt. *šannanzi*, *šunnanzi* and *tarnanzi* < IE *$sn̥h_1enti$*, *$sunh_1enti$* and *$trnh_2enti$* respectively) in the period of Common Anatolian.

4.4. In fact, the Indo-European inheritance in the paradigm of the Hittite *na*-verbs is limited to several athematic weak forms[15].

The Hittite 3rd pl. pres. act. *šannanzi* (< IE *$sn̥h_1$-enti*), *šunnanzi* (< IE *$sunh_1$-enti*) and *tarnanzi* (< IE *$trnh_2$-enti*) are evidently archaic.

Similarly, the participles *šunnant-* and *tarnant-* can be traced back to IE *$sunh_1$-ont-* and *$trnh_2$-ont-* respectively.

We also have the Hittite 1st pl. pret. act. *tar-nu-en* BoTU 21, 5–6 (< *$trnh_2$-wen*) beside the 1st pl. pres. act. *tarnummeni* and 1st pl. pret. act. *tarnumen* which, with *-um-* < *-*uw-* after heavy syllables, continue *$trnh_2$-uweney* and *$trnh_2$-uwen* respectively (see M e l c h e r t 1984:25).

The *ske*-iterative *tarske/a-* (later also *taraske/a-*), which goes back to IE *$tr̥nh_2$-ske/o-*, is also an archaism.

4.5. Besides the Hittite nasal infix verbs in *-na- šanna-*, *šunna-* and *tarna-*, there are also *na* verbs which, formed from *aniṭ* roots, are suffixed with the secondarily abstracted *-na-*.

Hitt. *ḫarna* 'to stir, churn, ferment, agitate' is attested by the participle *ḫarnant-* 'fermented' and the deverbatives *ḫarnu-* 'in ferment, stirred up' and *ḫarnammar* 'agitation, ferment, leaven(ing), yeast'. The denominative verb *ḫarnamniya-* 'to stir (up), churn, cause to foment, incite' (from which *ḫarnamniyašha-* 'stir, commotion, turmoil' is formed) is derived from the oblique stem *$ḫ\breve{a}rnamn$- of *ḫarnammar*[16].

Hitt. *ḫarna-* is probably related to Skt. *r̥ṇóti* 'arises, moves', Gk. ὄρνυμι 'I stir (up)'. Lat. *orior* 'I rise, get up', etc.; cf. also the root aorists Skt. *ā́rta*, Gk. ὦρτο < IE *$é$-h_3rto*). Hitt. *ḫarnau-* 'birthing seat' is also cognate to these forms (G e o r g i e v 1975:111) and continues an Indo-European noun in *-*new-*/*-nu-* *h_3rnew-/*h_3rnu-* (see O f i t s c h 1995:21–23).

The attested congeners of Hitt. *ḫarna-* are clearly *aniṭ* and point to an Indo-European root *h_3er-/*h_3r-*. Then, Hitt. *ḫarna-* is formed by the secondarily abstracted suffix *-na-* from a root verb *$ḫ\breve{a}r$-* (< IE *h_3er-/*h_3r-*, cf. Skt.*ā́rta*, Gk. ὦρτο).

Hitt. *ḫurna-* 'to hunt' is attested by the infinitive *ḫurnuwanzi*. The iteratives *ḫurniskizzi* and *ḫuwarniskizzi* can be formed either from *ḫurna-/ḫuwarna-* or from *ḫurniya-/ ḫuwarniya-*.

According to Čop, Hitt. *ḫurna-* is related to Latv. dial. *vert, veņu, vēru* 'laufen', Lith. caus. *varýti, varaũ* '(ver)treiben, jagen; führen, leiten', OBg. *variti, varjǫ*, προφῦάνειν as well as to Gk. αὐρι- (in the compound αὐρι-βάτᾱς 'swift-striding'Aesch. Fr. 263, cf. also αὖρι· ταχέως AB 464), SCr. *jùriti'* to crush after, chase', etc. (see P u h v e l 1991:433). The accented suffix

[15] On the isolated Hittite *tarnahhant-* see E. N e u (apud Tischler 1993:196). Hitt. *iškunahh-/iškunaḫḫ-* and *iškuna(i) /iskuna(i)* 'to stain, stigmatize, degrade', given by O e t t i n g e r (1979:156—158) as *neh_2*-presents, are denominative; on the connection of these verbs with Gk. αἰσχῦνω 'I make ugly, disfigure, dishonor' see P u h v e l (1984:427).

[16] On the data see K r o n a s s e r (1966:320, 568) and P u h v e l (1991:171—173).

of Lith. *varýti* indicates that we are dealing with an underlying *aniṭ* root. Then, Hitt. *ḫurna-/huwarna-* is formed from an *aniṭ* root *hur-/*huwar-* (< IE *$h_2wr̥$-/*h_2wer-*), suffixed by *-na-*[17].

The formation of Hitt. *ḫarna-* and *ḫurna-* is evidently parallel to that of Skt. *kuṣṇā́ti* (:*kuṣ-* 'to tear'), Lat. *sinō* 'I leave', etc. which are also formed by suffixation of *aniṭ* roots.

4.6. We can now return to Hitt. *duwarna-*.

We have seen above (§2) that the Sanskrit congeners of Hitt. *duwarna-* are either *seṭ* or *aniṭ* cf. Skt. *dhū́rvati, ádhūrṣata, dhū́rtí-* vs. *dhrutá-, dhrúti-*. Then, Hitt. *duwarna-* is ambiguous; it can be explained either as a nasal infixed verb of the type of Hitt. *tarna-* or as a nasal suffixed verb of the type of Hitt. *ḫarna-* and *ḫurna-*.

5. However, the root vocalism of Hitt. *duwarna-* differs from that of Hitt. *šanna-, šunna-, tarna-* and *ḫarna-, ḫurna-* which are formed with zero grade of the root.

Since IE *$eRC\breve{}$* regularly changes into Hitt. *aRC*, Hitt. *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-* are evidently formed, as M e l c h e r t (1984:36) points out, with *e*-vocalism of the root (see §3.3); the iterative *ḫuwarniškizzi* is probably another Hittite form of this type.

Then, if the stem *duwarna-* is archaic, its preform can be reconstructed as *d^hwernh_x-e/o-*. This implies that Hitt. *duwarna-* can be juxtaposed with the well-known nasal infix presents Lat. *sternit* 'stretches out, spreads', OIr. *sern(a)id* gl. 'serrere, sternere', Lat. *spernit* 'separates, removes', etc. which are formed with *e*-grade of the root. According to S t r u n k (1984:156—157), this type of nasal presents is inherited from Indo-European: then, Lat. *sternit,* OIr *sern(a)id* and Lat. *spernit* continue IE *$sternh_3$-ti* and *$spernh_1$-ti* respectively. Similarly, if the thematized *duwarna-* is formed by infixation of *-*n-*, it presupposes the existence of an Indo-European nasal infix present *d^hwernh_x-*.

According to the traditional explanation, however, the radical *e*-vocalism of Lat. *sternit,* OIr *sern(a)id* etc. can be analogical. Similarly, the root vocalism of Hitt. *duwarna-* can be influenced by that of other verb forms; thus, an Anatolian verb **dwer(h)-* can be reconstructed on the basis of Cun. Luw. *lawarri-* 'to despoil, strip', which can be explained as a deverbative in *-iya-* from **d(u)warr-* (< **dwer(h)-* < IE *$d^hwer(h_x)$-*)[18].

4. Hittite *duwarniya-* and other deverbatives in *-iya-*

6. Whereas Hitt. *duwarna-* is inflected in the *ḫi-* conjugation, *duwarniya-* follows the *mi-*one, as the regular deverbatives in *-iya-*. Thus, the correlation *duwarnai* : *duwarni(ya)zzi* parallels *arrai* 'washes': *arriyazzi* 'id.'; *mallai* 'grinds, mills': *malli(ya)zzi* 'id.', etc.

There are also other Hittite *na*-verbs, from which deverbatives in *-iya-* are formed. So, beside Hitt. *šanna-, šunna-* and *tarna-,* we have deverbatives in *-iya- šanni-, šunniya-* and *tarni-* respectively, cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *šunniyazi*, 3rd pl. pres. act. *šunniyanzi,* 3rd sg. pret. act. *šanništa, šunništa, tarnista*, 2nd sg. impv. act. *šunni, tarni*, 3rd sg. impv. act. *šunniddu.*

Then, Hitt. *duwarniya-* can be explained as a derivative in *-iya-* of the Hittite nasal verb *duwarna-*[19].

II. On Hittite *zinna-* and *zinni-*

7. Hitt. *zinna-* and *zinni-* 'to finish, cease, come to an end' follow the infectional patterns, presented by *duwarna-* and *duwarniya-* respectively.

[17] On Hitt. *ḫarna-* and *ḫurna-* see R i k o v (forthcoming).

[18] Cf. §2.

[19] Cf. K r o n a s s e r (1966:561ff.). S t u r t e v a n t (1931:138) already have explained Hitt. *šunniya-* as a derivative in *-iya-* of *šunna-*.

Thus, Hitt. *zinna-* is inflected in the *ḫi-* conjugation, cf. pres. act. 1st sg. *zinnaḫḫi* , 3rd sg. *zinnai*, 1st pl. *zinnaweni* (OH) and the athematic *zinnummeni,* the formation of which is archaic, 2nd pl. *zinnatteni,* 3rd pl. *zinnanzi,* pret. act. 1st sg. *zinnaḫḫun,* impv. act. 3rd sg. *zinnau,* 2nd pl. *zinnatten,* etc.

The stem *zinni-* is attested by the *mi*-forms pres. act. 2nd sg. *zinniši,* 3rd sg. *zinnizi* (OH), *zinnizzi,* pret. act. 1st sg. *zinnit,* inf. *zinniwanzi*[20]. It is clear that Hitt. *zinni-* can be derived by the suffix *-iya-* from *zinna-*, as *duwarniya-* from *duwarna-*.

8. However, there is no convincing etymology of Hitt. *zinna-* and *zinni-* so far; in fact, we are dealing with etymological possibilities.

O e t t i n g e r (1979:151—152) assumes that Hitt. *zinna-/zinni-* can be derived either from IE **tineh$_1$-* or from IE **sineh$_1$-*, and compares the Hittite verb with Lat. *sinō* (perf. *sīvī*) 'to leave' as well as with Hitt. *zea-* 'to cook, is cooked (/done)';

M e l c h e r t (1984:29 fn. 29) shares this opinion. We have seen, however, that there is no direct Hittite evidence for Indo-European nasal infix presents in **-neh$_1$-* (see §§3.1, 3.3, 4.2). Moreover, as S c h r i j v e r (1991:408) rightly mentions, the short *i* of Lat. *situs* indicates that we are dealing with an Indo-European *aniṭ* root, and this implies that Lat. *sinō* is a nasal suffixed present; then, it is possible that Hitt. *zinna-/zinni-* and Lat. *sinō* are independent formations and cannot be traced back to a common preform. As for the historical phonology, the sound change of IE **s* into Hitt. *z* in this position is occasional. True, O e t t i n g e r (1979:152 fn. 40) mentions that IE **s* changes into Hitt. *z* when it is adjacent to *n* (e. g. Hitt. *zena-* 'autumn' <IE **seno-*), but IE **s* is retained in this position in the nasal infix verbs *šanna-* and *šunna-*.

According to G e o r g i e v (1978:94—96), IE **tw* changes into Hitt. *z* and this change is represented by Hitt. *zinna-/zinni-* which can be related to Gk. σίνομαι (Aeol. σίννομαι) 'I injure', Hom. 'I harm, hurt' and OE *þwīnan* 'to disappear, vanish'[21]. In Hittite, however, the sequence *Cu-V-* must be read */Cw-V-/* see M e l c h e r t (1984:48—51). Then, in spite of G e o r g i e v (1978:96), Hitt. *tuekka-* 'body' (: Skt. *tvac-* 'skin, hide') and the pronominal forms gen. sg. *tuel* 'tui', abl. sg. *tuedaš* 'a te' represent */tweka-/* and */twel/*, */twedas/* respectively. True, these counter-examples to Georgiev's rule can be eliminated by the assumption that *tuekka-* and *tuel*, *tuedas* represent analogical restorations of the initial */tw-V-/*, cf. *tukkant-* as well as the pronominal acc. sg. = dat. sg. *tuk*. Yet this possibility is uncertain and the problem remains open.

It is also possible that the initial *zi-* of Hitt. *zinna-/zinni-* continues IE **ti-*. Then, the phonology of Hitt. *zinna-/zinni-* is perfect and this Hittite verb can be compared with OIr. *tinaid* 'vanishes, melts'. Although OIr. *tinaid* is rarely attested and its formation is not clear, it can continue a nasal infix present (see P e d e r s e n 1909—1913 II:648).

In fact, the initial *t-* of OIr. *tinaid* is ambiguous and can reflect either IE **t-* or IE **tw-*; then, as S e e b o l d (1970:525—526) mentions, OIr. *tinaid* can be related either to OE *þīnan* 'to moisten' or to OE *þwīnan* 'to disappear, vanish'. However, OE *þwīnan* can be a remodelling of OE *þīnan* under the infuence of OE *dwīnan* 'to dwindle' (see P o k o r n y 1959:1054) and this supports the connection of OIr. *tinaid* (and probably OE *þīnan*) with Hitt. *zinna-/zinni-*.

If so, the thematized Hitt. *zinna-* is formed on the basis of the 3rd pl. pres. act. **tinh$_1$enti* (> Hitt. *zinnanzi*).

Yet the possibility that Hitt. *zinna-* and OIr. *tinaid* continue a nasal infix present is uncertain.

Hitt. *ḫurniya-* 'to spray, sprinkle' (cf. pres. act. 3rd sg. *ḫurniezzi, ḫurniyaz(z)i*, 3rd pl. *ḫurniyanzi*, pret. act. 3rd sg. *ḫurnit*) can be an old nasal verb in **-nh$_x$-ye/o-*.

Besides *hurniya-*, we have pres. act. 1st sg. *ḫurnami,* 1st pl. *ḫurnaweni*, 3rd pl. *ḫurnanzi* which, in view of the flexion of *ḫurnami,* must be explained as forms in **-āye-* (< **-eh$_2$-ye/o-*), cf. K r o n a s s e r (1966:501, 562).

The etymology of Hitt. *ḫurniya-/ḫurna(i)-* is well khown. As S z e m e r é n y i (1955:74) points out, this Hittite verb is related to Gk. ῥαίνω 'I sprinkle' and this comparison is now generally accepted.

According to P e t e r s (1980:23 fn. 18), the initial IE *h$_x$-* in the sequence **h$_x$CL-* (L = *r, l*) is lost in Greek, e. g. Gk. λῆνος 'wool'(: Hitt. *ḫulana-* 'id.'); then, his explanation of Gk. ῥαίνω as *h$_2$wrn̥h$_x$-ye/o-* is phonologically correct. Now it is clear that Hitt. *ḫurniya-* exactly corresponds to Gk. ῥαίνω and that these two forms can be derived by the suffix **-ye/o-* from an original nasal infix present.

As for Hitt. *ḫurna(i)-*, it can be explained either as an inner-Hittite formation which relates to *ḫurniya-* as Hitt. *tarnazzi* to *tarni-* (: *tarna-*) or as a derivative in **-ye/o-* from the strong stem ** h$_2$wrneh$_x$-*. The latter possibility implies that ** h$_x$-* can be identified as the Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal. In view of its single *-n-*, Hitt. *kina(i)-* 'to crush, break (up)' can also be formed dy the suffix **-ye/o-* from the strong stem **ǵineh$_2$-* of a nasal infix present, cf. Skt. *jināti* 'deprives', Av. *zinaꞰ* 'to harm' (3rd sg. subj. act. *zinaL*), OPers. 3rd sg. impf. act. *adina* 'deprived' (:Skt. *jyāni-* 'disappearance', Av.*ziiana-* 'damage', etc.) and see R i k o v (1984:63).

[20] On the data see K r o n a s s e r (1966:564—565) and O e t t i n g e r (1979:311—312).

[21] The connection of Gk. σίνομαι with OE *þwīnan* is uncertain, cf. F r i s k (1960—1972, II:709). According to C h a n t r a i n e (1968—1980:1006), the etymology of Gk.σίνομαι is unclear. Oh the possibility that OE *þwīnan* is a remodelling of OE *þīnan* 'to moisten' see below.

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ORPHEUS 7 (1997)

Hittite *(i)yanna-*, Tocharian B *yaneṃ* and the Indo-European nasal infix presents of the type *CRenh$_x$-*

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

I. The Hittite verbs in *-anna-*, *-anniya-* and related forms (§1—20).
1. The Hittite verbs in *-anna- and* -anniya-: the data (§1—3).
2. Attempts at explanation (§4). 3. The formation of the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-* (§5—7). 4. Hittite *(i)yanna-*, Tocharian B *yaneṃ* and the origin of the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* (§8—11). 5. Vedic *iṣaṇa-*, *kṛpáṇa-*, *kṣaṇa-* and the presents in *-anyá-* (§12—15). 6. Lithuanian *trenù, trinù,* Greek τετραίνω and the Lithuanian deverbatives in *-enti, -enu* and *-inu, -inti* (§16—20).
II Indo-European nasal infix verbs of the type *CRenh$_x$* - (§21—32).
1. Vedic *vánate,* Avestan *vanaiti* and their congeners (§21—25). 2. Vedic *ádhvanīt, dhvānta-*, Avestan *duuąsaiti, duuąman-* and Latvian *dviñga* (§26—28). 3. The nasal infix presents of the types *CRenh$_x$* - and *CRenC-* (§29—32).

I. The Hittite verbs in *-anna-, -anniya-* and related forms

1. The Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-:* the data

1. From the synchronic point of view, the formation of the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-* seems transparent.[1]

There are several Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-* which appear beside athematic root verbs, cf. *šippandanna-* 'to pour (a libation), libate' (: *išpant-, šip(p)and-* 'id.'), *parḫanna-* 'to drive hard' (of horses) (: *parḫ-* id.'), *paršanniya-* 'to break asunder' (: *parš-* 'id.'), *tuḫšanna-* 'to cut off, separate' (: *tuḫš-* 'id.') *walḫanna-* and *walḫanniya-* 'to strike; to play (a musical instrument)' (: *walh-* ' to strike').

A few verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-* are attested beside both athematic and thematic root verbs, cf. Hitt. *(i)yanna-* and *(i)yanniya-* 'to go, march' (: *i-* 'to go', *iya-* 'to go, come, march'), *iškarranniya-* 'to pierce' (: *iškar-, iškarra-* 'to sting, prick'), *ḫattanna-* 'to pierce, prick, slash' (: *ḫatta-* 'id.').

There is also a group of verbs which seem to be formed by adding the suffixes *-nna-* and *-nniya-* to verb stems in *-a-, -iya-* and *-a(i)-*, cf. the following instances:

išḫuwanna- 'to pour, throw' (: *išḫuwa-* 'to shed, throw, scatter, pour'); *ḫuittiyanna-* and *ḫuittiyanniya-* 'to pull' (: *ḫuittiya-* 'to draw, pull, drag'), iter. *laḫḫiyanniške-* 'to go to war' (: *laḫḫiya-* 'to travel, attack, go to war'), *paršiyanna-* and *paršiyanniya-* 'to smash, crush, break up' (: *paršiya-* 'id.'); *pitdanna-* to pay off, render (: *pitda(i)-* 'id.').

Hitt. *ḫallanniya-* 'to lay waste, ruin, ravage' and *šallanna-, šallanniya-* 'to pull, drag' remain isolated.[2]

Acccording to Oettinger (1992:140—143), the original meaning of the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-*, usually interpreted as "duratives" or "iteratives",[3] is intensive. In fact, Goetze (1929:184) already considered Hitt. *(i)yanna-* to be an intensive in *-na-;*

[1] Cf. Kronasser (1966:557—569).
[2] On the semantics of most of these Hittite verbs see now Oettinger (1992:140—143).
[3] A brief survey of the various opinions is given by Kronasser (1966:556—569).

Sturtevant (1931:171) assumed that both *-na-* and *-anna-*verbs are intensives. The close relationship between the iterative and the intensive meaning is well known, see Kronasser (1966:576) w. refs.

2.1. The only Palaic form in *-anna-* is the 3rd sg. present active *i-ya-an-na-a-i* KUB XXXV 163 III 20 which corresponds to Hitt. *(i)yannai* 'goes, marches' (see Carruba 1970:57); this implies that Hitt. *(i)yanna-* and Pal. *iyanna-* are inherited from Proto-Anatolian.

2.2. There are also two Luwian verbs in *-anna-*.

Cun. Luw. 3rd pl. impv. *uppannandu* 'let them bring' (KBo XIII 260 III 15.18) is derived by the suffix *-anna-* from *uppa-* 'to bring', see Melchert (1988:220).

Another Luwian verb in *-anna-* can be seen in Cun. Luw. *mammanna-* 'to look upon, regard, accept', which is attested by the 2nd pl. impv. *mammannaten* 'look upon, accept' (KUB XXIV 12 II 28—33; III 4—7), and Hier. Luw. 3rd sg. pres. LITUUS. LITUUS-*nai* 'he shall behold'. According to Melchert, *loc. cit.*, these two forms, which appear beside Cun. Luw. *manā-* 'to see' and Hier. Luw. LITUUS *-na-* 'to see, behold, regard', represent a verb in *-anna-* which is formed from the reduplicated stem **ma-mn-*.

3. Lydian also attests this formation.

Lyd. *sawēn-* (cf. 3rd sg. pres. *sawēnt),* which probably signifies 'to see, experience', can be analyzed as consisting of a root *saw-* and a suffix *-ēn-*, which would continue PAnat. *-ṾnnV-*, see Melchert (1992:40—41).

Lyd. *wcbaqēn-* (cf. 3rd sg. pres. *wcbaqēnt*) 'trample upon(?)' is formed by the prefix *wc-* (< **ud(s)-)* and the suffix *-en-* (< **-ṾnnV-)* from Lyd. *baq-*, which is related to Hitt. *pakku(šš)-* 'to crush', see Melchert (1992:41).

Melchert, *loc. cit.*, gives the Hittite "durative" suffix as *-anni/a-* and derives it from IE **-enh$_2$i-* (see §4.4 below). Then, he assumes that the Lydian 3rd sg. present forms in *-ēnt* (< **-ṾnnVti)* would continue preforms in **-enit* < **-ennit* < **-énnit* < **-énniti.* However, this explanation, which is in accord with Melchert's theory that the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-* point to preforms in **-nh$_2$i-* (see §4.4), can hardly be reconciled with the attested data. In fact, Lyd. *-ēnt (<*-ṾnnVti)* would also point to **-enneti* and this implies that these Lydian forms can be compared with the Hittite, Palaic and Luwian forms in *-anna-;* see §6 below.

2. Attempts at explanation

4. Although the formation of the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-* synchronically seems transparent, the origin of these verbs is not satisfactorily explained so far.

4.1. According to Sturtevant (1931:167—170), the Hittite verbs in *-niya-* and *-anniya-* are derived by the suffix *-iya-* from nasal verbs in *-na-* and *-anna-* respectively. However, he assumes that both the verbs in *-na-* and *-anna-* are direct outcomes of Indo-European nasal infix presents in **-nā-/*-nə-* (i.e., **-neh$_2$-/*-nh$_2$-),* and this leads to unconvincing interpretations of Hitt. *parḫanna-, (i)yanna-* and *pitdanna-* (*ibid.*, p. 169—170); for instance, the assumed "reduced grade" **yənā-, yənə-* would yield Hitt. **īnaḫḫ-, *īnn-* (before vowels) /**īn-* (before consonants)[4] instead of the attested *(i)yanna-*.

Thirty years later, Sturtevant reduced the primary verbs in *-anna-* to *(i)yanna-* and *pitdanna-*. Following Forrer, he explains the rest of the verbs in *-anna-* (and *-anniya-* as denominatives, which are derived from verbal nouns in *-atar, -annaš;*[5] Oettinger (1979:494—495) even accepts Forrer's opinion that all the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-* are denominatives in **-ye-/*-yo-*. However, this explanation cannot be reconciled with the fact that the verbs in *-anna-* are inflected in the *ḫi*-conjugation; as Melchert (1984:114—115) rightly objects to Oettinger's interpretation, "all Hittite denominatives in **-ye-/*-yo-* appear in Old Hittite in the *mi-* conjugation".

4.2. Pedersen (1938:122—125) shares Sturtevant's opinion that the Hittite verbs in *-niya-* and *-anniya-* are derivatives in **-ye-/-*yo-* of verbs in *-na-* and *-anna-*, cf. *duwarniya- : duwarna-* as well as *(i)yanniya- : (i)yanna-*.

According to Pedersen, the vowel *-a-*, which appears before *-nn-* in the verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya,* is of different origin, cf. Hitt. *išḫuwanna- (: išḫuwa-), paršiyanna- (: paršiya-),* etc. He considers the Hittite verbs in *-na-* and *-anna-* to be thematic, and compares both types with thematic nasal verbs such as Skt. *iṣaṇa-* 'to impel', *kṛpáṇa-* 'to desire', Lith. *gyvénti* 'to live', the Greek presents in -ανω and -άνω, the Armenian ones in *-anem,* etc. Pedersen accepts Sturtevant's comparison of Hitt. *(i)yanna-* with Lat. *prōdīnunt* and Lith. *einù* 'I go' (cf. fn. 4 and §8), and three years later adds Toch. B 3rd pl. pres. act. *yanem* 'they go' to these forms (1941:141 fn. 1).

Pedersen's merits are evident. The main points of his analyses as well as most of his comparisons are correct. Unfortunately, he assumes that the thematic nasal verbs, adduced above, continue Indo-European verbs, which are formed by the suffix **-no-*. In fact, the evidence of the Indo-European languages for such a verb suffix is uncertain, and the double *-nn-* of the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* (as that of Hitt. *šunna-* 'to fill') is in apparent contradiction with Pedersen's reconstruction of a suffix **-no-*.

4.3. According to Watkins (1969:75—76), the Hittite verbs in *-na-* and *-anna-* are formed with the suffix **-ne/o- (< *-nə-e/o-);* the reconstructed **-nə-* accounts well for the intervocalic double *-nn-* in the Hittite verbs.

Watkins, *loc. cit.*, assumes that the verbs in *-anna-* are derived from Indo-European roots in long vowels and that their formation is identical to that of OBg. *stanetъ* 'stands (up)' and OPruss. *postanai* 'becomes' (: OBg. *stati* 'to stand (up)', OPruss. *postāt* 'to become'<IE *stḗh$_2$*), etc. Thus, he explains Hitt. *(i)yanna-* and Toch. B lst pl. pres. act. *ynem* 'we go', 3rd pl. pres. act. *yanem* as outcomes of IE **yā-ne/o-* (: Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *yáti* 'goes'); similarly, Hitt. *ḫanna-* 'to contend (against), contest' is explained as IE **əō-ne/o-*, and the root **əō-* is seen in Hitt. *hami* 'I believe, regard as true' and Lat. *ōmen* 'omen, sign, augury, prognostication'.

However, the alternating Toch. B *yn-* and *yan-* (cf. Toch. B *ynem* and *yanem*) point to PToch. **yän* (see §8) and this indicates that Watkins' reconstruction **yā-ne/o-* is phonologically impossible. The explanation of Hitt. *ḫanna-* as a causative in *-na-* to Hitt. *ḫa-*, assumed by Kronasser (1966:562) and elaborated by Watkins, *loc. cit.*, is also unacceptable, since he stem of Hitt. lst sg. pres. act. *ḫami,* 2nd sg. pres. act. *ḫaši,* 2nd sg. pret. act. *ḫaiš* etc. is *ḫa(i)-*, see Puhvel (1991:9—10), Rikov (1993:245—248)[6].

4.4. Jasanoff (1979:89 fn. 30) derives the Hittite verbs such as 3rd sg. pres. act. *walhannai,* 3rd pl. pres. act. *walḫanniyanzi* from an ablauting paradigm in **-neh$_2$i-/*-nh$_2$i-*, containing originally "an athematic *i*-element". In 1983, Jasanoff compares the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-* with the Vedic verbs in *-anyá-* such as *iṣaṇyá-* 'to impel', *kṛpaṇyá-* 'to desire', *turaṇyá-* 'to rush' and analyses the latter as closely associated with *tudáti-* presents, cf. Ved. 3rd pl. inj. middle *iṣanta,* 3rd sg. pres. middle *ánu kṛpate* 'longs for', participle *turánt-*, etc. (see Jasanoff 1983:73—74)[7]. He assumes *(ibidem,* p. 75, fn. 35) that the original Indo-European paradigm in 3rd sg. act. **-neh$_2$-y-e(y),* 3rd, pl. act. **-nh$_2$-y-énti* would regularly yield Hittite 3rd singular forms in **-nai* and 3rd plural in **-nnyanzi;* then, lst sg. forms in **-nahhi*

[4] Sturtevant, *loc. cit.*, compares Hitt. *(i)yanna-* with Lat. *prodīnunt, redīnunt, obīnunt* 'they go' and wrongly derives the Latin forms from "the parallel stem **ī-nā-, *īn-;* see §8 and fn. 16.

[5] As Hitt *takšanniya-* 'einebnen', attested by the iterative 3rd sg. pret. *takšannišk*it KBo X 2 II 5 (*: takšatar, -annaš* 'Ebene').

[6] On the etymology of Hitt. *ḫanna-* see Puhvel (1991:83—84).

[7] Cf §15.

would be built on the basis of the 3rd sg. forms in *-*nai*, and the double -*nn*- of the plural forms is generalized throughout the paradigm. The Indo-Iranian verbs in *-*anya*- are explained by thematicization of the original type, and it is assumed that this thematicization is based on the 3rd pl. forms in -*nyánti* (< IE *-*nh*$_2$-*y*-*énti*); see Jasanoff, *loc.cit.*

Melchert (1984:116) points out that there is no convincing evidence for the reconstruction of an ablauting paradigm with 3rd sg. in *-*neh*$_2$*y*-*e(y)*, 3rd pl. in *-*nh*$_2$-*y*-*énti*[8]. He also operates, however, with Jasanoff's "athematic -*i*-element" and assumes "a fixed stem" in *-*nh*$_2$-*i*-. Then, IE *-*ye*-*nh*$_2$*y*-*ey* and *-*ye*-*nh*$_2$*y*-*onti*[9] would give Hitt. *-*(i)yanni, (i)yanniyanzi,* and *-*(i)yanni* is remodelled into *(i)yannai,* as Hitt. *wašti* into *waštai.*

However, Jasanoff's and Melchert's theories are hardly compatible with the attested data. Thus, the isolated Indo-Iranian presents in -*ana*- Ved. *iṣaṇa*- 'to impel', *kṛpáṇa*- 'to desire', Av. *pəšana*- (3rd sg. pres. act. *pəšanaiti* 'struggles') remain unexplained by these theories; cf. already Jasanoff (1983:75 fn. 35). It is clear that neither the ablauting stems in *-*neh*$_2$*i*-/*-*nh*$_2$*i*- nor the "fixed" stems in *-*nh*$_2$*i*- are possible sources of pairs such as Ved. *iṣaṇa*-: *iṣaṇyá*-[10].

Moreover, the Hittite data also offer difficulties. Thus, the *mi*- forms such as 3rd sg. pres. act. *iyanniyazzi, iyannizi* 'goes, marches', 3rd sg. pret. act. *iyanniyat* 'went, marched', *paršiyannit* 'broke', etc. cannot be derived from Indo-European forms in *-*neh*$_2$*i*- or *-*nh*$_2$*i*- (3rd sg. pres. act. in *-*neh*$_2$*y*-*ey* or *-*nh*$_2$*y*-*ey*, etc.), the Hittite outcomes of which would follow the *ḫi*-conjugation. Similarly, from the point of view of the historical phonology, it is impossible to derive the Hittite 3rd pl. present active forms *išhuwan[n]anzi* 'they throw', *paršiyannanzi* 'they break' from Indo-European preforms in *-*nh*$_2$*yenti* or *-*nh*$_2$*yonti.*

4.5. According to Oettinger (1992:133—154), the Vedic verbs in -*anyá*- and the Hittite in -*anna*-/-*anniya*- are formed by the suffix *-*ye*-/*-*yo*- from Indo-European verb roots, extended by *-*en*-. The original meaning of these verb stems in *-*en*-, formed as a rule by zero-grade radical vocalism, would be more intensive than that of the bare roots; this intensive meaning is attested by verbs such as Ved. *turaṇyá*- 'vorauseilen' (: *tárati* 'überwindet, durchquert', *prá... tirati* 'vorwärts hindurchbringt, vollbringt') and Hitt. *(i)yannai* 'marches' (: *iya*- 'to go'). Oettinger, *ibid.* 148—150, assumes that Ved. *kṣaṇa*- '(Wolle) kämmen, krempeln' and Gk. ξαίνω '(Wolle) krempeln; zerkratzen, zerfetzen' continue IE **ks-en*- and **ks-n̥-ye/o*- respectively (thus already Hoffmann 1985:175); similarly, Gk. ὑφαίνω and Alb. *venj* 'I weave' would reflect IE **ub^h-n̥-ye/o*-. Then, Ved. -*anyá*- comes from IE *-*en-ye/o*-,[11] the Greek presents such as ξαίνω and ὑφαίνω continue Indo-European preforms in *-*n̥-ye/o*-, whereas Hitt. -*anniya*- can represent either *-*en-ye/o*- or *-*n̥-ye/o*-.

However, Oettinger's explanation cannot account for the double -*nn*- of the Hittite verbs in -*anna*- and -*anniya*-. This explanation not only requires the uncertain premise that the verbs in *-*anyé*- analogically retracted their accent to *-*ánye*- after *mema*-/*memiya*- 'to speak', etc. (Oettinger, *ibid.*, p. 148); as Melchert (1994:79, 122—123) points out, there are counter-examples which indicate that the double -*nn*- of Hitt. -*anna*- and -*anniya*- cannot result from the preceding accent.

Similarly, there is no reason to accept Oettinger's (1992:151—152) hypothesis that the Hittite and Luwian *ḫi*-forms in -*anna*- can be created along the lines of reduplicated intensives such as Hitt. *lilḫuwa*- 'to pour out' and Cun. Luw. *mammalḫu*- 'to break', which follow the *ḫi*-conjugation; in fact, the intensive meaning would be conditioned by the verb stems, not

[8] Cf. also Oettinger's (1992:146—147) objections to Jasanoff's theory.

[9] Yet the initial **h$_1$*- is beyond doubt.

[10] Cf. Rikov (1986—1987:§10, p. 27).

[11] Oettinger's theory is similar to that of Kuiper (1934:45—46), who derives the Indo-Iranian verbs in -*ána*- from Indo-European verbs in *-*en*- and explains the presents in *-*anyá*- as derivatives in *-*ye/o*-; cf. also Narten (1982:144) and Hoffmann, *loc. cit.* About Van Windekens' explanation of Toch. B *ynem, yanem* see below, §8.

by the type of inflection. Moreover, forms such as Hitt. *išhuwan[n]anzi* and *paršiyannanzi,* adduced above, are left unexplained.

3. The formation of the Anatolian verbs in -*anna*- and -*anniya*-

5. I have assumed elsewhere (1986—1987:§10) that the Hittite verbs in -*anna*- can be derived from Indo-European nasal presents in *-*enh*$_2$-;[12] thus, Hitt. *(i)yannai* can be explained as thematization of **yanni,* which would go back to IE **h$_1$ yenh$_2$-ey*. I have also mentioned that pairs such as *(i)yanna*- : *(i)yanniya*- "correspond in their formation to the Vedic ones *iṣaṇa*- : *iṣaṇyá*-, *kṛpáṇa*- : *kṛpaṇyá*-", and that the distribution of the Hittite verbs in -*anna*- and -*anniya*- is clear: whereas the verbs in -*anna*- are inflected in the *ḫi*-conjugation, the verbs in -*anniya*- follow the *mi*-one; cf. (*ḫi*- vs. *mi*-forms) Hitt. 1st sg. pres. act. *iyannaḫḫe,* 3rd sg. pres. act. *iyannai,* 3rd sg. pret. act. *iyanneš* and *iyanniš* vs. 3rd sg. pres. act. *iyanniyazzi* and *iyannizi,* 1st sg. pret. act. *iyanniyanun,* 3rd sg. pret. act. *iyanniyat.* Similarly, we have Hitt. *paršiyannaḫḫi, paršiyannai, paršiyannanzi* vs. *paršiyannianzi, paršiyannit,* etc.

This distribution of the Hittite verbs in -*anna*- and -*anniya*- suggests that the verbs in -*anniya*- can be explained as deverbatives in *-*ye*-/*-*yo*-, as it was already assumed by Sturtevant (1931:168) and Pedersen (1938:123). It is well known that the Hittite deverbatives in *-*ye*-/*-*yo*-, which can be formed either from *mi*- or from *ḫi*-verbs, follow the *mi*- conjugation[13]; cf. the following instances of -*ye*-/-*ya*-verbs vs. underlying radical *ḫi*-verbs:

arriya- 'to wash' (3rd sg. pres. act. *arriyezzi, arriyazzi*) : *arr(a)*- 'id.'(3rd sg. pres. act. *arri, arrai*);

išparriya- 'to spread, strew, scatter' (3rd sg. pres. act. *išparrizzi, išparriyazzi*) : *išpar(ra)*- 'id.' (lst sg. pres. act. *išparḫi,* lst sg. pret. act. *išparraḫḫun);*

malliya- 'to grind, mill' (3rd sg. pres. act. *mallizzi, malliyazzi*) : *malla*- 'id.' (3rd sg. pres. act. *malli, mallai),* etc.

There is also a group of verbs in -*niya*- which are derived from nasal verbs in -*na*-:[14]

Hitt *šanni*- 'to keep secret, conceal, hide' (3rd sg. pret. act. *šanništa*) : *šanna*- 'id.' (lst sg. pres. act. *šannaḫḫi,* 2nd sg. pres. act. *šannatti,* 3rd sg. pres. act. *šannai*);

Hitt. *šunniya*- 'to fill' (3rd sg. pres. act. *šunniyazzi,* 3rd pl. pres. act. *šunniyanzi,* 3rd sg. impv. act. *šunniddu*) : *šunna*- 'id.' (lst sg. pres. act. *šunnaḫḫi,* 3rd sg. pres. act. *šunnai);*

Hitt. *tarni*- 'to let go, allow' (3rd sg. pret. act. *tarništa,* 2nd sg. impv. act. *tarni*) : *tarna*- 'id.'(lst sg. pres. act. *tarnaḫḫe, tarnaḫḫi,* 2nd sg. pres. act. *tarnatti,* 3rd sg. pres. act. *tarnai*);

Hitt *duwarniya*- 'to break' (3rd sg. pres. act. *duwarnizi, tuwarnizzi, duwarniyazzi,* lst sg. pret. act. *duwarninun,* 3rd sg. pret. act. *duwarnit*) : *duwarna*- 'id.' (lst sg. pres. act. *duwarnaḫḫi,* 2nd sg. pres. act. *duwarnatti,* 3rd sg. pres. act. *duwarnai, tuwarnai).*

6. The other Anatolian languages attest verbs, the formation of which is identical to that of the Hittite verbs in -*anna*-; however, there are no counterparts of the Hittite verbs in -*anniya*-.

As we have seen above (§2.1), the isolated Palaic *iyannai* exactly corresponds to Hitt. *iyannai.*

It is also clear that the formation of Cun. Luw. *uppanna*- 'to bring' and *mammanna*- 'to look upon, regard, accept', Hier. Luw. LITUUS. LITUUS-*nai* 'he shall behold' is identical to that of the Hittite verbs in -*anna*-.

Lyd. 3rd sg. pres. *sawēnt* 'sees, experiences' and *wcbaqēnt* 'tramples upon(?)', which reflect *-*ÝnnVti* (see Melchert 1992:41), represent the same formation. In fact, the Hittite verbs in -*anniye/a*- point to Proto-Anatolian preforms in *-*annye/a*-, which would result in Lydian 3rd sg. present forms in *-*ēnit* instead of the attested forms in -*ēnt.* Since Melchert's hypothesis that the Hittite verbs in -*anna*- and -*anniya*- are developed from Indo-European

[12] Cf. also Hajnal (1996:286—288) and see below, §20.

[13] Cf. Kronasser (1966:507—508).

[14] Cf. Sturtevant (1931:168), Kronasser (1966:561ff.), Rikov (1996:76) w. refs.

verbs in *-*nh*$_2$*i*- is not cogent (see § 4.4), his assumption that Lyd. -*ēnt* results from *-*énniti* (Melchert 1992:40—41) is unacceptable. If so, it is more likely to explain the formation of the Lydian 3rd sg. presents in -*ēnt* as corresponding to that of the Hittite, Palaic and Luwian verbs in -*anna*-. The transfer of the old *ḫi*-forms into the *mi*-conjugation is regular in Lydian.

7. However, if the Anatolian verbs in *-*ánna*- (and -*annye/a*-) and the Indo-Iranian in *-*ána*- (and *-*anyá*-) are developed from Indo-European nasal infix presents, the oldest representatives of this present class can be derived from disyllabic roots in *-*h*$_1$-, *-*h*$_2$- and *-*h*$_3$-; in theory, this implies that not only the assumed *enh*$_2$- presents, but also *enh*$_1$- and *enh*$_3$- presents would exist in Indo-European.

In fact, most of the attested Anatolian (and Indo-Iranian)[15] verbs of this type can hardly be derived from Indo-European nasal infix presents in *-*enh*$_x$-.

It is clear that Hitt. *ḫuittiyanna-/ḫuittiyanniya-, paršanniya-, paršiyanna-/paršiyanniya-, šippandanna-, tuhšanna-*, etc. are formed by suffixation; these verbs are typologically comparable to Hitt. *ḫarna-* 'to stir, churn, ferment, agitate', *ḫurna-* 'to hunt', Skt. *kuṣṇáti* 'tears', Lat. *sinō* 'I leave' and Skt. *dhunóti* 'shakes', etc., the suffixes of which are abstracted from *-*neh*$_x$- and *-*new*-nasal infix presents respectively. Cun. Luw. *uppanna-* and *mammanna-* represent similar innovations.

Such an explanation is possible in the cases of Hitt. *walḫanna-/walḫanniya-* and *iškarranniya-*. In spite of Oettinger's (1992:144) attractive comparison of Hitt. *parḫanna-* with Ved. *bhuraṇyá-* 'sich heftig bewegen, klappern', the structure of these verbs indicates that we are dealing rather with parallel innovations than with a shared archaism. It is also attractive to explain these verbs as remodelled nasal infix presents in *-*enh*$_x$- as, for instance, the remodelled *-*neh*$_2$- infix present Skt. *krīṇā́ti* 'buys', but this hypothesis is beyond proof.

In fact, Hitt. *(i)yanna-* and Pal. *iyanna-* are the only Anatolian verbs in *-*ánna*-, which are undoubtedly inherited from Indo-European, cf. Rikov (1986—1987:§10).

4. Hittite *(i)yanna-*, Tocharian B *yaneṃ* and the origin of the Hittite verbs in -*anna*-

8. An archaic nasal present in *-*enh*$_x$- is evidently continued by Hitt. *(i)yanna* 'to go, march' and the corresponding Palaic *iyanna-* 'id.'. As we have seen above (§4.2), Pedersen (1941:160 fn.1) first compares Hitt. *(i)yanna-* with Toch. B 3rd pl. pres. act. *yaneṃ* 'they go'; this implies that the Hittite, Palaic and Tocharian B verbs are of Indo-European inheritance.

However, Sturtevant's and Pedersen's comparison of these verbs with Lat. *prodīnunt, redīnunt, obīnunt* 'they go' and Lith. *einù* 'I go' (cf. §4.1—2) is inexact. Whereas the Latin 3rd plural forms as well as Lith. *einù* are formed with full grade of the root (cf. Leumann 1977:544 w. refs.)[16], the Anatolian and Tocharian B verbs represent zero grade radical vocalism.

The Tocharian B forms attest the alternation *a* : ø, cf. 3rd pl. pres. act. *yaneṃ* vs. 1st pl. pres. act. *ynem*, middle participle *ynemane*, adjective *ynamo* 'gehend, laufend' and the agent noun *ynuca* 'gehend'; this indicates that Watkins'reconstruction of a nasal present **yā-nə-e/o-* is phonetically impossible (see §4.3). In fact, Van Windekens (1971:456) rightly derives the *-a-* of *yaneṃ* from accented *-*ä-* (<*-*é-*) and explains forms such as *ynemane*, etc. by the loss of non-accented *-*ä-* (<*-*e-*) in open syllables (see also Van Windekens 1976:592; 1982:81). However, he ignores the connection of the Tocharian B present with Hitt. *(i)yanna-* and unconvincingly reconstructs an Indo-European preform **eyen-*; then he assumes that IE **éyen-* would yield Lith. *einù*, Lat. *-īnunt* (in *prōdīnunt, redīnunt, obīnunt*), and that IE **eyén-* would change into Toch. B *yän-*. It is clear that the reconstruction of an Indo-European preform **eyen-*, with its full grades of both the root and the suffix, is ungrounded; the interchange of the accent in this preform is also left unexplained. Moreover, there is no reason to separate Toch. B *yän-* from Hitt. *(i)yanna-* and Pal. *iyanna-*, the double *-nn-* of which must continue Indo-European intervocalic *-*nh*$_x$-. If so, the loss of the non-accented *-ä-* (< IE *-*e-*) in Toch. B *ynem, ynemane, yname, ynuca* would be posterior to the loss of the postconsonantal laryngeal; this is confirmed by Toch. A opt. middle *yrāṣimār (yär-* 'to bathe') which is related to Hitt. *arr-* 'to wash' (with *-rr-* < IE *-*rh*$_x$-).

It is now clear that Hitt. *(i)yanna-*, Pal. *iyanna-* and Toch. B *yän-* point to an Indo-European nasal present, which would be formed rather by the infix *-*n-* from the extended IE **h*$_1$*yeh*$_2$- (> Skt. *yáti* 'goes', Av. *yāiti* 'id.', Toch. A *yā-* 'to go, travel', B *iyā-* 'id.', Lith. *jóti, jóju* 'to ride') than by suffixation from the Indo-European root present 3rd sg. act. **h*$_1$*ey-ti*, 3rd pl. act. **h*$_1$*y-enti* (> Skt. *éti* 'goes', 3rd pl. *yánti*, Av. *aē(i)ṯī* 'goes', 3rd pl. *yeiṇtī*, Gk. εἶσι, Doric εἶτι 'goes', OLith. *eĩti* 'id.', etc.). Thus, IE **h*$_1$*yeh*$_2$- underlyes an Indo-European nasal infix present 3rd sg. pres. act. **h*$_1$*yenh*$_2$*-ey* (> Proto-Anatolian **yenhey* > **yanni*, hence the thematicized Hitt. *(i)yannai*, Pal. *iyannai*), 3rd pl. pres. act. **h*$_1$*yenh*$_2$*-nti* (cf. Toch. B *yaneṃ* < IE **h*$_1$*yenh*$_2$*-ont*).[17]

9. Both the Indo-European nasal infix present **h*$_1$*yeh*$_2$- and the underlying **h*$_1$*yeh*$_2$- are attested in Tocharian, cf. Toch. B *yän-* (cf. *ynem, yaneṃ*, etc.) and Toch. A *yā-* (cf. past participle *yāyo*), B *iyā-* (cf. 3rd pl. pres. act. *iyaṃ*)[18] respectively.

In contrast, reflexes of IE **h*$_1$*yeh*$_2$- are lacking in Anatolian, where the nasal infix verbs Hitt. *(i)yanna-*, Pal. *iyanna-* co-existed alongside with Hittite and Luwian residuals of the active paradigm of IE **h*$_1$*ey-*, and the Hittite thematic middle *iya-*.

Whereas the active paradigm of the Indo-European root present **h*$_1$*ey-ti, *h*$_1$*y-enti* is well attested in Luwian, its replacement by the forms of the compound *pa(i)-* 'to go' (e. g. Hitt. 3rd sg. *paizzi*) represents a remarkable Hittite innovation. Yet relic active forms of IE **h*$_1$*ey-ti, *h*$_1$*y-enti* are also retained in Hittite.[19]

Thus, Cun. Luw. 3rd sg pres. act. *i-ti* 'goes' comes from IE **h*$_1$*ey-ti*, which is continued by Skt. *éti* 'goes', etc. s well (cf. §8); see Oettinger (1979:348), Puhvel (1984:329, 335).

The Old Hittite 3rd pl pres. act. *yanzi*, which occurs in KUB XXII 2 Vs. 7 (DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} *a[pp]a* ^{URU}*Neša imzi* "the sons go back to Nesa", see Oettinger 1979:349 fn. 183, Puhvel 1984:325), corresponds to Skt. *yánti* 'they go', Av. *yeiṇtī* id.' (< IE **h*$_1$*y-enti*).[20]

Hitt. 2nd sg impv. act. *i-it* and Cun. Luw. 3rd sg. impv. *i-du* continue IE **h*$_1$*i-d*^{h}*i* (> Skt. *ihí* 'go', Av. *idī* id.', OPers. *idiy* 'id.', Gk ἴθι 'id')[21] and IE **h*$_1$*ey-tu* (> Skt. *étu*)[22] respectively.

According to Puhvel (1984:329), the Hittite 2nd pl. impv. act. *i-it-te-en* (also *i-it-tin, it-ti-in*) can be explained as an inner-Hittite innovation. Yet the opinion that Hitt. *itten* can represent a reshaped archaic form, comparable with Skt. *itá* and Gk. Ἦτε (cf. e. g. Sturtevant and Hahn 1951:37; Georgiev 1971:428), can be refined in view of the Vedic 2nd pl. impv. act. *itana* (RV.); both Hitt. *itten* and Ved. *itana* can be derived from IE **h*$_1$*i-tene*.[23]

The 3rd pl. imperatives Cun. Luw. *i-ya-an-du* and Hier. Luw. *yatu* correspond to Skt. 3rd pl. impv. act. *yántu* and Av. *yantu* (< IE **h*$_1$*y-entu*), cf. Georgiev, *loc. cit.*, Puhvel, *loc. cit.*

The participles Hitt. *iyant-* and Cun. Luw. *iyant-* can also be inherited from Indo-European, cf. Skt. *yant-*, Av. *yaṇt-* and (with thematic vowel *-*o-*) Gk. ἰών; cf. Georgiev, *loc. cit.*, Puhvel, *loc. cit.*[24]

[15] See §§12—15.

[16] In fact, the full grade radical vocalism of these nasal verbs can be due to independent remodellings of the original type.

[17] On the Tocharian B 3rd pl. primary ending *-ṃ* see Van Windekens (1982:270—271).

[18] Van Windekens (1971:457; 1976:589) compares Toch. A *yā-*, B *iyā-* with Skt. *yā́ti*, etc., but unconvincingly adds Hitt. *iya-* 'to go' to these forms; cf. fn. 26.

[19] See Puhvel (1984:329).

[20] Cf. Puhvel's *(loc. cit.)* comparison of Hitt. *yanzi* with Skt. *yánti*. See also Melchert (1984:20).

[21] See Sturtevant and Hahn (1951:37), Kronasser (1956:61; 1966:461), Georgiev (1971:428), Oettinger (1979:348), w. refs., Puhvel (1984:329), etc.

[22] See Georgiev (1971:428).

[23] On the explanation of the Hittite 2nd pl. secondary ending *-(t)ten* as **-tene* see Eichner (1975:79).

[24] The attempts at explanation of Hitt. *eḫu* 'come!', which is a suppletive 2nd sg. imperative form in the paradigm of Hitt. *uwa-/uwi-* 'to come', are uncertain; cf. Puhvel's (1984:251—252) discussion of this Hittite imperative.

In Hittite the middle of the verb 'to go' is expressed by the thematic *iya-* 'to go, come, walk, proceed, march', cf. pres. 1st sg. *iyaḫḫa, iyaḫḫari,* 2nd sg. *iyattati,* 3rd sg. *iyatta,*[25] *iyattari,* 3rd pl. *iyanta, iyantari,* etc.; see Neu (1968a:62—67)[26]. However, although Tocharian also attests a thematicized present A *yä-*, B *ya-* (cf. pres. act. 1st sg. A *yäm,* B *yam,* 2nd sg. A *yät,* B *yat,* 3rd sg. *yäṣ,* B *yaṃ,* etc. and see Van Windekens 1976:590), there is no reason for assuming an Indo-European thematic present $*h_1y$-*e/o-*. In fact, Hitt. *iya-* and Toch. A *yä-*, B *ya-* would represent independent innovations.[27]

10. In fact, Hitt. *(i)yanna-* and Pal. *iyanna-* represent the only Anatolian verb in **-ánna-* which, in view of Toch. B *yän-,* continues an Indo-European nasal infix present in $*$-*enh*$_x$-*;* in particular, IE $*h_1yenh_2$- accounts well for both Anatolian and Tocharian forms.

I have also compared the Hittite hapax 2nd pl. impv. middle *šuwandumat* (KBo X 45 IV 1 EGIR *-an šu-wa-an-du-ma-at* 'stoßt von euch!'; Neu 1968:160) with Av. *huuąnmahi* 'wir suchen zu verschaffen'. However, the evidence of these two verb forms for the existence of an Indo-European nasal infix present $*swenh_1$- is not conclusive; the *-n-* of Hitt. *šuwandumat* can be of secondary origin (see Neu, *loc. cit.,* Oettinger 1979:297 fn. 76 and Melchert 1994:171—172 w. refs.), and Av. *huuąnmahi* is also ambiguous.[28]

As it was mentioned above (§7), Hitt, *parḫanna-* and Ved. *bhuraṇyá-* can be parallel and independent innovations, and the rest of the Anatolian verbs in **-anna-* and **-annye/a-* cannot continue old nasal infix presents.

11. Since reflexes of IE $*h_1yeh_2$- (> Skt. *yáti,* Toch. A *yā-*, B *iyā-*, etc.) are lacking in Anatolian, the Anatolian nasal infix verb **yanna-* (< $*h_1yenh_2$-*e/o-*) can be reinterpreted at a very early date as a nasal suffixed verb, which is formed either (1) from PAnat. **i-* (< IE $*h_1i$-, cf. Hitt. *yanzi, itten,* etc.) by suffixation of **-anna-* or (2) from the thematicized **ya-* (> Hitt. *iyatta, iyanta,* etc.) by suffixation of **-nna-*.

On the basis of the assumed reinterpretation of PAnat. **yanna-* as **y-anna-* (: PAnat. **i-*/**y-*) a new suffix **-anna-* can be abstracted. It is clear that Hitt. *šipandanna-* (: *išpant-*, *šip(p)ant-*), *parḫanna-* (: *parḫ-*), *tuḫšanna-* (: *tuḫš-*) and *walḫanna-* (: *walḫ-*) can be formed with this new suffix, which would account for the formation of Hitt. *ḫattanna-* (: *ḫatt-*, *ḫatta-*) and *išḫuwanna-* (: *išḫuwa-*), *ḫuittiyanna-* (: *ḫuittiya-*), *paršiyanna-* (: *paršiya-*), *pitdanna-* (: *pitda(i)-*), Cun. Luw. *uppanna-* (: *uppa-*) as well; the isolated Hittite *šallanna-* would also be added to these verbs. The formation of the suffixed **anna-* verbs can be dated to the period of Proto-Anatolian, whereas the verbs in **-ann-ye/a-* can be explained as later derivatives of those in **-ánna-;* cf. Hitt. *ḫuittiyanniya-* (: *ḫuittiyanna-*), *paršiyanniya-* (: *paršiyanna-*), *walḫanniya-* (: *walḫanna-*).[29]

The second possibility, mentioned above, is less probable. In fact, it cannot account for the verbs in **-anna-*/**-ann-ye/a-*, derived from athematics (e. g. Hitt. *walḫanna-*/*walḫanniya- : walḫ-*). Moreover, there is no sound reason for assuming a Proto-Anatolian thematic middle **ya-;* verbs, corresponding to Hitt. *iya-*, are lacking in the other Anatolian languages, and this suggests that this thematic middle is an inner-Hittite innovation (cf. fn. 27).

5. Vedic *iṣaṇa-, kṛpáṇa- kṣaṇa-* and the presents in *-anyá-*

12. Not only Hittite-Luwian, where we have the verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-*, but also Indo-Iranian attests an independent verb class, namely the presents in *-anyá-*, which can be developed from Indo-European nasal infix presents in $*$-*enh*$_x$-.

This verb class is unproductive in Vedic. Nearly a dozen presents in *-anyá-* occur in Rigveda, and a few lexical residuals are preserved in the later language;[30] as Renou (1936:34) points out, this indicates that we are dealing with an archaic verb type.

Most of the Vedic presents in *-anyá-* are formed with zero grade radical vocalism, cf. *iṣaṇyá-* intr. 'to hurry, hasten', trans. 'to strive for', *kṛpaṇyá-*]to be eager', *turaṇyá-* 'vorauseilen', *bhuraṇyá-* 'eilen; wandern, wandeln', *riṣanyá-* 'to commit faults', 'sich falsch benehmen', *ruvanya-* 'to roar', *huvanyá-* 'to call', *pṛtaṇyá-* 'to fight, be hostile'.

Ved. *saraṇyá-* 'to hurry, hasten' is formed with full grade of the root; according to Oettinger (1992:139), however, it can stand instead of **sranyá-*.

The zero-grade *dhiṣanyá-* 'to pay attention' and the full-grade *damanya-* 'to overpower' can also be added to this list; Jasanoff (1983:74) considers these two *anyá*-presents to be analogical creations.

Avestan attests the 3rd sg. pres. act. *pərəsaniieiti* 'asks' Yt. 8,15; 17,19, which suggests that the formation of the *anyá*-presents can be dated at least to the period of Indo-Iranian. Similarly, the middle participle *zaranimna-* Yt. 10,27 (: *zar-* 'to anger') can also be interpreted as a representative of this verb class, see Narten (1982:142—144).

According to Oettinger (1992:134—138), the use of Ved. *iṣaṇyá-, turaṇyá-, bhuraṇyá-* and *riṣaṇyá-* as duratives and intensives indicates that the original value of this present class is intensive.

13. The explanation of the Vedic presents in *-anyá-* as denominatives (cf. Macdonell 1910:397—398; Renou 1936:32—39) is rejected by Jasanoff (1983:73), who mentions that "a true denominative to *turáṇa-* 'rushing forward' (RV. 1. 121.5) would have had the form **turaṇăyati* rather than *turaṇyáti; n*-stems of the type **turáṇ-*, while formally a more appropriate source of presents in *-anyá-*, are without any actual basis in the Vedic corpus".

There are three Vedic verbs in *-ána-*, which present a conclusive argument against the explanation of the *anyá*-presents as denominatives.

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[25] Cf. also Hitt. 3rd sg. pres. middle *yatta* KUB XXXVI 106 Vs. 2 and see Neu (1968 62, 65 fn 4).

[26] The comparison of Hitt. *iya-* with Skt. *yáti* 'goes' (< IE $*h_1yeh_2$-*ti*), etc. is unacceptable, see Puhvel (1984:334—335), who also mentions that the pair Cun. Luw. *iti:* Hitt. thematicized *iyatta* is "reminiscent of suple tive active-middle combinations such as Gk. εἶσι: ἔρχεται, οἴχεται or Lat. *it: gradiur...*" (*ibid.*, p 335)

[27] The sources of these innovations are apparently different.

Ever since Brugmann (1913:113—116, 124ff.), it is well known that the reinterpretation of the 3rd plural athematic forms *CC-ent(i)* as *CCe-nt(i)* is the most frequent source for the creation of *tud*-presents and zero grade thematic aorists in different branches of the Indo-European language family. In view of the well attested active inflection of Toch. A *yä-*, B *ya-*, there is no sound reason for assuming an underlying 3rd sg. middle $*h_1y$-*o;* in fact, the thematicized Toch. A *yä-*, B *ya-* can convincingly be explained as a result of the reinterpretation of the 3rd pl. h_1y-*ent(i)* as $*h_1ye$-*nt(i).* — The Hittite thematic middle *iya-* has no corresponding forms in the other Anatolian languages; it can be an inner-Hittite innovation. As Neu (1968b:86—87) points out, the reanalysis of the Hittite 3rd pl. pres. middle *iyanta* as *iya-nta* is a possible source of the thematic *iyaḫḫari, iyattati,* etc.

There are also two other explanations, which seem less probable.

According to Patrick Hollifield (apud Watkins 1971:80—81 and Cowgill 1975:564), the Hittite thematic middle *iya-* is formed on the basis of an Indo-European 3rd sg. middle **ey-o,* renewed as **ey-oto* (i.e., $*h_1ey$-*o,* h_1ey *oto*). However, IE $*h_1ey$-*oto* would yield Hitt. **atta* instead of the attested *iyatta,* cf. Melchert (1984:15). In fact, Hitt. *iyatta* would represent original zero grade of the root; this implies a preform $*h_1y$-*oto,* which is based on a 3rd sg. middle $*h_1y$-*o.* If so, the development, presented by this Hittite verb would be parallel to that of Ved. 3rd sg. inj middle *īśata (mā... īśata* 'er soll nicht Macht haben'): **īśa* (cf. the augmented *aiśa*), hence *īśate,* etc.; cf. Debrunner (1949:130—135) and Watkins (1969:98). — On the other hand, if the Tocharian verb A *yä-*, B *ya-* is also created on the basis of the 3rd sg. middle $*h_1y$-*o,* its formation would be parallel to that of the Vedic "active" *ādа-* (aorist 1st sg. *ādam,* 2nd sg. *ādas,* 3rd sg. *ādat,* 1st pl. *ādāma)* 'to take' which, as Wackernagel (1926:14—15) pointed out, is based on *ādat* < **āda+-t* (where **da* continues IE 3rd sg. middle $*dh_3$-*o*); cf. Watkins (1969:199). This would account for the active forms of the Tocharian verb.

[28] On Av. *friiąnmahī* and *huuąnmahi* see below, fn. 34.

[29] Similarly, Hitt. *ḫallanniya-, iškarranniya-, paršiyanniya-* presuppose underlying verbs in **-anna-*. As we have seen above (§6), the Hittite verbs in *-anniya-* have no counterparts in the other Anatolian languages; this suggests that the verbs in *-anniya-* may represent an inner-Hittite innovation.

[30] On the data see Keller (1906:196—198), Renou (1936:32—39), Narten (1982:142—143), Jasanoff (1983:73—74), Oettinger (1992:134—139); on the semantics of the verbs in *-anyá-* see Oettinger, *loc. cit.*

Thus, besides the nasal infix present *iṣṇāti* 'sets in motion, swings' (cf. the 2nd sg. pres. act. *iṣṇási* RV., etc.) and the *anyá*-present *iṣaṇyáti,* there is also the verb in *-ána- iṣaṇa-* which is attested by 2nd sg. inj. act. *iṣaṇas* RV. IV 16,9; IV 22, 10, 3rd sg. inj. act. *iṣaṇat* RV. IV 17, 14 and 3rd pl. inj. middle *iṣaṇanta* RV I 134,5; IV 23,9.

kr̥páṇa- 'to lament, long for' is attested by the 3rd pl. inj. middle *kr̥páṇanta* RV. X 74,3 and occurs alongside with *kr̥paṇyáti* RV. VIII 39,4.

As Hoffmann (1985:171—174) points out, the augmented 3rd plural active *vyàkṣaṇan,* which occurs in AVP XV 5,5 ĀpMP II 2,3 and KāṭhGS XLI 5 *revátīs tvā vyàkṣaṇan* "die Revatī-Sterne krempelten dich", can represent a present stem *kṣaṇa-* (or *kṣaṇ-).* There is no doubt that the formation of *kṣaṇa-* is identical to that of *iṣaṇa-* and *kr̥paṇa-.*

Avestan attests the 1st pl. opt. act. *zaranaēmā* 'may we anger' Y. 28,9, the interpretation of which is uncertain; if it represents (*zran-),* it can also be explained as a verb in *-ana-.* If so, Av. *zaranaēmā* relates to *zaranimna* as Ved. *iṣaṇa-* to *iṣaṇyá-* (cf. Narten 1982:143).

Since denominatives in **-e-/-o-* are lacking in Indo-Iranian, the verbs in *-ána-* can be explained as primary verbs.

Narten (1982:144), who correctly considers the presents in *-anyá-* to be primary verbs, assumes that the verb forms in *-ána-* can analogically be created as aorists to these presens; thus, all the forms of *iṣaṇa-* and *kr̥páṇa-* are attested with secondary endings (cf. now *vyàkṣaṇan!*), the 2nd sg. inj. act. *iṣaṇas* is used hortatively, and the 3rd sg. act. *iṣaṇat,* 3rd pl. middle *iṣaṇanta, kr̥páṇanta* are injunctives in general circumstances.

However, the secondary use of original inperfects as aorists is well known, cf. for instance the aorist value of the imperfects of the Greek presents in -ανω (e. g. ἤλδανε) and see Kuiper (1934:72); as Kuryłowicz (1964:104) points out, the imperfects, the presents of which are ousted by other present formations, are transferred into the aorist system. Then, the attested forms in *-ána-* can be interpreted as original imperfects of old nasal presents; cf. also Hoffmann (1985:171—174), who interprets Ved. *kṣaṇa-* as a present stem.

The comparison of the Vedic verbs in *-ána-* with the Hittite-Luwian in *-anna-* and, consequently, with the Tocharian B present *ynem, yanem* (corresponding to Hitt. *(i)yanna-,* pal. *iyanna-)* is confirmed by the place of the accent in *kr̥páṇanta;* this implies that Ved. *iṣaṇa-, kr̥páṇá-* and *kṣaṇa-* represent rather preforms in **-énh$_x$-e/o-* (cf. §§5ff.) than in **-n̥h$_x$-é/ó-*.[31]

We have also seen above (§5) that the pairs Ved. *iṣaṇa- : iṣaṇyá-* and *kr̥páṇa- : kr̥paṇyá-* are parallel to pairs such as Hitt. *(i)yanna- : (i)yanniya-,* etc.; this implies that the Vedic presents in *-anyá-* are, as the Hittite verbs in *-anniya-,* deverbatives in **ye/o-*.-[32] Similar **ye/o-* derivatives of other types of nasal presents are well attested in the Indo-European languages, cf. Gk. ὀλισθαίνω 'I slip' (: ὀλισθάνω 'id.'), etc.

14. Most of the Vedic presents in *-anyá-* can be interpreted as derivatives of nasal suffixed verbs in *-ána-;* thus, the situation in Indo-Iranian is similar to that in Anatolian, where the vast majority of the verbs in *-anna-* and their Hittite derivatives in *-anniya-* are evidently formed by suffixation.

In fact, two of the residual Vedic verbs in *-ána-,* namely *kṣaṇa-* and *iṣaṇa-* (from which *iṣaṇyá-* is derived), are the only possible representatives of archaic nasal infix presents in **enh$_x$(-e/o)-.*

14.1. According to Persson 1912:356—358), Lat. *sentus* 'rough, rugged, uneven' (Ter. 236, Verg. Aen. 6,462) and *sentis* 'any thorny bush or shrub, a briar or bramble' (Plautus, etc.) are related

[31] In view of the double *-nn* of the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and *-anniya-,* there is no reason for assuming underlying Indo-European verbs in **-no-* (see §4.1) or **-en-* (see §4.5). Similarly, Narten's (1982:144) opinion that the Indo-Iranian presents in **-anyá-* can reflect preforms in **-n̥-ya-* or **-an-ya-* is also unacceptable.

[32] Jasanoff's theory as well as Melchert's modification of this theory cannot account for both Ved. *iṣaṇa-, kr̥páṇa-, kṣaṇa-* and Hitt. *paršiyannanzi,* see §4.4.

to Gk. ξαίνω 'I scratch, comb, esp. of wool, card'. Persson (1912:356) derives Gk. ξαίνω from IE **ksn̥yō* and assumes that Lat. *sentis* comes either from IE **ksenti-* or from IE **ksn̥ti-*.[33]

Hoffmann (1985:174—177) identifies the Vedic verb *vi-kṣaṇa-* '(Wolle) krempeln' (attested by the augmented *vyàkṣaṇan* AVP. ĀpM. KāṭhGS.) and connects it with Gk. ξαίνω. He accepts Persson's explanation of this Greek verb as **ksn̥yō* and compares its formation with that of the Vedic presents in *-anyá-* (as if from **-n̥ye/o-);* then, he derives Ved. *kṣaṇa-* from IE **ksene-.* This implies the reconstruction of an Indo-European primary verb **ks-en-,* where **ks-* is the zero grade of IE **kes-* (cf. OBg. *česati* 'to comb, stripe', Hitt. *kišzi, kišaizzi* 'combs') and **-en-* is explained as a 'Wurzelerweiterung' (cf. Hoffmann, ibid., p. 175).

It is clear, however, that the formation of Ved. *kṣaṇa-* is identical to that of the isolated Ved. *iṣaṇa-* and *kr̥páṇa-* (cf. §13). We have also seen that the double *-nn-* of the corresponding Hittite formation in *-anna-* points to IE **-nh$_x$-;* then, there is no reason to derive the Vedic verbs in *-ána-* and *-anyá-* from preforms in **-en-* and **-n̥ye/o-* (or **-enye/o-*) respectively.[34]

It is significant in this respect that Klingenschmitt (apud Hoffmann 1985:177 fn. 26) explains Gk. ξαίνω as a deverbative in **-jɛ/o-* of *ξανω,[35] which would continue a thematicized nasal infix present **ks-n̥-h$_x$-e/o-;* this implies that the interpretations of Lat. *sentus* and *sentis* as outcomes of IE **ksn̥-to-* (or **ksen-to-*) and **ksn̥-ti-* (or **ksen-ti-*) respectively are unacceptable. In fact, these Latin forms must be explained as derivatives of a nasal infix present; hence two possibilities can be taken into consideration.

It is possible that Lat. *sentus* is syncopated from **senitus* which, via **senatos,* comes from **ksenh$_x$-to-;* similarly, Lat. *sentis* can be derived by syncope from **senitis* < **senatis* < **ksenh$_x$-ti-.*

It is well known, however, that the Indo-European verbal adjectives in **-to-* and the verbal abstracts (nomina actionis) in **-ti-* are regularly formed with zero grade vocalism of the root (or stem). Then, the vocalism of Lat. *sentus* and *sentis* indicates that these Latin forms can be explained as relatively recent formations, which would be added to the well-attested similar innovations, presented by Brugmann (1906:397—398, 432—434). If so, it is more likely to assume that Lat. *sentus* and *sentis* are derived from **sen-e/o-* which, by the regular loss of the laryngeal after the consonantal *-n-* and before vowels, would continue a thematicized nasal infix present **ksenh$_x$-e/o-.* Similar developments are attested by a number of secondary *aniṭ* forms, which may have been created at different dates either in the dialectal period of Indo-European or in the prehistory of the independent Indo-European languages. Thus, Lat. *gēns, gentis* 'clan, family, progeny, race, nation, people' continues **gen-ti-,* which is derived from **gen-e/o-* (< IE **ĝenh$_1$-e/o-,* attested by Skt. *jánati, -te* 'gives birth, is born');[36] secondary *aniṭ* forms are also the Vedic deverbative nouns *jánman-* 'birth, origin' and *jantú-* 'offspring, creature, being', which are formed from *janati, -te* (< **ĝenh$_1$-e/o-*) and appear alongside with *janiman-* 'birth, origin' (< IE **ĝenh$_1$men-*), etc.[37] As for Latin, other instances of this type are *futūrus, futāre* (based on **futos,* which is formed from **b^{h}uh$_x$-e/o-* after the loss of the laryngeal; see Bammesberger 1984:133), *pars, partis* 'part, lot, portion' ("modelled on the root **par-* of the present *pariō* <**pr̥h$_3$-i-*", see Schrijver 1991.:196), and *carmen* 'song' (dissimilated from **canmen), cantus, -ūs* 'song, melody, poetry', iter. *cantāre,* ppp. *cantus* which, together with OIr. *cétal* 'song', W. *cathl* 'id.', are derived from Italic and Celtic **kan-e/o-* (cf. Lat. *canō, canere* 'to sing', OIr. *canaid* 'sings') < IE **kn̥h$_2$-e/o-* (Rikov, forthcoming).

[33] See also Kuiper (1934:45—46), Walde and Hoffmann (1938—1956 II:516), Pokorny (1959:585).

[34] See §§4.5, 8.

[35] In fact, Gk. ξαίνω is formed on the basis of non-present forms such as aor. ἔξηνα (Att.), future ξανῶ aor. pass. ἐξάνθην, etc., which are formed from the stem of the non-attested *ξάνω (replaced by ξαίνω); cf. Osthoff (1884:354) and Schwyzer (1939:694).

[36] See Schrijver (1991:330).

[37] See Rikov (1988:124—125).

In fact, both possibilities presuppose the existence of an Indo-European nasal present **kserh$_x$(-e/o)-*, the structure of which is identical to that of IE **h$_1$yenh$_2$(-e/o)-*, attested by Hitt. *(i)yanna-*, Pal. *iyanna-* and Toch. B *yän-*.

We can now return to Ved. *vikṣaṇa-*. It is clear that Ved. *kṣaṇa-* can continue either IE **ksn̥h$_x$-e/o-* (> Gk. *ξάνω, hence ξαίνω) or IE **ksenh$_x$-e/o-* (> Proto-Italic **sen-e/o-*, hence Lat. *sentus, sentis*). The accent of Ved. *kṛpáṇa-*, however, supports the latter possibility.

Although evidence for the underlying disyllabic root **kesh$_x$-* (or **kseh$_x$-*) is lacking in the Indo-European languages, the antiquity of **ksenh$_x$-e/o-* and **ksn̥h$_x$-e/o-* is assured by the Vedic, Latin and Greek forms and this suggests that we are dealing with an old nasal infixed (or suffixed?) present.

14.2. According to García-Ramón (1992:187), the reconstruction of an Indo-European *set* root **h$_1$eysh$_2$-/*h$_1$ish$_2$-* is guaranteed by the following forms: "(a) das Äquat ved. *iṣnáti* 'setzt in Bewegung' : gr. *ἴνάω (ἰνᾶσθαι · ἐκκενοῦσθαι καὶ προϊέσθαι* Hes. *et. al.),* das auf einem infigierten Präsens **h$_1$is-neh$_2$-mi/ti* beruht; (b) das ursprünglich athematische reduplizierte Präsens urgr. **ῑsamai* 'heilen' (vgl. ion. *ἰάομαι* mit sekundärer Thematisierung) aus **h$_1$i-h$_1$ish$_2$-mai/toi,* urspr. 'jdn. sich erquicken lassen' oder 'anregen, erquicken', im Partizip (PN) hom. 'Ιᾶμενός (M 139, 193, vgl. 'Ακεσσαμενός *φ* 142), kypr. (Gen.) *i-ya-ne-no- /Ijameno/...*, vermutlich auch im Infinitiv *i -ya-sa-ta-i /ijast^{h}ai/...* erhalten".[38]

If so, Gk. ἰαίνω 'I heat, melt, warm, cheer' is formed by the suffix **-jε/o-* from **ἰανω*, which would continue a thematicized nasal infix present **h$_1$isn̥h$_2$-e/o-*.

Ved. iṣaṇa-, which relates to Gk. ἰαίνω as Ved. *kṣaṇa-* to Gk. ξαίνω, would continue rather IE **h$_1$isenh$_2$-e/o-* than **h$_1$isn̥h$_2$-e/o-*.

Ved. *iṣaṇyá-* can be explained either as an inner-Indic deverbative in *-ya-* of *iṣaṇa-* or as direct outcome of **h$_1$isenh$_2$-ye/o-*.[39]

15. As Jasanoff (1983:73—74) points out, the vast majority of the Vedic presents in *-anyá-* appear alongside with *tudáti-* presents, cf. Ved. *iṣaṇyá-* (and *iṣaṇa-*) : 3rd pl. inj. middle *iṣanta,* 1st pl. opt. act. *iṣema; kṛpaṇyá-* (and *kṛpáṇa-*) : 3rd sg. pres. middle *ánu kṛpate* 'longs for'; *bhuraṇyá- :* 3rd pl. inj. middle *bhuránta (bhur-* 'to quiver'); *riṣaṇyá-* : 3rd sg. inj. act. *riṣát (riṣ-* 'to be hurt'); *ruvaṇyá-* : 3rd sg. pres. act. *ruváti* 'roars'; *huvanya-* : 3rd sg. inj. act. *huvat (hū-* 'to call').

According to Jasanoff, *loc. cit.,* "the association of *turaṇyáti-* and *tudáti-* types provides a strong indication that the complex suffix *-anyá-* consists diachronically of the thematic vowel + *-nya-*".

It is clear, however, that the association of *iṣaṇyá-*, which is derived from an old nasal infix present (cf. *iṣaṇa-*), and the *tudáti-*present *iṣanta, iṣema,* etc. is secondary. In fact, this association would lead to the reanalysis of the infixed *iṣaṇa-* and *iṣaṇyá-* as *iṣa-* plus suffixes *-na-* and *-nyá-* respectively. The new suffixes *-na-* and *-nyá-*, which are abstracted by such reanalyses in the period of Indo-Iranian, are used for the creation of the suffixed *kṛpáṇa-* and *kṛpaṇyá- (: kṛpate), turaṇyá-* (: ptcple *turánt-*), *bhuraṇyá-* (: *bhuránta), riṣaṇyá- (: riṣat), ruvanya- (: ruváti-), huvanya- (: huvat),* etc.

[38] If so, Skt. *iṣirá-* 'refreshing, fresh, flourishing, vigorous' would continue IE **h$_1$ish$_2$ro-*, whereas Arcad., Cypr., Attic and Ionic ἰερός can be an inner-Greek innovation, cf. García-Ramón (1992:183—204). — If ἰερός is old, it would go back, together with Skt. *iṣirá-*, to IE **h$_1$ish$_1$ro-;* if so, Gk. ἰάομαι and ἰνάω must be separated from these forms, and Doric, NW Greek and Boeotian ἰαρός would represent the dialectal development of ε into α before ρ. Then, Skt. *iṣaṇa-* would continue IE **h$_1$isenh$_1$-e/o-*, whereas Gk. ἰαίνω would point to **h$_1$isn̥h$_1$-e/o-;* see Beekes (1969·184—185), Rikov (1992:95).

[39] Av. *friiąnmahī* 'we love' Y. 38,4 and *huuąnmahi* Y. 35,5 (cf. §10) are ambiguous; they can be explained either as graphic variants of **frinmahi* (cf. 3rd sg. subj. act *frināṯ*) and **hunmahi* (cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *hunāiti*) respectively (see Hoffmann 1975·70; Kellens 1984:180) or as representatives of Indo-European athematic nasal presents in **-enh$_x$-*. If we accept the latter possibility, Av. *huuąnmahi* can continue, together with Hitt. *šuwandumat,* IE **swenh$_1$-;* see §10 and cf. Rikov (1986—1987·§10).

6. Lithuanian *trenù, trinù,* Greek τετραίνω and the Lithuanian deverbatives in *-enti, -enu* and *-inti, -inu*

16. According to Persson (1912:568), Gk. τετραίνω 'I bore through, pierce, perforate' and Lith. *trìnti, trìnù* (pret. *trýniau*) 'to rub (through), file, saw' are related to Gk. τείρω 'I oppress, distress, weaken', Lat. *terō* 'I rub', etc. and point to IE **tren-*, where **-n-* is either a determinative or a formant. Būga (1922:294) connects Lith. *trìnti, trinù* with *trenėti, trenù* 'to moulder, decay, rot'. These Lithuanian verbs exactly correspond to Latv. *trīt, trinu* (or *triņu*, pret. *trinu* or *trīnu*) 'to rub, grind, sharpen' and *trenêt, trenu* (or *trẹnu*, pret. *trenẽju*) 'to moulder, weather, decay' respectively (see Fraenkel 1962—1965:1118, 1124 w. refs.).[40]

Persson's explanation is almost generally accepted; cf. also Trautmann (1923:324), Walde and Pokorny (1927—1932 I:729), Vasmer (1953—1958 III:97) and Pokorny (1959:1071—1072), where a suffix **-n-* is seen in Gk. τετραίνω and its Baltic congeners.

17. True, Frisk (1960–1972 II:885), who shares Risch' opinion that τετραίνω is an inner-Greek innovation[41], mentions: "Auf den Vergleich mit lit. *trinù* '(durch) reiben'... ist angesichts der starken Produktivität der Nasalverba im Litauischen nicht viel zu geben".

From the point of view of the Baltic morphology, however, the interpretation of Lith. *trinù, trenù* and Latv. *trinu, trenu* as nasal verbs is not evident. In fact, both Baltic types, presented by Lith. *trinù* and *trenù*, attest the nasal stem outside the present system (e. g. Lith. pret. *trýniau*, Latv. pret. *trinu,* etc.) and underlie numerous verbal and nominal derivatives, cf. Lith. *trintas* 'gerieben' (Szyrwid), *trynėti* 'to rub', *trỹnioti* 'mehrfach ein wenig reiben', *trinėtas* 'schwielig, hornhäufig' (Kurschat), *trynìmas* 'Reiben, Sägen', etc.[42] Moreover, Lith. *trinù, trenù* and Latv. *trinu, trenu* are semantically distant from Lith. *tìrti, tiriù* (pret. *týriau*) 'to experience, learn; search, inquire into' and Latv. *tirt* 'to question, learn' which, since Būga, *loc. cit.,* are considered to be the Baltic cognates of ChSl. *trěti, тьrǫ* 'to rub, grind' Gk. τείρω, Lat. *terō,* etc.[43] Then, it is not surprising that Lith. *trinù* and Latv. *trinu* are interpreted as thematic root verbs of the type of the zero-grade Lith. *mìnti, minù* 'to trample'; see Stang (1942:115–116; 1966:333–334), Otrębski (1965:332) and Endzelin (1971:215). In fact, although Stang (1942:116) neglects the comparison of Lith. *trìnti, trinù* with Gk. τετραίνω, he explains the Lithuanian verb as "eine Erweiterung der Wurzel **ter-*"; this implies that Lith. *trinù* and Latv. *trinu* can be inherited from Indo-European.

However, the reconstruction of an Indo-European stem **tren-/*tṛn-*, from which Lith. *trenù* and *trinù* are derived, is not correct. The acute intonation of Lith. *trìnti* indicates that Lith. *trinù* and Latv. *trìnu* go back to IE **trn̥h$_x$-e/o-*, which would be a nasal infix verb of the type of IE **d^{h}wn̥h$_{2/3}$-e/o-*, attested by the Latvian deverbative noun *dviñga* (cf. § 21). If so, the structure of Lith. *trenù* and Latv. *trenu* is identical with that of the Vedic present *vánate* (< **h$_2$wenh$_x$-e/o-*), the *s*-aorist *ádhvanīt* (< IE **d^{h}wenh$_{2/3}$-*), etc. It is possible that these Baltic verbs represent Indo-European nasal infix presents; if so, we are dealing with a secondary spread of both nasal infixed stems outside the present system in Baltic.

18. The Greek data confirm this explanation.

[40] In spite of its semantics, the Old Prussian *yod*-present *trinie* 'threatens' may be related to Lith. *trìnti, trinú,* etc.; see Trautmann (1910:450) and Fraenkel (1962—1965:1124).

[41] See below, fn. 45.

[42] See Fraenkel (1962—1965:1124—1125).

[43] See also Trautmann (1923:324), Walde and Pokorny (1927—1932 I:729), Walde and Hofmann (1938—1956 II:673), Vasmer (1953—1958 III:97), Pokorny (1959:1072) and Fraenkel (1962—1965:1102).

Besides the Greek present τετραίνω (A. Ch. 481, Hdt. 2, 11), there is a number of non-present forms, which are also formed from the nasal verb stem; cf. the Homeric aorist τετρῆναι (Attic τετρᾶναι), which is the oldest of the attested forms, the passive aorist τετρανθῆναι (Lyc.) and the future τετρανέω (Hdt.).

This set of forms can be created by morphological transformations, similar to the transformations which, as it was assumed by Osthoff (1884:354) and Schwyzer (1939:674), would result in the whole class of the Greek verbs in -αίνω. Thus, the present τετραίνω would be formed on the basis of the non-presents forms (e. g. aor. ἐτέτρηνα) as the other presents in -αίνω. The reduplicating syllable τε- is received from the perfect, at first into the aorist system;[44] this implies the existence of an original non-reduplicated aorist *τρᾶναι which would be formed on the basis of a nasal infix present *τρανω, corresponding to Lith. *trĩnù* and Latv. *trinu*.[45]

It is significant in this respect that the Indo-European disyllabic root, which underlies this nasal infix present, is well attested in Greek, cf. *s*-aorist τρῆσαι (Hp. Pl.), passive aorist τρηθῆναι, future τρήσω (Lyc., etc.), perfect middle τέτρημαι (Emp., Hdt., Ionic and Attic), etc. The laryngeal of this disyllabic root must be identified as the non-colouring one; this is assured by Gk. τέρετρον 'borer, gimlet' (Od., etc.), which points to IE **terh$_1$-tro-*, τρητός ' bored, pierced through' (Hom., etc.; with -ρη- in Pindar and Attic), τέτρημαι (-ρη- in Attic), etc. In fact, Gk. τρητός and τέτρημαι would regularly be formed zero greade of the root, and Ruijgh (1980:92) rightly derives them from IE **tr̥h$_1$-*; then, Gk. τρητός comes from IE **tr̥h$_1$-to-*, to which SCr. *tȓt* 'rubed' and Pol. *tarty* 'id.' also go back. Since Gk. τέρετρον and τρητός, τέτρημαι continue IE **terh$_1$-* and **tr̥h$_1$-* respectively, the radical vocalism of Gk. τρῆσαι, τρήσω, etc. might be explained rather as analogical (see Ruijgh, *loc. cit.*) than as Greek evidence for the state II **treh$_1$-*,[46] seen in the related Germanic verbs OE *ðrāwan* 'to throw', OHG *drāen* 'to turn' and deverbative nouns in **-tu-* OIcel. *þrāðr* 'thread', OE *ðræd* 'id.', OHG *ðrāt* 'id.'[47]

19. It is now clear that Lith. *trinù*, Latv. *trinu* and Gk. *τρανω must be derived from a thematicized nasal infix present **trn̥h$_1$-e/o-*; if so, Lith. *trenù* and Latv. *trenu* can continue **trenh$_1$-e/o-*.

Besides Lith. *trinù*, Latv. *trinu* and Gk. *τρανω, there are several other instances, which attest IE **-n̥h$_x$-e/o-* (> Baltic *-inu*, Gk. –ανω, hence –αίνω) after resonants and semivowels.

19. 1. Thus, Lith. *tvìnti, tvìnstu* (pret. *tvinaũ*) 'anschwellen' (vom Fluß), höher steigen (vom Wasserstand; überschwemmen' presupposes an older nasal verb **tvinu*.[48] Although corresponding nasal infix presents in the other Indo-European languages are lacking, this Lithuanian nasal verb can be derived from an archaic nasal infix present **twn̥h$_2$-e/o-*; this is assured by the well attested disyllabic forms such as Skt. *távīti* 'is strong, has authority' (< IE **tewh$_2$-ti*), Gk. σῶς (Hom., Hdt.), σάος (Il., etc.), σῶος (Hdt.) 'safe, healthy' (< *σαFος, which represents a thematicization of **saus* < **tweh$_2$u-s*, see Lubotsky 1989:57), etc.

If so, deverbative nouns such as Lith. *tvānas* 'high tide', also 'fustian', Latv. *tvans* 'steam, vapour', *tvana* 'id.', etc. may be interpreted as evidence for an underlying verb **twenh$_2$(-e/o-)-*.

On the Latvian deverbative noun *dviñga*, which can be derived from IE **d^{h}wn̥h$_{2/3}$-e/o-*, see below, § 26.

[44] See Frisk (1960—1972 II:885).

[45] Frisk, *loc. cit.*, following Risch, assumes that Gk. τετραίνω can be formed along the line of βαίνω βέβηκα; cf. also Risch (1974:341). Chantraine (1968—1980:1110), who shares this opinion, is more cautious: "le présent τετραίνω est analogique, mais de quel verbe (λειαίνω? ξαίνω?)".

[46] Cf. Chantraine, *loc. cit.*

[47] On the cognates in other Indo-European languages see Pokorny (1959:1071—1072).

[48] On the etymology of Lith. *tvìnti, tvānas*, etc. see Fraenkel (1962—1965:1149, 1154).

19. 2. The formation of Gk. δραίνω 'I am going to do' Il. 10,96 (cf. also the participle ὀλιγοδρανέων Il. as well as ὀλιγοδρανής 'of little strength, powerless' Ar., Luc., ὀλιγο–δρανία 'feebleness' Aesch., ἀδρανής 'inactive, listless, feeble' Hdn., etc.) is evidently similar to that of τετραίνω. The underlying disyllabic root is attested by Gk. δράω and its derivatives. This implies IE **drn̥h$_2$-e/o-* (seen in the *yod*-present δραίνω, and ἀδρανής etc.) beside IE **dreh$_2$-* (> δράω).

These Greek forms are probably related to Lith. *darýti, daraũ* 'tun, machen, bilden, verfertigen' and Latv. *darît* 'id.' (see Frisk 1960–1972 I:416–417; Chantraine (1968–1980:297), which point to an Indo-European *aniṭ* root **der-*. If so, IE **der-* relates to **dreh$_2$-* as IE **h$_1$ey-* (> Skt. *éti*, OLith. *eĩti*) to **h$_1$yeh$_2$-* (> Skt. *yáti*, Lith. *yóti*).[49]

20. As it was mentioned above (§ 4. 2), Pedersen (1938:123–124) already compared Lith. *gyvénti, gyvenù* 'to live' to the Hittite verbs in *-anna-, -anniya-* and the Vedic in *-ána-, -anyá-*. This comparison is now repeated and elaborated by Hajnal (1996:286–290).

The Lithuanian deverbatives in *-énti*, which have iterative or causative value, often appear alongside with iteratives and causatives in *-inti*, cf. Lith. *kūrénti, kūrenù* 'to burn, heat' beside *kūrinti, kūrinù* 'id.' (: *kùrti, kuriù* 'id.'). Both types are reshaped into verbs in **-enā-* and **-inā-* in Latvian, cf. Latv. *kurenât* 'to heat, blow into (flame)' beside *kurinât* 'id.' (: *kurt* 'to kindle, heat').[50] All the verbs of both classes, adduced in the main handbooks of Baltic linguistics[51], are evidently formed by suffixation of Lith. *-ena-/-en-, -ina-/-in-* and Latv. *-enā-, -inā-*.

Hajnal (1996:286–290) explains these two types of Baltic iteratives and causatives as suffixed by **-enh$_2$-e/o-* (> Lith. *-ena-*) and **-n̥h$_2$-e/o-* (> Lith. *-ina-*) and compares the Hittite verbs in *-anna/-anniya-* and the Vedic presents in *-anyá-* to the former type.[52]

However, there is no reason for assuming the existence of original suffixes **-enh$_2$-e/o-* and **-n̥h$_2$-e/o-* in Indo-European. As we have seen above, the most archaic members of the Anatolian verb classes in *-anna-, -anniya-* and the Indo-Iranian in *-ána-, -anyá-* continue Indo-European nasal infix verbs of the shape *CRenh$_x$-e/o-*, from which the suffix **-enh$_x$-e/o-* (> Anat. *-anna-*, Indo-Iranian *-ána-*) is abstracted. The identification of the laryngeal as the *a*-colouring one (Hajnal 1996:287, cf. already Rikov 1986–1987:§10) is unconvincing; in fact, any of the three laryngeals can occur in the infixed verbs of this type, and the comparative data confirm this, cf. Lith. *trenù* and Latv. *trenu* which are derived from a disyllabic root in **-h$_1$-* (cf. Gk. τέρετρον, etc.).

If so, the Baltic suffix **-ena-*, which serves to form deverbative iteratives and causatives, is abstracted from nasal infix verbs of the shape *CRenh$_x$-e/o-* (cf. Lith. *trenù*, Latv. *trenu*).

Similarly, the connection of the Lithuanian verbs in *-ina-/-in-* and the Latvian in *-inā-* with the Greek presents in -ανε/o- and the Armenian in *-ane-* (see for instance Brugmann 1916:313ff.; Stang 1942:185f.; 1966:372; Endzelin 1971:229) implies that the suffix **-ina-* of this type Baltic verbs is abstracted from old nasal presents of the shape *CRn̥h$_x$-e/o-*, as Lith. *trìnti, trinù, tvìnti, *tvinù*.

True, the nasal stems of the Baltic verb types in **-ena-* and **-ina-* are used to form not only the present, but also the non-present forms; for this reason Hajnal (1996: 186) rejects the connection of the Lithuanian iteratives and causatives in *-inti, -inu* with the Greek presents in -ανε/o-. It is well known, however, that the nasal infix of the present stems can spread to the non-present forms, cf. Gk. aor. ἔᾶνα, Ionic ἔηνα, passive aor. ἰάνθην (: ἰαίνω, cf. §14.2); aor.

[49] Cf. §8.

[50] See Stang (1942:184, 1966:372), Otrębski (1965:403—404), Endzelin (1971:230) and Hajnal (1996:286). Old Prussian also attests these two verb formations.

[51] See Stang (1942:174—185; 1966:367—374), Otrębski (1965:402—407).

[52] However, Hajnal neglects the isolated Vedic verbs in *-ána-* as well as the inner-Hittite evidence for the formation of the verbs in *-anna- (ḫi*-conjugation, cf. *paršiyannai:paršiyannanzi)* and the verbs in *-anniya-* (*mi*-conjugation), cf. §5.

ἔξηνα, future ξανῶ, passive aor. ἐξάνθην (: ξαίνω, see §14.1); aor. ἐτέτρηνα, future τετρανέω (: τετραίνω, see §18); Lat. perfect *vellī* (: *vellō* 'I pluck, pull (hair, feather)', cf. also perfect *finxī* : pres. *fingō* 'I form, shape', etc.). Such a secondary development is presented by Lith. *trinù*, Latv. *trinu*, Lith. *tvinti* and Latv. *dviñga* as well. Similarly, the nasal infix verbs in **-enh$_x$-e/o-* (cf. Lith. *trenù*, Latv. *trenu*) can also be explained as original nasal infix presents; the Tocharian B present *ynem, yaneṃ*, corresponding to Hitt. *(i)yanna-* and Pal. *iyanna-* (< IE **h$_1$yenh$_2$-e/o-*), confirms this.

Thus, the oldest layer of the Baltic verbs in **-ena-* and **-ina-* consist of isolated nasal nifix presents of the shapes *CRenh$_x$-e/o-* and *CRn̥h$_x$-e/o-* such as Lith. *trenù* and *trinù*, which were reinterpreted as root verbs. The recent character of the suffixed Baltic iteratives and causatives in **-ena-* and **-ina-* is guaranteed by the fact that the verbs of these types have no corresponding forms in the other Indo-European languages.[53]

II. Indo-European nasal infix verbs of the type *CRenh$_x$-*

The preceding discussion has presented arguments to show that the Anatolian verbs in *-anna-, -anniya-*, the Indo-Iranian in **-ána-, *-anyá-* and the Baltic in **-ena-* are based on Indo-European nasal infix verbs to the type *CRenh$_x$(-e/o)-*.

Evidence corroborating the antiquity of such a class of nasal infix verbs is provided by a number of forms, attested in different Indo-European dialects.

1. Vedic *vánate*, Avestan *vanaiti* and their congeners

21. Having analyzed PGmc. **wenna-* (> Goth. *winnan* 'to suffer', OIcel. *winna-* 'to labour, win, overcome', OE *winnan* 'to labour, suffer', etc.) and its congeners (Skt. *vanóti* 'demands, strives for, likes', etc.), Seebold (1970:557) reconstructs IE **wen-* and states: "Die Wurzelstufe ist wohl zu sehen in *au-* 'verlangen' (P[okorny] 77 und *wel-*)".

Seebold's connection of Pokorny's **aw-* (cf. Skt. *ávati* 'is pleased, strives', etc.) and **wel-* (cf. Skt. *vr̥ṇīte* 'chooses, prefers, likes', Lat. *velle* 'to wish', etc.) is evidently based on Benveniste's theory about the structure of the Indo-European root. This hypothesis remains, however, a glottogonic speculation, which is phonologically impossible. Since the assumed Indo-European root **aw-* presupposes an initial *a*-colouring laryngeal (cf. also § 22), Seebold's hypothesis requires the reconstruction of an Indo-European stem **h$_2$w-el-*, the initial **h$_2$-* of which must be reflected by **ḫ-* in Hittite and by prothetic vowels before the consonantal **-w-* in Greek (α-) and Armenian (*a-*). However, there is no prothetic vowel in Arm. *gelj* 'longing' which, related to Lat. *velle*, etc. (see Solta 1960:33–34), clearly points to IE **wel-*[54]; hence Seebold's hypothesis is evidently improbable.

The comparison of the family of Skt. *ávati* with that of Skt. *vanóti* is a different matter. True, the reconstructions **aw-* and **wēn-* are inadequate and misleading. Refining these reconstructions, however, we are in position not only to justify the assumed root connection, but also

[53] Cf. Hajnal (1996:288 fn. 23), who hesitatingly compares Lith. **riekìnti* 'aufreißen, durchschneiden' (attested by the frequentative *riektinėti*) to Ved. *riṣaṇyá-*, and Latv. **siręt* (in *sireniẽks ~ sirinieks* 'umherstreifender Krieger') to Ved. *saraṇyá-;* however, he correctly mentions that "es sich bei lett. **e/inieks* um ein produktives Suffix zur Tätigkeitsangabe handelt..., so daß keine Verbalbildung auf **/-e/inti/* vorausgesetzt werden muß." — As for Lith. **riekìnti* and Ved. *riṣaṇyá-*, the different radical vocalism of these forms suggests that we are dealing with independent innovations.

[54] However, the data are ambiguous; thus, Gk. ἐέλδομαι, ἔλδομαι 'I long for, desire' and ἐέλδωρ, ἔλδωρ 'longing', which may be related to these forms, probably point to an initial non-colouring laryngeal (IE **h$_1$weld-*, see Beekes 1969:63—64, Peters 1980:316); hence their connection with Skt. *ávati*, Gk. αἴτης, is improbable. Moreover, Seebold's hypothesis cannot be reconciled with the fact that the family of Skt. *ávati* points to an Indo-European disyllabic root, see below, §22.

to show in what way the connection of these two groups of words can be traced back to a relation between a basic form and its derivative.

22. In fact, the forms, given by Pokorny (1959:77–78) under *au̯, au̯ē-, au̯ēi-*, are derived from a disyllabic root, cf. Skt. *ūtí-* 'protection, help', *ū́ma-* 'helping', masc. 'helper', etc.; as García-Ramón demonstrates,[55] the attested forms can be itrepreted as follows:

Skt. *ávati* 'is pleased, strives, promotes, protects', Av. *auuaiti* 'helps' < **h$_2$ewh$_x$-e-ti*;

Lat. *avēre, aveō* 'to desire' < **h$_2$owh-éye-*, from which OIr. *con·oí* 'guards' is also derived;

Lat. *iuvāre* 'to help, assist, promote, benefit, delight' < **h$_2$i-h$_2$uh$_x$-* (or **h$_2$i-h$_2$ewh$_x$-*/**h$_2$i-h$_2$owh$_x$-*)

Gk. ἀΐτης Theocr. (Doric ἀΐτᾱς) 'friend, beloved' is formed on the basis of **h$_2$ewh$_x$o-*; it also indicates that the initial laryngeal must be identified as the *a*-colouring one;

Skt. *ūtí-* 'protection, help' < **h$_2$uh$_x$-ti-*, etc.

23. 1. If we accept that Hitt. *wen-, went-* 'futuere' is related to Skt. *vanóti*, etc. (Pokorny 1959:1146–1147), the lack of initial *ḫ-* in this Hittite verb is at variance with the assumed connection of these forms with the family of Skt. *ávati*.

However, the well-known connection of Hitt. *wen-, went-* with Skt. *vanóti*, etc. is unconvincing. As Melchert (1984:10 fn. 4) points out, "the context of the iterative *uwanšikiwen...* suggests 'rape', if not a more general act of violence such as 'ravage'". We also have the Hittite deverbavite noun *wenal* which probably means 'stick, staff' and suggets that the basic meaning of the underlying Hittite verb *wen-, went-* would be 'to strike'; as Melchert, *loc. cit.*, points out, this implies that Hitt. *wen-, went-* is rather related to Goth. *wunds* 'wounded', MWelsh *gweint* 'I pierced', etc. (IE **wen-*). As for the semantics, "derivation of the verb for sexual intercourse from a verb of violent action is commonplace", cf. Lith. *pìsti* 'futuere' : OBg. *pichati* 'to strike', etc. (Melchert, *loc. cit.*). If so, Hitt. *wen-, went-* must be separated from the family of Skt. *vanóti*, etc.

23. 2. The initial **h$_2$-* must regularly be lost in the Indo-Iranian, Italic, Celtic and Germanic forms, given by by Pokorny (1959:1146–1147) under *wen-, wenə-*.

Yet the reduplicative long vowel *-ā-* of the Vedic perfect stem *vāvan-* (cf. RV. 2nd sg. act. *vāvántha*, 3rd sg. act. *vāvána*) supports the reconstruction of the initial laryngeal; Ved. *vāvan-* can be derived either from IE **h$_2$we-h$_2$wonh$_x$-* (with the well-known loss of **-h$_x$-* in reduplicated forms) or from IE **h$_2$we-h$_2$won-*. Then, Ved. *vāvan-* represents an additional instance of development, seen in the Vedic perfects 3rd pl. act. *māmr̥jur* RV., middle 3rd sg. *māmr̥jé* RV., opt. *māmr̥jīta* RV. (*mr̥j-* 'to wipe, rub') < IE **h$_2$me-h$_2$mlĝ-* (cf. Gk. ἀμέλγω 'I milk' < IE **h$_2$melg-*) and IE **h$_3$me-h$_3$mr̥g-* (cf. Gk. ὀμόργνῡμι 'I wipe' < IE **h$_3$mr̥g-*); Ved. middle paeticiple *rārakṣāná-* RV. (*rakṣ-* 'to protect') < IE **h$_2$le-h$_2$loks-mh$_1$no-* (cf. Gk. ἀλέξω 'I ward, keep, defend' < IE **h$_2$leks-*); Ved. 2nd sg. impv. middle *vāvr̥ṣasva* RV., middle participle *vāvr̥ṣāna-* RV. (*vr̥ṣ-* 'to rain') < IE **h$_1$we-h$_1$wr̥s-* (cf. Gk. ἔερση 'dew', pl. 'rain-drops' < IE **h$_1$wers-eh$_2$*).[56]

Besides *vāvan-*, there are slso the Vedic perfect stems *vavan-* (cf. lst pl. act. *vavanmá* RV.) and *vavn-* (cf. 3rd pl. middle *vavné* RV.), the reduplicative syllable *va-* of which can be explained as an inner-Indic innovation as the reduplicative syllables *ma-* and *ra-* in the Vedic perfects 3rd sg. act. *mamárja* RV., etc. (beside the expected *mā-* in *māmr̥jur*, etc.) and *rarákṣa* RV., etc. (beside the expected *rā-* in *rārakṣāná-*) respectively.

[55] J. L. García-Ramón, Lat. *auēre, (ad)iuuāre, adiūmentō esse* (a paper, presented at the Eight International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Eichstätt 24.—28. April 1995).

[56] See Kuryłowicz (1928:196—218) and Beekes (1969:124); cf. also Rikov (1986—1987:§77) w. refs.

24.1. Ved. *-vāta-* 'desired' (in *á-vāta-* 'unangefochten' RV., *indara-vāta-* 'von Indra begehrt' RV., *devá-vāta-* 'von den Göttern begehrt' RV., *máno-vāta-* 'dem Sinne angenehm' RV.) and Av. *-vāta-* (in the personal name *Kavāta-* < **Kava-vāta-*) point to IE $*h_2w\underset{\circ}{n}h_x$*-tó-* and confirm the reconstruction of an Indo-European *seṭ* root $*h_2wenh_x$*-*. Skt. *vāmá-* 'pleasant, fair, lovely; dear, beautiful; striving after, eager for' (RV., etc.) and the euphemistic *vā́ma-* 'left' (ŚB., etc.)[57] continue IE $*h_2w\underset{\circ}{n}h_x$*-mo-*.

Ved. *vāñchati* 'desires, wishes' RV. etc. (with analogical *-ān-* instead of the expected *-ā-* along the line of the full grade *vani-* as well as *vana-*) and the corresponding Toch. A *winās-* 'verehren', B *wināsk-* 'id.'[58] continue an old present in *-*sk-* $*h_2w\underset{\circ}{n}h_x$*-sk-*[59] which is formed with regular zero grade of the root, as Ved. *gácchati* 'goes', Av. *jasaiti* 'comes' (< IE $*g^{w}\underset{\circ}{m}sketi$), etc.

Besides the thematic verb stem *vána-* (cf. Ved. *vánate*, discussed below), Vedic also attests the verb stem *vaná-*, from which are formed the 3rd sf. subjunctive act. *vanā́ti* RV. and the lst pl. optative act. *vanéma* RV. In view of their accent, Rig-Vedic *vanā́ti* and *vanéma* belong either to the 6th present class (thus Whitney, *Roots*; Macdonell 1910:329) or to the system of the thematic aorist (thus Tedesco 1944:215 fn. 13). Both possibilities imply original zero-grade radical vocalism of these Rig-Vedic forms, cf. for instance the Vedic *tud*-presents 3rd sg. act. *rujáti* 'breaks, shatters' RV., *sr̥játi* 'sends off, dicharges, shoots, pours out' RV., 2nd sg. subj. act. *rujási* RV., 3rd sg. subj. act. *sr̥jā́ti* AV., *sr̥jā́t* RV., 3rd sg. opt. act. *sr̥jét* AV., lst pl. opt. act. *rujema* RV. as well as the Vedic *a*-aorists 3ed sg. act. *ávidat* RV. (: pres. *vindáti* 'finds, discovers' RV.), *ámucat* RV. (:pres. *muñcáti* 'looses, frees' AV.), 3rd sg. subj. act. *vidā́t* RV., *mucā́ti* RV., 3rd sg. opt. act. *videt* RV., lst pl. opt. act. *videma* AV., etc. Since the Indo-European sequence $C\underset{\circ}{n}h_xV$ changes into Sanskrit *CanV* (e. g. Skt. *tanú-* 'thin, small, slender' < IE $*t\underset{\circ}{n}h_2u$-, cf. also Gk. ταναός 'outstretched, tall, tapfer', Corn. *tanow* 'thin' < IE $*tnh_2ewo$-, etc.[60]), the Vedic verb stem *vaná-* can regularly be derived from IE $*h_2wnh_{\text{\textschwa}}$*-e/o-*; hence the optative *vanéma* would come from IE $*h_2w\underset{\circ}{n}h_{\text{\textschwa}}$*-oyh$_1$-me*.

However, Narten (1964:235 fn. 712, 263 fn. 829) rightly mentions that Ved. *vanati vanéma* and *sanéyam, sanéma* (*san^{i}-* 'to gain') can be innovations; cf. Ved. *gaméma* (*gam-* 'to go') and see also Renou (1940:7). Yet the reconstruction of IE $*h_2wnh_{\text{\textschwa}}$*-e/o-* is based not only on Ved. *vanā́ti* and *vanéma*; the Gothic participle *un-wunands* 'distressed' must be derived from IE $*h_2w\underset{\circ}{n}h_x$*ont-*, and OIcel. *una* 'to be content, dwell, enjoy' also represents the regular development of IE $-\underset{\circ}{R}h_xV$- into Gmc. *-uRV-*.[61]

24. 2. The Sanskrit full-grade *vani-* is attested by the Vedic deverbative agent noun *vanitar-* 'Erlanger, Erwerber, Besitzer', cf. nom. sg. *vanitā* RV. III 13,3 < IE $*h_2wenh_{\text{\textschwa}}$*-tēr*. Similarly, the Vedic precative *vaniṣīṣta* RV. I 127,7 and the subjunctives *vaniṣat* AV. XX 132,6.7, *vaniṣanta* TS IV 7,14,l are regular sigmatic aorists, formed from the *seṭ* root *vani-* (< IE $*h_2wenh_x$*-*).

Since the Indo-European laryngeals are lost after the consonantal **n* (and **y*, **w*, **r*, **l*, **m*) and before syllabic sounds in most of the Indo-European languages, the vast majority of the cognate forms are ambiguous and can reflect either IE $*h_2wen$*-V-* of IE $*h_2wenh_x$*-V-*. Such ambiguous forms are the Vedic 3rd sg. pres. act. *vánate* 'nimmt an, schafft hin' (cf. also lst pl. pres. middle *vánāmahe* and 3rd pl. inj. middle *vanta* for **vananta*, see fn. 30), the superlative *vaniṣṭha-* RV., the deverbative nouns *vanánā-* 'desire' RV. IX 86, 40, *vánas-* 'pleasure, delight' RV. X, 172, l (cf. also the compounds *gír-vaṇas-* 'delighting in invocations' RV. and *yajñá-vanas-* 'loving sacrifice' RV.), *vanús-* 'eager, zealous, loving' RV., etc. as well as Av. 3rd sg. pres. act. *vanaiti* 'overcomes, wins', *vananā* 'victory', etc. The well-attested *seṭ* forms, discussed above, imply rather IE $*h_2wenh_xV$- than $*h_2wen$-; then, Ved. *vánate* and Av. *vanaiti* would continue IE $*h_2wenh_x$*-e-toy* and $*h_2wenh_x$*-e-ti* respectively.

Outside Indo-Iranian, we have Lat. *venus* 'love, pleasure' which, together with the corresponding Ved. *vánas-*,[62] can go back to IE $*h_2wenh_x$*-os/-es-*; cf. also MIr. *coibnius* 'relationship', etc.

PGmc. **wenna-* (> Goth. *winnan* 'to suffer', etc.; see § 21), can also be added to this group of forms. True, Lühr (1976:80–81) rightly mentions that the double **-nn-* of PGmc. **wenna-* can reflect either IE **-nw-* (cf. Ved. *vanóti*) or IE $*-nh_x$-*. However, Ved. *vanóti* is probably an inner-Indic innovation, see Narten (1962:135 fn. 712 w. refs.), Mayrhofer (1956–1980 III:142). Then, PGmc. **wenna-* would continue IE $*h_2wenh_x$*-e/o-*,[63] to which Ved. *vánate* and Av. *vanaiti* also go back.[64]

Since the Indo-Iranian *i*-stems can be formed with *vr̥ddhi* (cf. Ved. *grā́hi-* 'seizure'), *guṇa* (cf. Ved. *śoci-* 'heat') or zero grade of the root (cf. Ved. *rúci-* 'brightness'). Skt. *vaní-* 'demand, desire' V. B. can go back to the full grade $*h_2wen$*-i-* or $*h_2we/onh_x$*-i-*, or to the zero grade $*h_2w\underset{\circ}{n}h_x$*-i-*.

The Indo-European laryngeals are regularly lost after consonants and before **y*, cf. Ved. *kravyá-* 'raw flesh', Lith. *kraūjas* 'blood' < IE $*krewh_2$*-yo-*; Lith. *arìù* 'I plough', OIr. *airim* 'id.' < IE $*h_2erh_3$*-ye/o-*, etc.[65] Then OIr. *fine* 'relation-ship' can continue not only IE $*h_2wen$*-yeh$_2$*, but also IE $*h_2wenh_x$*-yeh$_2$*.

Forms such as Av. *vanta-* 'praise', *vantā-* 'mistress', etc. can be explained by the Iranian loss of the interconsonantal laryngeals in *Inlaut*, see Beekes (1988:68) and cf. also Av. *duuaṇman-* (§ 26).

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[57] See Mayrhofer (1968:160; 1956—1980 III:189).

[58] See Schmidt (1982:367).

[59] On the deverbative nouns Skt. *vāñchā-* 'Wunsch, Verlangen' and OHG *wunsc 'Wunsch'*, etc. see Mayrhover (1956—1980 III:182—183).

[60] See Beekes (1976:9—12).

[61] The Indo-European sequence $*\underset{\circ}{R}HV$ regularly yields PGmc. **uRV*, cf. Goth. *þulan* 'to endure'. Skt. *tulā* 'balance, weight'. Gk. ταλάσσαι 'to bear, endure' (<IE $*t\underset{\circ}{l}h_2V$-); Goth. *kaurus* 'weighty', Skt. *gurú-* 'heavy', Gk βαρύς 'weighty' (<IE $*g^{w}\underset{\circ}{r}h_xu$-), etc.; cf. Beekes (1988:99).

[62] See Mayrhofer (1956—1980 III:140).

[63] There are also Germanic full-grade forms with single *-n-*, which can be formed on the basis of the zero-grade forms, cf. OIcel. *vanr* 'gewohnt' (: Goth. *unwunands*, OIcel. *una*, cf. Pokorny 1959:1147), OIcel. *vinr* 'friend', etc. Similarly, the lengthened-grade Goth. *wens* 'hope', etc. can represent an inner-Germanic innovation.

[64] Another nasal verb of this type is probably OHG *indrinnan 'entrinnen'*, the double *-nn-* of which can reflect either **-nw-* (see for instance Pokorny 1959:207) or $*-nh_x$-* (see Lühr 1976:79). The latter possibility is supported by the Sanskrit 3rd sg. opt. act. *dr̥̄yā́t* 'may be burst' ŚB (Lühr, *loc. cit.*), which points to $*d\underset{\circ}{r}meh_x$-/*$d\underset{\circ}{r}mh_x$-* and the *seṭ* forms *dáriman-* 'destruction' RV., *dīrṇa-* 'torn, rent' (cf. Strunk (1967:63). There is also the Gothic nasal verb *-taurnan* (cf. *af-taurnan* 'to tear off', *dis-taurnan* 'to tear apart', *ga-taurnan* 'to vanish'), which would continue a thematicized $*d\underset{\circ}{r}mh_x$*-e/o-*. If so, OHG *indrinnan* can be traced back to a nasal infix verb $*drenh_x$-*, the structure of which is identical to that of IE $*h_2wenh_x$*-* (cf. Goth. *winnan*, etc.), It is clear that OHG *indrinnan* would relate to Skt. $d\underset{\circ}{r}\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}t$, Goth. *-taurnan* as Ved. *iṣaṇa-* to *iṣṇāsi, iṣṇant-*. — The double *-nn-* of zero-grade forms such as OHG *abe-trunning 'abtrünnig'* is phonologically irregular, cf. Goth. *un-wunands*, OIcel. *una* (<$*h_2w\underset{\circ}{n}h_x$*-e/o-)* and see fn. 61; this suggests that such zero-grade forms can analogically be created on the basis of the full-grade **trennan* (cf. OHG *indrinnan*), **trannjan* (>MHG *trennen*). Lühr's (1976:79) explanation, which requires a very early metathesis of PGmc. **ur* into **ru*, is less probable.

[65] See Beekes (1969:234, 254), Peters (1980:81 fn. 38), Pinault (1982:265—272) and Mayrhofer (1986:140) w. refs.

There is also a number of Sanskrit forms such as Ved. *vantar-* (beside *vanitar-*), the *s*-aorist subj. *vaṃsat*, etc. which might be interpreted as convincing evidence for the reconstruction of an Indo-European *aniṭ* root, cf. for instance Persson (1912:686) Pokorny (1959:1146—1147) and Cowgill (1963:255). The co-existence of *aniṭ* and *seṭ* roots in Indo-European is well known; hence the reconstruction of an *aniṭ* root $*h_2wen-$ seems reasonable. However, these Sanskrit forms cannot be accepted as a sufficient basis for the reconstruction of such an *aniṭ* root.

Since the prevocalic $*-h_x-$ is regularly lost in Indo-Iranian **vána-* (< IE $*h_2wenh_x-e/o-$), this thematic verb can be reinterpreted as the representative of an *aniṭ* root. Then, Ved. *vantar-* can be a recent derivative of Indo-Iranian **vána-* (> Ved. *vánate*, Av. *vanaiti*); it relates to the inherited Ved. *vanitar-* (< IE $*h_2wenh_x-ter-$) as Ved. *jánman-* 'birth, origin, 'production' and *jantú-* 'offspring, creature, being' (: *jana-* 'to give birth, be born' < IE $*ĝenh_1-e/o-$) to Ved. *janiman-* 'birth, origin' (< IE $*ĝenh_1-men-$).[66]

The radical long vowel of the Vedic causative *vānaya-* (3rd pl. impv. act. *vānayantu* AV.) is due to the fact that this causative is formed to the thematic *vana-*; cf. also Ved. *jāraya-* (: *jara-* 'to make old, grow old' < IE $*ĝerh_2-e/o-$) beside the regular *jaraya-* (< IE $*ĝorh_2-eye-$).

Similary, the Vedic *s*-aorists 3rd sg. subj. act. *vaṃsat* RV., lst pl. opt. middle *vaṃsīmahi* RV. etc. can also be explained as secondary *aniṭ* forms,[67] which can be juxtaposed with *s*-aorists such as Ved. lst pl. act. *atārṣma*, 3rd sg. subj. act. *tārṣat* (: Skt. *tárati* 'crosses over, passes over, overcomes' < IE $*terh_2eti$, cf. the related Hitt. *tarḫzi* 'overcomes, is capable' < IE $*terh_2ti$, Lat. *intrāre*), etc.

25. It is clear Ved. *vánate*, Av. *vanaiti*, Goth. *winnan* and the other forms, analyzed above, can be derived from IE $*h_2wenh_x(-e/o-)$. There is also no doubt that IE $*h_2wenh_x(-e/o-)$ can be interpreted as nasal infix verb, which is derived from the Indo-European disyllabic root $*h_2ewh_x-$ (attested by Skt. *ávati*, Av. *auuaiti*; Skt. *ūtí-*, etc., see § 22).

2. Vedic *ádhvanīt, dhvānta-*, Avestan *duuąsaiti, duuąnman-* and *Latvian dviñga*

26. The Vedic verb $dhvan^i-$, which means 'to smoke, puff out smoke' (see Narten 1964:156), is scarcely attested, cf. the 3rd sg. *iṣ*-aorist act. *ádhvanīt* RV. VIII 6, 13 (*yád asya manyúr ádhvanīt*, translated by Geldner as "als sein Grimm rauchte"), the causative forms 3rd sg. imperfect act. *ádhvānayat* RV. VI 18, 10 and 3rd sg. *is*-aorist inj. act. *dhvanayīt* RV. I 162, 15, which signify 'qualmen' (Narten, *loc. cit.*), and the verbal adjective *dhvāntá-* 'dark', nt. 'darkness' (RV., etc).

It is clear that Ved. *ádhvanīt* represents the Indo-European full-grade $*d^hwenh_x-$, whereas Ved. *dhvānta-* reflects (with *-ān-* along the line of the full-grade forms) IE $*d^hw̥nh_x-to-$. In accord with Brugmann's law, the causative stem *dhvanaya-* (in the *iṣ*-aorist *dhvanayīt*) must regularly be derived from IE $*d^hwonh_x-eye-$; the long *-ā-* of the causative *dhvānaya-* (in the imperfect *ádhvānayat*) must be analogical as that of Ved. *jāraya-* (: Ved. *jarati* 'makes old, grows old' < IE $*ĝerh_2-e-ti$, see § 24.2.

[66] See Rikov (1988:124—125). According to Beekes (1988:63), Ved. *vantâras* "suggests that the laryngeal was not vocalized in some forms of the paradigm"; this phonetic rule is beyond proof. However, Beekes, *loc. cit.*, also offers the correct solution to the problem: "The question is complicated by the fact that in some cognate forms the laryngeal was phonetically lost *(vana- < u(e)nH-e/o-)*, on which *aniṭ* forms could be formed, and that PIE seems to have had doublet roots with and without a final laryngeal".

[67] According to Whitney, *Roots*, and Macdonell (1910:370), the Vedic 2nd sg. imperative middle *vaṁsva* (RV.) belongs to the system of the root aorist. However, there are no other root aorist forms in Vedic. True, Whitney, *Roots*, gives *vanta* RV. with a question mark as a form of the root aorist, but this Rig-Vedic injunctive middle can be explained by haplology as **vananta*, see Macdonell (1910:323): Then, the imperative *vaṁsva* can evidently be added to the *s*-aorist forms subj. *vaṁsat*, opt. *vaṁsīmahi*, see Narten (1964:46—47).

These Vedic forms are related to the Avestan causative *uzduuąnaiia-* 'to cause to fly' (3rd sg. inj. act. *uzduuąnaiiaṯ* Yt. 5, 61), the *sa*-present *duuąsa-* 'to fly' (cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *upa.duuąsaiti* V. 1, 4, etc., *apa.duuąsaiti* V. 8, 16) and the Gathic Avestan deverbative noun in **-men- duuąnman-* 'cloud' Y. 44, 4 (later *dunman-*), see Mayrhofer (1956–1980 II:118); on the semantics of these Avestan forms see Kellens (1984:157).

Av. *duuąnaiia-* is evidently comparable with the Vedic causative forms, adduced above. In the middle of the word the Indo-European interconsonantal laryngeals are lost in Avestan, cf. for instance Av. 3rd sg. pres. middle *vərəṇte* 'chooses' which to Ved. *vṛṇīte* 'id.' and see Hoffmann (1975:59), Beekes (1988:68); then, Av. *duuąnman-* can be derived from IE $*d^hwenh_x-men-$.

Bartholomae (1904:764) rightly compares the formation of Av. *duuąsa-* with that of Skt. *vāñchati*; we have seen above (§ 24.1) that Skt. *vāñchati* and Toch. A *winās-*, B *wināsk-* can be traced back to an Indo-European verb in $*-sk- *h_2wn̥h_x-sk-$, which is formed with zero grade of the root. Then, Av. *duuąsa-* can continue **dvānsa-* (with analogical **-n-* as Skt. *vāñchati*) which points to an Indo-European *sk*-verb $*d^hwn̥h_x-ske/o-$ (cf. also Kellens 1984:157).

Since the radical vocalism of the Baltic nouns in *-ga* follows that of the underlying verbs, Latv. *dviñga* 'Dunst, Kohlendampf' presupposes the existence of a zero-grade verb $*d^hwn̥h_x-e/o-$.[68]

27. Geldner's connection of Rig-Vedic *ádhvanīt* and *ádhvānayat* with *dhūmá-* 'smoke' is generally accepted.[69] It is also well known that Skt. *dhūmá-*, together with Gk. θῦμός 'soul, breath, life', Lat. *fūmus* 'smoke', Lith. *dū́mai* (pl.) 'id.' and OBg. *dymъ* 'id.', continues IE $*d^huh_x-mo-$; cf. also the *o*-grade radical vocalism in OHG *toum* 'steam, vapor' (cf. the Old Saxon denominative verb *dōmian* 'to steam') < IE $*d^howh_x-mo-$. These forms point to an Indo-European disyllabic root $*d^hewh_x-/*d^huh_x-$ which is well attested in different branches of the Indo-European language family; cf. for instance Lat. *fūlīgō* 'soot, carbon', OIr. *dúil* 'wish' (cf. the meaning of Gk. θῦμός), Lith. *dū́lis* 'Nebel, Dunst, Baummoder zum Beräuchern der Bienen' and Latv. *dūlis, dūle, dūlāis* 'Rächermasse zum Forttreiben der Bienen, Fackel, Lunte' which reflect the zero grade $*d^huh_x-$,[70] etc.

Hittite attests *tuḫḫa(i)-* 'to gasp, pant, cough' (cf. also the deverbative nouns *tuḫḫima-* 'gasp, difficulty in breathing' and *tuḫḫiyat-*'gasp') and *duḫḫui-/duḫḫuwai-* 'smoke' which also require the reconstruction of Indo-European disyllabic root.

Since IE $*h_1$ is lost in Hittite-Luwian,[71] the *-ḫ-* in Hitt. *tuḫḫa(i)-*, etc. indicates that there is no reason for assuming IE $*d^hewh_1-$ and $*d^hweh_1-$ (cf. Pokorny 1959:261, who gives the state II of the root as $*d^hwē$).

According to Oettinger (1979:373), these Hittite forms continue IE $*d^hewh_2-/*d^huh_2-$, whereas Hitt. *anduwaḫḫa-*, 'man, human being' might reflect IE $*en-d^hweh_2-o-$, which represents the state II of the root $*d^hewh_2-$. Melchert (1984:30) and Puhvel (1984:82) accept Oettinger's identification of the laryngeal as the *a*-colouring one.

However, the Hittite *ḫ* can reflect not only IE $*h_2$, but also IE $*h_3$, cf. (in the middle of the word) Hitt. *šarḫiya-* 'überfallen, losschlagen' < IE $*sṛh_3-ye/o-$ (cf. Gk. ῥώομαι 'I move with

[68] The connection of Gk. Doric θνάσκω 'I die', Attic θνῄσκω (with secondary ι) 'id.' and Gk. θάνατος 'death', Doric θνᾱτός 'dead', etc. with the family of Ved. *dhvan^i-* (see for instance Pokorny 1959:266; Frisk 1960—1972 I:652—653; Chantraine 1968—1980:422—423) is unacceptable, see Ruijgh (1971:272). The Greek forms can represent the zero grade of an Indo-European root $*d^henh_2-$ (see Ruijgh, *loc. cit.*), from which Hitt. *danduki-* 'mortal' might also be derived (see Oettinger (1979:550), cf. also Rikov (1992:89).

[69] See for instance Pokorny (1959:266), Mayrhofer (1956—1980 II:107—109, 118), Narten (1964:156).

[70] Cf. Lindeman (1970:55), Schrijver (1991:233).

[71] See Kuryłowicz (1927:104), Eichner (1973:54—55), Melchert (1994:54—55).

speed or violence; dart, rush (on)') and see Rikov (1995:189) with refs. For this reason Beekes' (1988:73) reconstruction of IE *$d^huh_{2/3}$-*mo-* (> Gk. θῡμός) seems more correct.

28. To sum up, we are dealing with an Indo-European *set* root *$d^hewh_{2/3}$- (cf. OHG *toum* < IE *$d^howh_{2/3}$-mo-*), the zero grade *$d^huh_{2/3}$- of which is well attested by Skt. *dhūmá-*, Gk. θῡμός, etc. (<IE *$d^huh_{2/3}$-mo-*), Lat. *fūlīgō*, Lith. *dūlis*, etc. If the interpretation of Hitt. *anduwaḫḫa-* as IE *en-$d^hweh_{2/3}$-o-* is correct, this Hittite noun represents the state II of the root.

It is also clear that IE *$d^hwenh_{2/3}$-/*$d^hwn̥h_{2/3}$-*, seen in Ved. *ádhvanīt*, Av. *duuąnman-*, etc./Ved. *dhvāntá-*, Av. *duuąsa-*, Latv. *dviñga*, can be explained as a nasal infix verb, formed from the Indo-European *set* root *$d^hewh_{2/3}$- (and *$d^hweh_{2/3}$-?)/*$d^huh_{2/3}$-.

3. The nasal infix presents of the types *CRenh$_x$-* and *CRenC-*

29. Let us summarize the results of the previous discussion.

The vast majority of the Hittite-Luwian verbs in *-anna-* and *-annye/a-*, the Indo-Iranian in *-ána-* and *-anyá-*, and all the verbs of the Baltic deverbative formation in *-ena-* are formed by suffixation. The suffixes of these formations are abstracted from nasal infix verbs of the type *CRenh$_x$(-e/o-)-*, which is attested by several residual forms in these dialects.

Hitt. *(i)yanna-* and Pal. *iyanna-*, together with Toch. B pres. 1st pl. *ynem*, 3rd pl. *yanem*, continue IE *h_1yenh_2-e/o-*, which would be derived by nasal infix from IE *h_1yeh_2-*, attested by Toch. A *yā-*, B *iyā-*, Skt. *yā́ti*, Lith. *jóti*.[72]

Ved. *kṣaṇa-* and Lat. *sentus, sentis* point to IE *$k\d{s}enh_x$(-e/o)-*; the zero-grade *$ks\d{n}h_x$ -e/o-* (> *ξάνω) underlies the Greek *yod*-present ξαίνω, aor. ἔξηνα, etc. However, there is no evidence for an underlying disyllabic root in this case.[73]

Ved. *iṣaṇa-* can continue IE *h_1isenh_2-e/o-*, from which the Vedic *yod*-present *iṣaṇyá-* is derived. Gk. ἰαίνω, aor. ἴᾱνα, Ionic ἴηνα, etc. point to *ἰανω which would reflect *$h_1isn̥h_2$-e/o-*. Beside these forms, there is also the Vedic 9th class present *iṣṇā́si, iṣṇant-*, etc. The underlying *set* root is well attested in Greek, cf. ἰάομαι, etc.[74]

The residual Baltic representatives of the nasal infix verbs of the shape *CRenh$_x$(-e/o)-*, are reinterpreted, like their counterparts of the shape *CR$\d{n}h_x$(-e/o)-*, as root verbs; the correlation of nasal infix verbs *CRenh$_x$(-e/o)-:CR$\d{n}h_x$(-e/o)-* is paralleled by that of the nasal suffixed verbs in *-ena-* and *-ina-*.

Thus, Lith. *trenù*, Latv. *trenu* and Lith. *trinù*, Latv. *trinu* point to IE *$trenh_1$-e/o-* and *$tr\d{n}h_1$-e/o-* respectively; Gk. τετραίνω, aor. ἐτέτρηνα, etc. are formed on the basis of the latter preform. The disyllabic root *$terh_1$-/*$t\d{r}h_1$- is well attested by Gk. τέρετρον (< IE *$terh_1$-tro-*), τρητός (< IE *$t\d{r}h_1$-to-*), etc.[75]

Lith. *tvìnti* and *tvānas* can also be derived from nasal infix verbs of these types, cf. the *set* forms Skt. *távīti* (< IE *$tewh_2$-ti*), Gk. σάος, σῶς (which represents a thematicization of *$tweh_2$-u-s*), etc.[76]

There are also two latent nasal infix verbs of the type *CRenh$_x$(-e/o-)*, the Indo-Iranian outcomes of which can be added to the scarcely attested verbs in *-ána-*.[77]

Ved. *vánate* and Av. *vanaiti*, together with Goth. *winnan*, etc.,[78] go back to IE *h_2wenh_x-e/o-*. Ved. *vaná-* (cf. *vanéma, vanā́ti*) can continue IE *$h_2wn̥h_x$-e/o-*, to which Goth. *unwunands* (<*$n̥h_2wn̥h_xont$-*) and OIcel. *una* can also be traced back. The Indo-European zero grade *$h_2wn̥h_x$- is also attested by Ved. *-vāta-*, Av. *-vāta-* (< IE *$h_2wn̥h_x$-to-*), Ved. *vāmá-* (< IE *$h_2wn̥h_x$-mo-*), etc. The underlying Indo-European disyllabic root *h_2ewh_x- is attested by Ved. *ávati*, Av. *auuaiti*, Gk. ἀΰτης, zero-grade Ved. *ūti-*, etc.

The Vedic *iṣ*-aorist *ádhvanīt* and the Avestan deverbative noun *duuąnman-* continue IE *$d^hwenh_{2/3}$-*, whereas Ved. *dhvāntá-* (with analogical *-n-*) comes from *$d^hwn̥h_{2/3}$-to-*. Latv. *dviñga* can be derived from a zero-grade thematicized verb *$d^hwn̥h_{2/3}$-e/o-*. The Indo-European disyllabic root *$d^hewh_{2/3}$-/$d^huh_{2/3}$-* is well attested, cf. Skt. *dhūmá*, Gk. θῡμός, etc. (<IE *$d^huh_{2/3}$-mo-*), Hitt. *tuḫḫa(i)-*, etc.

IE *h_1yenh_2-e/o-* and *$trenh_1$-e/o-*, *$tr\d{n}h_1$-e/o-* can be interpreted as archaic nasal infix presents (cf. §§8, 16—18); this implies that the present stems of the types *CRenh$_x$(-e/o)-* and *CR$\d{n}h_x$(-e/o)-* are secondarily used to form non-present forms and primary derivatives.

30. If so, we can identify a class of Indo-European nasal infix presents of the type *CRenh$_x$-*, the structure of which is identical to that of the nasal infix presents of the type *CRenC-* (with stem-final stop or *-s-*).

The type *CRenC-* is well attested outside Indo-Iranian, cf. for instance Lith. *treñkti, trenkiù* 'to push roughly, fling, hurl', Goth. *þreihan* 'to press, throng, cruch', OE *þringan* 'to (op)press, drive', etc. (< IE *trenk-*) beside the zero-grade verbs OIr. *tréicid* 'abandons', Lith. *trinkėti* (< IE *tr̥nk-*) and numerous zero- and *o*-grade derivatives, as Lat. *truncus* 'maimed, mutilated', Lith. *trankýti* 'to knock loudly, push repeatedly', *trañkis* 'push, thrust', etc. The use of the nasal stem outside the present system is secondary, cf. McCone (1991:48) after Sjoestedt.

In Indo-Iranian the presents of 7th class are ordinary counterparts to *CRenC*-verbs, found elsewhere in the Indo-European languages. Thus, Sanskrit attests the nasal infix present *vr̥ṇákti* 'turns, twists (off), plucks (grass), averts', middle *vr̥ñkte* RV. etc. (< IE *$wr̥neg$-ti, *$wr̥ng$-toy*) vs. aor. inj. act. *várk* (< IE *$werg$-t*), aor. middle *ávr̥kta* (< IE *e-$wr̥g$-to*), perfect *vavr̥jur*, etc. The Baltic and Germanic cognates represent, however, the shape *CRenC-*, cf. Lith. *reñgti, rengiù* 'sich schwerfällig bücken, krümmen' and the Germanic *jan*-verbs OE *wrencan* 'to twist, turn, play, trick', OHG *renken*[79]; there are also *o*- and zero-grade derivatives, formed from the generalized nasal stem, cf. the deverbative nouns Lith. *rangà* 'Vorbereitung, Ausrüstung', *rañgas* 'Wickel, Knäuel, Ring', OE *wranc* 'List, Kniff, Betrug; Melodie, Gesang' (< IE *wrong-*) and Lith. *rìnga* 'wer zusammengekrümmt, -geringelt werden, träge Person, etwas Geringeltes, Gekrümmtes' (< IE *wrng-*), etc.

Similarly, Skt. *tr̥ṇátti* 'cleaves, pierces' RV., *tr̥ndánti* continues an Indo-European nasal infix present *$tr̥ned$-ti, *$tr̥nd$-énti*, which is derived from IE *terd-*, attested by the Rig-Vedic 2nd sg. aor. subj. *tárdas*, etc. The type *CRenC-* is is attested by Lith. *trendėti, tréndu* 'faulen, von Motten oder Würmern zerfressen werden' (< IE *trend-*), cf. also the *o*-grade Lith. *trandėti, trandė́ju* and the deverbative noun *trandìs* 'Holzwurm, Borkenkäfer', etc.

Yet the type *CRenC-* is scarcely attested in Indo-Iranian as well, cf. Skt. *granth-* 'to twist, tie' (fut. *granthiṣyati* Br., caus. *granthayate* E., *grantha-* 'knot', *granthí-* 'knot, tie'), *syand-* 'to run, drive, flow' (pres. *syándate* RV. etc., *s*-aor. *asyān* RV., perfect *siṣyanda* AV. Br., etc.) and *manth-* 'to whirl, stir, grind, rub, shake, agitate' (pres. *mánthati* RV. etc., *is*-aor. *ámanthiṣṭām* RV., pass. *mathyáte*, etc.).[80] The best instance is probably Skt. *śvañc-* 'to bend down', which is attested by the 2nd sg. impv. middle *śvañcasva* RV., 2nd sg. caus. inj. act. *śvañcáyas* RV., middle participle *śvañcamāna-* RV., etc.). Eichner (apud Oettinger 1979:180) relates Hitt. *kunk-* 'aufrichten' (iter. *kunkiške/a-*, etc.) to this Sanskrit verb, the middle forms of which signify (with *ud-*) 'sich aufrichten', Hitt. *kunk-* can go back to IE *$\acute{k}unk$-* and the non-syllabic *$\acute{k}unk$-én-* indicates that we are dealing with an Indo-European nasal infix present *$\acute{k}unek$-ti, *$\acute{k}unk$-énti* (see Oettinger, *loc. cit.*), whereas Skt. *śvañc-* continues IE *$\acute{k}wenk$- and represents an Indo-Europesan nasal infix present of the shape *CRenC-*.

[72] Cf. §8. On Hitt. *šuwandumat* and Av. *huuąnmahi* see §10 and fn. 39.
[73] Cf. §14.1.
[74] Cf. §14.2.
[75] Cf. §§16—18. On Gk. δραίνω see §19.2.
[76] Cf. §19.1.
[77] Cf. §§21—28.
[78] On OHG *indrinnan*, which continues *$drenh_x$-e/o-* and also represents a nasal infix verb of the shape *CRenh$_x$*- see fn. 64.
[79] Which belong to the group of *o*-grade Germanic verbs in *-jan* (IE *wrong-*), see Bammesberger (1965:112).
[80] Cf. Kuiper (1934:95ff.).

As Persson (1912:568—569) and Kuiper (1934:95—97) point out, the nasal infix presents of the shape *CRenC-e/o-* can hardly be explained as analogical remodellings of the type *C̥neC-/C̥nC-*[81] and must continue an archaic type. According to Kuiper, *loc. cit.*, the verbs of the type *CRenC-e/o-*[82] originally belong to the "thematic" conjugation (=Kuiper's "Konjunktiv-Präsentia") and can appear alongside with the "athematic" (*mi-*)type *C̥neC-/C̥nC-* (=Kuiper's "Präsens") in Indo-European.

According to Georgiev (1975:10—21), however, the "thematic" conjugation, which can be exemplified by the paradigm of Gk. φέρω, was originally athematic;[83] I have assumed (Rikov 1986—1987:§§29—51) that the weak forms of Narten's proterodynamic verb inflection (see Narten 1968:9—19) originally belong to this athematic conjugation (called by Georgiev "eh_3-conjugation")[84]. If so, there are two athematic conjugations in Indo-European: the *mi*-conjugation, characterized by full grade radical vocalism in the active singular and zero grade in the weak forms, and eh_3-conjugation, characterized by full grade of the root and accented radical syllable in the whole paradigm. The active singular forms of these two conjugations are distinguished by their different sets of endings *(*-mi, *-si, *-ti, *-t* vs. **-eh₃, *-eys(?), *-ey, *-s)*[85] in Indo-European. The ablaut and the accentual differences are quite sufficient distinctive features between the weak forms of these conjugations; if the weak forms of the *mi-* and eh_3-conjugation have originally — like the strong ones — different sets of endings, this distinctive feature is evidently redundant and can be obliterated. This implies that the presents of the shape *CRenC(-e/o)-* were originally athematic; we can reconstruct IE 3rd sg. pres. act. *CRenC-ey*, 3rd pl. pres. act. *CRenC-n̥ti*.[86]

Similarly, the nasal infix presents of the shape *CRenh$_x$(-e/o)-* can be explained as representatives of the Indo-European non-ablauting (eh_3-)conjugation; in fact, I have already assumed this for the Hittite verbs in *-anna-* and Ved. *iṣaṇa-, kṛpáṇa-*, and derived Hitt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *iyannai* by secondary thematicization from Proto-Anatolian **yanni* < IE **h$_1$yenh$_2$-ey* (Rikov 1986—1987:§10; cf. also §8 above).

If so, IE *CRenh$_x$-ey* (cf. the thematicized Ved. *iṣaṇat*) relates to IE *C̥neh$_x$-ti* (cf. Ved. 2nd sg. pres. act. *iṣṇási*)[87] as IE *CRenC-ey* (cf. the Lithuanian secondary *yod*-present *rengiù*) to IE *C̥RneC-ti* (cf. Ved. *vṛṇákti*).

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[81] The nasal infix verbs of the type *CRenC-* (cf. Lith. *tréndu*, etc.) are explained as analogical innovations in most of the main handbooks of Indo-European linguistics, cf. for instance Brugmann (1916:284—286, 288—290)

[82] Kuiper assumes that the type *CRenw-*, attested in the Germanic languages, can also be archaic.

[83] The original athematic paradigm of the Indo-European eh_3-conjugation is continued by pres. act. 1st sg. Gk. φέρω, 2nd sg. Gk. φέρεις, 3rd sg. Gk. φέρει, 2nd pl. Lat. *fertis*, impv. act. 2nd pl. Gk. φέρτε, lat. *ferte*, 2nd du. Ved. *bhartám* (Georgiev 1975:11—12; Rikov 1986—1987:§20), etc. The thematicized forms such as Gk. φέρομεν. φέρετε, etc. are of secondary origin, see Georgiev (1975:10—17), Rikov (1986—1987:§52).

[84] Cf. Skt. 3rd sg. pres. middle *śáye* RV., *śéte* Br. 'lies', Gk. κεῖται 'id.', Skt. 3rd sg. opt. middle *śayīta* RV., etc.; Skt. 3rd sg. pres. middle *stáve* 'praises', Gk. στεῦται, etc.

[85] See Georgiev (1975:10—12, 17—21), Rikov (1986—1987:§§4—19); on the Indo-European 3rd sg. secondary ending **-s* of the eh_3-conjugation see Rikov, *ibid.*, §§9—15.

[86] Due to the thematicization of the Indo-European non-ablauting *(eh_3-)* conjugation, the verb system was restructured at the earliest stage of the dialectal Indo-European after the separation of Hittite-Luwian group of languages; at this stage the presence or the absence of thematic vowels becomes one of the main characteristic features of the Indo-European verb system. The residual athematic forms of the Indo-European eh_3-conjugation such as Ved. *stáve, stota*, Av. *staota*, etc. were reinterpreted as members of the *mi*-conjugation, the athematic inflection of which was completely preserved; such athematic eh_3-forms co-existed alongside with the zero-grade *mi*-forms Skt. *stuté*, Av. *stuiie*, etc. It is clear that the strong forms of Narten's proterodynamic verb inflection (e. g. Ved. *stáuti*) originate within the new athematic paradigm, consisting of zero- and full-grade weak forms (e. g. Skt. *stuté* vs. *stáve*); we are dealing with the proportion weak forms **stu-* (e. g. Skt. *stuté*) : strong forms **stew-ti* (e. g. Av. *staomi, staoti*), = weak forms **stew-* (e. g. Ved. *stáve*) : strong forms *x* (*x* = Ved. *stáuti*, etc.). In this way both proterodynamic proterodynamic root presents and root aorists can be formed, see Rikov (1986—1987:§§70ff.; 1991:2506—2509). In fact, Kuiper's (1934:36—41) reconstruction of Indo-European preterites with lengthened-grade root vocalism is based on an unconvincing ablaut theory.

31. The weak forms of the Indo-European nasal infix presents of the types *CR̥neC-ti* and *C̥neh$_x$-ti* represent an analogical redistribution of the syllabic and non-syllabic sonants; the changes of the original *CRn̥C-* and *CRn̥h$_x$-* into the attested *CR̥nC-* and *CR̥nh$_x$-* are carried along the lines of the strong stems *CRneC-* and *CRneh$_x$-* respectively.[88]

In contrast, the nasal infix presents of the types *CRenC-ey* and *CRenh$_x$-ey* are provided with zero-grade verb forms and primary derivatives, which represent the regular distribution of the syllabic and non-syllabic sonants, cf. for instance OE 3rd pl. pret. *þrungon*, participle *þrungen*, Lat. *truncus*, etc. as well as Ved. *-vāta-, -vāmá-, vanéma, vanáti*, Goth. *unwunands*, OIcel. *una*, etc. True, we can assume that such zero-grade forms are derived from the stems of the types *C̥neC-ti* and *C̥neh$_x$-ti*; if so, their formation must be dated before the redistribution of the syllabic and non-syllabic sonants in the weak forms *C̥nC-* and *CRn̥h$_x$-*. However, this explanation seems unconvincing; it is well known that primary derivatives of the *CR̥neC-* and *CR̥neh$_x$-* types are formed at relatively recent periods and retain the non-syllabic **-n-*, cf. for instance the Vedic infinitive *vṛṇjáse* (: *vṛṇákti*) beside *-vṛje* and *vṛjádhyai*.

On the other hand, the finite verb forms of the types *C̥RenC-ey* and *CRenh$_x$-ey* constitute a non-ablauting paradigm, which cannot undergo the inner-paradigmatic analogy that operates in the types *CRneC-/CRnC-* and *C̥Rneh$_x$-/C̥Rnh$_x$-*. Moreover, the nasal infix presents of the types *CRenC-ey* and *CRenh$_x$-ey* were reinterpreted as root verbs with "non-present" **-n-* at a very early date; in fact, they were incorporated into the *bhárati*-class. This leads to the formation of regular zero-grade derivatives such as Lat. *truncus*, Ved. *-vāta-, vāmá-*, etc., whereas the verbs of the type of OIr. *tréicid*, Ved. *vaná-*, PGmc. **wunan* (cf. Goth. *unwunands*, OIcel. *una*) can be formed along the line of the *tudáti*-class, cf. Ved. *vṛṣate* beside *várṣati* 'rains'.

32. Although inherited nasal infix presents of the type *CRenh$_x$-ey, CRenh$_x$-n̥ti* are scarcely attested and tend to be reinterpreted as root verbs, the antiquity of this type is beyond doubt. As Watkins (1962:3) states, "formal and functional categories in language change, develop and disappear at a slower rate than the individual forms which comprise them at any given moment." It is significant in this respect that the Indo-European nasal infix presents of the type *CRenh$_x$-ey, CRenh$_x$-n̥ti* developed into suffixed verb classes in Anatolian, Indo-Iranian and Baltic. In fact, inherited nasal suffixed verbs in **-enh$_x$-* are lacking; the only possible but uncertain exception is IE **kseuh$_x$(-e/o)-* (> Ved. *kṣaṇa-*, cf. also Lat. *sentis, sentus*). Yet the importance of the Anatolian suffixed verbs in **-ánna-* (and the Hittite in *-anniya-*), the Indo-Iranian in **-ána-* and **-anyá-*, and the Baltic in **-ena-* is evident; they result from independent but parallel morphological transformations of the original type nasal infixed presents.

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[87] Cf. also OHG *indrinnan* : Skt. *dṛṇīyāt*, thematicized Goth. *-taurman* (see fn. 64) and Av. *zaranaēmā* (if *zaran-* represents */zran-/, cf.* §13) : Ved. *hṛṇīté* "is angry".

[88] On the zero-grade *C̥RnC-* as analogical remodelling along the line of strong stem *C̥RneC-* see Eichner (1982:20 fn. 18). Similarly, we have *C̥Rnh$_x$-* along the line of *C̥Rneh$_x$-*, cf. Rikov (1992:91) and Kümmel (apud Rix 1995:401 fn. 13).

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II. СЛАВИСТИКА, БЪЛГАРСКА ЕТИМОЛОГИЯ

II. SLAVIC LINGUISTICS, BULGARIAN ETYMOLOGY

Съпоставително езикознание, VI, 3-5, 14-18. 1981.

ОСНОВА И ФЛЕКСИЯ В ИНДОЕВРОПЕЙСКАТА И ПРАСЛАВЯНСКАТА ГЛАГОЛНА СИСТЕМА

ГЕОРГИ РИКОВ

В связи с возникновением новой имперфектной формации *-ěax- в праславянском языке основа глагола превращается в основное средство выражения темпоральных отношений. Вот почему старая оппозиция первичных и вторичных флексий становится редундантной и эта оппозиция частично стирается, срв. древнеболгарские флексии 3 л. ед. ч., 1, 2 и 3 л. мн. и дв. ч.

Due to the appearance of the new imperfective formation *-ěax- in Proto-Slavonic, the verb system became the basic medium for expressing temporal relations. That is why the old opposition between primary and secondary inflexions became redundant, the result being a partial neutralization of that opposition, cf. the Old Bulgarian inflexions for the third person singular, the first, second and third person plural and the dual.

1. Представителите на младограматическата школа реконструират за общоиндоевропейската глаголна система три темпорални основи: презéнтна, аористна и перфектна. Към презентната основа могат да се присъединяват както първични, така и вторични флексии, като по този начин се образуват респективно сегашно време (срв. стинд. 3 л. ед. ч. asti, kr̥nóti) и имперфект (срв. стинд. вед. 3 л. ед. ч. ās, ákr̥not). Аористната основа се характеризира само с вторични флексии (срв. стинд. 3 л. ед. ч. ábhūt, ákar), докато индоевропейският перфект притежава самостоятелна група флексии (срв. стинд. 3 л. ед. ч. bubhūva, cakāra, veda). В началото и в първата половина на века тази реконструкция е общоприета; редица автори я поддържат и досега, срв. например Хофман (1970). Тя е и очевидно правилна за времето, когато е създадена, тъй като се основава на данните от най-старите измежду известните тогава индоевропейски езици (ведическия староиндийски, авестийски, старогръцки) и тъй като следи от тези три темпорални основи са запазени и в по-късно засвидетелстваните езици.

2. Дешифровката на хетския език предизвиква една необходима корекция в тази реконструкция. В хетския сегашно и минало време се разграничават единствено чрез първичните и вторичните флексии, а не чрез глаголната основа. Индоевропейският перфект, който по своето значение е първоначално вид сегашно време, означаващо състояние или резултат от действие, е засвидетелстван чрез форми от хетското hi-спрежение, срв. хет. 1 л. ед. ч. sa-a-ak-hi 'зная' (сродно с гот. sōkjan 'търся' или с лат. scīō 'зная') с *o*-вокализъм на корена и флексия -hi < ие. *-H_2 e-i [срв. лат. (vīd)-ī, стб. (вѣ,\)-ѣ]. Индоевропейските презентни основи са добре представени от глаголи, принадлежащи както към mi-, така и към hi- спрежение (в хетския език индоевропейският перфект и тематичното сегашно време се сливат в едно спрежение), срв. например хет. 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. eszi (= вед. asti), мин. вр. esta (във вед. ās с аугмент). Индоевропейските „аористни" основи обаче образуват, както и всяка презентна основа в хетския, не само минало (както би могло да се очаква от данните на неанатолийските индоевропейски езици), но и сегашно време; така от индоевропейския „аористен" корен *k^{w}er-, който в староиндийския образува аорист 3 л. ед. ч. ákar и сегашно време kr̥nóti от различна (суфигирана) основа, в хетския има 3 л. ед. ч. мин. вр. kuerta < ие. *k^{w}ert и сег. вр. kuerzi < ие. *k^{w}erti. Съвсем правилно Бъроу

(1955, стр. 296) смята, че в общоиндоевропейския се е различавало сегашно и минало време, както в хетския и че аористът се е появил в по-късен стадий (след отделянето на хетския от общоиндоевропейския) от развитието на езика. Относно пътя, по който възниква аористът в индоевропейските езици вж. Курилович (1964, стр. 104 — 105).

3. Трите темпорални основи, реконструирани от младограматиците за общоиндоевропейския, са добре представени и в славянските езици.

3.1. Още в праславянския индоевропейският перфект е изместен от аналитична конструкция от причастие на *-lъ + спомагателен глагол, срв. например стб. ПНСАѦ ѥсмь. Единствен ясен продължител на индоевропейския перфект е стб. 1 л. ед. ч. вѣдѣ < ие. *woid-H_2e-i. Тази форма функционира като обикновено сегашно време; от нея още в праславянския е образувано атематично сегашно време (срв. стб. вѣмь) — така, както във ведическия от перфект 3 л. ед. ч. veda се образува 3 л. сег. вр. vetti. Индоевропейският перфект още в праславянския е включен в системата на сегашно време. С перфектен произход е вероятно и стб. могѫ (срв. гот. mag). Стари перфектни форми са представени в славянските и балтийските езици от глаголи с формант праславянски *-ī-, балтийски *-i- и с *o*-вокализъм на корена, срв. 3 л. ед. ч. стб. горитъ, лит. gãri, вж. Ван Вейк (1929, стр. 238 и сл.; 1933, стр. 138 и сл.), Станг (1942, стр. 24), Курилович (1964, стр. 82 — 83)[1].

3.2. Праславянският притежава прост и два сигматични аориста. Както простият аорист (стб. дѣнѫ, но сег. вр. дѣнѣмѫ), така и първият сигматичен аорист (стб. вѣсѣ, стинд. avākṣam, лат. 3 л. ед. ч. vēxit) са наследени формации; вторият сигматичен аорист (1 л. ед. ч. стб. -охъ и т. н.) е праславянска иновация. Поради разпространението на маркирания (сигматичния) аорист още в праславянския редица коренни аористи са запазени само във 2 и 3 л. ед. ч., срв. стб. мрѣтѣ (: вед. amṛta), стрѣтѣ (: вед. astar, стирл. sert?), пѣтъ (срв. стгр. аор. императив πῖθι) в парадигмата на сигматичния аорист, срв. стб. мрѣхъ и т. н. (вж. Станг 1942, стр. 64 и сл. с библиография).

3.3. Индоевропейските презентни основи са представени чрез формите за сегашно време: стб. ѣсмь, -сѣ, ѣдѧ. Изолирани имперфектни форми са запазени във 2 и 3 л. ед. ч. (стб. рѣшє, врѣзѣ) и са включени в аористната парадигма (1 л. ед. ч: рѣхъ и т. н.). Още в праславянския старият перфект е изместен от нова формация на *-ěax- (стб. -ѣах-) с не съвсем изяснен произход. Възникването в праславянския на нов имперфект, образуван от основа, различна от презентната, става причина за появата на редица иновации във флексионната система.

4. Заместването на стария имперфект от нова формация е характерно не само за праславянския, но и за латинския, староирландския, германските и балтийските езици. Новите имперфектни формации в тези езици са независимо възникнали и са от различен произход; общото е, че поради възникването на новия имперфект глаголната основа в тези езици се превръща в основно средство за изразяване на темпоралните отношения. Оттук следва редундантността на опозицията между първични и вторични флексии и частичното или пълното заличаване на тази опозиция. Срв. например положението в латинския (с частично заличаване на тази опозиция) и в балтийския (с пълното ѝ заличаване и разграничаване на сегашно и минало време в тематичното спрежение само чрез глаголната основа). За ирландските абсолютни и конюнктни флексии вж. Курилович (1964, стр. 131 — 134).

5. В праславянския възникването на новия имперфект на *-ěax- води до частично заличаване на старата опозиция между първични и вторични флексии. Релевантен признак в опозицията на парадигмите за сегашно време, аорист и имперфект става структурата на глаголната основа, а не флексията. Още Фортунатов допуска разпространение на флексията за 3 л. ед. ч. -тъ (от старо показателно местоимение) от

[1] Но опитът на Курилович да обясни формите с нулева степен на коренния вокализъм от индоевропейски медиален перфект е неубедителен; медиалният перфект в староиндийски и старогръцки е вероятно паралелна и независима иновация, срв. липсата му в авестийския.

аорист в сегашно време и Кузнецов (1961, стр. 102 — 103) отбелязва взаимодействието между презентните и претеритните флексии и в други лица, без да обяснява причините за това явление.

Опитите да се проецира общоиндоевропейската опозиция между първични и вторични флексии в праславянския водят до невероятни обяснения; така например според Ваян флексията за 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. стб. -тъ е от праславянски *-tī < ие. *-ti със затвърдяване на краесловното *-ī, докато в 3 л. ед. ч. аорист и имперфект -тъ е получено от ие. *-t със запазване на краесловното *-t (Ваян 1966). И двете обяснения са неприемливи от гледище на фонетиката.

6. Единствено в 1 и 2 л. ед. ч. е налице добре проведено различие между флексиите на сегашно време, от една страна, и аорист и имперфект, от друга:

В 1 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. праслав. *-mĭ < ие. *-mi, *-ą < ие. *-ō (срв. стгр. φέρω) + вторичната флексия *-m; в аорист и имперфект -ъ, което е по-скоро от ие. *-m̥ (срв. стгр. ἔφῡσα, стб. бꙑхъ), а не, както традиционно се приема, от ие. *-om (Георгиев 1969, стр. 38).

Във 2 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. -сѝ за атематичните глаголи и -ѩшѝ за тематичните[2] е от ие. *-s (вторична флексия) + *-eys (първична флексия). Във 2 л. ед. ч. аорист и имперфект за формите с нулева флексия трябва да се реконструира ие. *-s, докато според Курилович формите с флексия -тъ са възникнали по аналогия на *-mrě (2 и 3 л.): 3 л. *mrětŭ (Курилович 1964, стр. 157).

В 3 л. мн. ч. флексиите в сегашно време са стб. -ѫтъ, -ѧтъ, в аорист и имперфект -ѫ, (за s-аорист) -ѧ; първите обикновено се обясняват чрез ие. първична флексия *-onti, *-enti, докато вторите са от ие. *-ont, *-nt. Срв. обаче появата на продължителите на ие. вторични флексии в стб. 3 л. мн. ч. сег. вр. вѣдѫ (Сав. кн.), нарѣшѧ (Супр.), оукрѣпѧѫ (Зогр. ев.) и т. н.

7. В останалите лица средството за темпорално разграничаване са глаголните основи. Срв. например за 3 л. ед. ч.

стб. сег. вр.	мѣрѧтъ	: аор. мрѣтъ,	имперфект мѣрѣашє
сег. вр.	ѥ, ѣстъ:	аор. бꙑ, бꙑстъ,	имперфект бѣашє, бѣ
сег. вр.	имѣѥтъ	: аор. имѣтъ	и т. н.

В 3 л. ед. ч. флексиите са праслав. *-tĭ (предимно засвидетелствувано в староруския, рядко в старобългарския), *-tŭ (стб. -тъ) и нулева флексия.

*-tĭ произлиза от ие. първична флексия *-ti; относно разпространението ѝ и в миналите времена срв. моужьствѣѥтъ (Остр. ев.) и вж. Кузнецов (1961, стр. 102).

Праславянската нулева флексия, която се среща в старобългарския в сегашно време, аорист и имперфект, е от ие. вторична флексия *-t (за друго обяснение вж. Топоров 1962; Уоткинс 1969, стр. 212 и сл.).

Праслав. *-tŭ е по произход старо показателно местоимение (вж. § 5); то трябва да е добавяно към аористните форми 3 л. ед. ч. след изпадане на краесловното *-t (*-tŭ < *-ø + *-tŭ) и от системата на аориста преминава в системата на сегашно време.

Интересен случай е формата за сегашно време стб. ѥ. Тя е формално стар имперфект (ие. *est). Изпадането и на коренното *-s позволява да се мисли за сегашно време *jes(t), *jestь в ранния праславянски, което предполага ранна поява на новата имперфектна формация и заличаване на смисларазличителната функция на първичните и вторичните флексии преди изпадане на краесловните *-s и *-t. По-вероятно е обаче праслав. *je (стб. ѥ) да е възникнало по аналогия въз основа на пропорцията праслав. *bystŭ : *by = *jestŭ : x (x = *je).

В 1 л. мн. ч. флексиите за сегашно време, аорист и имперфект са *-mŭ (стб. -мъ), *-my (стб. -мы), *-ma (засвидетелствувано в сърбохърватски, словенски, белоруски и словашки диал. -mo).

*-ma произлиза от ие. вторична и перфектна флексия *-mo (Ваян 1966, стр. 11) или от ие. първична флексия *-mos (Георгиев 1969, стр. 38).

Флексията *-mŭ засега остава необяснена. Според Ваян тя е от ие. първична флексия *-mos (Ваян 1966, стр. 11). Георгиев обаче посочва, че ие. *-mos би дало праслав. *-ma и че следователно *-mŭ е иновация (Георгиев 1969, стр. 37 — 38; 1975, стр. 16). Тази иновация, доколкото ми е известно, е без обяснение. Трябва да се предпо-

[2] *-sĭ е разпространено за тематичните глаголи от глаголите с формант *-ī.

лага, че праслав. *-mŭ възниква в системата на миналите времена и че *-ŭ е флексията за 1 л. ед. ч. аорист и имперфект *-ŭ (стб. -ѹ). Промяната на флексиите за множествено число под влияние на тези за единствено число е добре позната. Така например литовската диалектна флексия 1 л. мн. ч. -mu е получена от правилната -me с -u от 1 л. ед. ч. -u < ие. *-ō, вж. Зинкявичюс (1966, стр. 336). Случай на аглутинация е представен и в авестийската вторична флексия 3 л. мн. ч. -rš <.*r + *-s, където *-s (вж. Бъроу 1954) е вторична флексия за 3 л. ед. ч. в индоиранския и хетския.

*-my вероятно възниква под влияние на личното местоимение *my (стб. мы).

Като има пред вид липсата на флексия *-м* в 1 л. ед. ч. в някои западнобългарски диалекти (Дебърско), Кортланд допуска, че разпространението на флексията за 1 л. мн. ч. *-ме* в тези диалекти показва, че *-ме* е старинно. Въз основа на тази форма и на ие. първична флексия *-mes (стгр. -μες) той реконструира ие. вторична флексия *-me (Кортланд 1979, стр. 63 — 64). Това е възможно, но е несигурно. По-просто изглежда флексията праслав. *-me да е направо от ие. първична флексия *-mes. Употребата на праслав. *-me в минало време (често в аорист в старочешкия) не предизвиква трудности за това обяснение. По сходен начин ие. първична флексия *-mos > лат. -mus е генерализирана и се употребява не само за 1 л. мн. ч. сегашно време, но и за имперфект и перфект.

Във 2 л. мн. ч. праслав. *-te, макар че произлиза от ие. вторична флексия *-te, се употребява не само за аорист и имперфект, но и за сегашно време.

Еднакви флексии в сегашно време, аорист и имперфект са засвидетелствувани и в 1 л. дв. ч. *-vě (стб. вѣ), 2 л. дв. ч. *-tā (стб. -та), 3 л. дв. ч. *-te (стб. -те). За техния произход вж. Ваян (1966).

8. Праславянската глаголна система очевидно отразява късен стадий в развоя на общоиндоевропейската глаголна система.

Както беше отбелязано, за общоиндоевропейския трябва да се предполага изразяване на темпоралните отношения единствено чрез опозицията между първични и вторични флексии. Този стадий е представен не само от хетския, но и от по-късно засвидетелствуваните анатолийски езици.

След отделянето на анатолийската група езици в диалектния индоевропейски възникват коренният и сигматичният аорист. По тъкъв начин темпоралните отношения се изразяват както чрез опозицията на първични и вторични флексии (тази опозиция се пази в индоиранския и старогръцкия език поради образуването на сегашно време и имперфект от презентната основа), така и чрез основата (презентна : аористна).

В латинския, староирландския, германските, балтийските и славянските езици старият имперфект се измества от нови формации. В тези случаи е очевидна тенденцията за създаване на маркирано минало време (срв. и разпространението на сигматичния аорист в индоиранския и старогръцкия като проява на тази сравнително късна тенденция). Именно възникването на нови имперфектни формации води до изразяване на темпоралните отношения чрез глаголната основа и до редундантността на опозицията между първичните и вторичните флексии.

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ИЗПОЛЗВАНИ СЪКРАЩЕНИЯ

вед. — ведийски
гот. — готски
ие. — индоевропейски
лат. — латински
стб. — старобългарски
стинд. — староиндийски
стирл. — староирландски
стгр. — старогръцки
хет. — хетски

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БЪЛГАРСКИ ЕЗИК

ОРГАН НА ИНСТИТУТА ЗА БЪЛГАРСКИ ЕЗИК
ПРИ БЪЛГАРСКАТА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ

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ГЕОРГИ Т. РИКОВ

СЛЕДИ ОТ ИНДОЕВРОПЕЙСКИТЕ ПЕРФЕКТНИ ФОРМАЦИИ В СЛАВЯНСКИТЕ ЕЗИЦИ

1. Индоевропейският перфект е една от старинните глаголни категории, които изчезват още в праславянски.

Единствената запазена перфектна форма в славянските езици е стб. 1 л. ед. ч. вѣдѣ 'зная', която, както и стинд. *véda* 'зная', стгр. οἶδα също, гот. *wait* също, продължава нередуплициран перфект с *o*-вокализъм на корена и с първоначално резултативно значение 'видял съм, открил съм'[1]. Както показва Георгиев (Georgiev, 1978:21), предположението, че -ѣ в стб. вѣдѣ отразява флексията на медиален перфект[2] е неприемливо; в случая трябва да се изхожда от перфектната флексия ие. 1 л. ед. ч. *-h_2e (> стинд. -*a*, срв. *ved-a*, стгр. -α, срв. οἶδα), към която е добавено *-*i* от атематичните презентни форми. По същия начин флексията -*ī* в латинските перфекти като *spopondī* 'тържествено обещах' и флексията -*he*/-*hi* в хетските глаголи от *hi*-спрежение като 1 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *šа-а-ak-ḫi* 'зная' произхождат от ие. *-h_2e+*-*i* и потвърждават обяснението на стб. вѣдѣ < ие. **woyd-h_2e-y*[3]

[1] Това най-често срещано в справочниците обяснение на значението е в съгласие със засвидетелствуваните значения на стинд. 3 л. ед. ч. аор. *dvidat* 'той откри', стгр. εἶδε 'той видя, съгледа, забеляза', които са от ие. **é-wide*t, стб. 1 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. внждж < **weyd-ye/o-* и пр. Още в най-старите запазени текстове на индоевропейските езици перфектните форми на ие. **weyd-* 'виждам' означават 'зная', срв. напр. *tuáṃ vettha yáti té Jātavedaḥ* 'ти знаеш колко много са те, о, Джатаведа' (Ригведа X 15, 13), *kó addhā́ veda ?. . . arvā́g devā́ asyá visárjanena áthā kó veda yáti ābabhū́va ?* 'Кой знае наистина ?. . . Боговете се явяват при създаването на това (вселената): кой тогава знае отде тя (вселената) е сътворена ?' (Ригведа X 129, 6) и пр.

[2] Вж. напр. Brugmann (1916:443, 491), Vaillant (1966:76).

[3] Лат. *vīdī* 'видях' едва ли е точно съответствие на стб. вѣдѣ. Както е добре известно, латинският перфект включва както старинни перфектни, така и аористни форми, а коренното *ī* в лат. *vīdī* може да отразява както ие. **oi*, така и ие. **ei*. Значението 'видях' на лат. *vīdī* дава основание да се смята, че този латински перфект е по произход атематичен коренен аорист ие. **weyd-*, от който са произлезли и тематичните аористи стинд. *dvidat*, стгр. εἶδε, за които вж. заб. 1 (вж. Kortlandt, 1979:54—55).

[4] Коренният *o*-вокализъм, отразен в перфекти като хет. *šа-а-ak-ḫi*, стб. вѣдѣ и пр., е пречка за обясненията им като остатък от индоевропейския медиум и за различните теории за общ произход на перфекта и медиума в индоевропейските езици. За формите на индоевропейското медиално спрежение е характерна или нулева степен на корена (при хистеродинамичния тип, срв. стгр. ἔχυτο 'изля се'), или коренен *e*-вокализъм (при протеродинамичния тип, срв. стгр. κεῖται 'той лежи'); за повече подробности вж. Cowgill (1974:559—560).

[5] Срв. напр. Brugmann (1916:92). Наред с *waissei*, *waisse*, спрус. *polaikt* 'той остава' е друга форма от този тип, срв. сродния перфект с редупликация стгр. 1 л. ед. ч. λέλοιπα.

[6] Трубецкой. Цит. съч., с. 17.

[7] Според Станг (Stang, 1966:335) обаче стб. могж и лит. *magù* произлизат от перфекта, засвидетелствуван чрез гот. *mag*, с атематични презентни форми като междинна степен.

„о „активна“ перфектна форма[4]. Що се отнася до относителната хронология на възникването на флексионната серия ие. 1 л. ед. ч. *-h_2e*y* (> хет. *-ḫe*/*-ḫi*, лат. *-ī*), 2 л. ед. ч. *-*th*$_2$*ey* (> хет. *-ti*, лат. *-(is)tī*), 3 л. ед. ч. *-*ey* (> хет. *-i*, лат. *-ī(t)*) в системата на перфекта, то тя е трудно установима, вж. Georgiev (1978:21).

Славянските езици свидетелствуват и за съществуването на атематично сегашно време праслав. 1 л. ед. ч. **vědmь (*věd-mь)*, 2 л. ед. ч. **vědsi (*věd-si)*, срв. напр. стб. вѣмь, вѣси; то е образувано, както и стпрус. 2 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *waissei*, *waisse* 'ти знаеш' и стинд. 1 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *vedmi* 'зная', 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *vétti* 'той знае', от перфектната основа ие. **woyd-* чрез замяна на перфектните флексии с флексиите на атематичното сегашно време. Тези атематични praesentia, към които трябва да се добави и вторично тематизираното сегашно време арм. *gitem* 'зная', представляват най-ранната адаптация на перфектни форми към презентната система[5].

2. Коренният *o*-вокализъм и значението на стб. могж (бълг. *мо́га* и пр.) и лит. *magù* 'приятен съм, нравя се, харесвам се' показват, че тези тематични praesentia произхождат от старинен перфект. Трубецкой (1922—1923: 14—17), който пръв предлага това обяснение за праслав. **magą* и правилно сравнява готския претерито-презенс *mag* 'мога', отбелязва, че докато останалите тематични глаголи от този тип имат в цялата парадигма на сегашното време ударение на тематичната гласна (рус. *веде́шь*, *веду́т*, срхр. *вѣдеши*, *вѣду*), праслав. **magą* има във всички форми, освен в 1 л. ед. ч., ударение на коренната гласна (рус. *мо́жешь*, *мо́гут*, срхр. *мѫжеши*, *мѫгу*). Тъй като този тип акцентуация е обичаен за несигматичния аорист (срв. срхр. *вѣде*), Трубецкой предполага, че продължителят на този индоевропейски перфект в праславянски е функционирал като претерито-презенс („имел значеніе как прошедшего, так и настоящего времени“) и е бил първоначално преоформен като несигматичен аорист[6]. По такъв начин за определен стадий на праславянски може да се предположи съществуването на два типа перфекти: перфект, който е неутрален по отношение на временните различия (раннопраслав. 3 л. ед. ч. **mage* < ие. *mog^h-e*) и перфект със значение на сегашно време (ранно-праслав. **waidei* < ие. **woyd-e-y*), вж. Kortlandt (1979:55—56)[7].

3. Глаголите от типа на стб. боѩти сѧ, боіж сѧ, полѣти, полѥж 'горя', -горѣти, -горѥж, лит. *garėti*, *garìu* 'горя' са вероятно образувани въз основа на старинни нередуплицирани перфекти с *o*-вокализъм на коренната сричка, като старобългарското сегашно деятелно причастие горѧшт- показва, че

формацията на *-ē-/*-i- в праславянски е резултат от вторичен развой, вж. напр. Stang (1942:24), Vaillant (1966:77). Въвеждането на -i- в парадигмата на наследените перфектни форми в балтийските езици е засвидетелствувано чрез стпрус. 1 л. мн. ч. сег. вр. *waidimai* 'ние знаем' и 2 л. мн. ч. сег. вр. *waiditi* 'вие знаете', които се явяват покрай формите без -i- 1 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *waidmai*, 2 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *waissei, waisse*, 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *waist* (вж. Jasanoff, 1978:106); подобно на старопруски, старобългарски засвидетелствува вѣдимое Супр. 212,30 и недовѣдимъıи Син. тр. 56в14 покрай обичайното сегашно страдателно причастие вѣдомъ[8].

Произходът на славянските и балтийските глаголи на *-e-/[9]-ĭ- не е задоволително изяснен. Ако се изхожда от индоевропейски (и съответно балтославянски) форми с флексия *-ey, към която е добавена флексията *-ti и се предположи следващо генерализиране на *-ey- от *-ey-ti в цялата парадигма (вж. Kuryłowicz, 1964:81—83), то само славянските глаголи *garitь, *тьпitь и пр. получават задоволително обяснение; тъй като старопруски и латвийските диалекти свидетелствуват за кратко *-i, балтийските глаголи от типа на лит. *gāri, mini* остават необяснени (вж. Jasanoff, 1978:101). Ако се изхожда от форми за 3 л. мн. ч. с флексия ие. *-n̥t(i) или *-r̥ > балтослав. *-int(i) или *-ir, би могло да се приеме, че след преразлагане на *-int(i) и *-ir като *-i-nt(i) или *-i-r е последвало пълно или частично разпространение на -i- в другите форми на парадигмата; така например въз основа на балтослав. 3 л. мн. ч. перфект *waid-ir[9] → *waidi-r биха били образувани старопруските форми 1 л. мн. ч. *waidimai*, 2 л. мн. ч. *waiditi* (вж. подробно Jasanoff, 1978:94—117). Славянските глаголи от типа *garitь обаче би трябвало да се обяснят в такъв случай чрез замяна на *-i- от *-i- под влияние на славянските итеративни и деноминативни глаголи със суфикс *-ĭ- (вж. Jasanoff, 1978:112).

4. 1. Славянските praesentia и несигматични аористи с удължена степен *ē на коренната гласна са смятани от някои лингвисти за старинни перфекти[10].

Несъмнено тези славянски глаголи са наследени от диалектния индоевропейски, срв. напр. стб. 1 л. ед. ч. сѣдъ Син. пс., стлит. 1 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *sėdmi* 'сядам' (образувано въз основа на претерита на *-ā-, срв. лит. 3 л. ед. ч. прет. *sėdo*, и заместващо по-старинен praesens с назален инфикс, засвидетелствуван чрез стб. сѧдѫ и стпрус. 3 л. ед. ч. *sindats*, вж. Stang, 1966:315), гот. 3 л. мн. ч. прет. *sētun* 'те седяха' ствиснем. 2 л. ед. ч. прет. *sāzi* 'ти седя', 1 л. мн. ч. прет. *sazzum*, стинд. прич. *sādad-* (< ие. **sēd-n̥t-*) в *sādádyoni-* 'на своето седалище седящ' (Ригведа), лат. 1 л. ед. ч. *sēdī*, които свидетелствуват за ие. **sēd-* с удължена степен на коренната гласна покрай ие. **sed-* в отглаголното съществително чсл. сѣдьло (от което е деноминативният глагол стб. осѣдѣлатн Супр.), стинд. 3 л. ед. ч. аорист *ásadat* 'той седя' и пр.

Праслав. **sěšti, *sěką* (срв. стб. съсѣкѫ Син. пс. и пр.) и лит. *įsėkti* 'сека, изрязвам' са също образувани с удължена степен на коренната гласна (ие. **sek-*); пълна степен на коренния вокализъм е засвидетелствуван чрез стб. сѣкѫра, лат. *secō* 'сека, отрязвам', *secūris* 'секира, брадва'.

[8] Тези случаи свидетелствуват за сравнително късно преоформяне на старинните перфекти като глаголи от балтославянския тип **minētey* (> праслав. **тьnѣti*).

[9] Реконструкцията на балтослав. перфект 3 л. мн. ч. **waidint(i)* (като възможност у Jasanoff, 1978:106) е по-малко вероятна, тъй като флексията за 3 л. мн. ч. на индоевропейския перфект е **-r*.

[10] Вж. напр. Vaillant (1962:53—56; 1966:76 и сл.).

Праслав. аорист 1 л. ед. ч. **bĕgъ* (срв. стб. изъвгъ Клоц., прѣвѣгъ Син. тр. и пр.), сег. вр. **bėžą, bėgną* и лит. *bėgmi, bėgu* 'тичам, бягам', латв. *bėgu* произлизат от ие. **b*^{h}*ēg*^{w}-. докато стгр. φέβομαι 'бягам, избягвам, изплашен съм' е от ие. **b*^{h}*eg*^{w}-.

Същото отношение е засвидетелствувано и чрез стб. ѣмь, стлит. *ėdmi, ėmi* 'ям'[11], лат. 2 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *ēs* 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *ēst* покрай формите с пълна степен на корена хет. 1 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *e-it-mi*, стинд. *ádmi* 'ям', с нулева степен хет. 1 л. мн. ч. сег. вр. *a-tu-e-ni*, стинд. *admasi* 'ядем' и пр.

Данните от индоевропейските езици обаче не потвърждават съществуването на перфектна формация с *ē*-вокализъм на корена. Дори в индоевропейски езици, които са запазили перфекта като самостоятелна глаголна категория, коренните глаголи с *ē*-вокализъм са или praesentia, или аористи. Така например ние имаме удължена степен (**ē*) на корена в стинд. сег. вр. акт. 1 л. ед. ч. *stáumi* 'възхвалявам', 3 л. ед. ч. *stáuti* и пр. покрай пълна степен в слабите форми 3 л. ед. ч. мед. стинд. *stáve*, стгр. στεῦται; срв. също стинд. сег. вр. акт. 1 л. ед. ч. *márjmi* (*sáṃ sánu márjmi* 'аз изтривам (неговия) гръб' Ригведа II 35, 12), 3 л. ед. ч. *marsti* и пр., които, заедно с лит. *mélžu* 'доя', позволяват да се реконструира ие. акт. 1 л. ед. ч. **h*$_2$*mēlǵ-m(i)*, 2 л. ед. ч. **h*$_2$*mēlǵ-s(i)*. 3 л. ед. ч. **h*$_2$*mēlǵ-t(i)*[12]. Този тип коренни praesentia и аористи са представители на така нареченото „протеродинамично" спрежение и първоначално са имали удължена *ē*-степен на коренната гласна в силните форми на парадигмата и пълна (*e*-) степен в слабите форми; за възникването на този тип спрежение съм писал другаде, вж. Rikov (1987:209—228; 1991:2506—2509).

4.2. Втората група славянски глаголи, разглеждани от Ваян (Vaillant, 1966:76 и сл.) като перфекти с *o*-вокализъм на корена, е представена от праслав. **bādāti, *bādāją*, стчеш. *jadati* и праслав. **pāsti, *pādą*.

Праслав. **bādāti, bādāją* (срв. бълг. диал. *бàдкам* 'опитвам се да си спомня, да кажа нещо, да налучкам, да направя нещо' и пр.) е най-вероятно резултат от преразлагане на праслав. **ab-ādāti*, **ab-ādāją* като **a-bādāti*, **a-bādāją*, вж. напр. Berneker (1908—1913:249)[13]; непрефигурираният глагол праслав. **ādāti, *ādāją* е засвидетелствуван чрез стчеш. *jadati* 'изпитвам, изследвам'. По своето образуване този глагол е итератив на **-āti, *-āją* и поради това би могъл да се изведе с характерното за тези итеративи удължение на коренната гласна от праслав. **ad-*, срв. сродния старогръцки глагол 1 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. ὄζω 'мириша', който свидетелствува за начален трети ларингал (ие. **h*$_3$*d-ye/o-*). Ето защо предположението за първоначален перфект с *o*-вокализъм на корена в случая с праслав. **bādāti, *ādāti* намира основание единствено в сравнението на този глагол с лит. *uosti, uodziu* 'мириша'[14].

Праславянският глагол **pāsti, *pādą* (стб. пасти, падѫ и пр.) е обаче

[11] Или от ие. **h*$_1$*e-h*$_1$*d-* (старинен редуплициран перфект), вж. Georgiev (1981:31).

[12] Началният ларингал се установява въз основа на сродното стгр. ἀμέλγω 'доя' < ие. **h*$_2$*melǵ-*.

[13] Връзката с праслав. **basti, *badą* (брлг. бодà и пр.), предложена в БЕР 1, 26 и от Трубачев (1974:121—122) изглежда по-малко вероятна от гледище на семантиката.

[14] Сравнението със старогръцкия перфект ὄδωδα 'мириша' (вж. Vaillant, 1962:53) е неприемливо; стгр. ὄδωδα е перфект с атическа редупликация и произлиза от ие. **h*$_3$*de-h*$_3$*d-h*$_2$*e* Възможността балтославянският глагол да произхожда от редуплициран перфект (ие. **h*$_3$*e-h*$_3$*d-h*$_2$*e)* е несигурна.

със сигурност образуван с коренен *o*-вокализъм и принадлежи към групата на протеродинамичните перфекти. Този тип перфекти е представен в индоевропейските езици от форми като старогръцкия плусквамперфект 3 л. ед. ч. ἄωρτο 'той беше висял' (Илиада Γ 272, Τ 253), който свидетелствува за съществуването на перфект 1 л. ед. ч. *ἄωρα, 3 л. ед. ч. *ἄωρε (< ие. *$h_2wōr$-h_3e, *$h_2wōr$-*e*) и пр., староиндийските перфектни причастия *dāśvaṃs-* (*dāś-* 'правя жертвоприношение'), *sāhvaṃs-* (*sah-* 'преобладавам') и германските претерити от шести клас на силните глаголи, срв. гот. *grof*, стнорд. *gróf*, ствиснем. *grob* (: инф. *graban* 'ровя'). Тези перфекти са сравнително късно образувани в диалектния индоевропейски, вж. Rikov (1987 : 231—233).

Всъщност единствено в староиндийски и в германските езици са засвидетелствувани примарни глаголи, които могат да се съпоставят пряко с праслав. **pasti*, **pàdą*.

Наред със стинд. 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. мед. *padyate* 'той върви, пада', което е образувано със суфикс ие. **-yelo-*, в староиндийски са засвидетелствувани и атематичните коренни аористи 1 л. мн. ч. мед. *apadmahi* и 3 л. мн. ч. мед. *apadran* (само в Ригведа VI 20, 4 *śatair apadran. . .* 'чрез сто (удара) те пропаднаха. . .'); ако аугментът е старинен, то няма основание да се допуска вторична пълна степен **ped-* въз основа на по-раншна нулева степен ие. **pd-* на корена. С пълна степен на корена са образувани и германските тематични praesentia стангл., стсакс. *fetan*, ствиснем. *gi-fezzan* (прагерм. **fet-a-* 'падам'). Отношението атематичен коренен аорист : тематично сегашно време (в случая стинд. аорист *apadmahi*, *apadran* : прагерм. сег. вр. **feta-*) е добре известно, срв. напр. аорист стинд. 2 л. дв. ч. акт. *volhám*, 3 л. дв. ч. акт. *volhám* : сег. вр. стинд. 3 л. ед. ч. акт. *váhati* 'той носи', праслав. **vezą* (стб. вєзѫ и пр.).

Ствиснем. 3 л. мн. ч. прет. *fāzzun* позволява да се предположи съществуването на протеродинамичен аорист **pĕd-m* в диалектния индоевропейски; слабите форми от парадигмата на този аорист биха имали първоначално пълна степен (**e*) на корена, срв. стинд. *apadmahi*, *apadran*. Всъщност след тематизацията на индоевропейското *eh*$_3$- спрежение (срв. прагерм. **feta-*) именно реликтните слаби атематични форми на това спрежение (срв. стинд. *apadmahi*, *apadran*) са основата за формирането на силните форми с удължена степен на коренната гласна (ие. 1 л. ед. ч. *pĕd-m*, 2 л. ед. ч. *pĕd-s*, 3 л. ед. ч. *pĕd-t*[15] (вж. Rikov, 1987 : 209—228; 1991 : 2506—2509).

Германските претеритни форми стнорд. *fat* 'изнамерих', стангл. *gefæt* 'падна', ствиснем. *faz* '(вратата) се клатеше', *ni gifaz* 'забрави' позволяват да се реконструира нередуплицираният перфект **pod-h*$_2$*e*, **pod-th*$_2$*e*, **pod-e*.

В староиндийски е засвидетелствуван перфект с редупликация, срв. стинд. 3 л. ед. ч. *papāda* 'той пада'[16], 3 л. мн. ч. *pedur*, което е образувано по аналогия на форми като стинд. *sedúr* < **sa-zd-* (*sad-* 'седя') и се явява вм. очакваното **pabdur*. Тъй като редупликацията на староиндийските перфекти не винаги е старинна (срв. напр.) стинд. *mamārja* покрай старинното 3 л. мн. ч. *māmṛjur* < ие. **h*$_2$*me-h*$_2$*mḷ̥ǵ-* и вж. Rikov, 1987 : 233)[17], то староиндийският перфект *papāda* би могъл да е образуван въз основа на по-старинен нередуплициран перфект, засвидетелствуван в германските езици.

Тъй като формите с нулева степен (ие. **pd-*) в началото на думата биха били елиминирани още в късния индоевропейски, очевидно е, че индоевропейските езици предоставят всички форми, необходими за възникването на протеродинамичния перфект **pod-h*$_2$*e*, отразен в праслав. **pāsti*, **pàdą*; ие. **ped-* и **pēd-* и наличието на перфектна основа ие. **pod-* са достатъчно основание за образуването на перфект с удължена степен *o* на коренната гласна, срв. Rikov (1987 : 231—233).

5. Праславянските глаголи **čākati*, **čākàją* и **čekāti*, **čekàją* са добре засвидетелствувани в славянските езици, срв. чсл. чаѧти (XIV в.), бълг. *чáкам*, срхр. *чàкати* (от XV в.), словен. *čákati*, стчеш. *čakati*, словаш. *čakať*, пол. остар. *czakać*, горлуж. *čakać*, доллуж. *cakaś* 'чакам, очаквам' (< праслав. **čākāti*) покрай бълг. диал. *чѐкам*, срхр. *чѐкати* (от XIII в.), рус. диал. *чекáть*, укр. *чекáти*, чеш. *čekati*, пол. *czekać* 'чакам, очаквам' (< праслав. **če āti*).

Връзката на тези глаголи с праслав. **čajati*, **čāją* (срв. стб. чаѧти, чаѭ 'надявам се, очаквам, чакам' и пр.) не поставя проблеми от гледище на семантиката.

Образуването на праслав. **čakati* и **čekati* обаче е спорно. Зубати (Zubatý, 1901 : 33) смята, че праслав. **čekati* е образувано с редупликация, правилно свързва **čekāti* с **čāją* и предполага, че **čā-* в **čākāti* е под влияние на **čāją*. Наред с това, привеждайки вече известното сравнение на праслав. **čāją* със стинд. *cā́yati* 'възприема, страхува се, почита' и сродните му форми, той свързва праслав. **čekāti*, прич. **čekānъ* с различните по произход стинд. перфект *ā-cake* 'жадувa', *cakānā-* 'жадуващ'[18]. Тази несигурност в обяснението на праслав. **čākāti* и **čekāti* се проявява и от Бернекер (Berneker, 1908—1913 : 134) и Фасмер (Vasmer, 1958 : 310). Много по-прецизен в обяснението си е Славски (Sławski, 1976 : 109), който отбелязва, че праслав. **čākāti*, **čekāti* не може да се отдели от праслав. **čājàti* и че най-вероятно е образувано с редупликация. Без достатъчно основание обаче Славски смята, че данните от славянските езици говорят за вторичността на **čekāti* по отношение на **čākati*.

Според Мейе (Meillet, 1902—1905) праслав. **čakati* е образувано с разширение **-k-* от **čājāti*, а **čekāti* е с дисимилация от **čakāti*; Ваян (Vaillant, 1966 : 335) смята, че праслав. **čakati* е образувано със суфикс **-kā-*. Предположението на Мейе за дисимилация обаче е неприемливо (вж. Vasmer, цит. съч., Трубачев, 1977 : 13) и поради тази причина отношението на праслав. **čekāti* спрямо праслав. **čājati* остава неясно.

[15] Тези форми трябва да се разграничат от често привежданите в етимологичните речници сродни деноминативи с удължена степен *ē* на коренната гласна. Така сродното лит. *pėdinti*, *pėdinu* 'бавно вървя, крача' е очевидно деноминатив на *-inti*, *-inu* от лит. *pėdà* 'следа от крак, стъпка', както и лит. *báltinti*, *báltinu* от *báltas* 'бял', *gárbinti*, *gárbinu* 'почитам, прославям' от *garbė̃* 'чест'; за деноминативите от този тип вж. Stang (1966 : 367—369). Лит. *pėdúoti*, *pėdúoju* 'оставям кални следи' принадлежи към деноминативните глаголи на *-úoti*, *-úoju* и се отнася към лит. *pėdà* така, както лит. *baĩtuoti* 'белея' към лит. *báltas* 'бял', лит. *badúoti* към лит. *bãdas* 'глад' и т. н. (срв. Stang, 1966 : 364). Ясно е, че тези балтийски глаголи с *ē*-вокализъм на корена не могат да се сравняват пряко — както това е направено например у Walde и Pokorny (1927 : 23—24) и Pokorny (1959 : 791) — с праслав. **pasti*, **pàdą*. Според Швицер (Schwyzer, 1939 : 719) стгр. πηδάω 'скачам, подскачам' е примарен глагол на *-αω*. Фриск (Frisk, 1970 : 520, 526) допуска, че стгр. πηδάω може да е деноминативен глагол. Като се има предвид, че формите на *-αω* са по произход както девербативни, така и деноминативни глаголи и че значението 'скачам, подскачам' говори по-скоро в полза на втората възможност, която е предпочетена и от Риш (Risch, 1974 : 321), то стгр. πηδάω също трябва да се изключи от групата на примарните глаголи, необходими за обяснението на праслав. **pasti*, **pàdą*.

[16] Със същото значение както стинд. *áva padyate* 'той пада', срв. Ригведа X 34, 11 *pūrvahṇé áśvān yuyujé hí babhrún, só agnér ánte vṛṣalásḥ papāda* 'тъй като впряга кафявите коне сутрин, той пада, малкият човек, (вечер) близо до огъня'.

[17] Тези перфекти са от стинд. *mṛ́j-* 'трия, бърша' срв. по-горе стинд. *mā́rjmi* и сродните стгр. ἀμέλγω, лит. *mélžu* (§ 4.1).

[18] Стинд. *cā́yati* и праслав. **čają* произхождат от ие. **k*^{w}*eyeǰo-*, докато стинд. *ācake*, *cakānā-* и пр. са от ие. **kā-* (т. е. сродни с лат. *carus* 'мил, любим' и пр.), вж. напр. Pokorny (1959 : 615, 636—637).

Станг (Stang, 1961:67—70; 1966:8) отхвърля обяснението на прас лав. *čakāti и *čekāti чрез редупликация поради голямата рядкост на реду пликацията в праславянската глаголна система. Той предполага изходна пра славянска форма *čekti (откъдето праслав. *čekāti), която според него е сродна с лит. kàkti, kankù 'достигам, набавям, хващам, стигам'; в такъв случай праслав. *čākāti е правилно образуван итератив с удължена корен на гласна. От гледище на семантиката това обяснение, прието и от Тру бачев (1977:13, 36), изглежда по-малко вероятно от почти общоприетата връзка на *čākāti и *čekati с *čājāti. Наред с това, макар и рядка в славян ските езици, редупликацията е добре засвидетелствувана чрез глаголи като стб. дамь < ие. *deh$_3$-dh$_3$-mi (вж. Georgiev, 1981:31), стб. (въз-)дѣжда 'повдигна, вдигна, протегна', чсл. дѣжда 'слагам, поставям' < ие. *d^{h}e-d^{h}h$_1$-ye/o-.

Обосновката на предположението, че праслав. *čakāti и *čekāti възхожда към старинна редуплицирана форма, изисква по-внимателен анализ на сродните стинд. cā́yati и праслав. *čājāti, *čāją, приведени като форми с удължена степен на кореннната гласна (ие. *k^{w}ēye/o-) под k^{w}ei-t- от Валде и Покорни (Walde и Pokorny, 1931:508—510) и Покорни (Pokorny, 1959 636). Стгр. τηρός 'пазещ' и τηρέω 'наблюдавам, виждам, очаквам, следя, де бна; бдя, пазя' свидетелствуват обаче за ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$- и показват, че обяснението на стинд. cā́yati и праслав. *čājāti, čāją като глаголи с удължена сте пен на кореннната гласна е неприемливо; стгр. τηρός < ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$ro- изис ква извеждането на стинд. cā́yati и праслав. *čājāti, *čają от ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$ye o-. Рус. диал. *ему челóсь* 'струваше му се' и личните имена стпол. *Czasław* и стчеш. *Časlav* показват, че наред с *čājāti в праславянски е съществувал и глагол *čati (вж. Sławski, 1976:107), който, както и старогръцките фор ми, свидетелствува за ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$-. Очевидно е също така, че при наличието на форми като стинд. cikéti 'наблюдава, възприема', citi- 'разбиране стгр. ἀτίζω 'не почитам, презирам, пренебрегвам' и пр. е неприемливо допускането, че стинд. cā́yati и праслав. *čāją са образувани със суфикс *-ye/o от ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$-(срв. Walde и Pokorny, 1931:508). Ето защо би трябвало да се реконструира ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$i- покрай ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$-; в такъв случай имаме стинд. cikéti < ие. *k^{w}h$_1$i-k^{w}eh$_1$i-ti, стинд. citi- < ие. *k^{w}h$_1$i-ti-, стинд. cā́yu 'оказващ дълбоко уважение, почитащ' < ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$y-u- и пр., а стинд. cā́yati и праслав. *čają са тематизирани форми от ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$i-. Отношението на ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$- (стгр. τηρός, τηρέω, праслав. *čati в рус. диал. *ему челóсь* ЛИ стпол. *Czasław*, стчеш. *Časlav*) спрямо ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$i- е същото както на ие. *d^{h}eh$_1$- (срв. стинд. dhāru- 'бозаещ', стгр. θηλή 'цица, гръд') спрямо ие. *d^{h}eh$_1$i- (срв. стинд. dhenā́ 'крава', dhenu- 'млечен') и пр.

В такъв случай праслав. *čekāją* е образувано въз основа на старинен редуплициран перфект ие. 1 *л.* ед. ч. *k^{w}e-k^{w}oh$_1$i-h$_2$e, 2 *л.* ед. ч. *k^{w}e-k^{w}oh$_1$i-th$_2$e и 3 л. ед. ч. *k^{w}e-k^{w}oh$_1$y-e[19], което би дало раннопраслав. *kekāje +-ti > праслав. *čekājetь. Адаптацията на този перфект към презентната система в праславянски е напълно естествена, като се има предвид изчезването на перфекта като самостоятелна глаголна категория; срв. по-горе падж.

Праслав. *čākāją би могло да е образувано с пълна редупликация; в такъв случай изходната глаголна основа би била ие. *k^{w}eh$_1$-k^{w}oh$_1$i-, като по отношение на редупликационната сричка праслав. *čākāją би се отнасяло към *čekāją както стб. дамь към -дѣжда. Не бива обаче да се изключва и възможността čā- в *čākāją да е под влияние на čājāti, *čāją, както вече е предположено от Зубати (вж. по-горе).

Като се има предвид, че обяснението на праслав. *jāmь* (стб. ѧмь и пр.) като преоформен редуплициран перфект (ие. *h$_1$e-h$_1$d-) не е безспорно (вж. по-горе 4.1), то праслав. *čekają остава единственият приемлив представител на индоевропейския редуплициран перфект в славянските езици.

[19] С характерна за индоевропейския перфект редупликация и *o*-вокализъм на корена.

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GEORGI T. RIKOV
Sofia

THE LONG ROOT VOWELS IN THE SLAVIC VERBS OF THE TYPE *BĚŽǪ, SĚKǪ, ZĚJǪ*

1. The data

The Slavic and Baltic languages present a number of original root verbs which are formed with lengthened grade of the radical vowel. Many of these verbs, formed from roots of different typological shape, have corresponding lengthened–grade forms in other Indo-European languages.

(1) C_1eC_2-roots with

(1a) C_2 = voiced stop:

Lith. *bė̃gti*, *bė̃gmi*, *bė̃gu* 'run', Latv. *bêgt*, *bêgu* 'id.', OBg. *běžati*, *běžǫ*, aor. *-běgъ* (*izběgъ*, *priběgъ*) 'flee, run' point to IE $*b^hēg^w$- and appear beside the full–-grade thematic middle Gk. *φέβομαι* 'I am in flight' (< IE $*b^heg^w$-).

Lith. *ė́sti*, *ė́du* (OLith. *ėdmi*) 'eat', OBg. *jasti*, *jamь* 'id.', Lat. pres. 2nd sg. *ēs*, 3rd sg. *ēst*, cf. the full-grade athematic weak forms Hitt. *edweni*, Skt. *ádmasi* and the thematic presemts Gk. *ἔδω* 'I eat', Lat. *edō* 'id.'.

Lith. *sė́sti*, *sė́du* (Olith. *sėdmi*) 'sit down', OBg. *sěsti*, aor. *sědъ* 'id.', Skt. *sadad-* (in *sādad-yoni-* 'an seiner Stätte sitzend'), *sādana-* 'seat' and probably OHG 2nd sg. pret. *sāzi*, Goth. 1st pl. pret. *setum*, OHG *sāzum*, etc., Lat. *sēdī* continue IE $*sēd$-. The full-grade $*sed$- is attested by OCz. *seděti* 'sit', ChSl. *sedьlo* 'saddle', OBg. *osedьlati* 'to saddle'[1], Goth. *sitan* 'sit down', Skt. aor. *ásadat* (*sad-* 'sit, sit down'), etc. The Lithuanian *ā*-preterite *sė́do* is a remodelled thematic aorist, cf. the pair Lith. *bùdo* : OBg. *-bъde*[2]. Lith. *sė́dmi* is an innovation, replacing the old

[1] Winter (1978: 440–441) assumes that ChSl. *sedьlo* (OBg. *osedьlati*) represents an old borrowing from Gothic (cf. Goth. *sittls* 'seat, chair') or from another Germanic language before the Germanic sound shift. However, the root vocalism of OCz. *seděti* 'to sit' guarantees the existence of $*sed$- in Slavic and indicates that Winter's hypothesis is unacceptable.

[2] See Stang (1966: 315).

characterized present, cf. OBg. *sędǫ* and OPruss. 3rd sg. *sindats*. Then, we are dealing with an Indo-European root aorist $*sēd$- / $*sed$-.

(1b) C_2 = voiced aspirated stop:

Lith. *nulė́gti* 'become tired', *palė́gti* 'put down, become feebly, sickly' and probably the Germanic preterite OHG *lāgun* point to $*lēg^h$; we have also the full-grade OBg. *lešti* 'lie down', Goth., OHG *ligan* 'lie' and Gk. *λέχεται·κοιμᾶται* Hsch. (< $*leg^h$-). True, OHG *lāgun* can represent an inner-Germanic innovation and, as Winter (1978: 443) assumes, "in *-lė́gti* ... the long vowel must be interpreted as due to transfer from *liegti*" ('be seriously ill', cf. GK. *λοίγος* 'disaster').

(1c) C_2 = voiceless stop:

Lith. *įsė́kti* 'engrave', OBg. *sěšti*, *sěkǫ* 'cut' point to IE $*sēk$-, whereas IE $*sek$- is attested by OBg. *sekyra* 'axe', Lat. *secūrys* 'hatchet', *secāre* 'cut'.

OBg. *strěkati*, *strěčǫ* 'sting', cf. the *o*-grade OBg. *stroka* 'κέντρον, στίγμα'.

(2) C_1eRC_2-roots with C_2 = voiced stop:

Lith. *mélžti*, *mélžu* 'milk' and Skt. *mā́rjmi* 'I rub, wipe' can be derived from IE $*h_2mēlg'$-[3]. The full-grade radical vocalism is well attested by Av. *marəzaiti* 'touches lightly, grazes', Gk. *ἀμέλγω* 'I milk', OE *melcan* 'milk', etc. (< IE $*h_2melg'$-).

Lith. *pérsti*, *pérdžiu* continues $*pērd$-, to which the Albanian aorist *pordha* can be also traced back; cf. also the full-grade thematic presents Alb. *pjerth*, Gk. *πέρδομαι*, Skt. *párdati*.

(3) C_1ReC_2-roots with C_2 = voiced aspirated stop:

Lith. *grė́bti*, *grė́biu* 'rake' (< $*g^hr̥ēb^h(h_x)$-) appears beside the full-grade OBg. *-grebǫ* 'row' (cf. OBg. *pogrebǫ*); the related Skt. *gr̥bhnā́ti* 'seizes' must be derived, in spite of Rasmussen (1992b: 65) who assumes $*g^hr̥bn̥ah_2ti$[4], from IE $*g^hr̥b^hneh_2ti$.

Lith. *glė́bti*, *glė́biu* 'embrace', Latv. *glêbt* 'protect', OHG *klāftra* 'measure of stretched out arms' and probably Lat. *glēba* 'lump, clod of earth' can reflect $*glēb^h$-; cf. also the *o*-grade forms Pol. *głobić* 'fit together' and possibly Lat. *globus* 'ball, clod'.

(4) CeR-roots with R = *i/u*:

The East Lithuanian verb *líeti*, *lejù*, *lė́jau* 'pour out, shed' and Latvian *liêt*, *leju*, *lêju* 'id.' guarantee the original full grade $*ley$- in the present and the lengthened grade $*lēy$- in the preterite; Lith. *líeti*, *líeju*, *líejau* is due to an analogical levelling[5]. If so, the $*ē$ in the Old Bulgarian present *lějǫ* 'I pour' can also be analogical, as that in the presents OBg. *sędǫ* (< $*sēnd$-) and *sějǫ* (: aor. *sědъ*). This

[3] In fact, IE $*h_2melg'$- (> Gk. *ἀμέλγω*) and $*h_3merg'$- (cf. Gk. *ὀμόργνυμι* 'I wipe') fall together into Skt. $*mr̥j$- and Av. *marəz-*.

[4] According to Rasmussen, loc. cit., we are dealing with "an interplay of consonantal and vocalic laryngeal" in IE $*g^hr̥eb$-h_2- and $*g^hr̥eb$-$ə_2$-, and the aspirating laryngeal is separated from *-*b*- by the nasal infix in $*g^hr̥bnah_2ti$. However, forms in *-b*- are lacking in Sanskrit, where *grabh(ỹ)*- and $gr̥bh(ỹ)$- (cf. also *gr̥bhnā́ti*) are only found; this implies that Rasmussen's explanation is beyond proof.

[5] See Stang (1942: 44–45).

implies that the Baltic ā-preterites East Lith. *lė́jau*, Latv. *lêju* and the Old Bulgarian *s*-aorist *vъzli* (< **lēy-s-t*)[6] represent different remodellings of a root aorist **lēy-t*.

OBg. *smějǫ sę* 'I laugh' is also formed with lengthened root vowel[7], cf. Skt. *smáyate* 'smiles, blushes' which, in view of the participle *smita-*, reflects an Indo-European *aniṭ* root **smey-*.

OBg. *bljujǫ* 'I spit, vomit', SCr. *blȕjēm* 'id.', etc. and Lith. *bliáuti*, *bliáuju* 'roar, bleat', Latv. *bļaût* 'bleat, cry' are formed with lengthened grade radical vocalism and continue IE **bʰlēw-*. The phonetic development of **ēwC* in the Baltic forms is regular, cf. Lith. *šiaurỹs* 'north wind', *šiáurė* 'north', *liáutis* 'aufhören' and see Stang (1966: 74). The related full-grade Gk. *φλέω* 'I gush, teem, overflow' (< *bʰlew-*) and the zero-grade Gk. *φλύω* 'I boil over, bubble up', *φλύσις* 'breaking out' (< **bʰlu-*) indicate that there is no reason for assuming an Indo-European *seṭ* root.

2. Attempts at explanation

The theories, explaining the long root vowels in these Slavic and Baltic verbs as a Balto–Slavic innovation, are unconvincing.

Thus, it is clear that Winter's law (with or without Shintani's and Rasmussen emendations)[8] cannot account for OCz. *sedě̄ti*, ChSl. *sedѣlo*, OBg. *osedъlati* as well as the instances, given under (1c), (3) and (4).

The explanatory force of Kuryłowicz' and Watkins' theories is limited to the origin of the lengthened grade in Slavic and Baltic root verbs from C_1eC_2-roots[9]; the instances, given under (2) and (4) remain unexplained. In fact, if the lengthened grade in the root presents (and aorists) is due to independent developments in the different Indo-European dialects, forms such as Skt. *stáuti* 'praises' are hardly explanable[10].

Many of the Slavic and Baltic verbs, listed above, have corresponding legthened grade forms in other Indo-European dialects. Although a few of these correspondeces can be occasional[11], it is reasonable to assume that the older layer of this type of Slavic and Baltic verbs can be created before the period of the Balto–Slavic unity.

In fact, Narten (1968: 14) has already supposed that Lith. *ė́dmi* and OBg. *jamъ* can be traced back to an old proterodynamic present, characterized by lengthened-grade radical vocalism in the active singular and full grade everywhere else[12]; Strunk (1985: 494–495) adds also OBg. *bě̄žǫ* (: Gk. *φέβομαι*)[13]. Ten years ago, I have interpreted most of the Slavic and Baltic verbs, listed above (with the exception of the verbs, given under [4]), as representatives of Indo-European proterodynamic presents and aorists[14].

An additional support for this theory is presented by several lengthened-grade forms, derived from Ceh_2- and $CReh_2$-roots.

3. Lengthened grade in Slavic forms from $C(R)eh_2$-roots

(1) OBg. *zějǫ* 'I gape, yawn' points to IE **gʰēy-*[15], from which Toch. A *çew-* 'bâiller' and probably OHG *gëwōn* 'den Mund aufsperren, gähnen' are also derived[16]. The antiquity of the radical ē-vocalism in these forms is confirmed by the deverbative noun in **-men-* OHG *giumo* 'roof of the mouth' which goes back to IE **gʰew-*. In fact, we are dealing with two extended preforms, IE **gʰēy-* and **gʰēw-*, which imply the existence of an Indo-European bare root **gʰē-*[17].

However, instead of the expected IE **gʰē-*, the available data point to an unextended root in **-ā-* (in there terms of the laryngeal theory, **-eh₂-*).

Thus, Gk. *χάσκω* 'I gape, yawn' continues IE **gʰh₂-ske/o-*, the radical zero grade of which is regular, cf. Gk. *βάσκε* 'go!', Skt. *gácchati* 'goes', Av. *jasaiti* 'comes' (< IE **gʷm̥-ske/o-*), etc. Gk. *χαίνω* 'I gape, yawn' is built on **χα-νᾱμι*, **χα-νω* (Schwyzer 1939: 694, 771), whereas *χάσμα* 'yawning hollow, chasm, gulf',

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[6] OBg. *vъzli* continues an old sigmatic aorist, see Stang (1942: 65–70).

[7] Cf. Stang (1942: 44).

[8] See Winter (1978), Shintani (1985), Rasmussen (1992b).

[9] See Kuryłowicz (1968: 306–307), Watkins (1969: 31–32).

[10] On Kuryłowicz' and Watkins' explanations of Skt. *stáuti* see Rikov (1986–1987: §71).

[11] For instance, this is possible in the case of the Germanic long-vowel preterite forms of the 5th and 6th class.

[12] Cf. 1st pl. pres. act. Hitt. *edweni*, Skt. *ádmasi*, etc.

[13] According to Strunk (1985: 499-514), there are two different athematic verb types in Indo-European, both inflected in the *mi*-conjugation: an ablauting paradigm with movable accent (IE **dʰéwgʰ-ti* : **dʰugʰ-é/ónt-*), and a non-ablauting paradigm with non-movable (acrostatic) accent (IE **stéw-ti* : **stéw-n̥t-*); the ablaut pattern of the latter remains unchanged in the thematic type. In the acrostatic type, the lengthened-grade strong forms are analogically created on the basis of the full-grade weak forms along the line of the ablaut pattern of the mobile type: „In die athematischen Flexiontypen mit akrostatischem Akzent müßten folglich dehnstufige Formen dort, wo sie auftreten, ältere vollstufige Vorläufer in ursprünglich ebenfalls abstufungslosen Paradigmen ersetzt haben" (Strunk 1985: 498). However, the weakness of Strunk's theory is evident: this is his assumption that the acrostatic type is originally inflected — as the mobile one — in *mi*-conjugation; in other words, the acrostic and the mobile types are dinstinguished (by the accent and ablaut) in their weak forms, whereas their strong forms are completely identical in their structure. In fact, this would be a quite unusual situation. — I have accepted elsewhere (Rikov 1986–1987; 1991) Georgiev's opinion that the "thematic conjugation", which can be exemplified by the paradigm of Gk. *φέρω*, was originally athematic. Then, beside the ablauting *mi*-conjugation, we have an Indo-European athematic conjugation, characterized by full grade radical vocalism in the whole paradigm and by a special series of endings in the active singular (cf. Gk. *-ω*, *-εσι*, *-ει*, Hitt. 3rd sg. pret. *-š*). Residual weak forms of this athematic non-ablauting conjugation are well attested in different branches of Indo-European, cf. Skt. *bhartám*, Gk. *φέρτε*, Lat. *ferte*; Skt. *śáye/śéte* 'lies', Gk. *κεῖται* 'id.'; Skt. *stáve* 'praises', Gk. *στεῦται*, etc. The subsequent thematization of this non-ablauting conjugation leads to a split between the new thematic forms (*CeC-e/o-*) and the retained athematic weak forms such as Skt. *śáye/śéte*, *stáve*, etc.; then the latter were interpreted as members of the athematic *mi*-conjugation and appear along with zero-grade forms such as Skt. *stuté*, Av. *stuiie*, etc. It is clear that the strong forms of the PD verb inflection such as Skt. *stáuti*, etc. originate within the new athematic paradigm of composite character on the basis of the proportions such as weak forms **stu-* (e.g. Skt. *stuté*) : strong forms **stéw-mi*, etc. (e.g. Av. *staomi*, *staoti*) = weak forms **stéw-* (e.g. Skt. *stáve*, Av. ptcple *stauuat-*) : strong forms *x* (*x* = **stéw-mi*, etc., cf. Skt. *stáumi*, Av. *stāumi*).

[14] Rikov (1986–1987: §§74, 77, 79, 88–89).

[15] See for instance Persson (1912: 696–697), Pokorny (1959: 419f).

[16] Cf. van Windekens (1976: 479), who derives Toch. A *çew-* and OHG *gëwōn* from **gʰēy-w-*.

[17] The supposed IE **gʰēy-* and **gʰēw-* can be explained as enlarged forms of IE **gʰē-*, see Persson, loc. cit.

'open mouth', 'any wide space, expance' is derived either from χάσκω or from χαίνω[18].

Full-grade forms are also well attested. So, the Greek deverbative in *-lo- χηλός 'large chest, coffer' goes back to *$g^{h}eh_2$-lo-; similarly, we have the full-grade substantives χήμη 'yawning, gaping', χηραμός 'hole, cleft' as well as the perfect κέχηνα, Dor. 3rd pl. κεχᾱ́ναντι Sophr. (: χαίνω).

Lith. *gomurỹs*, *gomurẽ*, *gomerẽ* 'throat, throttle, gullet, Adam's apple' and Latv. *gāmurs* 'larynx, windpipe' also represent the full-grade *$g^{h}eh_2$-. The alternation of velar and sibilant, attested by Lith. *gomurỹs*, Latv. *gāmurs* and OBg. *zějǫ*, Toch. A *çew-* can be paralleled by many other instances; as Georgiev (1981: 43 52) points out, the sibilants or affricates in the *satəm* languages have developed from velars before front vowels[19].

Full- and zero-grade forms of the extended IE *$g^{h}eh_2$-u- are also attested, cf. OHG *goumo* 'roof of the mouth' which comes rather from *$g^{h}eh_2u$-men than from *$g^{h}oh_2u$-men, and Gk. χάος which can continue the zero-grade *$g^{h}h_2w$-o-.

We have also the extended *$g^{h}eh_2$-i- in Toch. B *kāy-* 'ouvrir' (cf. the past participle *kakāyau*) which reflects *$g^{h}oh_2y$-[20], and Goth. **gainon* 'yawn, bite at something' which goes back either to IE *$g^{h}eh_2i$- or to IE *$g^{h}oh_2i$-.

After all, it is clear that the ē-grade of OBg. *zějǫ*, Toch. A *çew-*, OHG *gëwōn* and *giumo* can convincingly be explained as a result of Eichner's law; as Eichner (1973: 71ff.) points out, IE *h_2 does not change the neighbouring *ē, cf. Hitt. *meḫur* 'time' (< *$m\bar{e}h_2w\mathring{r}$), *weḫzi* 'turns' (< IE *$w\bar{e}h_2$-) beside *waḫḫanzi* (< *weh_2-), etc.[21] If so, OBg. *zějǫ*, Toch. A *çew-*, OHG *gëwōn* and *giumo* are formed with lengthened grade of the root and this presupposes the existence of underlying proterodynamic verbs.

Thus, the deverbative nouns OHG *giumo* (< IE *$g^{h}eh_2u$-men) and the coexisting *goumo* are convincing evidence for the reconstruction of a proterodynamic verb 1st sg. act. *$g^{h}\bar{e}h_2u$-m(i), 1st pl. act. *$g^{h}eh_2u$-me-.

Similarly, beside OBg. *zějǫ*, Toch. A *çew-* and OHG *gëwōn* which represent the lengthened grade *$g^{h}\bar{e}h_2i$-, we have Toch. B *kāy-* (< IE *$g^{h}oh_2y$-) and Goth. **gainon* (< IE *$g^{h}eh_2i$- or *$g^{h}oh_2i$-). Then, if we reconstruct an underlying proterodynamic verb 1st sg. act. *$g^{h}\bar{e}h_2i$-m(i), 1st pl. act. *$g^{h}eh_2i$-me-, its thematization and subsequent generalization of the strong stem *$g^{h}\bar{e}h_2y$-e/o- (> *$g^{h}\bar{e}y$-e/o-) would result in the paradigm of OBg. *zějǫ*.

(2) ChSl. *prějǫ* 'I am favourable, take care of' and OCz. *přěju* are evidently formed with ē-vocalism of the root, as the related deverbative nouns Latv. *priêks* 'pleasure' and OIr. *ríar* 'wish, will'.

[18] Cf. Frisk (1960–1972 II: 1076–1077).

[19] This implies IE *$g^{h}eh_2$-, with *g^{h}- instead of the generally accepted initial *g^{h}-. — According to Georgiev (ibid., p. 48), in Indo-European "there were two series of guttural stops: velars ... and labivelars".

[20] Cf. van Windekens (1976: 199), who assumes IE *$g^{h}\bar{o}y$-.

[21] Cf. also OIcel. *ægir* 'sea, sea-god' which is a *vr̥ddhi*-derivative of IE *h_2ek^{w}-eh$_2$ (> Lat. *aqua*, Goth. *aƕa*) and reflects *$h_2\bar{e}k^{w}$-yo- (Darms 1978: 29–33), etc. For more instances see Mayrhofer (1986: 132–133).

These forms are probably cognate with Gk. πραΰς, Ion. πρηΰς 'mild, soft', '(of persons) meek, gentle'[22] which is a deverbative adjective in *-u-[23], as Skt. *jayú-* (and *jāyú-*) 'victorious' (: *jáyati* 'conquers, wins'), *śayú-* 'lying, resting' (: *śáye* 'lies'), etc. In view of its ā-vocalism, Gk. πραΰς, Ion. πρηΰς must go back to IE *$pr\bar{e}h_2y$-u- and this suggests that the related Skt. *premán-* 'love, affection', *pretár-* 'lover' and the comparative *préyas-* 'dearer' can reflect IE *$preh_2i$-men-, *$preh_2i$-ter- and *$preh_2i$-yes- respectively[24].

If so, it is possible that ChSl. *prějǫ* and OCz. *přěju* are formed with lengthened grade of the root and continue IE *$pr\bar{e}h_2y$-e/o-, from which Latv. *priêks* (< *$pr\bar{e}h_2i$-ko-) and OIr. *ríar* (< *$pr\bar{e}h_2i$-reh$_2$) can also be derived. Then, we are dealing with an underlying proterodynamic verb 1st sg. act. *$pr\bar{e}h_2i$-m(i), 1st pl. act. *$preh_2i$-me-. It is clear that ChSl. *prějǫ* and OCz. *přěju* can be developed from this PD verb in the same way as OBg. *zějǫ* from *$g^{h}\bar{e}h_2i$-m(i), *$g^{h}eh_2i$-me-.

(3) OBg. *sъmětі*, *sъmějǫ* 'to dare' can be related to Goth. *mōþs* 'anger, spirit', OIcel. *móðr* 'anger', OE, OFris., OS *mod* 'courage, spirit', OHG *muot* 'soul, spirit, courage' and Gk. μαίομαι 'I seek after, seek for, pursue, desire', μῶμαι 'I am very eager, quiver with eagerness', μαίμαω 'I seek after, meditate, purpose'. All these forms are given by Pokorny (1959: 704–705) under *mē-*, *mō-*, *mə-*.

However, the attested Greek forms represent an ablaut series -ᾱ- : -ω- : -α- which point to IE *-eh$_2$- : *-oh$_2$- : -h$_2$- respectively.

Thus, Gk. μαίομαι, with its radical short vowel, must go back to *mh_2-s-ye/o-; on the development of IE *mh_2C- into Ck. μαC- cf. Gk. μακρός 'long' (: μῆκος 'id.') and see Beekes (1988: 25–31). The full grade of the root is presented by Gk. -μαω in μαιμάω (cf. μαιμᾶει Y 490)[25]; similarly, the Elean 3rd sg. aor. opt. middle μαῖτο (: μᾶμαι) continues *meh_2-ih$_1$-to, whereas Gk. μῶμαι, Goth. *mōþs*, etc. are formed with *o*-grade of the root (IE *moh$_2$-).

If so, the radical *ē-grade of OBg. *sъmětі*, *sъmějǫ* can be explained in accord with Eichner's law; this presupposes an underlying proterodynamic verb *meh_2-m(i), *meh_2-me- which results in the Old Bulgarian lengthened-grade *sъmě-ti*, *sъmějǫ* as well as in the Elean full-grade optative μαῖτο.

(4) Scr. *klj̏ùka* 'hook, key, clamp', Sn. *kljúka* 'hook, door handle' etc. continue a Proto-Slavic deverbative in *-ka* (as OBg. *rěka*) and points to an underlying verb which must correspond to Lith. *kliáutis* 'sich zusammenfügen, aufeinander passen' and Latv. *kļaût* 'neigen, schmiegen'. The antiquity of the radical *ē-vocalism,

[22] See for instance Pokorny (1959: 844). According to Frisk (1960–1972 II: 588), however, this etymology of Gk. πραΰς is phonetically and semantically difficult.

[23] Gk. πρᾶος is formed by thematization of the *u*-stem πραΰς, see Frisk, loc. cit.

[24] On the other hand, Skt. *prayas-* 'enjoyment, delight', *préṣṭha-* 'the dearest' and the zero-grade *prīti-* 'satisfaction' can reflect IE *$preyh_x$- and *$prih_x$- respectively; if so, Skt. *pretár-*, etc. can also continue *$preyh_x$- and Gk. πραΰς cannot be related to these forms. However, the Indic zero grade *ī* of the *eh$_x$i*-roots is regular and this implies that the original *prh_2i- is metathesized into *$prih_2$- (cf. Rasmussen 1992a: 22–23); hence Skt. *prayas-* and *preṣṭha-* can be explained as analogical full grade forms (Rasmussen, loc. cit., refers to his book „Studien zur Morphophonemik..." which is inaccessible to me).

[25] See Schwyzer (1939: 730). Pokorny (1959: 704–705) wrongly considers not only the first, but also the second -α- in μαιμάω to be short and assumes IE *mə-.

attested by these Slavic and Baltic forms, is guaranreed by the root vocalism of the cognate ON *hlióta* 'erlangen, zuteil werden, erhalten', OE *hleotan* 'losen, treffen, erlangen', OS *hliotan* 'erlosen, erlangen' and OHG *liozan* 'losen'.

In fact, the Germanic verbs can reflect either **-eu-* (see Stang 1971: 18–19) or **-ēu-*. However, in view of the radical *ā*-vocalism of the related Greek and Latin forms, the former possibility must be abandoned. Thus, Dor. *κλᾱτίς*, Ion. *κλητίς* '(rowing) pen, key' is a derivative in *-ιδ-* from IE **kleh₂wo-* to which Lat. *clāvus* 'pen, pin' is traced back. The full-grade **kleh₂w-/*kleh₂u-* is attested by Lat. *clāvis* 'key, bar' and *claudere* 'close, lock' as well[26].

If so, the Slavic, Baltic and Germanic forms must continue IE **klēh₂u-* which implies the existence of a proterodynamic verb **klēh₂u-m(i)*, **kleh₂u-me-*[27].

There are two other Baltic verbs which represents the regular reflex of IE **ēh₂u*.

Lith. *griáuti*, *griáuju* 'nieder-, einreißen, zugrunde richten' and Latv. *gŗaût*, *gŗaûju* 'stürzen, zerstrümmern' must continue the lengthened grade **gʰrēh₂u-*; cf. the related Greek *ζαχρηής*, Epic *ζαχρᾱής* 'attacking violently, furious', '(of warriors) eager, fiery' which is formed either from a noun **gʰreh₂wo-* or from a verb with full grade of the root (cf. Frisk 1960–1972 I: 608)[28].

Similarly, Lith. *piáuti*, *piáuju* 'schneiden, mähen, ernten' and Latv. *pļaût* 'mähen, schlagen, ernten' are formed with lengthened grade of the root and reflect IE **pēh₂u-*; cf. the related. Gk. *παίω* 'I strike, smite; drive away' (< **ph₂w-ye/o-*) and Lat. *pavīre*, *pavīō* 'to beat the ground in order to make it even' which guarantee the reconstruction of the Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal.

Conclusion

There are several Slavic forms from *C(R)eh₂*-roots which point to old proterodynamic verbs. The lengthened grade root vocalism of these proterodynamic verbs was created at a stage when **e* had not yet been coloured to **a* by the neighbouring **h₂*; cf. (lengthened grade forms vs. full grade ones):

OBg. *zějǫ*, Toch. A *çew-*, OHG *gëwōn* : Goth. **gainon* beside Gk. *χηλός*, *χήμη*, Lith. *gomurỹs*; IE **gʰēh₂y-/*gʰēh₂i-* : **gʰeh₂i-* beside IE *gʰeh₂-*.

ChSl. *prějǫ*, Latv. *priêks*, OIr. *ríar* : Gk. *πραΰς*, Skt. *premán-*; IE **prēh₂y-/ *prēh₂i-* : **preh₂y-/*preh₂i-*.

OBg. *sъměti*, *sъmějǫ* : Gk. *μαῖτο*; IE **mēh₂-* : **meh₂-*.

SCr. *klj̑ùka*, Lith. *kliáutis*, ON *hlióta* : Gk. Dor. *κλᾱτίς*, Lat. *clāvus*, *clāvis*; IE **klēh₂u-* : **kleh₂w-*. Similarly, Lith. *griáuti*, *griáuju* and *piáuti*, *piáuju* continue IE **gʰrēh₂u-* and **pēh₂u-* respectively.

[26] Stang (1971: 13–20) reconstructs IE **klew-* and **klāw-* and mentions: „Falls eine Verwandtschaft besteht, muß sie auf eine Periode zurückgehen, die hinter der Sprachperiode liegt, die wir mit unserer vergleichenden Methode erreichen können" (ibid., p. 19).

[27] I am indebted to Prof. Dr. W. Smoczyński for his stimulating objections, based on his interpretation of Lith. *kliūti*, *kliuvù*. Yet Lith. *kliūti*, *kliuvù*, *griūti*, *griuvù*, etc. can be explained as inner-Baltic analogical innovations; in fact, they relate to *kliáutis*, *griáuti* as the regularly formed *bliūti*, *bliuvù* to *bliáuti* (< **bʰlēw-* beside **bʰlew-* in Gk. *φλέω*).

[28] Of course, Gk. *ζαχρᾱής* and *κλᾱτίς*, Lat. *clāvus*, *clāvis* can theoretically be formed with zero grade of the root (IE **gʰr̥h₂w-* and **kl̥h₂w-* respectively).

In fact, the effect of Eichner's law indicates that the lengthened grade radical vocalism of the forms, given above, was created in the period of Indo-European.

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БЪЛГАРСКО ДИАЛЕКТНО *КУТРÈ/КУТЛÈ* 'НАЙ-'МАЛКИЯТ ПРЪСТ НА РЪКАТА; КУЧЕНЦЕ', ИРАН. **KUT-* 'МАЛЪК' И СРОДНИ С ТЯХ ДУМИ

Българско диал. *кȕтър* 'малък, нисък', *кутрè/кутлè* 1. 'най-малкият пръст на ръката', 2. 'кученце'; *кȕтел* 'най-малкият пръст на ръката'; *скȕтле* (Брястовец, Бургаско) също, *кȕтрьо* 'малко момче', *кȕтното прьсле* (Гълъбово, Старозагорско; Лозен, Свиленградско) най-малкият пръст на ръката' са от същата основа, както рус. *кутёнок* 'кученце; пуйче', диал. *кутя* 'кученце', *кȕтька* 'пиленце', вж. Младенов 1941: 264. Според Младенов тези славянски думи са от звукоподражателен произход; същото предположение е изказано и у Vasmer 1953: 705-6, където не са дадени български форми. Очевидно причината за това обяснение е мнимата липса на индоевропейски съответствия.

Според нас такива съответствия са налице в авестийски *kutaka*-V. 14. 5 'малък', пехл *kŭtak*, *kōtak* 'незначителен; дете', новоперс. *kūta* 'къс', *kūtāh*, *kūtēh* 'малък, къс', *koda*, *kōdek* 'дете; малко животно; зародиш', вж. Horn 1893: 194, Bartholomae 1904: 472[1]. Осет. *k'undəeg* 'тесен' и белудж. *kūñd* 'къс' са с назален инфикс и подсказват отглаголния произход на иранските форми, които нямат досега задоволителна етимология; опитът на Horn 1893: 194 да ги изведе от местоименната основа *kva-*, *ku-* е неудачен в словообразователно и семантично отношение. Връзката им с горепосочените славянски думи изглежда очевидна както фонетически, така и семантически; по-нататъшни съответствия се намират в германските езици: швед. диал. *hott*, *hodd* 'малък, съсухрен човек', хол. *hotten* 'пресичам се', долнонем. *hotten* 'свивам се', нвиснем. диал. *hutzeln*, *verhutzeln* 'свивам се', *verhutzelt* 'съсухрен, изсъхнал'. Pokorny 1959: 956—7 съпоставя германските думи с лит. *ap-kiaũsti* 'закърнявам, линея, изсъхвам', *kūstù*, *kùdaũ*, *kūsti* 'отслабвам', *sukūdęs* 'съсухрен' и реконструира не* **(s)keut-* /**(s)keudh-* 'свивам се', според него застъпени само в балтийски и германски. Иранските и славянските форми са от други отгласни степени на същата основа:

иран. **kut-* (авест. *kutaka-*) < ие. **(s)kut,-*,
праслав. **kut-* (българ. *кутрè*) < ие. **(s)kout-*: -

[1] Картвелските „съответствия" (срв. мегр. *k'unt'a*, *k'ut'a* 'нисък, къс') са вероятно заемки от иранските езици (вж. Абаев 1958: 650), а не произлизат от ностратическа праформа, както смята Иллич-Свитыч 1967: 348, 1968: 327.

Словообразуването в славянските думи е прозрачно: *кȗтър/кутрé*: *кȗтел/кутлè/кȗтле* са образувани от праслав. **(s)kut-* с редуване на *-r-* и *-l-* суфикс, както на пр. в бълг. диал. *бъмбър* 'воден мехур', лит. *bum̃buras* 'пъпка, възлесто надебеляване', латв. *bum̃burs*: пол. *bąbel* 'воден мехур', лит. *bum̃bulas* също, *bùmbulis* 'зеница', латв. *bumbul(i)s* 'гръдка, възлест израстък на дърво', гр. *βομβύλις* 'воден мехур', вж. Berneker 1908—13: 78—9, Fraenkel 1962: 64, Sławski 1974: 318—9, Трубачев 1975: 231—2.

Кȗтното (пръсле) е образувано от праслав. **(s)kut-* + *-ьпъ*, наставка за образуване на прилагателни. Рус. *кутя́/кутёнок* с вероятно вторично образуване по модела на *дитя́/дитёнок*, докато в *кȗтька* суфиксът *-ька* свидетелствува за пряко отглаголно производно или за вторично деминутивно образуване.

Семантическият развой 'малък, кучé—>'малко дете, малко животно' е добре представен в иранските езици; срв. паралелен семантически развой в славянските езици: бълг. диал. *кȗтрьо* 'малко момче', бълг. диал. *кутрè/кутлè* 'кученце', рус. *кутя́*, *кутёнок*, *кȗтька* за означение на различни млади животни. За значението 'най-малкият пръст на ръката' срв. гр. *παχρός*, лат. *minimus*, *brevissimus*, които означават и 'най-малкият пръст на ръката' (Gross 1969: 931). Точен семантичен паралел към иранските и славянските думи: 'малък'—>'малко дете, малко животно'—>'най-малкият пръст на ръката' представят и славянските думи от не. основа **mei-* 'малък': срв. бълг. диал. *мизинец* 'най-малкият син в семейството', срхр. *мȋзинац* 'най-малкото дете в семейството', словен. *mẹ́zinec* 'най-малкият син; най-малкият пръст на ръката', рус. *мизи́нец* 'най-малкият пръст на ръката; най-малкият син в семейството', чеш. *mezenec* 'най-малкият пръст на ръката', пол. *mieziny, miezinny, mieziany, miedziany*, диал. *mizíniec* 'най-малкият пръст на ръката', в които значението 'малко дете' се смята за първично, а 'най-малкият пръст на ръката' за вторично, възникнало чрез идентификация на пръстите с членовете на семейството, вж. Трубачев 1959: 44, срв. и Berneker 1913:55; Vasmer 1955: 133; Skok 1972: 418 и там посочената литература.

Уте Дукова, Георги Риков

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БЪЛГ. ДИАЛ. *мрѐнка, мрѝнка*

Бълг. диал. *мрѐнка*, засвидетелствувано в израз *мрѐнка ѝмам в учйсье* 'недовиждам' (Могилица, Смолянско), *мрѝнка* 'перде на око, катаракта' (Гълъбово, Пловдивско), *мрьѐнка* 'гъбички, които покриват престояло мляко, вино' (Селча, Смолянско), *мрѐняв* 'неясен, замрежен' (Станьовци, Брезнишко; Трън) имат сродни форми в сърбохърватски и словенски.

Срхр. *мрѐна* означава 'ципа; перде на око, катаракта', а в диалектите (Хърватско, Славония) и 'тънка кожица под черупка на яйце'. То се среща и в съчетания като *зе̑лена мрѐна* 'глаукома', *о̑чна мрѐна* 'перде на око, катаракта', *сȉва мрѐна*, също *цр̑на мрѐна* 'пълна слепота, amaurosis', а от него е образувано и умалителното *мрѐница* 'перде на око, катаракта; роговица на око', 'мозъчна ципа', кожица около орехова ядка'.

Словен. *mréna*, което според SSJ (1975: 862) означава 'тънък пласт, обикновено върху повърхността на течности и пр.' (срв. словен. *na mleku se je naredila mrena* покрай бълг. диал. *мрьѐнка* 'гъбички, които покриват престояло мляко, вино'), 'тънка ципа, която обвива', се среща и в съчетанията диал. южнословен. *zelẹ́na mréna* 'глаукома', анат. *možgȃnska mréna* 'мозъчна ципа', *rẹ́brna mréna* 'ципа, която обвива гръдния кош отвътре', *trẹ̀bušna mréna* 'ципа, която обвива органите в коремната кухина', мед. *čŕna mréna* 'слепота поради заболяване на роговицата на окото', *sîva mréna* 'очна болест, при която помътнява лещата на окото', зоол. *letȃlna mréna* 'ципа, която помага при летенето на животно'. В словенски са засвидетелствувани и умалителното *mrénica* (=срхр. *мрѐница*), и прилагателното *mrénast* 'подобен на *mréna*'.

Връзката между тези форми е очевидна; към тях могат да бъдат добавени и деноминативните глаголи бълг. диал. *мрѐнѐм* 'потъмнявам (за очи)' (Смолянско; Ардинско; Асеновградско), *смрѐним* гледам с полуспуснати клепачи' (Бръложница, Гинци, Софийско), *мрѐнка ми са* 'премрежват ми се очите, гледам с полузатворени очи; виждам като през мъгла' (Влахово, Трън, Смолянско), *помрѐньвам* 'повяхвам, клюмвам; очите ми губят блясъка си', *помрѐньва са*, *помрѐни са* 'слабо се заоблачава' Смолянско; Ардинско; Асеновградско), *помрѐняв̀ам*, *помрѐня*' (за очи) изгубвам блясъка си, потъмнявам' (Тетевен), *помрѐмна* (с *м — мн* от *м — нн*) 'да потъмнея' (Веркович), *помрѐнен* 'избледнял, пожълтял, потъмнял' (Смолянеко; Асеновградско; Девинско; Маданско; Ситово, Пловдивско), срхр. *мрѐнити се*' (за небе) покрива се с малки облачета' и словен. *mréniti se* в израз *nebo se mreni* 'небето се по-

крива с малки облачета' (срв. бълг. диал. *небѐсо са помрѐни*, засвидетелствувано в Смолянско, Ардинско и Асеновградско).

Досегашните обяснения за произхода на тези южнославянски думи са незадоволителни.

Според Miklosich (1886: 204) срхр. *мрѐна* е заемка от лат. *membrana* 'кожа, кожица, ципа, обвивка', което е неприемливо от гледище на фонетиката, вж. Петлева (1972: 81).

Единствено Петлева (1972: 81—82) свързва българските думи със сърбохърватските и словенските. Тя предполага по-нататък родство с бълг. диал. *мѣрнинка* 'малко', срхр. *мрњав* 'слаб, увехнал', чеш. *mrňavý*, *mrňous*, *mrně* 'малчуган', норв. *moren*, *maren* 'гнил, трошлив', стинд. *mṛṇāti* 'той троши, раздробява, смила, стрива, разрушава' и пр. и реконструира **mer-n-*/**mṛ-n-* (с погрешното извеждане на стинд. *mṛṇāti* от **mṛ-n-* на с. 82!). Според нея праслав. **mernā* е означавало първоначално 'то, что отдирается, о(т)бивается, отчленяется (и что часто идет в отходы)'. Твърдението за общ произход на *-n-* в праслав. **mernā* и стинд. *mṛṇāti* е необосновано от гледище на словообразувателните процеси в индоевропейските езици, а предполаганата прасемантика на **mernā* е малко вероятна с оглед на значенията на засвидетелствуваните форми.

Skok (1972: 464) и Bezlaj (1982: 197), които разглеждат само сърбохърватските и словенските форми, предлагат връзка с праслав. **mergā* (>рус. *мере́га*) и **meržā* (> бълг. *мрѐжа* и пр.). От гледище на семантиката тази етимология е най-вероятна (срв. Bezlaj, цит. съч.), но образуването остава неясно. Skok, цит. съч., смята, че срхр. *мрѐна* произлиза от срхр. *мрѐжа* със замяна на *-жа* чрез *-на* поради контаминация със срхр. *бидна* 'перде на око; катаракта'. Това обяснение е невъзможно, като се имат предвид българските диалектни форми. Bezlaj, цит. съч., реконструира праслав. **mernā* или **mertьnā* за срхр. *мрѐна* и словен. *mréna*, което е също неприемливо, тъй като славянските и балтийските езици продължават единствено ие. **merg^{h}-* (> бълг. *мрѐжа* и пр.).

Всъщност връзката на бълг. диал. *мрѐнка*, *мрьѐнка*, *мрѝнка*, срхр. *мрѐна*, словен. *mréna* и производните им форми с праслав. **mergā* (> рус. *мере́га*), **meržā* (> стб. мрѣжа, бълг. *мрѐжа*, срхр. *мрѐжа* 'мрежа', словен. *mrẹ́ža* 'мрежа, решетка', рус. *мере́жа*, *мерѐжа* 'мрежа', укр. *мере́жа* 'кош за ловене на риба; мрежа', чеш. *mříže*, словаш. *mreža* 'решетка', стпол. и пол. диал. *mrzéża* 'мрежа; примка, капан за глухари', кашуб. *mřeža* 'мрежа'), латв. *merga*, *maŗga* 'перила; галерия; решетка', лит. *márška* 'неголяма риболовна мрежа' и, възможно, стгр. *βρόχος* (< **μρόχος*) 'капан; връвчица; примка', *βρόχις* 'примка' не среща словообразователни и фонетически трудности, ако се изхожда от праславянска формация с рядката в славянските езици наставка **-snā* както в случаи като бълг. диал. *дѐсна* 'венец на уста', срхр. *дѐсна*, мн. ч. *дѐсни* 'венец на уста, челюсти', рус. *десна́*, пол. диал. *dziąsna* и пр. < праслав. **dęsnā* < **dent-snā*, произв. от ие. **'dent-* 'зъб' или стб. ѧ̀ꙁна, бълг. *лу́на*, срхр. *лу́на*, словен. *lúna*, рус. *луна́*, укр. *луна́*, чеш. *luna* 'зарево', словаш. *luna*, пол. *luna* 'отблясък от пламък; зарево', които, както и лат. *lūna*, са от ие. **louksnā*.

Като се има предвид промяната на **-ksn-* в праслав. **-xn-* и след това в *-n-*, която е добре засвидетелствувана чрез стб. чрьнъ, срхр. *чр̀н*, словен. *čŕn*, рус. *чёрный*, укр. *чо́рный*, чеш. *černý*, словаш. *čierny*, пол. *czarny*, горлуж. *čorny*, доллуж. *carny*, полаб. *cárne* 'черен' < праслав. **čьrxnъ* < ие. **kr̥sno-* (срв. стпрус. *kirsnan*, стинд. *kr̥snás* 'черен') или стб. ѧ̀ꙁна и пр. < праслав. **luxnā* < ие. **louksnā*, ние имаме закономерно **merg-snā* 'кожица, обвивка, ципа' > **merksnā* > **merxnā* > **mernā*, от което с метатеза срхр. *мрѐна*, словен. *mréna* и (с наставка **-ьkā*) бълг. диал. *мрѐнка*, *мрьѐнка*, *мрѝнка*.

Това обяснение се подкрепя и от сродното латвийско съществително *mārsna* 'покривка или чаршаф, в които се завиват децата след кръщавка', което, представляващо вероятно независима и паралелна иновация, е образувано с наставка **-snā* и чието *-sn-* е от **-gsn-*.

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НАУЧНИ СЪОБЩЕНИЯ

БЪЛГ. *МОТÀЯ* = ЛИТ. *MATÓTI, MATÓJU*

Праслав. **matāti*, **matājǫ* е реконструирано въз основа на съответствия във всички славянски езици, срв. бълг. *мотàя* 'навивам конец, нишка, прежда; клатя, треса, махам; разтакам, бавя нещо', 'лъжа, мамя' (Самоков; Кюстендилско; Смолянско; Ардинско; Асеновградско; Маданско; Девинско), 'лапам, ям, гълтам' (Тетевенско), *мотàя се*, *мдтам се* 'въртя се, щурам се, бавя се, мая се', 'скитам, лутам се' (Доброславци, Софийско; Кюстендилско), 'шляя се без работа', срхр. *мдтати*, *мдтâм* 'навивам, намотавам, свивам; движа, гоня; хвърлям; ям лакомо; крада; лъжа, мамя', *мдтати се*, *мдтâм се* 'вия се, въртя се, движа се безцелно; люлея се; бягам, лутам се, блуждая, бродя', словен. *motáti*, *motâm* 'навивам, намотавам, размотавам', *motáti se*, *motâm se* 'движа се безцелно', рус. *мота́ть*, *мота́ю* 'навивам; люлея, махам, прахосвам', диал. 'водя, заставям да дойде; изморявам; развалям, пиянствувам', *мота́ться*, *мота́юсь* 'движа се безцелно, люлея се', диал. 'скитам, бродя; мъча се, изморявам се, непостоянен съм в любовни отношения; лъжа, мамя', укр. *мота́ти*, *мота́ю* 'навивам; люлея, махам; прахосвам', *мота́тися*, *мота́юся* 'движа се безцелно; скитам', белорус. *мата́ць*, *мата́ю* 'навивам', чеш. *motati*, *motám* 'мотая, вия; бъркам, обърквам, забърквам нещо', *motati se*, *motám se* 'движа се безцелно, мотая се', словаш. *motať*, *motám* 'мотая, вия; забърквам, заплитам; мамя, лъжа', *motať sa*, *motám sa* 'вия се, мотая се, въртя се; влека се след някого; лутам ее', пол. *motać*, *motam* 'мотая', остар. 'мятам, хвърлям', *motać się*, *motam się* 'мотая се; хвърлям се', горлуж. *motać*, доллуж. *motaś* 'навивам, хвърлям' и вж. Berneker (1914: 41), Trautmann (1923: 183—184), Vasmer (1955: 164), Skok (1972: 411—413), M. Snoj у Bezlaj (1982: 197). които свързват тези глаголи с праслав. **mesti*, **metą* (>бълг. *метà* и пр.), итератив **mětāti*, **mětājǫ* (>бълг. *мдтам* и пр.), лит. *mèsti*, *metù*, латв. *mest*, *metu* 'мятам, хвърлям' и пр. Сигурни връзки с другите индоевропейски езици липсват[1].

Трубачев (1966: 104—107) и Vaillant (1966: 150) правилно определят праслав. **matāti*, **mātāja* като деноминативен глагол. Тъй като праслав. ** ā* отразява ие. *ā* и *ō* и тъй като досега не е отбелязвано точно съответствие в балтийските (или в други индоевропейски) езици, въпросът за формацията на този деноминативен глагол и за неговата старинност остава неизяснен. Наистина Траутман сравнява **matāti*, **matājǫ* с лит. *matúoti*, *matúoju* 'меря' (Trautmann 1923: 183), за което няма пречки от гледище на сравнителната фонетика. Различието в значенията обаче не позволява да се предположи обща балтославянска праформа. M. Snoj (у Bezlaj, цит. съч.) също привежда лит. *matúoti*, но даденото от него значение 'мотая' вероятно е грешка: такова значение на *matúoti* не е засвидетелствувано в литовски, вж. напр. Kurschat (1970:1376). Ето защо предположението, че **matāti*, **,matājǫ* е праславянска иновация (Трубачев, цит. съч.), изглежда правдоподобно; според Трубачев **matāti* е образувано от съществително **matъ*, засвидетелствувано като първа съставка в праслав. **mata-vidla* (срв. бълг. *мотовйла* и пр.), което пък е производно от **mesti*, **metą*.

Всъщност праслав. **matāti*, **matājǫ* (>бълг. *мотàя* и пр.) има точно съответствие както по форма, така и по значение в литовски, където е засвидетелствуван деноминативният глагол *matóti*, *matóju* 'мотая, намотавам; вея, размахвам'.

[1] Родството с гр. μόθος 'бойно безредие', μόθουρα (<**μοθορFα*) 'дръжка на весло'' μόθων 'дете на метеки, възпитано с децата на спартанците; дързък, разпуснат, нагъл', μοθονεία, ἀλαζονεία (Hesych.), допускано в повечето от етимологичните речници на славянските езици, е несигурно, вж. Frisk (1970:248—249). Относно други неприемливи сравнения вж. Vasmer, цит. съч.

Така въз основа на съответствието праслав. **matāti, *matą̄ją* (> бълг. *мотàя*) = лит. *matóti, matóju* е възможна реконструкцията на балтославянска праформа **matāti, *matājō* и определянето на славянските глаголи като представители на добре известния клас деноминативи на ие. **-āye-* (> праслав. **-āje-*).

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ПРАСЛАВ. **STRĄKЪ* (> БЪЛГ. *СТРЪК*), НОРВ. ДИАЛ. *STRANGE* 'СТЪБЛО БЕЗ КЛОНИ; ТОЯГА; ПЪН' И ПР.

Българската дума *стрък* 'вейка, клонка, гранка; стъбло, израстък', също и 'ствол' (Геров) е добре засвидетелствувана в българските диалекти, където се срещат и вариантите *струк* (с диал. *у* < стб. ѫ) 'стрък' (СЗ; Трънско; Брезнишко; Витановци, Пернишко), 'праз; чесън' (Трънско), *страк* (с диал. *а* < стб. ѫ) 'стъбло, израстък' (Ихтиманско; Софийско; Самоков; Прилеп), *стрóк* (с диал. *о* < стб. ѫ) 'стрък' (Смолянско, Ардинско), 'кълн на житно растение' (Д. Арда, Смолянско), 'суха ела, забита до овчарска кошара' (Смолянско, Асеновградско); срв. и *стръкй* 'двете дървета отпред на кола, между които се впряга конят или магарето', 'двете дървета, употребени вместо процеп на волска кола', диал. *струкá* 'стъбло' (Трънско), 'дървената част на ярема' (Витановци, Пернишко), *стрýка* 'стръка' (Ново село, Видинско), *стрýки* 'стръкй' (Ушн, Кюст. Кранище) и пр.

Бълг. *стрък*, диал. *струк, стрóк, страк* имат точни съответствия в срхр. *стрȕк* 'стъбло, стрък, клонче; корпус, талия', словен. *strȍk* 'стъбло; шушулка, чушка, кочан', рус. *струк* (обикн. събир. *стручья*) 'шушулка', укр. *струк* 'шушулка, царевичен кочан', чеш. *struk* 'шушулка, скилидка', словаш *struk*, пол. *strąk*, горлуж. *truk*, доллуж. *tšuk* 'чушка, шушулка', като изходната праславянска форма **strąkъ* е установена още от Миклошич (Miklosich 1886 : 326); вж. също Vasmer (1958 : 31), Skok (1973 : 350).

Етимологията на тези славянски думи, засвидетелствувани и чрез редица производни в отделните славянски езици, е неясна.

Брюкнер ги свързва със стб. стрѣкати 'бода', чсл. стрѣка 'κέντρον, στίγμα', рус. *строкá* 'ред' и пр. (Brückner 1927 : 518), което е съмнително както от гледище на семантиката, така и поради липсата на сигурни форми в другите индоевропейски езици, вж. Vasmer (1958 : 31), който правилно смята тази етимология за неубедителна.

Махек, който не привежда българските и сърбохърватските форми, предполага родство с лит. *runkù, rùkti* 'набръчквам се, сбръчквам се', тъй като според него „напълно зрелите шушулки са изсъхнали, набръчкани (*'seschlé, soraskale*")", и реконструира две различни праформи — **struk-ъ* и **strąk-ъ*. Първата от тях е обяснена от ие. **roukos* с *o*-вокализъм на корена, подвижно *s* и след това *sr* > *str*, а за втората се предполага първоначално праслав. **strъk-ъ* и след това сдвоено *kk* > *nk* (Machek 1934; 42; 1971 : 583), което е неправдоподобно. Като се има предвид, че предложението за *s*-mobile не се потвърждава от сродните на лит. *runkù, rùkti* форми стинд. *rukṣá-* 'дим', стгр. ὀρύσσω, атич. ὀρύττω ровя, копая, дращя, стържа[1] (<**xrukyex*) и че значението на реконструираното от Махек **roukos* (т. е. **xroukos*) едва ли би могло да се развие в значение 'шушулка' (срв. лит. *raũkas* 'бръчка' < ие. **xroukos*), тази етимология е малко вероятна.

Връзката със сръвиснем. *strunk*, нем. *Strunk* 'пън', срдолнем. *strunk* 'стъбло на висока трева' сръвиснем. *strũch*, нем. *Strauch* 'храст; гъсталак' и пр., предложена от Горяев и определена като несигурна от Преображенский (1910—1914) под *струкъ* и Vasmer (1958 : 31), е възприета от Ст. Младенов, който обяснява славянските и германските форми чрез различни разширения на ие. **(s)ter(ə)*, 'неподвижен съм, твърд съм' и реконструира **stron-k-* > бълг. *стрък* и пр., и **strun-g-* > нем. *Strunk* и пр. (Младенов 1941 : 614)[2]. В такъв случай праслав. **strąkъ* трябва да е сродно и с праслав. **(s)tъrčāti, *(s)tъrčą* > бълг. *стърчà*, словен. *strčati, strčim*, рус. *торчáть, торчý*, укр. *стopчáти, стopчý* 'стърча', чеш. *trčeti, trčím* 'здраво съм забит в нещо; стърча' и пр. (срв. Persson 1912 : 428—446, Walde—Pokorny 1927 : 627—635, Pokorny 1959 : 1022—1027), което е отбелязано от Младенов (1941 : 614, 616)[3]. Очевидно е, че предлаганото сравнение на славянските и германските форми представлява типичен случай на коренна етимология.

Трябва да се отбележи обаче, че сръвиснем. *strunk*, нем. *Strunk* 'пън', срдолнем. *strunk* 'стъбло на висока трева' и пр. могат да отразяват не само ие. **strung-* (покрай **strug-*) сръвиснем. *strũch* и пр.), но и ие. **strn̥g-* с правилна промяна на ие. *-n̥* в прагерм. *-un*; вж. Persson (1912 : 439, заб. 1), Walde—Pokorny (1927 : 651), Pokorny (1959 : 1037). Ако е така, праслав. **strąkъ* и прагерм. **strunk-* са много по-близки по произход и представляват форми с назален инфикс съответно спрямо праслав. *(s)tъrčāti, *(s)tъrčą* (<ие. **(s)trk-)* и прагерм. **sturk-* (> гот. *ga-straúrknan* 'вкаменявам се, вцепенявам се', нем. диал. *stork* 'рибарски прът', сръвиснем. *storch* 'penis', тирол. *stork* 'израстък, чеп на дърво' и пр.) < ие. **str̥g-*. Но дори и в такъв случай родството на славянските и германските форми се основава единствено на наличието на общ корен (ие. **ster-*), като разширенията са различни в славянските (**-k-*) и германските (**-g-*) езици.

Всъщност именно в германската група езици са засвидетелствувани най-близко сродните на праслав. **strąkъ* (и **(s)tъrčą)* форми. Стисл. *strangaviðr* 'пън; стъбло без клонки', норв. диал. *strange* 'стъбло без клонки; тояга; пън', норв. *strange* 'стъбло без клонки, тояга', *strangla* 'дълго, тънко стъбло (ствол)' показват семантичен развой, сходен с този на бълг. *стрък*, срхр. *стрȗк*. Покорни, който пропуска тези германски форми, смята сродните стисл. *strangr*, англосакс., стсакс. *strang* 'силен, строг; твърд' срдолнем. *strenge* 'опънат, тесен; строг, смел', ствиснем. *strengi* 'остър (за миризма и вкус), силен, смел, строг, и стисл. *strengr* 'връв, връзка, шнур; ивица', дат. *strang* 'връв, въже', швед. *sträng*, англосакс. *streng* 'връв, въже', срдолнем. *strange* 'връв, въже', ствиснем. *strang* 'въже' за образувани от корен на **k* или **g*[h] (Pokorny 1959 : 1037). От гледище на сравнително-историческата фонетика и двете обяснения са допус-

[1] Вж. Pokorny (1959 : 870), Fraenkel (1962—1965 : 706—707).

[2] Младенов дава **stron-k-* като праславянска, а **strun-g-* като индоевропейска праформа.

[3] Младенов (цит. съч.) свързва също бълг. диал. *стрък* 'щъркел' (< праслав. **stьrkъ*), което е възможно, и бълг. *стърнúще*.

тими; така ие. *g^h дава правилно прагерм. *ʒ според първото придвижване на съгласните в германските езици. От гледище на сравнителния материал обаче предположението за ие. *g^h в стисл. *strangaviðr*, норв. *strange, strangla*, стисл. *strangr* и пр. трябва да бъде отхвърлено, тъй като сродните форми показват единствено разширения ие. *g* (срв. гот. *ga-staúrknan*, нем. диал. *storch* и пр.; сръвиснем. *strunk* и пр.; вж. по-горе) и ие. *k* (срв. праслав. **(s)tьrcāti, *(s)tьrcą* по-горе), но не и ие. *g^h. Следователно германските форми отразяват ие. **stronk-* (вж. Persson 1912 : 439, заб. 1, Walde—Pokorny 1927 : 650—651, Jóhannesson 1956 : 885—886) с ие. **k* > прагерм. *ʒ според закона на Вернер както в случаи като прагерм. **fanʒa-* (> стисл. *fang* 'вземане, хващане', стангл. *fang* 'плячка', ствиснем. *gifang* 'облекло'), **fanʒiz* (> стисл. *fengr* схващане, разбиране; печалба', стангл. *feng* 'хватка; дръжка; плячка' и пр.): *fanha-* 'ловя'; прагерм. **fluʒa-* (> стисл. *flog* 'полет; бързина'), **fluʒiz* (> стисл. *flugr*, стангл. *fluge*, стсакс. *flugi* 'полет'), **flauʒi-* (> ствиснем. *fleigr* 'бърз,): **fleuʒa-* 'тека'; прагерм. **frœʒi-* (стисл. *frœgr*, стангл. *gefrœge*, стисл. *frœgr*, стангл. *gefrœge*, стсакс. *gifrāgi* 'известен'): **fregna-* 'питам' и пр.

Праслав. *strąk* и норв. *strange*, стисл. *strengr* и пр. са отглаголни помина actionis, образувани с *o*- вокализъм на корена от **strenk-* както праслав. *bradь* (> бълг. *брод* и пр.): праслав. **bredą* 'бродя'; стбълг. *конь* 'начало': ие. **ken-*; гот. *balgs*, стнорв. *belgr*, ствиснем. *balg* 'мех': ствиснем. *belgan* 'надувам се' и пр. Подобно норв. *strangla* и германските прилагателни на *-i-* (стисл. *stangr* и пр.) могат да се обяснят добре като отглаголни производни. По такъв начин данните от германските, славянските и балтийските езици позволяват да се реконструира назалният презент ие. диал. **strenk-* покрай **(s)tṛk-* в праслав. **(s)tьrcāti, *(s)tьrką*.

Относно семантичното отношение между праслав. **strąk*, стисл. *stranga-*, норв. *strange, strangla* стисл. *strengr* и пр. и **strenk-* срв. разгледаните по-горе сродни форми (с ие. **g*) нем. диал. *stork* 'рибарски прът', тирол. *stork* 'израстък, чеп на дърво' и пр., с назален инфикс сръвиснем. *strunk*, нем. *Strunk* 'пън', сръдолнем. *strunk* 'стъбло на висока трева', стгр. στραγγάλη 'въже, връв' и пр.: лит. *strėgti* 'втвърдявам се, вцепенявам се; вледенявам се' и пр.

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ПРАСЛАВ. **NJŮXĀTI, *NJŮXĀJĄ* (БЪЛГ. ДИАЛ. *НЮАМ*)

Бълг. диал. *нюам* 'мириша нещо' (Скравена, Ботевградско; Ботевград; Доброславци, Софийско) *нюхна* 'помириша' (Етрополе; Ботевград), *нюшкам* 'душа, мириша' (Видинско; Кулско; Берковско; Белоградчишко; Ломско; Оряховско; Врачанско; Ботевград; Доброславци, Софийско; Коньово, Кюстендилско), 'душа, ровя и мириша храната си (за свиня)' (Кулско; Видинско; Белоградчишко; Ботевград), 'ровя и побутвам (за свиня)' (Бръложница, Софийско), 'бутам, тласкам със зурлата си (за свиня), (Трънско), *нюшкувам* 'мириша нещо' (Геров), *нюшна* св. в. (Геров) са сродни със срхр. *ьўхати, ьўхам* 'душа, мириша', *ьўшити, ьўшим* също, *ьўшкати, ьўшкам* 'душа мириша, помирисвам', словен. *njúhati, njúham* 'душа мириша', *njúšati, njúšam* също, рус. *нюхать, нюхаю* 'душа, мириша следя, вървя по дирите на някого, смъркам', св. в. *нюхнýть, нюхнý*, укр. *нюхати, нюхаю, нюхнýти, нюхнý* също, белорус. *нюхаць, нюхаю* също, чеш. *ňuchati, ňucham* 'следя, вървя по дирите на някого, шпионирам', словаш. *ňuchat', ňucham* 'душа, мириша (за животно); следя, търся, усещам, предчувствувам (за човек)', св. в. *ňuchnuť, ňuchnu*, пол. *niuchać, niucham*, 'смъркам; душа подушвам', св. в. *niuchnąć, niuchnę*, горлуж. *nuchać, nucham* 'душа, мириша', св. в. *nuchnyś, nuchnu*, долнолуж. *nuchaś nucham* също св. в. *nuchnuś, nuchnu*. Въз основа на тези форми се реконструира праслав. **njŭxāti, *njŭxāją* (св. в. **njŭxnąti, *njŭxną*), което е добре известно от етимологичните речници на славянските езици; лужишките форми се обясняват чрез вторична депалалатизация на *nj-*, вж. Machek (1928 : 150).

В южнославянските езици е засвидетелствуван и глаголът **njŭšiti, njŭšą* (> срхр. *њўшити*), от който е образувано и **njŭsāti, njŭsāją* (> словен. *njúšati*, срв. с наст. *ка-* и бълг. *нюшкам*, срхр. *њўшкати*.

Досегашните обяснения на праслав. **njŭxāti, *njuxāją* са незадоволителни.

Според Миклошич (Miklosich 1886 : 222) и Преображенский (1910—1914 : 623) разглежданите славянски форми са във връзка с праслав. **ąxāti, *ąxāją* (> бълг. диал. *вѣхам* 'мириша', рус. чсл. ѫхать, ѫхаю 'мириша, издавам миризма' и пр.). Началното **n-* се обяснява като пренесено чрез преразлагане на префигирани форми като **sъn-ąxāti* (Vasmer 1955 : 234) или **vъn-ąxāti* (вж. и Skok 1973 : 615). По-трудно е обяснението на палатализацията на **n-*, която според Брюкнер (Brückner 1927 : 364) е вторична, а според Махек (Machek 1928 : 150) — експресивна[1]. Наред с това обаче трябва да се приеме, че българските форми са заети от сърбохърватски, а полските — от източнославянската група езици (вж. Vasmer, цит. съч.), което е неправдоподобно.

Според Маценауер, Уленбек[2], Торп (Torp 1909 : 299), Холтхаузен (Holthausen 1934 : 234; 1951 : 166—167) и Покорни (Pokorny 1959 : 768—769) праслав. *njŭxāti, *njŭxāją* е сродно с гот. *bi-niuhsan* 'осведомявам се, разузнавам', стангл. *neosan*, стсакс. *niusian* 'изследвам; търся; следя', ствиснем. *niusen* 'опитвам' и пр., което е възможно от гледище на сравнително-историческа та фонетика. В такъв случай обаче трябва да се предположи, че вторично развитото значение 'следя, проследявам', засвидетелствувано в славянските езици чрез рус. *нюхать*, чеш. *ňuchati* е било генерализирано в германската група езици, което е малко вероятно. Връзката с нем. Nüster 'ноздра на кон' и пр., предложена от Холтхаузен (Holthausen 1951 : 166—167; вж. също Pokorny, цит. съч.) е несигурна, вж. Vasmer (1955 : 234), а сравнението с нем. *schneuzen* 'секна се' (Holthausen, цит. съч.), и англ. *sneeze* 'кихам' (Berneker 1899 : 154; Holthausen, цит. съч.) е неприемливо, като се има предвид, че тези форми са твърде далечни по произход.

Връзката със ствиснем. *niosan* 'кихам', бав.-австр. *nuseln* 'говоря през нос' и пр., предложена от Бернекер (Berneker 1899 : 153—154) и приета от Ильинский[3] е приемлива от гледище на семантиката, но невъзможна поради фонетични трудности. Ствиснем. *niosan* (засвидетелствувано чрез 3 л. ед. ч.

[1] По-късно Махек предлага две нови обяснения на праслав. **njŭxāti, *njŭxāją*. През 1953 г. той предполага връзка с чеш. *ňurati* 'проследявам', като обяснява този глагол чрез метатеза *r—n* > *n—r* като сроден със стгр. ἐρευνάω 'проследявам' (Machek 1953 : 120; вж. също Machek 1957 : 329), което е невероятно. Във второто издание на своя етимологичен речник Махек още веднъж променя гледището си и сравнява стнорд. *snugga* 'душа, търся; пръхтя', като обяснява **njŭxāti* като „*s*- интензив" без *s*-mobile. Тази етимология е също неубедителна.

[2] Маценауер и Уленбек са цитирани по Vasmer (1955 : 234).

[3] Вж. Vasmer, цит. съч.

(ег. вр. *niusit*), сръвснем. *niesen*, нем. *niesen* 'кихам' произлизат от прагерм. **hneus-*<**kneus-*, срв. стнорд. *hniósa* 'кихам'. Тъй като ие. **kn-* не може да се опрости в праслав. **n-*, сравнението на тези германски форми с праслав. **njŭxăti*, **njŭxają* е неприемливо.

Наред с неубедителната връзка на праслав. *njŭxăti* със стснем. *niosan*, бав.-австр. *nuseln* и пр. Бернекер отбелязва, че значението 'кихам' е засвидетелствувано и чрез стангл. *fnēosan*, англ. *sneeze*. Според него е невъзможно да се реконструира обща праформа и затова трябва да се определят няколко различни корена с еднакви значения (Berneker 1899: 154; срв. и Kluge и Mitzka 1960: 511 от късно нем. *niesen*).

Отделянето на стангл. *fnēosan* от праслав. **njŭxăti*, **njŭxają* обаче е неоправдано: именно стнорд. *fnýsa* 'пръхтя' и стангл. *fnēosan* предоставят според мене най-сполучливата възможност за обяснение на славянските форми.

Връзката на стнорд. *fnýsa* 'пръхтя' и стангл. *fnēosan* 'кихам' със стгр. πνέω, което у Омир означава 'дишам, издишвам; дъхам; мириша, благоухая', πνεῦμα 'духане, вене, вятър; дъх, благоухание; дишане, пръхтене; живот, дух, душа' и пр. е добре известна. Обичайната реконструкция ие. **pnew-* (Walde и Pokorny 1927: 85, Pokorny 1959: 838—839) обаче е неправилна. Медиалният аорист стгр. ἄμπνυτο Илиада, Λ 359 'съвзе се'; отдъхна си' и пасивният перфект стгр. πέπνυμαι 'одухотворен съм, живен съм', прич. πεπνυμένος свидетелствуват за старинна set-основа, което се потвърждава и от акутовата интонация на праслав. **njŭxăti*, **njŭxają* (> срхр. *њ҃хати*, *њ҃хам*), *njūšiti*, *njūšą* (> срхр. *њ҃шити*, *њ҃шѭ*). В такъв случай стгр. бъд. вр. πνεύσομαι, аор. ἔπνευσα (Хезиод; Херодот) и пр. са вторично образувани anit-форми спрямо **πνέFω* след закономерното изчезване на ларингала след консонантното *w* и пред вокал: **pnewHe/o-*[4] > **πνέFε/o-* (сег. вр. 1 л. ед. ч. πνέω, 3 л. ед. ч. πνέει). Подобни вторични anit-форми са добре засвидетелствувани в индоевропейските езици, срв. стгр. ἄνται· ἄνεμοι, ἀντάς· πνοάς (Хезихий): **hen'eti*[5] (> стинд. *anati* 'той диша') покрай ἄνεμος 'вятър', **hen'ti* (> стинд. *aniti* 'той диша'); стинд. *jánman* 'раждане; произход; живот', *jantú-* 'живо същество; животно; родственик': *jánati* (< **gen'eti*) покрай *janiman* 'раждане; произход, поява; род, поколение; същество' (< **gen'-men*): аор. *ajanista* и пр.

Така, съгласието между старогръцките и славянските форми изисква реконструкцията на ие. **pnewH-*.

Праслав. **njŭxăti*, **njŭxają* продължава ие. **pnewHs-*. Ие. **pn* се упростява закономерно в праслав. **n*, срв. напр. стб. сънъ, блъг. *сън*, стгр. ὕπνος < ие. **supnos* и пр. Тавтосилабичният дифтонг **ewH* преминава в **ĕu* (с акутова интонация). Промяната на *s* в праслав. *x* след *u* е също закономерна, срв. стб. снъха, стинд. *snuṣā*, стгр. νυός < ие. **snus-ā*|**snus-o-s*; стб. сухъ, блъг. *сух.* стгр. αὖος и пр. В такъв случай имаме следния развой: ие. **pnewHs-* > **pnĕus-* > **nĕux-* и, след монофтонгизацията на тавтосилабичните дифтонги в праславянски, праслав. **njŭxăti*, **njŭxają*. Праслав. **š* в **njūšiti*, **njūšą* е правилен резултат от развоя на **xj* (или **sj*) в **š*.

Германската група езици засвидетелствува най-близко сродните на праслав. **njŭxăti*, **njŭxają* форми. Стнорд. *fnýsa* 'пръхтя' и стангл. *fnēosan* са от прагерм. **fneus-*, а то отразява ие. **pnewHs-*. Ие. **p* дава правилно прагерм. **f* (стнорд., стангл. *f*) според първото придвижване на съгласните в прагермански; изпадането на ларингала между **-ew-* и **-s-* и развитието на дифтонга **eu* (< **ewH* в стнорд. *fnýsa* и стангл. *fnēosan* са също закономерни.

Очевидно е, че ие. **pnewHs-* е обща славяно-германска иновация покрай по-старинното **pnewH-*|**pnuH-*, засвидетелствувано чрез стгр. πνέω, аорист ἄμπνυτο и пр. В германската група езици ие. диал. **pnewHs-* претърпява семантичен развой ('пръхтя', 'кихам'), благодарение на който става възможно подновяването и модифицирането на запазеното прагерм. **fneus-* чрез звукоподражания; срв. експресивното *pf-* в сръвснем. *pfnusen* 'пръхтя; кихам', както и възможността прагерм. **fnesa-* (срв. стангл. *fefnesan* 'пръхтя') и **fneha-* (срв. стсиснем. *fnehan* 'кихам') да са нови звукоподражателни варианти, базиращи се на *fneus-* (срв. Walde и Pokorny 1927: 85, Pokorny 1959: 838—839).

Що се отнася до ие. **pnewH-* (диал. **pnewHs-*), звукоподражателният произход в случая е напълно възможен. Веднъж създадени обаче думите от звукоподражателен произход се променят съобразно законите на историческото развитие на отделните езици. Запазването на стгр. πνέω/ἄμπνυτο (<**pnewH-*|**pnuH-*), прагерм. **fneus-* и праслав. **njŭxăti* (< **pnewHs-*) ни предоставя вероятно една от многобройните илюстрации за безизключителността на звуковите закони дори в подобни случаи.

[4] Ие. **H* означава който и да е от трите ларингала (**ə₁*, **ə₂*, *ə₃*).

[5] Ие. *** = **ə₁*.

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Георги Т. Риков

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БЪЛГ. ДИАЛ. *МР'ÈГА*

Българската диалектна дума *мр'èга* 'сутринни и вечерни изпарения при хубаво време' (Могилища, Маданско) е очевидно сродна с рус. диал. *мерéжить* безл. 'съмва, зазорява' (Курск. 1849 г.); руският глагол може да се обясни като деноминатив от праслав. **mergā* (>бълг. диал. *мр'èга*). Тези изолирани диалектни форми са сродни и с рус. *моргота́* 'мъгла', *мóрготь* 'дим, смрад', *морготи́на* 'дим, изпарения', които от своя страна се обясняват добре като отименни производни от праслав. **mьrgā*, образувано с нулева степен на коренния вокализъм.

Фасмер (Vasmer 1955 : 156) погрешно свързва рус. *моргота́, мóрготь, морготи́на* с чеш. mrholi 'ръми', словаш. mrholiť също, латв. *meŕga* 'ситен дъжд'; в балтийските езици е засвидетелствувана група от форми, които от гледище на значенията им представят много по-добра възможност за сравнение: лит. *márgas* 'пъстър' (<**mōrgo-*), *maŕguoti* 'разноцветно блещукам', *mirgėti, mirgu* 'блестя, бляскам, светя', латв. *marga* 'бляскък', *miŕdzêt, miŕdzu* 'блестя, светя' и пр. трябва да се определят като сродни както на рус. *моргота́, мóрготь, морготи́на* (вж. Trautmann 1923 : 190)[1], така и на бълг. диал. *мр'èга*, рус. диал. *мерéжить*[2]. Тези балтийски форми се разграничават от латв. *meŕga* 'ситен дъжд', *maŕga* също, *miŕdzêt* безл. 'ситно вали, ръми', *miŕdzinât* също, рус. *морозжи́ть* безл. 'ситно вали, ръми', чеш. *mrholi* 'ръми', словаш. *mrholi* също и стгр. βρέχω 'оросявам, намокрям', βρέχει 'вали', βροχή 'дъжд' не само въз основа на семантиката (срв. Fraenkel 1962—1965 : 410—411)[3]; стгр. χ в βρέχω, βροχή произлиза от ие. **g^h*, докато стисл. *myrkr* (вин. пад. ед. ч. *myrkwan*) 'тъмен', *mjǫrkvi, myrkvi* 'тъмнина', стсакс. *mirki*, стангл. *mierce* 'тъмен', привеждани правилно от Траутман (Trautmann 1923 : 190) като сродни с рус. *моргота́*, лит. *mirgu, mirgėti*[4] и пр., свидетелствуват за индоевропейска основа, завършваща на неаспирирана звучна съгласна.

Балтославянските форми не позволяват да се определи дали тази неаспирирана звучна съгласна е веларен или лабиовеларен гутурал. Сродните германски форми са също двусмислени, тъй като отраженията на ие. **g^w* и на съчетанието **g+*w* съвпадат в прагермански **kw*; така ние бихме имали съответно стисл. вин. пад. ед. ч. *myrkwan* < **myrkw-an* и пр. или *myrkwan* < **myrk-wan* и пр. У Walde и Pokorny (1927 : 275) е предпочетена възможността за завършек **g* на основата, докато **g^w* (вж. Pokorny 1959 : 734) намира основание в стгр. ἀμορβός, срв. ἀμορβῆς καὶ ἀμορβές . σεμαίνει το μεσονύκτιον παρὰ τὴν ὄρφνην. . . σεμαίνει καὶ τον ἀκόλουθον ΕΜ 85, 20; тогава германските форми биха имали прагерм. **kw* < ие. **g^w* (откъдето и стгр. β). Според Фриск (Frisk 1954—1960 : 94—95) обаче етимологията на стгр. ἀμορβός е неясна и поради тази причина реконструкцията на основа, завършваща на ие. **g^w*, остава несигурна.

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Георги Т. Риков

[1] Сродни и с рус. *моргáть*, укр. *моргáти*, белорус. *моргаць*, пол. *mrugać* 'мигам, намигам', вж. напр. Trautmann, цит. съч.. Vasmer, цит. съч.

[2] Фасмер (Vasmer 1955 :), следвайки Торбьорнсон, свързва лит. *márgas* и пр. с рус. диал. *мерéжить* 'пестрить, рябить; вышивать мережкой' (Даль; Курск., 1848 г.). Значението на руския глагол обаче позволява и алтернативна връзка с бълг. *мрéжа*, рус. *мерéжа* 'мрежа', *мерéжить* 'шия мрежа; покривам с шарки чрез разредяване на нишки чрез натискане' и пр., които са от различен произход.

[3] Прагерм. **ŋ* в гот. *maurgins* 'утро' и пр. е от ие. **k* според закона на Вернер.

[4] Сродни и с алб. *mje(r)gulë* 'облак; тъмнина', вж. Walde и Pokorny, цит. съч., Pokorny, цит. съч.

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БЪЛГ. ДИАЛ. *ЛÌДАМ*

Москов (1964 : 51) правилно свързва бълг. диал. *лùдам* 'скитам, лутам се' (Мияци, Дебърско), 'неспокойно въртя очите си ту на една, ту на друга страна' (Зап.), чеш. *loudati se* 'бавно вървя, мая се', 'скитам', морав. *paluda* 'скитник', стчеш., морав. *paludovati* 'скитам' и словаш. *ludať sa* 'скитам'; тази връзка предполага реконструкцията на праслав. **lydāti* и **ludāti* (вж. БЕР 3, 394, 526)[1].

Според Москов (цит. съч.) и БЕР 3, 394, 430, 526 тези форми са сродни с праслав. **lytāti* (бълг. диал. *лùтам* 'ходя нагоре-надолу, бягам насам-натам, скитам, лутам се', рус. *лыта́ть, лыта́ю* 'мързелувам, шляя се'), **lutāti* (бълг. диал. *лȕтам* 'ходя далече', *лȕтам се* 'ходя безцелно, бродя, скитам' срхр. *лу́тати, лу́там* 'лутам се', словен. *lutáti, lutam* 'вървя бавно, издирвам с мъка'), **lynjāti* (рус. *лыня́ть, лыня́ю* 'скитам без работа, шляя се') и **lunjāti* (бълг. диал. *лȕням* 'скитам, лутам се'); ние бихме могли да предположим, че това са форми с различни наставки (както това е направено на съответните места в БЕР) и да изхождаме от общ индоевропейски корен **(s)leu-*.

Измежду разглежданите глаголи обаче единствено **lutāti* и **lytāti* свидетелствуват за сравнително старинна формация. Общоприетата връзка със ствиснем. *lotar* 'празен, суетен', англосакс. *lyđre* 'буен, лош' и пр. позволява реконструкцията на диалектна индоевропейска основа **(s)leut-* (вж. Pokorny 1959 : 962-963)[2]; относно славянските форми със запазено *s*-mobile вж. Boryś (1981 : 25-27). Праслав. **lydāti* и **ludāti* обаче нямат сродни форми, образувани с формант **-d^h-* (или **-d-*) в другите индоевропейски езици и затова реконструкцията на ие. **(s)leud^h-* (БЕР 3, 394), основаваща се само на данните от български, чешки и словашки, представлява твърде несигурна хипотеза.

От друга страна, ако **lydāti* и **ludāti* са славянски новообразувания, ние бихме очаквали наличието на отражения на ие. **(s)leu-* без дентален формант в славянските езици; анализът на **lynjāti* и **lunjāti* като **ly-njāti* сякаш потвърждава тази възможност. Както обаче беше отбелязано от покойния акад. В. И. Георгиев, при обсъждането на съответните статии на БЕР, **lynjāti* и **lunjāti* могат да отразяват **lytnjāti*|**lydnjāti* и **lutnjāti*|**ludnjāti* (БЕР 3, 430, 526). По тази причина реконструкцията на необходимата за деривацията на **lydāti* и **ludāti* изходна праформа без дентален формант в праславянски е несигурна.

Наистина Куркина (1985 : 20-21) свързва праслав. **lutāti* с укр. *лíвити* 'отслабвам, смалявам се', чеш. *leviti* 'облекчавам, смекчавам', гот. *lēwjan* 'изоставям, предавам', рус. *лýна* 'смърт' и пр. (ие. **leu-*, Pokorny 1959 : 682-683), към които трябва да се добави (вж. БЕР 3, 483) и бълг. диал. *лýа* 'живея зле' (Тръстеник, Плевенско), *улýа* 'остарея, грохна' (Тръстеник, Плевенско); погрешно приведеното от Куркина бълг. диал. *удлуя сь, удлуявъм сь* 'избягвам работа' (Родопите) не бива да се отделя от *отлоѣ се, отлоѣвам се* 'пазя се, предпазвам се' (Габрово, Ксантийско) и *лóям се* 'трупам лой, избягвам тежка работа; пазя се да не ме ударят при игра с топка' (Габрово, Ксантийско), които

[1] Бълг. диал. *лùдам* показва, че предположението на Махек (Machek 1968 : 341) за вторично *-d-* в чешките и словашки форми е неприемливо.

[2] Вж. също Berneker (1908-1913 : 748), Vasmer (1955 : 76).

са от напълно различен произход[5]. Връзката между ие. **leu-* (Pokorny 1959 : 682-683) и **(s)leu-* (Pokorny 1959 : 962-963) обаче е проблематична, а различието в семантиката между бълг. диал. *лúдам*, чеш. *loudati*, словаш. *loudat' sa* и бълг. диал. *лýа*, укр. *лівити* и пр. не позволява да се обяснят праслав. **lydāti* и **ludāti* като вътрешнославянски производни с дентален формант *(*-d-)* от „простата основа", засвидетелствувана чрез бълг. диал. *лýа* и пр.[4]

При това положение, въпреки привидната близост на праслав. **lutāti|*lytāti* и **ludāti|*lydāti*, е добре да се потърси и друга възможност за обяснението на **ludāti|*lydāti*.

Данните от другите индоевропейски езици позволяват да се предположи, че праслав. **lydāti* и **ludāti* са сродни със стгр. 1 л. ед. ч. аорист ἤλυθον 'вървях; дойдох', перфект 1 л. ед. ч. хом. εἰλήλουθα, атич. ἐλήλυθα и стирл. 3 л. ед. ч. прет. *luid* 'той вървя'. Така стгр. ἤλυθον произлиза от **é-h_1lud^h-om*; поради закономерната загуба на индоевропейските ларингали пред консонант в началото на думата в келтските езици (срв. стирл. *ruad* 'червен' : стгр. ἐρυθρός<**h_1rud^hro-*), стирл. 3 л. ед. ч. *luid* отразява ие. 3 л. ед. ч. аорист **h_1lud^het* (срв. стгр. 3 л. ед. ч. ἤλυθε<**é-h_1lud^het*). Както е известно, старогръцките перфекти са образувани посредством така наречената атическа редупликация; така хом. εἰλήλουθα (с метрическо удължение на началната гласна) е от ие. **h_1le-h_1loud^h-h_2e*, а атич. ἐλήλυθα показва генерализация на нулевата степен на коренната сричка от слабите форми *(*h_1le-h_1lud^h-)*.

Както в келтската група езици, индоевропейските ларингали изчезват в началото на думата пред консонанти в балтославянски, срв. напр. стб. ѩдръ : стгр. ἐρυθρός. В такъв случай стгр. ἤλυθε и стирл. *luid* предполагат праславянска глаголна основа **lьde-*, която би образувала — както в старогръцки и староирландски — тематични аористи с нулева степен на коренната гласна, срв. напр. стб. 3 л. ед. ч. аор. пришьпе Син. пс., стинд. 3 л. ед. ч. аор. акт. *alipat* (*lip-* 'намазвам'), ствиснем. 2. л. ед. ч. прет. *bi-libi* 'ти остана'. Като се има предвид генетичната връзка на този тип аористи с презентния тип *tudāti* (срв. напр. стб. пожрѫ Син. пс. 71в7, 83а19, стинд. *girami* 'гълтам'), праслав. **lьde-* би могло да е и презентна основа; това изглежда по-малко вероятно с оглед на възможната старинност на аориста **h_1lud^het*. И в двата случая обаче праслав. **lydāti* (бълг. диал. *лúдам*) представлява правилно образуван итератив на *-āja, -āti* с удължена степен на коренната гласна от праслав. **lьde-*. Що се отнася до чеш. *loudati*, словаш. *lutat' sa*, тези форми се отнасят към бълг. диал. *лúдам* както **lutāti* към **lytāti*.

В такъв случай както формалната близост на различните по произход **lytāti|*lutāti* и **lytāti|*lutāti*, така и съвпадането на двете основи в производните с назален суфикс *(*lynjāti|*lunjāti)* могат да обуславят създаването на вторично семантично единство в славянските езици, водещо до смесването на първоначалните значения 'бавя се, мая се' (*lytāti|*lutāti*) и 'вървя продължително, скитам' (**lydāti|*ludāti*).

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[3] Вж. БЕР 3, 482-483.

[4] Срв. и И. П. Петлева, Этимология 1983, М., 1985, 43—47, която се опитва да свърже и бълг. диал. *лѣве* (за което вж. БЕР 3, 338), сръб. диал. *лéвити*, но дава неточно значението на бълг. диал. форма.

Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia, Bulgaria)

OLD BULGARIAN РАДНТИ, НЕРАДНТИ AND НЕРОДНТИ

Old Bulgarian раднти 'to care for, take care for, μελεῖν' and, with negation, нераднти 'to neglect, ἀμελεῖν' occur along with неродити. The meaning of Old Bulgarian неродити is identical with that of нерадити; both verbs alternate in Codex Zogra phensis and Codex Marianus. Thus, we have Mt. 18.10 блюдете сѧ і нерадите (Zogr.) beside блюдете сѧ и неродите (Mar.), Mt. 18.17 нерадити (Zogr.) beside неродити (Mar.) as well as L. 10.40 нерадѣшин ли (Mar.) beside неродѣшин ли (Zogr.)[1]. Old Russian also presents both нерадити and неродити. Modern Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian attest forms with radical long vowels, cf. Bg. *радя* 'I attend to, look after, care for', SCr. *pádumu* 'to strive, endeavour, work', whereas the other Slavic languages have generalized the forms with radical short vowels, cf. Sn. *róditi* 'to attend to, look after, care for', OCz. *neroditi*, USorb. *rodźic* 'to wish, strive', LSorb. *rožeś* (1st sg. pres. *rožim*).

These verbs, which point to a Proto-Slavic pair **rāditi* and **raditi*, are related to Goth. *garēdan* 'to aim at, προνεῖσθαι' (only participle nom. sg. *garēdandans*), *undrēdan* 'to provide for, grant', *urrēdan* 'to determine, decide, δογματίζεσθαι' (only 2nd pl. pres. *urrēdiþ*), ON *ráða* 'to advise, endow, provide; to betray', OE *rædan* 'to council for, advise, resort; to endow, provide', OFris, *rēda* 'to advise; to speak', OSax. *rādan* 'to take care for', OHG *rātan* 'to council for, advise; to reflect on, consider; to aid, help', Skt. *rādhnóti* 'achieves, prepares, makes ready, satisfies, obtains' (Brāhm., etc.), *rā́dhyate* 'comes about' (AV., etc.), aorist indicative 1st sg. *apa arādham* (TS.), aorist subjunctive 3rd sg. *rādhati* (RV.), Av. pres. 3rd sg. *rāδaiti* 'gets ready, prepares, arranges; comes about', etc.[2]

Whereas the etymology of Proto-Slavic **rāditi* and **raditi* is well known, the vowel alternation **ā:*a* in the radical syllable remains unexplained so far. In view of the set of related forms, Vondrak's assumption that **raditi* (cf. OBg. нероднти, etc.) represents the original form[3] must be rejected; similarly, Shevelov's explanation of **raditi* as a metathesized form of the type of OBg. робота[4] is also implausible. Trautmann assumes that Proto-Slavic **rāditi* and **raditi* reflect an ablaut **ō:*a* and that these verbs are related to each other like the Sanskrit causative *grāhayati* and *gṛhayati*[5]. Skt. *grāhayati* and *gṛhayati* (cf. RV. *gṛbhā́yant-; grabh-, grah-* 'seize') present, however, a correlation between old **o*-grade (according to Brugmann's law, Skt. *grāhayati* can continue IE **g^hrob^h-éye-ti*) and zero-grade (ṛ in *gṛhayati)* of

[1] Cf. Vondrák, W. Vergleichende slavische Grammatik. Bd. I. Göttingen, 1906, p. 94.

[2] Cf. for instance Trautmann. R. Baltisch-slavisches Wörterbuch. Göttingen, 1923, p. 235; Pokorny, J. Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Bern, 1959, pp. 59—60.

[3] Vondrák, l. c.

[4] Shevelov, G. A Prehistory of Slavic. Heidelberg, 1964, p. 394.

[5] Trautmann, l. c.

the root. The situation in the case of Proto-Slavic **rāditi* and **raditi* is quite different.

In fact, it is clear that Gmc. **ræda-*, Skt. *rādh-* and Av. *rāδa-* point to IE **$h_x$reh$_1$d^h-*[6]. Since Gmc. **ræda-*, Av. *rāδaiti* and Ved. subj. *rādhati* continue thematized forms of the Indo-European *ex*-conjugation[7], we can reconstruct IE 1st sg. pres. act. **$h_x$reh$_1$d^{h}eh$_3$*, 3rd sg. pres. act. **$h_x$reh$_1$d^{h}ey* (which replaces the older **$h_x$reh$_1$d^{h}ey*), etc.[8] At this point the Sanskrit root aorist 1st sg. act. *apa arādham* (TS.) can be explained as a reworked athematic *ex*-form, whereas the 3rd sg. *s*-aorist act. *arāt* (MS.)[9] can directly go back to an original athematic 3rd sg. pret. act. **$h_x$reh$_1$d^h-s* of the Indo-European *ex*-conjugation[10]. Then, Proto-Slavic **rāditi* can be traced back to an Indo-European causative **$h_x$roh$_1$d^h-éye-* which is continued also by Skt. *rādháyati*. In other words, **rāditi* presents a latent **o*-grade of the root and originally belongs to the class of the Slavic causative verbs such as **ganiti* (> OBg. гонити, etc.) and **buditi* (>OBg. будити, etc.)[11].

The explanation of Proto-Slavic **raditi* (OBg. нєрѧдити, etc.) is, however, more difficult. In fact, it is impossible to reconstruct an old zero grade of the root in this case; IE **$h_x$rh$_1$d^h-* would yield Proto-Slavic **(v)ъrd-* or **(j)ъrd-* and this is assured by the phonetic development of IE **h$_1$nh$_3$men* (or **h$_3$nh$_3$men?*) into Proto-Slavic **i̯mę* (cf. SCr. *ùме*)[12], IE **grh$_2$no-* (cf. Lat. *grānum*; OIr. *grán*, etc.) into Proto-Slavic **zi̯rna* (cf. SCr. *зр̏но*), etc. In view of the related forms in the other Indo-European languages, the reconstruction of a convincing Indo-European pre-form for Proto-Slavic **raditi* is impossible. Therefore, we must conclude that **raditi* represents an inner-Slavic innovation.

It is significant in this respect that **rāditi* can be reinterpreted in Proto-Slavic as a verb of the type of the Slavic iteratives-causatives **gāniti*, **māriti*, etc., which are formed with lengthened grade *ā* of the root to the *a*-grade (<IE *o*-grade) verbs such as **ganiti*, **mariti*, etc.; i. e. in Proto-Slavic we have the following correlations:

**ganiti* (OBg. гонити, Bg. *гоня*, SCr. *гòнити*, Sn. *góniti*, etc. 'chase, pursue, run after'): **gāniti* (SCr. *гàнити* 'chase, pursue, run after');

**mariti* (OBg. -мо̨рити, ChSl. мо̨рити, Bg. *мора̀*, SCr, *мòрити*, Sn. *moríti*, etc. kill, tire'): **māriti* (Cz. *mařiti* 'kill');

**zariti* (Ukr. *зóрити* 'watch, spy'): **zāriti* (Russ. dial. *зáрить* 'look, look for, seek'). etc.[13]

Then, the reinterpretation of Proto-Slavic **rāditi* (<IE **$h_x$roh$_1$d^h-éye-*) as an iterative-causative verb formed with lengthened grade of the root and its subsequent incorporation into the class of **gāniti*, **māriti*, **zāriti*, etc. would lead to the creation of Proto-Slavic **raditi* (OBg. нєрѧдити, etc.) on the basis of the following proportion:

**gāniti : *ganiti = *māriti : *mariti = *zāriti : *zariti = . . . = *rāditi : x*(*x = *raditi*).

ABBREVIATIONS

Av.	— Avestan
AV.	— Atharvaveda
Bg.	— Bulgarian
Brahm.	— Brāhmaṇas
ChSl.	— Church Slavonic
Cz.	— Chech
Gk.	— Greek
Gmc.	— Germanic
Goth.	— Gothic
Hitt.	— Hittite
IE	— Indo-European
L.	— St. Luke
Lat.	— Latin
LSorb.	— Lower Sorbian
Mar.	— Codex Marianus
MS.	— Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā
Mt.	— St. Matthew
OBg.	— Old Bulgarian
OCz.	— Old Chech
OE	— Old English
OFris.	— Old Frisian
OHG	— Old High German
OIr.	— Old Irish
ON	— Old Norse
OSax.	— Old Saxon
Russ.	— Russian
RV.	— Ṛgveda
SCr.	— Serbo-Croatian
Skt.	— Sanskrit
Sn.	— Slovenian
TS.	— Taittirīya-Saṃhitā
Ukr.	— Ukrainian
USorb.	— Upper Sorbian
Zogr.	— Codex Zographensis

[6] There is no reason to assume words beginning with *r-* in Indo-European, see now Beekes, R. S. P. PIE. *RHC-* in Greek and Other Languages. — In: Indogermanische Forschungen, Bd. 93, 1988, pp. 23, 33. If the connection between *rāditi*, Gmc. **ræda-*, Skt. *rādh-*, etc. and Gk. ἁραρίσκω 'I join, fasten, fit together', etc. (see Pokorny, ibidem, pp. 55—60) is right, the initial **h_x* — can be identified as **h_2-*; then, we have IE **$h_2$reh$_1$d^h-*. In fact, the Sanskrit aorist *arāt* does not support the reconstruction of an initial laryngeal, but the augment in this case can be relatively new; i. e., like in cases such as Skt. 3rd sg. aor. *avāsīt* Brāhm. (*vā-* 'blow'. cf. Gk. ἄημι<IE **$h_2$weh$_1$-*), *avātsīt* AV. (*vas-* 'dwell', cf. Gk. ἔσσα, Hitt. *hwes-*<IE **$h_2$wes-*), the addition of the augment to the aorist forms can be dated after the Indo-Iranian loss of the initial laryngeals before consonants.

[7] I. e. *eh$_3$*-conjugation.

[8] On the thematized forms of the Indo-European *ex*-conjugation see Rikov, G. T. The Indo-European *ex*-Conjugation and the Origin of the Proterodynamic Verb Inflection. — In: Linguistique balkanique XXIX, 1, 1986; XXX, 1, 4, 1987, §§ 52—55, 61—63.

[9] Skt. *arāṭ* is identified by Hoffman (see Hoffmann, K. YV. *mṛgaśaphá-*, m. — In: Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, Bd. 78, 1963, pp. 86—88) as a *s*-aorist form of *rādh-*.

[10] The 3rd sg. secondary active ending **s*, attested by the Hittite and Indo-Iranian data, is probably an old ending of the Indo-European *ex*-conjugation; it plays a crucial role in the constitution of the paradigm of the sigmatic aorist (see Rikov, ibidem, §§ 9—11, 97—98).

[11] Cf. e. g. Skt. *bodháyati*, Av. *baoδayeiti*<IE **b^{h}oud^h-éye-ti*.

[12] Cf. Eichner, H. Die Etymologie von heth. *meḫur*. — In: Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft. H. 31, 1973, p. 86, n. 12.

[13] Cf. Mathiassen, T. Studien zum slavischen und indoeuropäischen Langvokalismus. Oslo — Bergen — Tromsø, 1974, p. 154 and especially Варбот, Ж. Ж. Праславянская морфонология, словообразование и этимология. М., 1984, 30—40.

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БЪЛГ. ДИАЛ. *МРЪЦКАМ* 'ТОПЯ НЕЩО ВЪВ ВОДА ИЛИ ДРУГА ТЕЧНОСТ' (САМОКОВСКО) И *МРАКА̀* 'НИСКО ВОДНО МЯСТО' (ГРАОВО)

Българският диалектен глагол *мръцкам* 'топя нещо във вода или друга течност' (Самоковско) не е разглеждан досега в етимологичните речници на славянските езици. Очевидно е, че този глагол е сроден с чеш. *zamrknouti* 'поемам течност' и причастието на *-l-* *zamrklý*, които Махек правилно свързва с лит. *miřkti, mirkstù* 'мокря се, намокрям се, измокрям се' и латв. *mirkt* 'кисна; смекчавам'[1]. Така български и чешки притежават глаголни форми, които трябва да се отнесат към индоевропейския корен **merk-* 'гния, изгнивам; натопявам', реконструиран въз основа на данни от славянските, балтийските, германските, келтските езици и латински[2].

Махек смята чешкия глагол за примарен, което, особено като се имат предвид сродните лит. *meřkti, merkiù* 'мокря, намокрям, накисвам', *miřkti, mirkstù* и пр., е напълно възможно[3]. Бълг. диал. **мърцам* | **мръцам*, засвидетелствувано чрез производното с наставка *-ка-* *мръцкам*, може да се обясни като имперфектив на **-āti, *-ājǫ* спрямо глагол на **-nǫti, *-nǫ* (срв. чеш. *zamrknouti*) както праслав. **brębcāti* (: **brękнǫti*), **prěmlьcāti* (: **mlьknǫti*), стб. НА-ЪЪЦАТИ (Супр.) (: **-vyknǫti*) и пр.[4] Реконструкцията на изходен балтославянски глагол (**merk-jō*), предложена от Траутман[5], намира потвърждение не само в балтийските и славянските глаголни форми, но и в добре засвидетелствуваните отглаголни съществителни.

Етимологията на тези съществителни в славянските езици е добре известна. Бернекер[6], Траутман[5], Брюкнер[7] и Фасмер[8] разглеждат рус. *мере́ча* 'блато', белорус. *мяре́ча* също, МИ *Ме́речь*, укр. *мороква́* 'блато' и пол. МИ *Mrocza*. Айхлер добавя старолужишките форми *-mroka* (в МИ *Mezumroka*, X в.), МИ *Mroscina,, Mrosina* (XI в.)[9]. Дуриданов привежда българското местно име *Мракà* (местност до Жабляно, Радомирско) и старосръбското местно име *Мрака* (XIV—XV в.)[10]. Българското МИ *Мракà* е добре засвидетелствувано в Южно Граово и Радомирско, а апелативът *мракà* 'ниско водно място' (Граово), и деноминативният глагол, известен от същия говор в израз *мракà ме дъждът* 'мокри ме дъждът'[11], потвърждават връзката на българското местно име с останалите саавянски форми. Както е известно обаче, индоевропейските езици наследяват не корени, а думи от индоевропейския праезик и поради това отнасянето на тези славянски форми направо към ие. **merk-*, макар и правилно, е недостатъчно; ние трябва да анализираме също и засвидетелствуваните формации.

Бълг. диал. *мракà*, МИ *Мракà*, стсръб. МИ *Мрака* и стлуж. *-mroka* (в МИ *Mezumroka*) позволяват да се реконструира праславянското отглаголно съществително **markā* с вероятно първоначално значение 'намокряне, влага, мокрота'; отглаголни съществителни от този тип често претърпяват конкретизация на първоначалното значение, срв. напр. праслав. **mąkā* 'брашно' (първоначално 'мелене'). Лит. *markà* 'дупка за накисване' е точно съответствие на праслав. **markā*; така може да се реконструира балтослав. **markā*, производно от балтославянски глагол **merktei* (срв. лит. *meřkti, merkiù*); все пак е трудно да се изключи в този случай възможността за паралелно и независимо образуване на тези отглаголни производни в праславянски и в балтийските езици.

Пол. МИ *Mrocza* (< праслав. **marčā* < **mark-jā*) е производно с наставка **-jā* от праслав. **markā*, така както праслав. **geržā* (< **merg-jā*, срв. бълг. *мрéжа* и пр.) от праслав. *mergā*, (срв. рус. диал. *мерега*). Рус. *мере́ча* и белорус. *мяре́ча* са вероятно производни с наставка **-jā* от праслав. **merkā*[12], което би било отглаголно производно с *e*-вокализъм на корена, паралелно на **markā*.

Стлуж. МИ *Mroscina, Mrosina* са образувани с наставка **-inā* от праслав. **markā*[13], така както праслав. **baltinā* (срв. стб. БЛАТНА, без метатеза БАЛТНЫ у Йоан Екзарх[14] и пр.) е образувано със същата наставка от праслав. **balta* (стб. БЛАТО и пр.).

Белоруското МИ *Меречь* (срв. и лит. РИ *Merkỹs*) е образувано с наставка **-jь* и може да се обясни като отименно производно от праслав. **merkъ* или **merkь*, които от своя страна предполагат изходна глаголна форма.

Най-интересният случай е представен несъмнено от украинската форма *мороква́* 'блато'. Според Бернекер[15] тази украинска форма представлява преобразувана старинна *ū-* основа и трябва да се съпоставя с галорам. **bracu-* < пракелт. **mraku-*, което е *u*-основа; както отбелязва Клайнханс[16], праслав. **marky* (от което е укр. *мороква́*) се отнася към пракелт. **mraku*, така както стб. СВЕКРЫ към кимр. *chwegr* (*u*-основа). Различието в коренния вокализъм обаче (*o*-степен в укр. *мороква́* и нулева степен в галорам. **bracu-*, с *-ra-* < ие. **-r̥-*) затруднява реконструкцията на обща индоевропейска праформа. Наред с това предположението за праславянска *ū*-основа се основава единствено на украинската форма и не се подкрепя от данните на другите славянски езици. Ето защо изглежда по-вероятно укр. *мороква́* да е новообразуване, заместващо по-старинната *ā*-основа праслав. **markā*; иновации от

[1] Вж. Machek (1942 : 24—25; 1971 : 380). Безлай (Bezlaj 1982 : 199) добавя и словен. *mícati, mícam* 'изнурявам', което по форма точно съответствува на българския диалектен глагол, но тази връзка изглежда несигурна поради различието в значенията.
[2] Вж. Walde — Pokorny (1927 : 281—282), Pokorny (1949—1959 : 739—740).
[3] Вж. Machek, цит. съч.
[4] Срв. Vaillant (1966 : 480).
[5] Вж. Trautmann (1923 : 182); срв. също и Fraenkel (1962—1965 : 440—441).
[6] Вж. Berneker (1913 : 78).
[7] Вж. Brückner (1913 : 104).
[8] Вж. Vasmer (1955 : 120).
[9] Вж. Eichler (1956 : 139—141).
[10] Вж. Дуриданов (1958 : 159—161).
[11] Вж. Мартинов (1958 : 780).
[12] Или паралелна формация на **-jā* покрай **merčь* (МИ *Меречь*).
[13] Вж. Eichler, цит. съч.
[14] Вж. Мирчев (1978 : 153).
[15] Вж. Berneker, цит. съч.
[16] У v. Wartburg (1928 : 489)

този тип като словен. *móčve* мн. ч. 'блато, мочурище' (: словен. *močā* 'мокрота') и пр., разгледани от Ваян[17], позволяват да се обясни завършекът *-ва* на укр. *мороквá* като „по-късно разширение".

Така ние имаме основание да разглеждаме славянските форми като производни от балтославянски глагол **merk-*, продължаващ ие. **merk-* 'гния, изгнивам; натопявам'.

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НАУЧНИ СЪОБЩЕНИЯ

БЪЛГ. ДИАЛ. *МРЪЖДÒРИ*, СРЪБ. ДИАЛ. *МР̀ЖДОРИТИ* И РУС. ДИАЛ. *МОРОЗГÁ*

Бълг. диал. *мръждòри* 'роси, ръми, вали дъжд' (Геров), *мържддри* 'ръми' (Трънско), *мржддри* също (Станьовци, Брезнишко) има точно съответствие в сръб. диал. *мр̀ждорити*, 3 *л.* ед. ч. *мр̀ждори* 'ръми'[1]. Българската и сръбската диалектна форма са образувани с експресивната праславянска наставка **-ari-* (**-ariti*, **arją*) и предполагат изходен глагол праслав. **mъrzg-ją* (с праслав. **-zgj-* > бълг. *-жд-*, сръб. *-жд-*). Маретич (Maretić 1911—1916 : 104) и Петльова (Петлева 1971 : 52) разглеждат само сръбските форми *мр̀ждорити* и *мр̀ждерити* и правилно ги свързват с рус. диал. *морозгá* 'ситен дъжд и сняг'. Очевидно е, че в случая трябва да се реконструира праславянският глагол **mъrzg-ją* (от който са образувани бълг. диал. *мръждòри*, *мържддри*, *мржддри* и сръб. диал. *мр̀ждорити*, *мр̀ждерити*) наред със съществителното праслав. **marzgā* (продължено от рус. диал. *морозгá*; срв. и деноминативните глаголи рус. диал. *морозжúть* 'ситно вали, ръми', *морозжáть* също).

Траутман (Trautmann 1923 : 182) привежда единствено руската диалектна форма *морозгá* и правилно предполага връзка с чеш. *mrholí* 'ръми', словаш. *mrholiť* също, латв. *mar̂ga* 'ситен дъжд', *mer̂ga* също, *mir̂dzet*, *mir̂dzinat* 'ситно вали' и стгр. βρέχω 'оросявам, намокрям'. Младенов (1941 : 306, 307) дава само бълг. диал. *мръждòри* с препратка към *мръсù*, *мърсù* 'ръми' (сродно с рус. *моросúть*, чеш. *mrholí* и пр.) и по такъв начин следва обяснението на Траутман. Погрешната връзка на рус. диал. *морозгá*, *морозжúть* с рус. *морготá* 'мъгла', предложена от Фасмер (Vasmer 1955 : 156, съм анализирал на друго място (Риков 1988 : 116). Ясно е, че в случая с разглежданите тук форми трябва да се изхожда от ие. **merg^{h}-*, като стгр. βρέχω (от което е производно стгр. βροχή 'дъжд') е вероятно с метатеза от **μέρχω (срв. напр. стгр. τερπώμεθα·τρεπώμεθα Hesych., τέρχνος : τρέχνος и пр.), а латв. *mar̂ga* и *mer̂ga* са отглаголни съществителни. Сега остава да се разгледа въпросът за образуването на праслав. **mъrzg-ją* и **marzgā*.

Праслав. **mъrzg-ją* може добре да се обясни като производна с *yod-* суфикс от праслав. **mъrzgą*, така както праслав. **jьsk-ją* (> стб. нштж) е образувано със същия суфикс от праслав. **jьską* (> стб. искж). В такъв случай анализът на праславянските глаголи на **-zgj-*, предложен от Ваян (Vaillant 1966 : 397—398), ни дава възможност да обясним праславянския глагол **mъrzgą* от раннопраслав. **mъrg-ske-* с прогресивна асимилация **-gsk-* > **-gzg-* и следващо опростяване в **-zg-*. Що се отнася до праславянското съществително **marzgā* (> рус. диал. *морозгá*), поради своя коренен вокализъм то би трябвало да е сравнително старинно отглаголно производно от праслав. **mъrzgą*.

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[1] Срв. и сръб. диал. *мр̀ждерити* 'ръми'.

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БЪЛГ. ДИАЛ. *ОТПÀГАМ* (СМОЛСКО, ПИРДОПСКО) И ПРАСЛАВ. **PĄZITI, *PĄŽĄ*

Българският диалектен глагол *отпàгам* 'отгледам; отхраня с труд и мъка' (Смолско, Пирдопско) е очевидно сроден с бълг. *пàзя* 'браня, вардя, закрилям, защищавам; полагам грижи; крия; пестя; спазвам, съблюдавам', *пàзя се* 'предпазвам се; внимавам; страня; отбягвам', *пàзим* 'следя, наблюдавам' (Д. Баня, Ихтиманско), 'следя' (Софийско; Витановци, Пернишко), 'пазя, помня; дебна' (Самоков), 'помня' (Ихтиманско; Шишманово, Говедарци, Райово, Самоковско; Кюстендилско), 'внимавам' (Брезнишко; Витановци, Пернишко; Гоце Делчев; Банат), 'гледам' (Трънско; Бистрица, Кюстендилско; ученически говор, София), чсл. пазнтн, пажж 'обръщам внимание; наблюдавам', с възвр. частица сѧ 'пазя се'.

От гледище на семантиката тази връзка не среща трудности, особено при наличието на българския диалектен глагол *отпàзя* 'отгледам' (Копривец, Беленско; Сушица, Горнооряховско). Различието по форма обаче изисква по-сериозно разглеждане.

Както е известно, бълг. *пàзя*, чсл. пазнтн, пажж имат точни съответствия в срхр. *пàзити*, *пàзīм* 'внимателен съм, гледам внимателно; грижа се (за някого, нещо), пазя', словен. *páziti*, *pȃzim* 'внимавам, обръщам внимание, внимателен съм; гледам, наблюдавам' и укр. *пазити* (също и *пазати*) грижа се, трудя се, залягам, доглеждам, гледам докрай; пазя'[1]. Тези форми изискват реконструкцията на праслав. **pāziti*, **pāžą*, като появата на *z* вм. *ž* в 1 л. ед. ч. и 3 л. мн. ч. сег. вр. в отделните славянски езици е резултат от късна генерализиция според останалите форми на парадигмите.

Още през 1874 г. А. Фик правилно свързва чсл. пазнтн, пажж със стисл. *spakr* 'умен, мъдър, разумен; спокоен, тих, кротък', *speki* 'ум, разум, мъдрост', *spect* (> прагерм. **spakipō*) 'мъдрост', *spekja* 'мамя, лъжливо уверявам, успокоявам' (вж. Fick 1874: 94) и по този начин установява една от многобройните славяногермански лексикални изоглоси. Тази връзка е почти общоприета[2]; ние я откриваме например в речниците на Валде и Покорни (Walde—Pokorny 1927: 660) под заглавие *speg-* (oder *spăg-* oder *spăg-*) и Покорни (Pokorny 1959: 981) под заглавка *speg-* (oder *spăg-*) 'scharf hin- oder zusehen'. Реконструкциите в тези речници свидетелстват за несигурността относно коренния вокализъм на изходната индоевропейска праформа и тази несигурност е естествено следствие от оскъдния сравнителен материал, с който разполагаме. Наред с това, тези реконструкции отразяват традиционната концепция за съществуването на три реда гутурали (палатали, велари и лабиовелари) в индоевропейския праезик; съгласно тази концепция, съответствието между праслав. *z* (в **pāziti*) и прагерм. **k* (в стисл. *spakr* и пр.) изисква реконструкцията на ие. **ǵ*.

В това отношение особен интерес представлява българската диалектна форма *отпàгам*, която свидетелствува — въпреки своята изолираност — за праславянски глагол на *-āti*, *-āją* (праслав. **pāgāti*, **pāgāją*) и чието съществуване наред с праславянския глагол на *-iti* **pāziti*, **pāžą* има многобройни паралели в славянските езици, срв. напр. праслав. **stąpāti* : **stąpiti*, **běgāti* : **běžiti*, **gybāti* : **gybiti* и пр. Вътрешнославянското редуване на спирант и гутурал в праслав. **pāziti* : **pāgāti* е несъмнено старинно и позволява обединяването на тази двойка глаголи със случаи като рус. *броса́ть* : *рока́ть*, разгледани от В. И. Георгиев (вж. Георгиев 1958: 30 и сл.; Georgiev 1981: 43 и сл.); както е известно, подобни случаи на редуване на спирант (пред ие. **ē*, **ī*) и велар (в останалите случаи) в така наречените *satəm*-езици представляват един от силните аргументи в подкрепа на теорията за два реда гутурали в индоевропейския праезик — теория, предложена за пръв път през 1873 г. от А. Фик и разработена със съществени корекции от акад. В. И. Георгиев (вж. Георгиев 1932; 1958; Georgiev 1981).

[1] Украинските форми са приведени от Топоров (1972: 41); Скок (Skok 1972: 626) смята, че разглежданият глагол е засвидетелстван само в южнославянски.

[2] Brugmann (1897: 725) свързва тези форми със стинд. *paśyati* 'той вижда' авест. *spasyeiti* същo, стгр. σκέπτομαι гледам (с метатеза от *σπεκ-), лат. *speciō* 'гледам' (ие. **spek-*) и тази връзка е приета и от Walde — Pokorny, цит. съч., Pokorny, цит. съч. Ст. Младенов и П. Скок предполагат родство и с ие. **pā-* (срв. бълг. *пàзя* и пр.) (вж. Младенов 1941: 408, Skok, цит. съч.), което е отхвърлено още от Фик (Fick, цит. съч.). Тези етимологии предполагат различни разширения на общ индоевропейски корен (**sp-?*), което е неубедително. Топоров (1972: 40—41) изобщо не споменава за етимологията на Фик и се опитва да свърже праслав. **pāziti*, **pāžą* с бълг. *пàзва*, праслав. **pāzъ* (> рус. *паз* и пр.), стинд. *pājaḥ* 'гръд (?)' и пр.; по този начин той обединява форми, които обикновено се смятат за различни по произход.

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БЪЛГ. ДИАЛ. *КЛЍНКАМ* И ПРАСЛАВ. **KLYPĀTI*, **KLYPĀJA*

Българският диалектен глагол *клѝнкам* 'вървя; вървя бързо, подтичвам' (Банско; Беломорска Тракия), 'подтичвам след някого' (Самоков), 'подскачам' на куц крак; ходя едва, влача се. клатушкам се; подтичвам след някого' (ЮЗ), 'куцам' (обл. Пиянец, Кюстендилско), 'тичам тръс' (Пещерско) е засвидетелстван и чрез редица производни, срв. префигурираните глаголи бълг. диал. *доклѝнкам* 'достига на, пристигна с клинкане', *заклѝнкам, заклѝнквам* (К. Петканов), *поклѝнкам, поклѝнквам*, диал. *поклѝнкувам* 'тичам леко, подтичвам' (Кукуш) и отглаголните съществителни *клинкáч* 'лош конски ход, който разтърсва ездача' (Банско), *клѝнкач* шег. 'годежар, стройник' (Мориово), *клѝнкачка* 'вид хоро' (ЮЗ). Тези форми са оставени без етимологично обяснение в БЕР 2, 455, където откриваме само забележката „звукоподраж."; те липсват в другите етимологични речници на славянските езици.

Бълг. диал. *клѝнкам* е очевидно сродно със срхърв. диал. *клúпати (се), клúпам (се)* 'вървя с труд, клатейки се от умора', рус. диал. *клы́пать, клы́паю, клыпáть, клыпáю* 'вървя накуцвайки, кретам', укр. диал. *клипати, клипаю* също, белорус. *клы́паць, клы́паю* 'накуцвам', които позволяват да се реконструира праслав. **klypāti*, **klypāją*. Етимологията на праслав. **klypāti*, **klypāją* е добре известна; този праславянски глагол е сроден с лит. *klúpoti, klúpoju* 'коленича, клякам' (което е точно съответствие), *klaúpti-s, klaúpu-s* също, *klùpti, klumpù* 'спъвам' и може би и с гот. *us-hlaupan* 'изправям' вдигам', стисл. *hlaupa* 'тичам, бързам' стангл. *hlēopan* също, стсакс. *hlōpan* също, ствиснем. *hloufan* също (прагерм. **hlaup-a-*, с прагерм.* *p* < ие. **b*), вж. Trautmann (1923:137), Vasmer (1953:574), Трубачев (1983:81—82).

Наред с праслав. **klypāti*, **klypāją*, в славянските езици са засвидетелствувани и интензивите на **sāti*, **-sāją* праслав. **kljusāti*, **kljusāją* и **klusāti*, **klusāją*, срв. бълг. диал. *клю̀сам* '(за кон) ходя със ситен тръс', 'ходя без работа, скитам', *клю̀скам* 'бродя; клатушкам се', срхр. *клю̑сати, клю̑сам* 'вървя, спъвайки се, клатейки се'. словен. *kljúsati, kljúsam*, 'тичам тръс някак си, тичам в ситен тръс', рус. диал. *клюсáть, клюсáю* 'пътувам по околни пътища', чеш. *klusati, klusám* 'бягам в ситен тръс'. словаш. *klusať, klusám* също, пол. *kłusać, kłusaję* също, 'бродя, клатушкам се', горлуж. *kłusać* 'бягам в ситен тръс'[1]; праслав. **kljusāti* и **klusāti* са от по-старинни **kljup-sāti* и **klup-sāti*[2], вж. Berneker (1908—1913:530), Vasmer (1953:575—576), Machek (1968:261), БЕР 2, 486—487, Трубачев (1983:59—60).

Така ние имаме група от славянски форми, чиято връзка с бълг. диал. *клѝнкам* не среща трудности от гледище на семантиката. Българският диалектен глагол е също фонетично и словообразувателно, прозрачен. Той представлява производно с продуктивната наставка *-ка-* (срв. напр. по-горе бълг. диал. *клю̀сам : клю̀скам*) от по-старинна форма **klynąti, *klynq*, която от своя етрана произлиза от праслав. **klyp-nąti, *klyp-nq*. Опростяването на **pn* в **n* в праславянски е добре известно, срв. напр. стб. сънъ бълг. *сън*: стгр. ὕπνος 'сън'. В такъв случай праслав. *klypnąti, klypnq* е глагол на **-nąti, *-nq*, образуван спрямо праславянския дуратив-итератив **klypāti, *klypāją*, така както праслав. **gybnąti* **gybnq* (стб. гꙑбнѫти, гꙑбнѫ 'гина, загивам', гꙑбнѫти, гꙑбнѫ също) е образувано спрямо праслав. **gybāti*, **gybāją* (стб. гꙑбати, гꙑбаѭ 'гина, загивам').

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Георги Т. Риков

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ПРАСЛАВ. **GĀLITI SĘ* '(ЗА НЕБЕ) ИЗЯСНЯВА СЕ, РАЗВЕДРЯВА СЕ', СТГР. ΓΕΛΕΙΝ· ΛΑΜΠΕΙΝ, ΑΝΘΕΙΝ (HESYCH.) И ПР.

Българските диалектни глаголи *разга̀ли са* 'изясни се след дъжд' (Бачково), '(за валеж) спря, престана' (Богутево, Асеновградско), *разга̀ля се* 'изяснява се след проливен дъжд' (Еленско), *разга̀ля са* 'прояснява се, разведрява се' (Костандово, Велинградско), *разга̀лва се* '(за небе) очиства се от облаци, прояснява се' (Смолско, Пирдопско; Долно Левски, Панагюрско), *разга̀льва са* 'изяснява се след дъжд' (Лъджа,Брезе,Дряново,Върбово, Смолянско ;Орешец,Асеновградско ; Лещен,Балдево, Ново Ловча,Гоцеделчевско), 'прояснява се, разведрява се'(Костандово,Велинградско), *разгалюва се* '(за небе) изяснява се, разведрява се' (Самоков), 'изяснява се след дъжд' (Делчево, Гоцеделчевско ; Яворово, Пловдивско), '(за време) изяснява се, оправя се' (Габрово, Благоевградско), '(за валеж) спира, престава' (Огняново, Гоцеделчевско) са без етимологично обяснение досега. Тези префигурирани глаголи са несъмнено сродни със срхр. *га́лити се* '(за време) прояснява се', диал. *галѝт се* 'прояснява се', *разга́лити се* '(за време) разведрява се', рус. *прога́лить* 'прочиства, отворя, позволя да влезе светлина' (срв. *на́-небе прога́лило* 'прояснило', Даль); така изходната форма е праслав. **gāliti sę* '(за небе) изяснява се, разведрява се', от която са образувани и префигурираните глаголи **arz-gāliti sę* (> бълг. диал. *разга̀ли се*, срхр. *разга́лити се*), **pra-gāliti* (> рус. *прога́лить*).

Според Скок (Skok 1971: 547—548), който обяснява срхр. *га́лити се* като получено чрез декомпозиция от *разга́лити се*, сърбохърватските глаголи са от един произход с *разга́лити се* 'оголя, разголя', *го* 'гол' и добавя към тях и бълг. *га̀ля* 'милвам, глезя' диал. 'обичам'. Безлай (Bezlaj 1976: 137) също приема тази връзка, като за разлика от Скок отделя бълг. *га̀ля* от останалите форми. Колебанията относно интерпретацията на срхр. *га́лити се* '(за време) прояснява се', диал. *галѝт* 'прояснява се' са отразени и от Трубачов, който обединява под обща заглавка **gāliti sę* тези глаголи с глаголи, означаващи в различните славянски езици 'желая', 'галя', 'оголвам, разголвам', 'хвърлям топка' и пр. (Трубачев 1979: 92—94). Авторът не се спира специално на семантичните проблеми, представени чрез връзката на срхр. *га́лити се* '(за време) прояснява се' с останалите глаголи, но правилно отбелязва „крайната сложност и затъмненост на първоначалните отношения" (Трубачев, цит. съч., с. 94). Несъмнено в случая е налице група от омонимични глаголни форми (срв. напр. връзката на

gāliti 'хвърлям топка' със стгр. βάλλω 'хвърлям' у Трубачев, цит. съч.) и поради тази причина, при наличието на взаимно влияние между някои от тях, предположенията за вътрешнославянски семантичен развой биха били основателни само след изчерпване на възможностите за етимологичното им разграничаване[1]. Ето защо е необходимо да се провери възможността за етимологично обяснение на праслав. **gāliti sę* '(за небе) изяснява се, разведрява се', различно от обясненията, изброени от Трубачов (Трубачев, цит съч.) и отнасящи се за вероятни омоними на този праславянски глагол.

Възможност праслав. **gāliti sę* '(за небе) изяснява се, развиделява се' е вероятно сродно със стгр. γελεῖν· λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν (Hesych.), ἀγλαός 'светъл, великолепен', ἀγλαΐα 'блясък, великолепие'[2], стгр. γελάω 'смея се; осмивам, присмивам се', γελαστός 'смешен, забавен', дорич. γελᾶνης 'засмян, радостен' (Пиндар), γέλως 'смях, присмех, подигравка' и пр., арм. *cair* (род. пад. ед. ч. *cału*) също[3]; семантичният развой е представен добре чрез лат. *renīdere, renīdeō* 'блестя; радвам се, усмихвам се', *rendentia* 'усмивка'[4]. Тази група от форми изисква реконструкцията на ие. **gelh₁-*, като ие. **h₂* се установява благодарение на форми като γελαστός, γελᾶνης (*γελασνής), които са образувани въз основа на *γελας[5] [6] < ие. **gelh₂-s ;* γελάω < *γελασ-ιω (вж. Frisk (1954—1960:295) или тематизирана форма от *γελαμι (Schmidt 1905:35)< ие. **gelh₂-mí* и пр.; арм. *cair* (род. пад. ед. ч. *cału*) е образувано с нулева степен на коренната сричка (ие. **glh₂-*). Ие. **h₂* правилно изчезва в ие. **gelh₂-eh₃* > *γελω (стгр. инфинитив γελεῖν)[6].

В такъв случай праслав. **gāliti sę* '(за небе) изяснява се, разведрява се' е итеративно-каузатив с удължена степен на коренната гласна и предполага реконструкцията на каузатив праслав. **galiti* 'правя светъл, правя ясен, изяснявам', възвр. **galiti sę* 'ставам светъл, изяснявам се'; праслав. **gāliti sę* се отнася към **galiti (sę)*, така както праслав. **gāniti* (срхр. остар. *gánitu* 'гоня, преследвам') към **ganiti* (стб. гонѣти, бълг. *гоня*, срхр. *gȍnitu*), праслав. **māriti* (чеш. *mařiti* 'убивам' към праслав. **mariti* (стб. -морѣти, чсл. морѣти, бълг. *морѝ* и пр.) и т.н. Непалатализираното начало **g* в праслав. **gāliti sę* показва, че изходната форма праслав. **galiti (sę)* продължава вероятно старинен каузатив с *o*-вокализъм на коренната сричка (ие. **golh₁-eye-*).

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[1] Срв. напр. Vasmer (1953:254), който разграничава *гáлить* I, *гáлить* II и *гáлить* III, без да включва разглежданите тук глаголи.

[2] Стгр. ἀγλαός и ἀγλαΐα са вероятно получени с хаплология от *αγα-γλαFος, *αγα-γλαFια, вж. Pokorny (1949—1959:366).

[3] Вж. Walde-Pokorny (1930:622—623), Frisk (1954—1960:294—295), Pokorny (1949—1959: 366—367), като се предполага родство и със стангл. *clagne* 'чист', ствиснем. *kleini* 'блестящ, красив, фин'. Петерсон (Petersson 1916:289—190) добавя и арм. *całik*, род. пад. *całkan* 'цвят, цвете'.

[4] Вж. Walde-Pokorny, цит. съч. Предложеното обяснение на праслав. **gāliti sę* '(за небе) изяснява се, разведрява се' ни позволява да добавим и стб. галнтн 'скачам, ликувам' (Бон. пс.), рус. чсл. галнтн 'радвам се, ликувам', рус. *гáлить* 'усмихвам се', диал. *гáлить, галúть, гáлиться* 'смея се, шегувам се, *подигравам се*', *гáлить* 'разсмивам, шегувам се, смея се', 'присмивам се', *гáлиться* 'смея се, подигравам се'; тези форми обаче биха могли да са сродни с гот. *gōljan* 'приветствувам с вик', стисл. *gøla* 'доставям удоволствие; утешавам, успокоявам', *galask* 'шегувам се', както и с бълг. *гáля*, вж. Berneker (1908—1914:293), Vasmer (1953:254), Pokorny (1959: 428).

[5] Вж. напр. Frisk, цит. съч.

[6] Тъй като отраженията на ие. **g* и **gʰ* съвпадат в праславянски, праслав. **gāliti (sę)* би могло да се изведе и от ие. **gʰel-* (срв. *злато, жълт, гълъб* и пр.), което изглежда по-малко вероятно от гледище на семантиката, тъй като изходната форма би била най-вероятно прилагателно, означаващо цвят.

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ПРАСЛАВ. **GRĘSTI, *GRĘDA*, ДИАЛ. **GRĘDNĄTI, *GRĘDNĄ*, СТИРЛ. *-GREINN* И СРОДНИТЕ ИМ ФОРМИ

Както е добре известно от етимологичните речници на славянските езици, стб. грѧсти, грѧдѫ 'вървя, идвам' (Зогр. ев., Син. пс., Син. тр., Клоц., Сав. кн., Супр. сб.) и бълг. диал. *грѐдам* 'идвам, дохождам', грендам също (ЮЗ)[1], *грѐди* таен говор 'хайде' (Скребатно, Гоцеделчевско) са сродни със срхр. *грѐсти, грѐдем, грéсти, грéдем* 'вървя, ходя', струс. грѧсти, грѧдѫ 'вървя' (Остр. ев., Гр. Наз.), рус. *грясти́, грядý* 'отивам, вървя; идвам', диал. 3 л. мн. ч. сег. вр. *гредут* 'вървят', укр. *грясти́, грядý* 'бързо и шумно тичам; возя се, пътувам'. Наред с тези форми, които възхождат към праслав. **gręsti, *grędą*, в източнославянската група езици са засвидетелствувани и глаголите с назален суфикс рус. диал. *гря́нуть, гря́ну* 'застигна, побягна' и укр. *гря́нути, гря́ну* 'бързо тръгна; замина', които позволяват да се реконструира праслав. диал. **grędnąti, *grędną*.

Проблемът, който поставят както праслав. **gręsti, *grędą*, така и сродните форми в другите индоевропейски езици, е свързан с реконструкцията на индоевропейската праформа. Както е известно въз основа на езиковите данни се предполагат два корена, несводими към общ първоизточник, а именно ие. **gʰred-*[2] и ие. **gʰreyd-*. Праслав. **gręsti, *grędą* в такъв случай е двусмислено, тъй като би могло да е образувано с назален инфикс и от двете праформи; както ие. **gʰrend-* (или **gʰrn̥d-*)[2] така и ие. **gʰrind-*[3] са възможни източници за праславянския глагол. Тъй като този проблем съществува и до днес — срв. например Трубачев (1980:124), който реконструира ие. **gʰrid-*[2] наред с неприемливото **gʰrəd-*[4] — то очевидно е необходимо да се анализират отново данните от другите индоевропейски езици и да се преценят възможностите за тяхното обяснение.

Авест. 1 л. мн. ч. сег. вр. *aiwi. gərədmahi* 'ние започваме' е засвидетелствувано в Yasna и Visprat; то очевидно произлиза от ие. **gʰr̥d-mesi* и по този начин осигурява реконструкцията на атематичен коренен глагол с пълна степен във формите за единствено число актив и нулева степен в слабите форми. Така ние имаме ие. 1 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. **gʰred-mi*, 1 л. мн. ч. сег. вр. **gʰr̥d-mes(i)* и пр.

Както лат. *gressus* 'крачещ, вървящ', което е причастие на **-to-* към *gradior* 'крача, вървя', така и отглаголното съществително с наставка **-tu-* лат. *gressus* 'крачка; стъпка' свидетелствуват за ие. **gʰred-*[2]*-;* ние имаме лат. *gressus* 'крачещ, вървящ' < ие. **gʰred-to-* и *gressus* 'крачка, стъпка' <

[1] С диал. *ѥн* от стб. ѧ, вж. БЕР 1, 277.

[2] Вж. например Brugmann (1913:288), Pokorny (1949—1959:456), БЕР 1, 288.

[3] Вж. например Трубачев (198:124), който реконструира **gʰrid-*.

[4] Срв. например Walde-Hofmann (1938:615) и вж. по-долу. Твърдението за „основа **ghridh-, *ghrədh-*" (Трубачев, цит. съч.) е неприемливо, тъй като отглас *i : ə* е непознат в индоевропейските езици.

g^hred^h-tu-. По-сложен е въпросът с латинския глагол *gradior* 'крача, вървя', чийто *a*-вокализъм на коренната сричка изисква специално разглеждане. Реконструкцията на индоевропейска редуцирана степен на коренния вокализъм, предложена от Валде и Хофман (ие. *$g^hr_ed^h$-, вж. Walde—Hofmann цит. съч.), Траутман (ие. *$g^hr_ed^h$-, вж. Trautmann, 1909: 369), Стъртевант (ие. *$g^hd_br^h$-, вж. Sturtevant, 1943: 302) и Трубачов (ие. *$g^hr_əd^h$-, вж. Трубачев, цит. съч.[5]) е неприемливо. От друга страна, както правилно отбелязва Бругман (Brugmann, 1913: 288), ие. *$g^hr_nd^h$- би дало лат. **horb-*, а не *grad-*. Очевидно е, че лат. *gradior* не отразява старинна праформа и поради тази причина би трябвало да се обясни като вътрешнолатинска иновация. Според Бругман (цит. съч.) лат. *grad-* е образувано въз основа на незасвидетелствуван в латински глагол с назален инфикс **grand-* < ие. *$g^hr_nd^h$-, така както лат. *fragilis* 'трошлив, чуплив; слаб, хилав, нетраен' е образувано въз основа на *frangō* 'счупвам, строшавам; съкрушавам, сломявам; укротявам, обезсилвам' (< ие. *b^hr_ng-). Тази хипотеза обаче е също неприемлива. Реконструкциите *$g^hr_nd^h$- и *b^hr_ng-, предложени от Бругман съответно за обяснението на **grand-* и *frangō*, не могат да обяснят коренния *a*- вокализъм на латинските форми, тъй като, както е известно, ие. **r̥* дава лат. *or*, срв. например лат. *mors* 'смърт' < ие. **mr̥tis* (срв. стинд. *mrtyúḥ*, стб. съ-мрѣть, лат. *mirtis*). Всъщност единственото приемливо обяснение е това на Курилович (Kuryłowicz, 1956: 174—176, 1968: 243—246), който разглежда въвеждането на редундантно *a* в нулева степен на корените от типа *(C)ReC-* като резултат от аналогично преоформяне по образеца на отношението *(C)aRC-* : *(C)eRC*, където *(C)aRC-* представлява вторично заместване на първоначална нулева степен; т. е. ние имаме *(C)eRC-* : *(C)aRC-* = *(C)ReC-* : *(C)RaC-*. От своя страна възникването на *(C)aRC-* на мястото на по-старинно *(C)R̥C-* се дължи на промяната на *R̥V-* в лат. *arV* и следващата замяна на *(C)R̥V-* чрез *(C)aRV-*[6].

Без трудности стирл. *ad-greinn, in-greinn* 'той преследва' може да се изведе от по-старинна форма *g^hrend^h-na-*, вж. Pedersen (1909: 339), Thurneysen (1980: 353). Генерализацията на слабата форма **-nə* (**-nh₂-*) на суфикса **-nā-*/**-nə-* *(**-neh₂-*/**-nh₂-*) в староирландски е обичайно; що се отнася до образуването на форма с назален суфикс от глаголната основа с назален инфикс, староирландският глагол представлява точен паралел на източнослав. **grę̑d-nąti*, **grędnǫ* (> рус. *гря́нуть, гря́ну*, укр. *гря́нути, гря́ну*). Явлението е добре известно в индоевропейските езици, срв. например стгр. λιμπάνω 'оставям, напускам': стинд. *rinákti* 'той оставя; той пуска', лат. *linquō* 'оставям, изоставям, напускам', стпрус. 3 л. ед. ч. *po-linka* 'той остава', лит. диал. 3 л. ед. ч. *link* също и пр.

Нека сега разгледаме формите, въз основа на които Зибс (Siebs, 1904: 321) реконструира ие *g^hreyd^h-. Несъмнено гот. *grips* 'стъпка, крачка' и лит. *gridyti, gridiju* могат да се изведат от нулевата степен *g^hrid^h- на ие. *g^hreyd^h-; това обяснение, подкрепено и от сръвснем, *grit, griet, griit* 'стъпка. крачка', нем. диал. (бав.) *gritt* също, сръвснем. *gritten* 'разкрачвам се'[7], е прието също от Буга и Френкел (вж. Fraenkel, 1962—1965: 171). Съществуването на вариант ие. *g^hreyd^h- наред с *g^hred^h- обаче е съмнително; допускането на отглас *e*|*ø* : *ey*|*i* (т. е. *$g^hr(e)d^h$- : *$g^hr(e)yd^h$-) в индоевропейските езици било без основание. Предположението за отглас *ə* : *i* е също неприемливо, вж. заб. 4. От друга страна, опитът на Траутман (Trautmann, цит. съч.) да обясни лит. *gridyti, gridiju* заедно с лат. *gradior* от ие. *g^hred^h- (редуцирана степен на ие. *g^hred^h-) е също незадоволителен от гледище на сравнителната фонетика на индоевропейските езици. Всъщност литовският глагол би могъл да се обясни като сроден с авест. *gərəδmahi*, лат. *gradior* и пр., ако се вземе предвид аналогичното образуване на нулева степен *CRiC-* спрямо *CReC-* въз основа на оригиналното съотношение *CiRC-* (<ие. *CRC-*) : *CeRC-* в балтийските езици; вж. Kuryłowicz (1968: 236, 238) и срв. също лит. *driksti, dryskù* 'разкъсвам' : *drę̑ksti, dreskiù* също; лит. *bristi (bridaũ)* 'газя, прегазвам' : лит. *bredù* също, праслав. **bredǫ* (> стб. брѣдѫ, рус. *бредý* и пр.). Очевидно е, че няма пречка за присъединяването на литовския глагол към формите, произлизащи от ие. *g^hred^h-.

По-сложен е въпросът с формите в германските езици. Както беше вече отбелязано (вж. заб. 7), гот. *grips* (засвидетелствувано чрез вин. пад. ед. ч. *grid*) може да се изведе както от ие. *g^hred^h-, така и от ие. *g^hrid^h-. Сръвснем. *grit, griet, griit* и пр. обаче свидетелствуват за прагермански *i*-вокализъм; при липсата на сигурно потвърждение за съществуването на ие. *g^hreyd^h-/*g^hrid^h- (за разлика от случая с ие *g^hred^h-/*$g^hr̥d^h$-), то очевидно най-доброто решение относно високонемските форми е предложената от Торп и Фалк (Torp-Falk, 1904: 143—144) връзка със стисл. *grīna* 'крача' и пр. (прагерм. **grī-*)[8]. В такъв случай единствено неясно остава дали гот. *grips* трябва да се присъедини към високонемските форми, или — вж. например Pokorny, цит. съч. — да се отдели от тях.

Допълнителна подкрепа за предложеното извеждане на праслав. **grę̑sti*, **gredǫ* от ие. *$g^hr(e)ndh$- е представена от източнославянските съществителни струс. гѫбнь, гѫбна 'тръс' (на гѫбнахъ 'в тръс'), рус. диал. *грунь* 'бързо ходене', *грýна* 'конски тръс, белорус. диал. *грунем* нареч. 'бегом' *грунём* също. Родството на тези форми с праслав. **grę̑sti*, **grędǫ*, предположено от Петерсон и Трубачов[9], изисква обяснението им като отглаголни съществителни, образувани със старинен *o*-вокализъм на корена (струс. *ѫ*, рус. *у* < **on*) и изключва възможността за ие. *g^hrind^h- като източник на праслав. **grę̑sti*, **grędǫ*.

Ясно е, че преценката на различните възможности води до реконструкцията на ие. *g^hred^h-/*$g^hr̥d^h$- (като славянските и староирландските глаголи са с назален инфикс) и че липсват данни, които да свидетелствуват със сигурност за ие. *g^hreyd^h-/*g^hrid^h-. Правилното решение в случая обаче би било невъзможно чрез прякото проектиране на редица от формите на отделните индоевропейски езици (лат. *gradior*, лит. *gridiju*) в индоевропейски; необходимо е да се има предвид развитието на вторични отгласни отношения в тези езици.

[5] В случая *ə* очевидно означава редуцирана гласна.

[6] *C* означава всеки консонант, *R* — всеки сонант, *ə* — всеки ларингал, *V* — всяка гласна.

[7] Гот. *i* в *grips* би могло да се обясни както от ие. **i*, така и от ие. **e*; втората възможност изисква реконструкцията на ие. *g^hred^h-.

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Георги Т. Риков

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Ие. *promo- в славянските езици: бълг. диал. *спрòма, доллуж. promje, spromje, pospromje*

В западнобългарските говори се среща предлогът *спрòма*, който е добре засвидетелстван в народни песни и чието значение е вероятно 'срещу; според, спрямо', срв. *развали Стоян овнове спрома Станиш дворове* (Извор, Брезнишко. СбНУ XIV, 217), *мома умрела спрома неделя* (Бусинци, Трънско), *каква тумба спрома наше село,дал съ турци ели еничери?* (Горни Коритен, Долно Кобилье, Кюстендилско), *каква тумби спрома наше село: дал са русци ил са йаничари* (Кюстендилско краище, СбНУ XXXII 531), *гукала ми грълица спрома село у йасен* (Бусинци, Трънско), *гръкала ми грълица спрома село у йасен* (Радово, Трънско, СбНУ XXI, II, 4), *да избера йунак спрома .нене* (Горни Коритен, Кюстендилско) и пр.

Най-близко както по значение, така и по форма до бълг. диал. *спрòма* са долнолужишките предлози *promje* 'срещу; наред', *spromje* също, *pospromje* също. Шустер-Шевц въз основа единствено на тези долнолужишки форми реконструира праслав. **pramě* и правилно предлага връзка с праслав. и **prěma* (> стб. прѣмо, бълг. *прямо* и пр.)[1], чиято етимология, независимо от съществуващите несигурности относно обяснението на **-ě-*, е добре известна[2]. Бълг. диал. *спрòма* от своя страна дава основания за реконструкцията на праслав. **pramā*. Очевидно е, че праслав. **pramě* (> доллуж. *promje*) и праслав. **pramā* (> бълг. диал. *(с)прòма*) са първоначално наречия, които по произход са старинни падежни форми; така праслав. **pramě* е форма за местен падеж единствено число, а праслав. **pramā* – старинна форма за творителен падеж единствено число[3]. Изходната праформа е праслав. **pramъ*; като се има предвид, че реконструкцията ѝ се основава на данни от южнославянски и западнославянски език, то тя е несъмнено архаизъм. Всъщност, праслав. **pramъ* има точни съответствия в други индоевропейски езици, срв. гот. *fram* наречие 'по-нататък', предлог 'от', стисл. *fram* 'напред', *frā* (<**fram*) 'от', стангл. *from* наречие 'настрана, по-нататък', предлог 'от', ствиснем. *fram* наречие 'напред, настрана, по-нататък, веднага', предлог 'от'[4], стгр. πρόμος 'предводител, началник; челен боец', умбр. *promom* (им.-вин, пад. ср. р.) 'най-напред, за пръв път', които са от ие. **promo-*, образувано със суфикс **-mo-* от ие. **pro*[5].

Така бълг. диал. *спрòма* (Трънско; Брезнишко; Кюстендилско) и доллуж. *promje, spromje, pospromje* свидетелстват, че ие. **promo-*, което е представено чрез данни от германските езици, старогръцки и умбрийски, е наследено и в славянските езици.

Георги Т. Риков

[1] Вж. Schuster-Šewc, H. Historisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der ober- und niedersorbischen Sprache, 16: *praza-rubić*. Bautzen, 1986, 1172-1173, като реконструкцията на праформа **sprom-* "с оригинално *s*-mobile" ("...mit urspr. *s*-mobile", с. 1173) във основа на доллуж. *spromje* е неприемлива; бълг. диал. *спрòма* и доллуж. *spromje* са образувани с предлог праслав. **sъ*, срв. и доллуж. *pospromje*,което е образувано с предлози **pa* (> *po*) и **sъ* (>s).

[2] Вж. напр. Vasmer, M. Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bd. II., Heidelberg 1955, с. 455, Skok, P. Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika, Kn. III, Zagreb 1973, с. 33.

[3] Относно славянските наречия на **-ě-* (срв. стб. срѣдѣ, кромѣ и пр.) и **-ā* (срв. стб. дома, вьчера и пр.) вж. напр. Vaillant, A. Grammaire comparée des langues slaves, t. II/2, Paris 1958, с. 690, 695.

[4] Срв. също и прилагателните стисл. *framr* 'предстоящ', стангл. *fram* 'много смел'.

[5] Вж. Pokorny, J. Indogermanisches etymologishes Wörterbuch. Bern, 1949-1959, с. 814.

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БЪЛГ. ДИАЛ. *СВИНТЯ́* И *СВИ́ТНЕМ*

Българският диалектен глагол 1 л. ед.ч. сег. вр. *свинтя́* 'блестя от чистота' (Кръвеник, Севлиевско), 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *свинти́* 'свети, блести' (В. Търново) с очевидно образуван чрез наставката *-т'-/-ти-* (1 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *-т'ъ*, 2 л. ед.ч. сег. вр. *-тиш* и пр.), която е наследена от праславянски и служи за образуване на глаголи с интензивно значение; срв. напр. праслав. **šьrьtāti*, **šьrьtją* (>бълг. *шептя́* и пр.), праслав. **bъxъtāti*, **bъxъtją* (>бълг. *бъ́хтя* и пр.) както и новообразувания като бълг. диал. *лихтя́* 'хлипам', за което вж. Български етимологичен речник, т. III, София 1986, с. 438.

В такъв случай бълг. диал. *свинтя́*, *свинти́* може да се обясни като производно от праславянски глагол **svinąti*, **sviną*, който е образуван с назален суфикс **-ną-* от итератива **svitāti*, **svitāja*, т. е. праслав. **svinąti*, **sviną* < **svitnąti*, **svitną*, като промяната на праслав. *tn* в *n* е закономерна, срв. напр. стб. пленица 'окови, верига' : плетж 'плета' и пр.

Праславянският итератив **svitāti*, **svitāją* образуван с удължена степен на кореннатa гласна спрямо праслав. **svьtěti*, **svьtją* (>стб. свѣтѣти, свѣштж 'светя' и пр.), е добре засвидетелстван чрез стб. свитати, 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. свитактъ 'разсъмва се, развиделява се' (Зогр. св., Мар. св., Ассм. св., Супр. сб.), срхр. *сви́тати* (3 л. ед.ч. сег. вр. *сви́ѣе*) 'разсъмва се, развиделява се; свети', словен. *svítati se*, 3 л. ед.ч. сег. вр. *svíta se* 'разсъмва се, развиделява се', чеш. *svítati*, 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *svíta* също, пол. *świtać*, 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *świta* 'съмва се, зазорява се', горлуж. *switać*,3 л. ед.ч. сег. вр. *swita* също, доллуж. *switaś*, 3 л. ед.ч. сег. вр. *swita* също. В българските диалекти се среща производното на *-ка- сви́ткам* 'святкам; удрям силно' (Кюстендилско), 'искря, светя' (Вердикал, Софийско), 'святкам, блещукам' (Трънско), 'удрям някого силно, та искри му изскачат' (Брезнишко), 3 л. ед.ч. сег. вр. *свитка* 'святка се' (Брезнишко, СбНУ XLIX, 785), *сви́тка се* също (Витановци, Пернишко), срв. също в народни песни *низ полето йасен огин свитка*... (Петърч, Софийско), *огън свитка от близница твърда, огин свитка*... (Сливница, Софийско), *кончето му светкавици свитка* (Годеч, СбНУ LIII) и пр. Производният перфективен глагол с назален суфикс *сви́тнем* 'блесна, засветя' (Бръложница, Софийско; Царибродско), 'ударя някого така, че му излизат искри от очите' (Бръложница, Софийско), 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. *сви́тне* в народна песен *кога свитне, да ме не изгори* (Раилово, Пернишко) има съответствия в чеш. *svitnouti* 'съмна се', пол. *zaświtnąć* 'започна да се съмва', доллуж. *świtnuś* 'съмна се'. За тези случаи може да се предположи или възникването им като паралелни иновации, или аналогично възстановяване на **t* през **n* в праслав. **svinąti*, **sviną* (: **svitāti*, **svitāją*) както напр. възстановяването на **b* в стб. гыбнжти покрай закономерното гынжти, бълг. *ги́на* (:гыбати), на **r* в бълг. *тре́пна*, рус. *терпнуть* 'изтръпна' и пр. покрай закономерното срхр. *тр̀нути*, *тр̀не́м* 'изтръпвам' (: стб. трьпѣти, бълг. *търпя́* и пр.). Възстановяването на **t* в бълг. диал. *свинтя́* обаче е невъзможно, тъй като би довело до възникване на труднопроизносима група от съгласни.

Георги Т. Риков

Общност и многообразие на славянските езици. Сборник в чест на проф. Иван Леков. София, 1997, 325–327.

ПРАСЛАВ. *lātiti, *lātāti

Георги Риков (София)

Чсл. 1 л. мн. ч. сег. вр. св. в. латнмь, което се среща през XV–XVI в. (егда пондеть на ютрню, таг'да латнмь его VencNov 421, aα SJS), сх. *лāтити, лāтӣм* 'хвана се, заловя се; хвана' и слн. диал. *látiti, látim (se)* 'хвана; захвана се, заловя се' позволяват да се реконструира праславянският глагол *lātiti, lātjǫ*,[1] от който е образуван итератива на *-āti, -ājǫ* праслав. **lātjāti*, **lātjājǫ* (> сх. лàћати, слн. *lâčati*[2]. Единствено слн. *látati se* 'заловям се, захващам се' свидетелствува със сигурност за реконструирания от Трубачов (Трубачев 1987:48) праславянски глагол **lātāti*.

Старинността на тези южнославянски глаголи е несъмнена. Тя се потвърждава от данните на западнославянските езици, в които са засвидетелствувани две групи от глаголни прилагателни, производни от праслав. **lātiti*, **lātāti* и *lātjāti*. Това са стпол. *łatwy, łatwi* 'лесен', пол. *łatwy*, диал. *łacwy* 'лесен; понятен, ясен; бърз' и словин. рядко *łatwi* 'лесен' < праслав. *lātvъjь*, което е производно от праслав. **lātiti* и **lātāti* (вж. Трубачѐв 1987:51), и стчеш. *lacný* 'лесен, лесноосъществим', чеш. *laciný* 'евтин; лесен, достъпен', слш. *lacný* 'евтин; лесен', стпол. *łacny* 'лесен; евтин; лек', пол. *łacny* 'лесен; свободен, незает; евтин' < праслав. **lātjьnъjь*, което е производно от праслав. **lātjāti* (вж. Трубачев 1987:50)[3].

Слн. *lótiti se* 'хвана се, заловя се (за *някоя* работа)' < **latiti, *latjǫ* дава основание да се предположи, че праслав. **lātiti, lātjǫ* е каузатив с удължена степен на коренната гласна както праслав. *gāniti* (: **ganiti*), *māriti* (: **mariti*) и пр.. Това обаче съвсем не е сигурно. Праслав. ,**latiti* > слн. *lótiti se* може да е вторично образувано спрямо праслав. **lātiti* както е образувано и праслав. **raditi* (стб. *нерадити* и пр.) *спрямо* праслав. **rāditi* (стб. *радити* и пр.) < ие. **h₁roh₁dʰeye/o-* поради реинтерпретацията на **lātiti* и *rāditi* като форми от типа на **gāniti* и **māriti*; вж. Rikov (1989:39–41). Ето защо установяването на първоначалните отгласни отношения в случая със сх. *лāтити*, слн. *látiti (se)* и слн. *lótiti se* зависи от етимологията на тези глаголи.

Етимологията на тези глаголи обаче е несигурна.

Трубачов (Трубачев 1987:48) свързва праслав. *lātāti* с праслав. *letěti, lětati* 'летя', като предполага, че семантичният развой 'летя' ⟶ 'хвана' в праславянски е сходен с този в случая с фр. *voler* 'летя', в транзитивна употреба 'краде'. Значението 'краде' на фр. *voler* обаче възниква в твърде специфичен контекст, свързан с лова със соколи; както показва Бенвенист (Benveniste 1966:290), транзитивната употреба на фр. *voler* 'летя' в "*le faucon vole la perdrix*" е причината за възникването на новото значение 'краде'. Именно поради специфичността на контекста предположеният сходен семантичен развой в праславянски, макар и напълно възможен, е несигурен.

Предпазливото предположение на Бернекер (Berneker 1908–1913:694) за родство на сх. *лāтити* и слн. *látiti* със стинд. *lā́ti* 'той взима, хваща' не е прието в останалите етимологични речници на славянските езици.[4] Основната трудност при тази етимология е обяснението на *lā́ti* като новоиндийски застъпник на стинд. *lábhati* 'той взима' (вж. Mayrhofer III 1956–1980:99). Бъроу (Burrow 1972:55) обаче с право не приема това обяснение, тъй като *lā́ti* се среща още в Dhātupaṭha, а и авторът на Śabarabhāsya също е знаел този глагол. В такъв случай стинд. *lā́ti* продължава ие. 3 л. ед. ч. сег. вр. **leh₁-ti* и е сродно с лув. *la-* 'взимам', като лувийският глагол, както част от глаголите от хетското *hi*-спрежение, отразява нередуплициран перфект с *o*-вокализъм на корена, вж. Риков (1985:148–151) и срв. йерогл. лув. 3 л. ед.ч. сег. вр. *la-i* 'той взима' < ие. **loh₁-e* + *-y*. Тогава сх. *лāтити* и слн. *látiti* могат да се обяснят като застъпници на ие. каузатив **loh₁téye/o-*, който предполага глагол на **-te/o-* ие. **leh₁-te/o-* наред с ие. **leh₁-* (> стинд. *lā́ti*); за образуването срв. праслав. **rutiti* (> балг. *рùтя се* 'падам' и пр.) покрай лат. *ruō* 'втурвам се, тичам, бързам'. Редица от глаголите на **-te/o-* са старинни, срв. напр. праслав. **pletǫ* (> балг. *плетà* и пр.), лат. *plectō* 'плета, сплитам', ствиснем. *flehtan* 'плета' < ие. **plek-te/o-* покрай стгр. *πλέκω* 'плета, въртя, усуквам' и пр. Ако това обяснение е правилното, сх. *лāтити*, слн. *látiti* и пр. представляват забележителен лексикален архаизъм.

В случая с праслав. **lātiti*, **lātāti* обаче възможността за еднозначно етимологично решение е ограничена. Както е известно, праслав. **t* може или да продължава пряко ие. **t* или да е резултат от упростяването на консонантни групи, състоящи се от гутурал или лабиал + **t*, срв. напр. праслав. **letěti*, **lětāti* 'лѐтя' (: лит. *lėkiù* 'летя' и пр.) и стб. *нетии* 'племенник' (: стгр. *ἀνεψιός* 'племенник', стлит. *neptė̃* 'внучка', стинд. *naptī́* също и пр.). При това положение праслав. **lātiti* и **lātāti* може да са производни от глагол, образуван със суфикс **-te/o-* и сроден с праслав. **lāpiti* 'хвана' (срв. сх. *лāпити* 'хвана, уловя', слн. *lápiti* също, рус. диал. *лàпить* 'краде', чеш. *lapiti* 'хвана, уловя' и пр.) и праслав. **lāpāti* (срв. словен. *lápati* 'хващам, улавям', рус. *лàпать* 'хващам, пипам' и пр.)[5]. Обяснението на праслав. **lātiti* и **lātāti* от по-старинни **lāptiti* и **lāptāti*, свидетелствуващи за глагол на **-te/o-* **lāp-te/o-* (:праслав. **lāpiti*, **lapāti*) не среща каквито и да било фонетични, словообразователни и семантични трудности.

БЕЛЕЖКИ

1. При реконструкцията на праславянските форми се приема, че в праславянски е имало корелация кратко а: дълго ā. вж. напр. Георгиев (1964).

2. За данните вж. Skok (1972:275), Трубачев (1987:48, 499, 50) и Bezlaj (1982:152).

3. Според Брюкнер (Brückner 1927:307) и Трубачов (Трубачев 1987:47–48), праслав. **lātā* (> чеш. *lata* 'кръпка, парцал', стпол. *łaty* 'ризница, броня' и пр.) е от един произход с праслав. **lātiti*, **lātāti*.

4. Вж. напр. Bezlaj (1982:152), който препраща към речника на Майрхофер за стинд. *lā́ti*.

5. За данните вж. Трубачев (1987:28, 30).

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III. АНАТОЛИЙСКИ ЕЗИЦИ

III. ANATOLIAN LANGUAGES

Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

TWO ETYMOLOGIES

1. Skt. *sā́ra-* 'firmness, strength, power' and Gk. *ῥώννυμι* 'I strengthen' *ῥώμη* 'strength', etc.

Frisk (1970:668) has rightly noted that the etymology of Greek *ῥώννῡμι* (middle perfect *ἔρρωμαι*, aorist *ἔρρωσα*, passive aorist *ἐρρώσθην*, future *ῥώσω*) 'I strengthen, make strong and mighty' *ῥώμη* 'bodily strength, strength, might, force', *ῥωμαλέος* 'strong of body', *ῥῶσις* 'a strengthening; encouragement, confirmation', *ῥωσκομένος* 'strongly' is unknown; the etymologies of these Greek forms are semantically or morphologically unacceptable.

The Vedic and Classical Sanskrit neuter *sā́ram* means 'firmness, strength, power, energy' (AV. and later); the meanings 'the core or pith or solid interior of anything' (RV. and later; the only attested form in RV. means 'die innere (feste) Masse (eines Baumes)', see Grassmann, Wb. zum RV., p. 1513) and 'the essential part of anything, best part, quintessence' (in the Brāhmaṇas and later) are rather specializations of the basic one. In the Classical Sanskrit we find also the adjective *sārah* 'hard, firm, solid, strong'.

The attemps at explanation of Skt. *sā́ra-* as an inherited word are semantically untenable; according to Mayrhofer (1972 : 461) this Sanskrit form is "nicht sicher erklärt". It is worth of mention, however, that in Monier-Williams' Dictionary (p. 1208) can be found not only the unacceptable connection of Skt. *sā́ra-* 'firmness, strength, power' with *sāra-* 'course, motion' (: *sṝ-* 'to run, flow') but also the proposition that *sā́ra-* is "prob[ably] fr[om] a lost root meaning 'to be strong'". The latter possiblity can be taken into consideration.

Greek *ῥώννῡμι*, *ῥώμη*, etc., and Sanskrit *sā́ra* go back to a common source; they can be explained as regular derivatives of an Indo-European verb **ser(x)-*[1], the meaning of which can be 'to be strong' or likely.

The Greek forms represent zero grade derivatives of IE **serx-*.

Thus, *ῥώμη* is from **sr̥xmeh* with the regular Greek *ρω* from IE **rx-* between consonants; this phonetic development can be seen in Greek *στρωτός* (Skt. *stīrṇá-*), *βρωτός* (:Skt. *gīrṇá-*), *πρωτός* (:Skt. *pūrtá-*), etc., see Beekes (1969 : 210—216). About the Indo- European formations in *-m-* with zero grade of the root see Beekes (1972 : 118—9) and cf. e. g. Skt. *īrma-* 'wound' (:IE **er(ə)-* auftrennen', Pokorny 1959 : 332—3).

ῥῶσις goes back to **sr̥xti-*, with the ordinary root vocalism of the Indo-European action nouns in *-ti-*.

The stem *ῥωσ-* is an inner-Greek innovation (Frisk, l. c.); about *ῥώννῡμι* see Brugmann (1900 : 291), Schwyzer (1939 : 697).

The late form *ῥωσκομένος* seems to be an innovation (Frisk, l. c.); if not, it implies a verb **sr̥xsk'e-* with zero grade vocalism of the root like, for in-

stance, Gk. *βάσκω*, Skt. *gácchati* (< IE*g^{w}*ṃsk'e-*); Gk. *μίσγω*, Lat. *misceo*; Gk. *πάσχω*; *ἴσκω*, etc.

The lengthened root grade of Skt. *sā́ram* suggests that this word can be explained by a thematic extension from an original radical noun **sār-;* compare, for instance, the parallel pair *dvā́ram* 'door': *dvār-* 'id.'. In view of the case of Skt. *dvār-, dvāram* 'door': Lith. *dvérti* 'to open', Skt. *sā́ram* implies an underlying verb IE **ser(x)-*.

2. Hittite *arga-* 'fight' and Avestan *arəza-* 'fight, battle'

The old Hittite noun *arga-* 'fight' is attested by the locative singular *ar-ga* in KBo III 7 I 10 : (9) *man* ^{D}ISKUR-*as* ^{MUS}Illuyankass-a (10) I-NA ^{URU}*Kiškilussa arga tieir* (II) *nu-za* ^{MUS}*Illuyaukas* ^{D}*ISKUR-an tarhta* "Als der Wettergott und I. (10) in K. zum Kampf (an)traten, (11) besiegte I. den Wettergott", see Friedrich and Kammenhuber (1979 : 305—7).

Hittite *arga-* 'fight' exactly corresponds to Avestan *arəza-* 'fight, battle'. The etymology of AV. *arəza-, arəzah- arəzyā-* 'fight, battle' is unknown; the connection of these forms with Av. *rasman-* 'Schlachtreihe, Phalanx', Gk. *ὄρεγμα*, Lat. *regimen*, etc. (Bartholomae 1904 : 201) is evidently uncertain. It seems that the comparison of Hitt. *arga-* with Av. *arəza-* establishes a Hittite-Iranian lexical isogloss.

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[1] *x* and *h* signify the *o-* and *a*-colouring laryngeal respectively.

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Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

HITTITE ETYMOLOGIES I (1-3)

1. andara-/antara- 'blue'

At present the origin of Hittite *an-da-ra-/an-ta-ra-* 'blue'[1] remains unclear. Juret's connexion of this Hittite word with Skt. *indivaram* 'the blossom of a blue lotus'[2] is unacceptable since Hitt. *an-* and Skt. *in-* cannot be equated. No better is Machek's explanation according to which Hitt. *andara-* is related by a methatesis *am*>*ma* to Czech. *modry* 'blue' (1968:372).

I think that Hitt. *an-da-ra-/an-ta-ra-* can be compared with Skt. *ándha-* 'darkness', *andhá-* 'blind, dark', in the plural also 'name of a people', Av. *anda-* 'blind', Gaul. *anda-* in *andabata* 'a kind of gladiator who fought with a helmet without openings for the eyes'[3]; it seems that Skt. *andhra-* 'name of a people', 'a mixed caste' originally denoted 'dark' and belongs to the family of Skt. *andha-*. According to Persson (1912:371 fn. 1), „dem Bedeutungswechsel 'glänzen': 'sehen' parallel geht der von 'dunkel': 'blind'"; then, the meaning 'blind' of the Gaulish and Indo-Iranian forms can be developed from that of 'dark'.

From semantic point of view the connexion of words for 'dark' (Skt. *andhá-*, etc.) and 'blue' (Hitt. *an-da-ra-*) seems convincing; among the semantic variations of related Indo-European words for colours cf. for instance Skt. *śyāmá-* 'black; dark-coloured': Lith. *šė́mas, šẽmas* 'blue-grey'; OIrish *sciar* 'dark; brown': OE *hǽwen* 'blue', OBg. *sinъ* 'dark-blue', etc.

About the co-existence of Indo-European *ro-* and *o*-forms represented here by Hitt. *an-da-ra-*, Skt. *andhra-* vs. Skt. *andha-*, Av. *anda-*, Gaul. *anda-* cf. also Skt. *rodhra-, lodhra-* 'a tree (Symplocos racemosa)', Gk. *ἐρυθρός*, OBg. *rъdrъ* 'red' vs. Skt. *lohá-* 'reddish', Gk. *ἐρευθος* 'redness', Lith. *raũdas*, OBg. *rudъ* 'red'.

If Gaul. *anda-* represents full grade of the root (attested also by the Indo-Iranian forms), the initial laryngeal of the Indo-European pre-form is the *a*-colouring one; then, Hitt. *an-da-ra-* goes back to IE **H_2ndhro-*.

2. Anatolian *arma-* 'moon'

The attempts at explanation of Anatolian *arma-* 'moon (also personified as deity), month' are surprisingly scanty.

According to Goetze, *arma-* is derived by **-mo-* from *ar-*<**or-* 'move'[4]. Kronasser (1956:39, 1966:52) tries to connect *arma-* 'moon' with *irma-* 'illness' and believes (1966:180-1) that both words are non-Indo-European[5]. These etymologies are semantically untenable and Tischler (1977:62) rightly rejects them.

According to Ivanov (1979:148-9), Anat. *arma-* is comparable with the Old Icelandic compound *ár-tali* 'moon' (literally 'der die Jahre zählt', see Jóhanesson 1956:491). Ivanov's pre-form **yar-meH-* (>Anat. *arma-*) where the first member **yar-* is connected with OIcel. *ár-* (<IE **yēr-* 'year') and the second member **-meH-* is from IE **meH*$_1$- (Skt. *mímati* 'measures', etc.) offers serious phonetic difficulties: there are no instances of initial **yar-*>Hitt. or Luw. *ar-*[6] and (correctly mentioned by Ivanov, l.c.) **-meH*$_1$*->-ma-* is also doubtfull.

In my opinion, Anatolian *arma-* 'moon' can be connected with Greek *ἄρμη· λευκή* Hesych.[7] From semantic point of view this connexion is definitely the simplest. We have an abundance of semantic parallels in the Indo-European languages: cf. for instance Av. *raoxšna-* 'glittering, shining', fem. 'light': Lat. *lūna* 'moon', also 'a month' (Plin. 18,217), OBg. *luna* 'moon', note also MIr. *luan* 'light, moon'; similarly Skt. *candrá-* 'glittering, shining; moon (also personified as deity)' and Cymr. *cann* 'white, light': MBret. *cann* 'full moon'[8], Alb. Geg. *hanë*, Tosk. *hënë* 'moon', etc. It is significant in this respect that not only the words for 'moon' but also these for 'sun' are often substantive forms of adjectives signifying 'bright', 'light' or likely, cf. for instance OIr. *bān* 'white': Skt. *bhānú-* 'brightness, light; sun' and note especially Cymr. *cannaid* 'shining, bright; sun, moon'.

Then, from the semantics we can compare Anat. *arma-* and Greek *ἄρμη* with three other forms.

The Hittite verb *har-wa-na-iz-zi/ha-ru-wa-na-a-iz-zi/ha-ru-na-iz-zi* 'clears, brightens', intrans. 'it is dawning' is connected by Eichner (1978:158-162) with Skt. *ravi-* 'sun; sun-god' and Arm. *arew* 'sun'. This etymology is surely right. Eichner, however, considers Hitt. *har(u)wanaizzi/harunaizzi* a denominative verb formed from an action noun **h*$_2$*rw-one-* 'das Hellmachen'; this led him to the reconstruction of an Indo-European verbal root **H*$_2$*reu-*.

I believe that Anat. *arma-*, Gk. *ἄρμη* and Hitt. *har(u)wanaizzi/harunaizzi*, Skt. *ravi-*, Arm. *arew* represent a set of cognate forms; hence my doubts about Eichner's analysis. We deal with derivatives in *-m-* and *-u-* and it is well known that such co-existing derivatives can be frequently found in the Indo-European adjectival formations, cf. (especially in colour adjectives):

Skt. *śyāmá-* 'black, dark-coloured', Lith. *šėmas, šēmas* 'blue-grey': Skt. *śyāvá-* 'dark-brown, dark', Lith. *šývas* 'white, mouldy', OBg. *sivъ* 'dark-grey',

Lith. *šiřmas* 'grey, blue-grey, grey-mouldy': *šiřvas* 'grey',

Skt. *rāmá-* 'dark-coloured, black', MHG *rām, rōm* 'dirt, soot-': Lat. *rāvus* 'grey, grey-yellow', etc.; see Specht (1947:179-181).

Then, Hitt. *har(u)wanaizzi/harunaizzi* can be analyzed in two ways: (1) as a denominative verb with *na*-suffix (IE **-ne/o-*) like *sunna-* 'fill' from *su-* 'fill'[9] or (2) as a denominative verb from an adjective **harwana-/*haruna-* with 'strong' and 'weak grade' of the compound suffix *-wana-/-una-*[10] (about this compound suffix cf. Skt. *phálguna-* 'reddish': *phalgú-* 'id.'; *táruna-* 'young; tender': Gk. *τέρυ· ἀσθενές, λεπτόν* Hesych.). Both explanations point to an adjectival *u*-stem[11] represented with zero-vocalism of the root by the substantivized Skt. *ravi-* 'sun; sun-god' (enlarged by *-i-* like Skt. *ghṛ́ṣvi-* 'lively, joyfull': *ghṛ́ṣu-* 'id.'; Lat. *moldis* 'soft': Skt. *mṛdú-* 'soft, delicate', etc.; see Burrow (1955: 186) and cf. Arm. *arew* 'sun'[12].

Let us turn to the phonetics. In view of *α-* in Greek *ἄρμη*, *h* in *har(u)wanaizzi/harunaizzi* represents the Indo-European *a-* colouring laryngeal. The inner-Hittite alternation *h*: *zero* (respectively **haru-*: *arma-*) is due to different ablaut grades of the root: IE **H*$_2$*er-u->* Hitt. **haru-* but IE **H*$_2$*r-mo->* Anat. *arma-*[13]. The Indo-European sequence **H*$_2$*er-* becomes *har-* in Hittite, cf. Hitt. *hark-* 'hold, have' (: Lat. *arceo* 'contain, hold in, enclose'), *harki-* 'white, light' (: Gk. *ἀργός* 'shining, glittering; white') whereas IE **H*$_2$*r-* yields Hitt. *ar-*, cf. Hitt. *ara-* 'wellfare, right, appropriatenness' (: Gk. *ἀρετή* 'goodness, excelence', Hom. 'man-hood, prowess, valour', *ἀρείων* 'better, stronger, braver', *ἄριστος* 'best').

Thus, we have a set of cognate forms in *-m-* and *-u-*, namely

Anat. *arma-* < IE **H*$_2$*r-mo-*,
Gk. *ἄρμη* < IE **H*$_2$*r-me*H_2,
Skt. *ravi-*, Arm. *arew* < IE **H*$_2$*r-ew-(i-)*,
Hitt. **haru-* (in *harunaizzi*) < IE **H*$_2$*er-u-*,
Hitt. **harwa-* (in *har(u)wanaizzi*) < IE **H*$_2$*er-wo-*;

hence an Indo-European root **H*$_2$*er-* is reconstructible. The same root enlarged by **-g'-* can be seen in Hitt. *harki-*, Gk. *ἀργι-* (in compounds), *ἀργός*, etc.; thus Specht (1947:114 fn. 1) on the basis of Gk. *ἄρμη*[14].

3. **hatta-* 'intelligent, wise'

The Hittite stem **hatta-* is attested only by derivatives: we have an abstract noun *hattatar* 'intelligence, wisdom', an adjective (or participle?) *hattant-* 'wise reasonable, intelligent' and the iterative *hattahhisk-* (pret. 2 pl. *hattahhiskiten*) of a denominative verb **hattahh-* 'make intelligent'.

Sommer, who established the meaning of these forms, tried to connect them with the Hittite verb *hatta-* 'hew, beat' and pointed out that **hattahh-* is explanable by its correlation with *hattant-* (Sommer and Falkenstein 1938:100). Though Tischler (1978:214-5) doubts Sommer's etymology, he reconstructs a verbal stem **hatta-* 'denken, überlegen, klug sein'.

I am not inclined to consider **hatta-* a verbal stem. The source of correlations such as *hattant-*: **hattahh-* can be found in extinct nominal or adjectival *a*-stems of Hittite; see Kronasser (1966:429-430) and cf. for instance Hitt. *happinant-* 'rich': *happinahh-* 'make rich' beside Pre-Greek (Pelasgian) *ἄφενος* 'wealth, abundance' (: Skt. *ápnas* 'property, wealth', etc.; IE **H*$_3$*ep-*). True, along the line of such correlated *ahh*-verbs and *ant*-adjectives, in some cases we have analogical *ahh*-verbs; cf. Hitt. *dasuwant-* 'blind': *dasuwahh-/tasuwahh-* 'make blind' and note that the related Skt. *támas-* 'darkness', *tamsra-* 'dark', *támasvan-* 'dark, obscure' show that Hitt. *dasuwant-* is formed by the suffix *-want-* (i.e., **ta(m)s-want-*). There is, however, no evidence of analogical denominative *ahh*-verbs formed on the basis of participial *ant*-forms. Therefore, following Kronasser (1966:295, 430), I believe that Hitt. *hattatar*, *hattant-* and **hattahh-* are derived from a nominal stem **halta-*.

Then, Hitt. **hatta-* can be connected with the Germanic abstract nouns Goth. *aha* 'mind, intelligence' (used to translate Gk. *νοῦς*), OHG *ahta* 'intention, consideration, notice', OE *eaht* 'deliberation, council', denominative verbs OHG, OS *ahton*, OE *ahtjon* 'consider, take notice of, estimate' (G. *Acht*; *achten*) and the Greek substantivized adjective in **-no- ὄκνος* 'hesitation, unreadiness', denominative verb *ὀκνέω* 'shrink, scruple, hesitate'. Hence Hitt. **hatta-* is explanable as an adjective IE **H*$_3$*ek-to-* with full grade of the root like Gk. *ζευκτός* 'yoked,

harnessed', φερτός 'endurable' (vs. zero-grade forms Skt. *yuktá-* 'yoked, joined', *bhṛta-* 'borne, supported'), etc.; the meaning of **hatta-* can be 'intelligent, wise'. The Indo-European cluster **-kt-* is changed into Hitt. *-tt-* like in Hitt. *lutta(i)-*, *luttant-* 'window' (cf. *lukzi* 'becomes light, dawn'; IE **leuk-*) and *uttar, uddar*, 'word, thing, matter, case' (cf. Goth. *waihts*, OBg. *vešťь* 'thing'), whereas the Hittite outcome of IE **-g(h)t-* is probably *-kt-* (if Hitt. *ikt-/ekt-* 'leg' is from IE **H_1eigh-t-*; cf. Lith. *eigá* 'a going', Gk. ἴχνος 'footstep', οἴχομαι 'be gone', etc.); See Puhvel (1972:112-114).

NOTES

1) Written *an-da-ra-* (4x), *an-ta-ra-* (1x), *a-an-da-ra* (2x), *a-an-ta-ra-* (1x). From this word are formed a derivative in *-ant-* (acc. sg. *an-da-ra-an-da-an, an-ta-ra-an-ta-an*) which according to Georgiev (1980:50) denotes 'bluish' and a denominative verb *andaraeski/a-, antariski/a-*. On the forms see Friedrich and Kammenhuber (1977:107-8).

2) See Tischler (1977:35).

3) The second member of this compound is from Lat. *bātuo* 'beat, knock', see Walde and Hofmann (1965:46)

4) See Tischler (1977:62). Goetze's article is inaccessible to me.

5) Cf. also Tischler (1972:277) about *arma-* („wahrscheinlich nichtindogermanisch") and note also its absence in Tischler's list of the Hittite words of Indo-European inheritance (1979:263-6).

6) The initial **y-* can be lost in Hittite *ekuna-/ikuna-* 'cold' and *ewa-* 'eine Feldfrucht' (cf. Ivanov, l. c.). In these cases, however, the Hittite initial *e-(/i-)* is from **ye-*, not from **ya-*; then, we can suppose that Hitt. *e-(/i-)* represents *i-*<**yi-*<**ye-*.

7) Written ἄρμη· λευκή. Since Gk. ἄρμη is a relatively late form, its ρ can be from older λ; see fn. 14.

8) Both Celtic words are borrowed from Lat. *candidus* 'shining white; glittering white', see Pedersen (1909:190).

9) The Hittite verbs with *na*-suffix follow the *hi-* conjugation. Then, Hitt. *har(u)wanaizzi/harunaizzi* points to 3 sg. **harwanai/*harunai*+3 sg. ending *-zi*; cf. *tarnaizzi*: *tarnai* and see Georgiev (1978:14).

10) About this suffix cf. for instance Hitt. *ekuna-/ikuna-* and (Luw. ?) *kuirwana-* 'independent'.

11) Hitt. *-wa-* (in *har(u)wa-naizzi*): *-u-* (in *haru-naizzi*) represents IE **-wo-*: **-u-*; cf. Skt. *takvá-* 'swift': *takú-* 'id.', *jahvá-* 'young': *jahú-* 'id.', etc.

12) Arm. *arew* (genitive *arewow*) can represents either *i-* or *o*-stem.

13) A form in **-mo-* with zero-grade of the root like the non-related Skt. *ṛmá-* wound', *ṛmá-* 'arm', etc.; see Beekes (1972:118).

14) According to Specht (l. c.), Gk. ἄρμη can be connected with Skt. *aruná-* 'reddish, red, ruddy', *aruṣa-* 'red, ruddy' (Av. *auruša-* 'white'). Then, the Indo-Iranian forms point to IE **H_2er-u-* represented also by Hitt. **haru-* in *harunaizzi*. If Hitt. *harunaizzi/har(u)wanaizzi* is formed from **haruna-/*harwana-*, note that Skt. *aruná-* is used to denote the colour of the morning and that *aruṇā* and *aruṇī* meant 'dawn'. The Indo-Iranian forms are, however, ambiguous: their *r* can reflect both IE **r* and IE **l*. A similar ambiguity is represented by Gk. ἄρμη, see fn. 7. Then, these words can go back to IE **H_1el-* attested by OHG *elo* 'brown', Maced. ἄλιζα· ἡ λεύκη OBg. *jelьcha* 'alder', *(j)elenь* 'stag', etc.; thus Specht (1947:115) as another possibility and, (about the Indo-Iranian forms) Mayrhofer (1956:49), Pokorny (1959:302-4).

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Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

HITTITE ETYMOLOGIES II (4—8)

4. *arziya-* 'cultivated land'

The Hittite noun *ar-zi-ya-* (nom.-acc. sg. *ar-zi-ya-an*, gen. cg. *ar-zi-ya-as*)[1] 'cultivated land; granary'[2] and the Luwian adjective nom. sg. *ar-zi-ya-as-si-is* 'nom de terrain'[3] can be connected with OHG *art* 'ploughed land', OE *eard, ierd* 'ploughed land; produce of arable land, a crop', Olcel. *qrð* 'produce of arable land, a crop'. The Germanic words represent an abstract noun in **-ti-* (Gmc. **arþiz*). The underlying Indo-European root is **$H_2er(H_3)$-*, attested by Gk. *ἀρόω*, Lat. *arō, arāre*, OBg. ѡратн, ѡратѣ, Lith. *ariù, árti*, Latv. *ar'u* 'plough', *ara, are* 'arable land', etc.; see Walde (1930: 78—9). To this IE root can be traced Hitt. *hars-* 'plough', *harsawar* 'tillage'[4].

The stem final of Hitt. *ar-zi-ya-* can be explained by a themafic extension („Hypostasierung", see Kronasser 1966: 338ff.) of the original abstract noun in **-ti-*; Luw. *ar-zi-ya-as-si-* is rather from **arti-* plus *-assi-* than from an extended stem *arziya-* plus *-assi-*. The assibilation of Hitt. *t* (< IE **t*) before *i/y* into *z* is a regular sound change. IE **ti* is always represented by Luw. *ti*, but **t* of the cluster **tya* yields either *z* (like in Hittite; cf. e. g. Hier. Luw. *Tarhunzi-*, Lyc. *hrzzi*) or *s* (cf. e. g. Luw. *ussa-/ussi-*, Hier. Luw. *usi-* 'year') in the Luwian languages; see Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies and Neumann (1973: 40—41 with fn. 143). In view of this analysis Hitt. *ar-zi-ya-* and Luw. *ar-zi-ya-as-si-* point to a proto-Anatolian abstract noun **arti-*.

The Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal at the beginning of the word and before vowel yields Anatolian *h*; thus, Hitt. *hars-* 'plough' comes from the full grade IE **H_2er-s-*. The related Anatolian **arti-* (Hitt. *ar-zi-ya-*, Luw. *ar-zi-ya-as-si*) is to be explained — and this is in accord with the original zero grade of the Indo-European abstract and action nouns in **-ti-* — as the outcome of a zero grade pre-form IE **H_2r-ti-*[5]. The full grade of Gmc. **arþiz* 'Ackerung' is an innovation; as a parallel to the ablaut correlation Anat. **arti-*: Gmc. **arþiz* compare the non-related pair Skt. *ṛtí-*: Gmc. **arþiz* (NHG *Art*)[6]. Hitt. *hars-* (pres. 3 sg. *har-as-zi*, infinitive I *har-su-wa-an-zi*, iterative pres. 3 pl. *har-si-is-kán-zi*), *har-sa-u-war* (gen. *har-sa-ú-na-as*), *ar-zi-ya-* and Luw. *ar-zi-ya-as-si-* point to an anit root IE **H_2er-/*H_2r-*, cf. Polomé (1952: 450—1)[7]. Gmc. *arþiz* 'Ackerung' can represent either **H_2er-ti-* or **H_2erH_3-ti-*[8].

The gender of the abstract and action nouns in **-ti-* in the non-Anatolian Indo-European languages is feminine. Hitt. *ar-zi-ya-*, however, is a neuter. Its nominative-accusative ending *-an* is due to the thematic extension of the stem; the original nominative-accusative form can be Anat. **arti*. It is significant in this respect that another Hittite noun in **-ti-*, namely *luzzi-* (nom.-acc. *luzzi*) 'villein labour' (corresponding to Gk. *λύσις* 'ransom'), is also a neuter. Since the theory that the three gender system is an innovation in the Indo-European languages seems to be right, the Anatolian opposition between neuter and common gender can continue the original Indo-European state of affairs. If so, the neuter gender of Anat. **arti-* and Hitt. *luzzi-* can be an archaism.

5. *armizzi-* 'bridge'

At present the origin of the Hittite neuter *armizzi-* (nom.-acc. sg. $^{(GIS)}$*ar-mi-iz-zi*, ^{NA4}*ar-mi-iz-zi*, *ar-me-e-iz-zi*, dat.-loc. pl. ^{GIS}*ar-mi-iz-zi-yaʃas*) 'bridge' is unknoun, see Friedrich and Kammenhuber (1980: 327)[9].

It seems that Hitt. *armizzi-* 'bridge' can convincingly be explained as a genuine Hittite word if we assume that it represents an abstract noun in **-ti-* (> Hitt. *-z(z)i-*), signifying originally 'a bond, a join' or likely. If so, the underlying verb can be a denominative **armiye-* derived from a noun **arma-*; this noun exactly corresponds to Gk. *ἁρμός* 'a fitting, a joining', also 'a joint, a cramp, peg; shoulder joint' < IE **H_2r-mo-*[10]. Other closely related forms are Gk. *ἁρμονία* 'a joining, joint' and the denominative verb *ἁρμόζω* 'to fit together, join, to bind fast', also 'to set in order, govern'. The Indo-European root is **ar-* (i. e., **H_2er-/*H_2r-*) 'fügen, passen' (Walde 1930: 69—76), to which also Hitt. *ara-* 'wellfare, right, appropriateness', Gk. *ἀρετή* 'goodness, excellence', Hom. 'manhood, prowess, valour', Skt. (adv.) *áram* 'suitable to, sufficiently', etc., belong; Hitt. *ara-*, like *armizzi-*, must represent the sound change IE **H_2r-* > Hitt. *ar-* attested by such cases as Hitt. *arziya-* (Anat. **arti-* < IE **H_2r-ti-*), Anat. *arma-* 'moon' (< IE *H_2r-mo-*), Hitt. *ariya-* (: Gk. *ἀράομαι*; Lat. *ōrō, ōrāre*, etc.), *ar(r)usa-* (see below), etc.

A similar semantic development is represented by Skt. *sétu-* 'a bond', signifying also 'bridge'[11] and derived from Skt. *si-* 'to bind' (3 sg. pres. *syáti*, etc. < IE **sH_2 ye-*; cf. Hitt. *ishiya-* 'to bind').

The Indo-European nominal suffix **-ti-* is unproductive, in Hittite. The neuters Hitt. *luzzi-* 'villein labour' and Anat. **arti-* (Hitt. *arziya-* 'cultivated land') are probably inherited from Indo-European. According to Georgiev (1978: 94, 96), however, "das hethitische, zur Bildung von Nomina actionis dienende Suffix *-ziel* oder *-zil* stellt eine Verbindung von zwei zur Bildung von Nomina actionis dienenden Suffixen ide. *-ti-* > heth. *-zi-* und heth. *-(i)el* oder *-il* dar" (p. 96); this explanation suggests that the nouns in **-ti-* were better attested in common Anatolian than in the Hittite. If the etymology of Hitt. *armizzi-* 'bridge' is right, we are dealing with a noun in **-ti-* formed after the separation of Anatolian from Indo-European. Then, we can assume that at least at an earliest stage of common Anatolian the action nouns in **-ti-* remained a productive nominal class.

6. *ar(r)usa-* 'treason'

This Hittite noun, attested by acc. sg. *a-ru-ʃsʃa-an*, abl. sg, *a-ru-sa-az*, loc. sg, *ar-ru-sa, a-ar-ru-ú-sa*, signifies 'Verrat; Abfall (?)' or likely (Friedrich and Kammenhuber 1980: 335).

It can be connected with Gk. *ἀρνέFομαι* 'to deny, refuse; to decline' which is related to Arm. *uranam* 'deny'[12] (Bugge 1889: 38f.) and Albanian *rrem*

'false', *rrenë, rrerë* 'lie, falsehood', *nerroj* (< **rrenjoj*) 'to deny' (Pedersen 1893: 542 fn. 2). If so, we are dealing with the sound change IE **H₂r-* > Hitt. *ar-*, cf. also Hitt, *ariya-*: Gk *ἀρόομαι*; Lat. *ōrō, ōrāre*[13], etc.

In view of such well known pairs as Gk. *κίνυται* : *ἔσσυτο*; *ἄχνυμαι* : *ἀχεύων*; Skt. *śrnóti* : *áśrot; krnóti* : *karóti*, etc., Greek *ἀρνέFομαι* (< **H₂r-n-eu-*) points to a verbal stem **H₂er-u-/*H₂r-eu-/*H₂r-u-*, Then, Hitt. *ar(r)usa-* 'treason' is to be explained as a nominal form which represents **H₂rówso-* and must be derived from a sigmatic verbal stem **H₂reus-* (> Hitt. **ar(r)us-*)[14]; the correlation Gk. *ἀρνέFομαι* (which implies **H₂reu-*): Hitt. **ar(r)us-* can be paralleled, for instance, by Skt. *śrnóti* (cf. *áśrot*): *śroṣan, śroṣantu*.

7. *kanint-* 'thirst', *kaninant-, kaniruwant- kanissuwant-* 'thirsty'

The etymological explanation of these Hittite forms remains an unsolved problem. Juret had compared Hitt. *kanint-* with Gk. *κάγκανος* 'fit for burning, dry' and Skt. *kaṅkala-* 'sceleton'; this connection is rightly rejected by Tischler (1980 : 482)[15]. Sommer (1947 : 43) had listed Hitt. *kanint-* with other forms of plausible non-Indo-European origin.

It would be usefull to begin our analysis with the derivational problems of these Hittite forms.

Tischler (l. c.) accepts Weitenberg's explanation of the Hittite adjective nom. sg. *ka-ni-ru-wa-an-za* 'thirsty' as derived from a noun **kanir-*. This is evidently right; Kronasser's assumption that *kaniruwant-* is derived from a (denominative) verbal stem **kaniriya-* (Kronasser 1966: 265) is less probable since we would expect **kaniriyawant-*, cf. the retention of the verbal stem in *-iya-* in the Hittite *want*-derivatives *kartimiyawant-, nahsariyawant-, pittuliyawant-, sauwaniyawant-*.

In view of such correlations as Gk. *χειμέριος* : Hitt. *gimmant-*; Gk. *ἦπαρ* : *ἥπατος*, etc., the Hittite forms **kanir-* and *kanint-* (nom. sg. *ka-ni-i[n-za]*[16], dat.-loc. sg. *ka-(a-)ni-in-ti*) 'thirst' point to a heteroclytic noun in *-r-/-n-*; it is significant in this respect that the Hittite *ant-* adjective *kaninant-* (nom. pl. *ga-ni-na-an-te-es*) 'thirsty' can be formed from the *n*-stem *kanin-*[17]. The Hittite *r-/n*-stem **kanir-/*kanin-* can be derived from a verb **kaniye-*; similarly, the Sanskrit heteroclytic noun *bhūvar*, instr. sg. *bhūnā́* 'abundance' is derived from the verb *bhū-* 'to be'.

The close association between *r-/n-* and *s*-stems in the Indo-European languages (cf. e. g, Skt. *aśr-i, aśan-*, Gk. *ἄκρος, ἄκων* : *ἠκές*, Goth. *ahs*, etc.) allows us to assume a nominal *s*-tem **kanis-* on the basis of which is formed the Hittite adjective *kanissuwant-* (nom. sg. *ka-ni-es-su-wa-an-za*) 'thirsty'[18]. Whereas the noun **kanir-/*kanin-* is formed on the basis of a verbal stem **kaniye-*, the nominal *s*-stem *ka-ni-es-* can be explained as derived from a verbal stem **kan-* (respectively **kana-*); about the supposed co-existence of two verbal stems, **kan-* and **kaniye-*, compare the Hittite pairs *ans-* : *ansiya-*; *ars- arsiya-*, etc.

This analysis of *kaniessuwant-* is confirmed by the etymological explanation.

I am inclined to compare the Hittite forms with Skt. *cánas-* 'delight, satisfaction', Av. *čanah-* 'desire, wish, demand', *činman-* 'desire, wish, endeavour'; the underlying verb of these Indo-Iranian words is attested by Skt. *can-* (aor. 2 du. *caniṣṭám*) 'to delight, to satisfy', *kan-* (perf. *cā́kana*, aor. *akānīṣam*) 'be pleased'. About other cognate forms (Skt. *kā́ma-*, Lat. *cārus*[19] etc.) see Walde (1930: 325—6). If so, Hitt. **kanes-* and Av. *čanah-*, Skt, *cánas-* can go back to a common pre-form signifying 'desire, demand'.

For a semantic parallel cf. e. g. OBg. ѫѧждѫ 'thirst', ѫѧждѧнїѥ 'thirst, demand, desire': ѫѧждѧтн, ѫѧждѫ 'to desire, longing, demand; be thirsty', Lith. *gedáuju, gedáuti* 'to desire, longing, demand', etc.

8. *paske-/paskiya-* 'set up, fix, fasten'

According to Oettinger (1979: 327), a connection of the Hittite verb *paske-/paskiya-* (pres. 1 sg. *pa-as-ga-ah-hi*, 3 sg. *pa-as-ki*, pret. 1 sg. *pa-as-ku-un*; 1 pl. *pa-as-ki-ya-u-en*) 'aufrichten, aufpflanzen, befestigen' with Gk. *πόσθη* 'penis' is not probable. He continues: "Anschluss von *paske-* an lat. *postis* 'Pfosten' ist nur möglich, wenn man dieses von gr. *παραστάς* (dass.) trennt und mit ai. *pasti-ya-* n. 'fester Wohnsitz' verbindet".

Since the comparison of Lat. *postis* (< **por-stis*) with Gk, *παραστάς* is unquestionable, the only acceptable solution of Oettinger's discussion is, in spite of the derivational difficulties, the connection of Hitt. *paske-* with Skt. *pastyam* (n.) 'stall', *pastya* (fem. pl.) 'homestead, dwelling, household' (*'fester Wohnsitz' is the plausible original meaning), NHG *fest*.

I am inclined, however, to offer a different explanation of Hitt. *paske-/a skiya-*.

In view of Hitt. *ispant-* 'night' < **kspant-* (: Skt. *kṣap-, kṣapā-* 'night') we can assume that the sequence **ksT* is changed into Hitt. *sT* (*T* = any stop). If so, the Hittite verb *paske-*[20] can represent **pakske-* which comes either from IE **pH₂g'-ske-* (cf. Gk. pres. *πήγνυμι*, aor. *ἐπάγην* 'to make fast, to stick, fix on, to fasten together, to put together, to make solid', Lat. *pango* 'to fasten, fix, drive in', Skt. *pajra-* 'firm, solid', etc.) or from IE **pH₂k'-ske-* (cf. Gk. *πήσσω*, Att. *πήττω* '*πήγνυμι*', Lat. *paciscor*, OLat. *pacio* 'to make a bargain, a contract', Av. *pas-* 'to fetter', etc.); IE. **pag-* and **pak-* 'festmachen', Walde (1927 : 2—3).

The Indo-European a-colouring laryngeal between consonants at least in initial sylable yields Hitt. *a*, cf. e. g. Hitt. *maklant-* : Lat. *macer*; Hitt. *saklai-* : Lat. *sacer*. The reconstructed zero grade root vocalism of Hitt. *paske-* (cf. also the related zero grade forms Gk. aor. *ἐπάγην*; Lat. *paciscor*, OLat. *pacio* etc.) is in accord with the spelling *pa-as-*; this reconstruction of the root vocalism is confirmed by such *ske*-verbs as Skt. *gácchati*, Av. *jasaiti*, Gk. *βάσκω* < IE **gʷṃske-*; Skt. *ṛcchā́ti*; *yácchati* < **yṃske-*; Lat. *misceo*, etc.

NOTES

[1] About the forms and meaning as well as about the previous etymologies see Friedrich and Kammenhuber (1980 : 365).

[2] "'Angebautes land', metonym. etwa 'Kornkammer'" (Friedrich and Kammenhuber, l. c.); 'kultiviertes land' (Kronasser 1966 : 169, Tischler 1978 : 75).

[3] Laroche (1959 : 32).

[4] From semantic point of view Sturtevant's connection of Hitt. *harra-* 'break, pulverize; ruin; make harmfull' with Gk. *ἀρόω*, etc., is doubtfull. It seems that the most plausible explanation is that of Polomé (1952 : 455) who has connected Hitt. *harra-* with Hitt. *hark-* 'be destro-

yed, be lost' Arm. *harkanem* 'split, fell' (aorist *hari*), Olr. *orgaim* 'strike, destroy'; *harra-*: *hark* -like Arm. *hari*: *harkanem*.

[5] In the absence of clear cases of a sound change IE **-rH₃-T/*-rH₂T-*>Anat. **-rhT-*>*-rT-* (I would note only IE **-nH₂T-*>Anat. **-nhT-*>*-nT-*, cf. e. g. Hitt. *danduki-* and see Oettinger 1979:550, *sa-an-zi* KUB XXVII 19 I 9 beside *sa-an-ha-an-zi*), the assumption that IE **H₂rH₃ti-* would yield Anat. **arhti-* and, with subsequent loss of h between sonant and stop, Anat. **arti-* seems less probable than the reconstruction of anit root **H₂er-/*H₂r-*.

[6] The underlying IE root of Skt. *rti-*, NHG *Art*, etc., is **H₂er-* (**ar-* 'fügen, passen', Walde 1930:69 ff.).

[7] Note also the well known co-existence of anit and set roots in such cases as Skt. *pipṛmaḥ, piparti*: *pūrdhí*, cf. aor. *áprāt*; *dart, drtá-*: *dírṇi-*; *śṛtá-*: *stírṇi-*, *stáriman-*, Gs. στρῶμα, etc.

[8] The IE laryngeals between consonants are vocalized in the Germanic languages only in initial syllables, cf. e. g. Goth. *fadar* (NHG *Vater*, English *father*): Skt. *pitár-*, Gk. πατήρ, whereas in non-initial syllables between consonants they are regularly lost, cf. e. g, Goth. *dauhtar* (NHG *Tochter*, English *daughter*): Skt. *duhitár-*, Gs. θυγατηρ.

[9] The previous etymologies of Hitt. *armizzi-* (see Tischler 1977:65—6) are rightly doubted by Kammenhuber (Friedrich and Kammenhuber, 1. c.)

[10] About the formation of **armiye-* compare Hitt. *kartimmiya-* (derived from **kartimma-*, see Kronasser 1966:179)

[11] Also 'mound, bank, causeway, dike, dam'.

[12] Arm. *uranam*>**H₂ōr-* (Beekes 1969 : 35).

[13] Meillet (1925:19—20) had assumed that Gk. *ἀρνέFομαι* and Arm. *uranam* are related to Gk. *ἀρύσι· ἀντι ⟨τοῦ⟩ λεγει, βοᾷ; ἀρύουσαι· λεγουσαι, καλεύουσαι; ἀρύσασθαι· ἐπικαλέσθαι* Hesych., *ἀρά, ἀράομαι*, Lat. *ōrō, ōrōre*, etc,; this seems doubtfull. A similar connection might semasiologically be right if the meaning 'deny, refuse'is due to a combination of the verb signifying 'say, speak' with prefixes.

[14] Note the Hittite s-verbs. *aus-* 'see'(: *au-* 'id); *kalles-* 'calls', cf. also Gk. *καλέσαι*, OPr *kelsai, kaltza* (: Lat. *calo*, Umbr. *kařitu*); *kanes-* 'find; favour, honour', cf. also Toch. A *knasäst* (: Gk. *ἔγνων*, OBg. ЗНАІѫ, ЗНАТИ), etc.

[15] The connection of Gk. *κάγκανος* with Skt. *kaṅkala-* is also uncertain, see Frisk (1960 851).

[16] Translated by Accadian *šá-mu* 'thirst' (KUB III 1o3 Vs. 6), yee Götze (1929:188 with fn. 7) and cf. Kronasser. (1966: 30 2 fn. 2) Tischlir (1980:491).

[17] *kaninant-* is explained by Kronasser (1966:265, 302 fn. 2) as a deverbative; according to Tischler (1980:481), *kaninant-* is "möglicherweise Schreibfehler".

[18] According to Kronasser (1. c.) *kanissumant-* is derived from a verbal stem **kanes-*.

[19] This can be right if Skt. c and Av. č are analogical. If Stokes' connection of Skt. *cánas-* and Av. *čanan-* with Irish *cín* 'affection, love' is correct, the indo-Iranian forms can go back to a pre-form with original e-vocalism of the root.

[20] Hitt. *paskiya-* is an inner-Hittite innovation, see Oettinger (1979:326).

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Addeudum: On Hitt. *andara-* (Linguistique balkanique XXIV, 3, p. 79) cf. also A. J. van Windekens, Festschrift Szemerényi (1970), pp. 910—912, where Juret's connection of Hitt. *andara-*with Skt. *andhá-*, Av. *anda-* is also cited.

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Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

NOTES ON HITTITE AND LUWIAN GRAMMAR

1. The Hittite locative singular ending *-a*
2. The Hittite suffix *-zi-el, -zi-il*
3. On Cun. Luw. SAL-*atti-*/*wanatti-*/*unatti-*, Hier. Luw. FEMINA-*nati-*, *huhati-*, etc.
4. Hittite causative forms of the type of Vedic *várdhati*
5. Hittite *sarhiya-* and Greek *ῥώομαι*

1. The Hittite locative singular ending *-a*

1.1. With exception of the case-forms ending in the singular in *-a*, the Hittite dative-locative singular forms offer no substantial problems.

Within the Hittite *a*-stems (IE *o*-stems) we find dative-locative singular forms in *-i*; the ending *-i* represents the Indo-European locative singular ending **-o-i* to the *o*-stems. Plausible traces of the Indo-European datives in **-o-ey* are attested by such Hittite forms as *labarnai, hassanai, haminai, harharai,* etc.

Within the consonant stems the representatives of the Indo-European datives in **-ey* and these of the locatives in **-i* cannot be distinguished; they fall together into the Hittite dative-locative forms ending in *-i*.

The endingless locatives in Hittite (cf. e. g. *tagan, siwat*) are also of Indo-European inheritance, cf. e. g. Skt. *áhar*, Av. *ayąn* 'daily', etc.

On these dative-locative forms see Sturtevant and Hahn (1951: 87-8), Kammenhuber (1969:302), Georgiev (1971:59—64), Neu (1979: 187—190).

Finally, the Hittite dative-locative singular ending *-ti* continues, as Georgiev (1971:64—5) rightly points out, the Indo-European adverbial suffix **-dʰi* (cf. Gk. *-θι*).

1.2. The origin of the Hittite case-forms ending in the singular in *-a* remains unclear.

According to Sturtevant and Hahn (1951:87), Pedersen (1938:28) and Kronasser (1956:101) they represents old datives of goal.

Kuryłowicz' and Kammenhuber's proposal is that they are locatives (Kuryłowicz 1935:147, Kammenhuber 1979).

According to Georgiev (1971:62-4) the case-forms in *-a* consist of old locatives and datives.

Laroche (1970:22ff.), Starke (1977) and Neu (1979:186-7) have proposed that the Hittite case-forms in *-a* constitute an independent "directive" (or, according to Starke, "terminative") case in Hittite.

In explanation of the Hittite case-forms ending in the singular in *-a* a brief note on their functions is necessary. The Hittite case-forms in *-a* appear in the following uses (see especially Kammenhuber 1969):

(a) Expressing the goal or object of motion or action and answering the question 'wohin' as in (Old Hittite) KBo XVII 1 III 16-7; IV 11 DUMU^{MEŠ}-*an parnā paimi* "ich gehe in das Haus der Kinder", KUB XVII 5 II 14 LUGAL-*sa* ^{URU}*Arinna paizzi* "und der König geht nach Arinna" (Otten und Souček 1969: 63), etc. In the other Indo-European languages this function is expressed by the locative (Delbrück 1893:227-9: cf. e. g. Ved. *sá íd devéṣu gacchati* "that truly, goes to the gods"), the accusative (Delbrück 1893:363-5; cf. also the Hittite accusatives of direction (goal), Friedrich 1960:320), and the dative of goal (Delbrück 1893:288-294).

(b) Expressing the situation or location and answering the guestion 'wo' as in (Old Hittite) KUB XXXI 143 II 31 *ke-ma-asta* ^{D}IŠKUR-*as maltesna hand[an]* "And so it is decided in the Stormgod's prayer" (translated by Laroche; see Kammenhuber 1979: 119). This function is the characteristic one of the Indo-Eurorean locative.

The fact that the Hittite case-forms ending in the singular in *-a* appear not only in directive use, but also served to express situation or location, indicates that, in view of their functions, these forms can be regular Indo-European locatives. Therefore, the scope of this paper is to explain the disagreement in form between the outcomes of the Indo-European locative endings in Hittite and the Hittite case-final *-a*.

1.3. Now it is clear that none of the previous explanations of the Hittite case-forms ending in the singular in *-a* is indisputable.

According to Sturtevant and Hahn (1951:87), "perhaps the datives in *-a* and *-ai* are two sandhi-forms of IH **-ōy* (cf. *-φι*, Lat. *-ō*, etc.)"; see also Pedersen (1938:28) and Kronasser (1956:101). I believe that the sound change of IE **-o-ey* into Hitt. *-a* is not improbable though other representatives of this sound change in Hittite are unknown to me. But the main weakness of this explanation is that there are no Hittite forms in *-a* used as possessive datives, datives of comparison, etc., though these uses can be expected if the discussed forms were original IE datives.

According to Georgiev (1971:62-4), the Indo-European locative singular ending **o-y* to the **o*-stems appears in Hittite, as in Sanskrit, in two sandhi-forms, *-i* and *-a*; hence he explains the Hittite case-forms in *-a* as old locatives: "Archaische (und archaistische?) (Dativ-) Lokativendung *-a* aus ide. *-oy* (urspr. vor Vokal): heth. *aruna* neben *aruni* zu *aruna-s* 'Meer'. Die (Dativ-) Lokativendung *-a* der *a-* Stämme wurde auch bei den konsonantischen und *i-* Stämmen übertragen. Diese Nebenform wurde später durch die Dativ-Lokativendung *-i* verdrängt" (ibid., pp. 63-4). Georgiev has also assumed (ibid., p. 63 with fn. 9) that plausible representatives of the old dative can be seen in the case-forms ending in *-a-a* (e. g. *tagnaa, kisraa*) < Hitt.-Luw. **-aey* (before vowels) < IE **-o-ey*.

Laroche (1970:45-8) has proposed that the Hittite forms in *-a* constitute an independent, "directive" case and that they are comparable with the Greek and Latin adverbs *ἄνω* 'upwards', *κάτω* 'downwards', *quō, eō*, etc.; this explanation is accepted by Starke (1977) and Neu (1979:187). In view of Kammenhuber's discussion (1979), the explanation of the forms in *-a* as representativ

of an independent, "directive" case in Hittite is unacceptable. The Hittite forms in *-a* answering the question 'wo' (see above, 1.2) remain unexplained by Laroche's hypothesis.

In view of the functions of the Hittite case-forms in *-a* one of the most plausible hypotheses is that of Kuryłowicz (1935:145, 147) who compared the Hittite ending *-a* with the Slavic locative singular ending *-e*. However, this explanation is doubtfull in view of the fact that the Slavic locative singular ending *-e* is restricted only to the consonant stems (cf. OBg. *kamen-e, sloves-e*) and (see Ferrell 1966) it seems to be an inner-Slavic innovation.

1.4. My hypothesis is that the Anatolian (and, respectively, the Hittite) case-forms ending in the singular in *-a* are original locatives consisting of the Anatolian outcomes of the Indo-European locative singular forms and an Anatolian postposition **ā*; this postposition equals the Indo-Iranian postpositive **ā*.

Vedic *á* connected with the locative is used postpositively and has the sense of 'on', 'in', 'at', and 'to', cf. e. g. *apsú á* "in the water" (RV II 35,8), *várimann á* "on the expanse (of the earth)" (RV III 59,3), *dadhúh ṭva bhṛgavo manuṣeṣv á* "The Bhrgus brought to the men" (RV I 58,6). In Avestan and Old Persian the postposition *ā* can be attached to the locative forms[1], cf. e. g. Av. *tači.apaya* "im fliessenden Wasser", *vīsya* (beside *vīsi*) "im Haus", *kəhrpya* "im Leib" (according to Reichelt 1909:270, the postposition *ā* can represent in part the Indo-European postpositive **u̯*), OPers. *duvarayā, dastayā, gaθava* (beside *Parsayi, Madayi, Bābirauv*), etc. See (among others) Macdonell (1910:419), Kent (1953:58ff.).

The origin of the Indo-Iranian *ā* is clear; it represents the instrumental singular form IE **o-* or **e-* of the Indo-European demonstrative pronoun **e/*o*[2]. This demonstrative pronoun appears in the Anatolian languages as the enclitic third personal pronoun *-a-* attested by the following forms: sg. nom. common gender Hitt., Pal., Cun. and Hier. Luw. *-as*, acc. common gender Hitt., Pal., Cun. Luw. *-an*, Hier. Luw. *-(a)n*, nom.-acc. neuter Hitt., Pal. *-at*, Cun. and Hier. Luw. *-ata*; pl. nom. common gender Old Hitt. *-e*, Class. Hitt. *-at*, Pal. *as*, acc. common gender Hitt. *-us, -as*, nom. -acc. neuter Old Hitt. *-e*, Class. Hitt. *-at*, Pal. *-e*, Cun. Luw. *-ata*. The supposed Anatolian postposition **a*, as well as the corresponding Indo-Iranian *ā*, is a relic instrumental singular form (IE **o-*) of the demonstrative pronoun IE **o(/*e)*.

1.5. Now the explanation of the Hittite case-forms ending in the singular in *-a* is not difficult.

1.5.1. Within the Hittite *a*-stems the locative (directive) singular forms in *-a* are well attested[3], cf. e. g. Hitt. *aruna* (*aruna-* 'sea'); *aska* (*aska-* 'fool'); *ha-as-sa-a* (*hassa-* 'hearth'); ID-*a*, also *ha-pa-a*, ID-*pa* (*hapa-*'river'); *lahha* (*lahha-* 'campaign'); *suhha* (*suhha-* 'roof'); *uwara* (*warra-* 'help'); *happena* (*happina-* 'flame'), etc.

The ending *-a* of these forms is explanable as the outcome of the ordinary IE locative singular ending **-o-y* > Proto-Anatolian **-ay* to which is attached the Proto-Anatolian postposition **ā*; i. e., we have Proto-Anatolian **-ay *ā* > **ayā* which, with Proto-Hittite loss of the intervocalic *y* and a subsequent contraction of **a-ā* into *-ā*, yields Hittite *-a*.

This Hittite development of the Proto-Anatolian **-ayā* is shared also by Palaic. Among the Palaic locative singular forms in *-a*[4] plausible representatives

of the Anatolian *a*-stems are *ku-wa-li-ma* and]*x-hal-pu-ú-ta*; the ending *-a* of these forms is, just as the Hittite locative singular ending *-a*, from Proto-Anatolian **-ayā* < **-ay *ā*.

Similarly, the final *-a* of the isolated Hieroglyphic Luwian dative-locative forms[5] *ku*-AVIS-*pa-pa* and AVUS-*ha* can be explained from Proto-Anatolian **-ayā*.

In Cuneiform Luwian we find, however, the dative-locative singular forms URU *Ha-at-tu-sa-ya* and EN-*ya* (nom. sg. EN-*as*)[6]. The dative-locative singular forms to the *a*-stems in Hieroglyphic Luwian regularly end in *-aya*, cf. e. g. *Ka-ka-ya, ku-AVIS-pa-pa-ya,* AVUS-*ha-ya*. It is evident that the above explanation of the Hittite, Palaic and Hieroglyphic Luwian final *-a* is confirmed by the existence of the Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian ending *-aya*. Both Luwian ending *-a* and *-aya*[7] are outcomes of the Proto-Anatolian **-ayā* < **-ay, *ā*[8]. The co-existence of the Hieroglyphic Luwian *-aya* and *-a* is explanable under the line of such phonetic variants as Cuneiform Luwian *aya-* 'to make' and Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian *a-* 'id.', cf. Cun. Luw. active pres. 2nd sg. *a-a-ya-si*, pret. 2nd. sg. *a-a-ya-as*, 3rd pl. *a-a-ya-an-ta, a-i-ya-an-da*, middle pret. 3rd sg. *a-a-ya-ri*, impv. 3rd sg. *a-a-ya-ru* beside active pres. 3rd sg. *a-ti*, pret. 1st sg. *a-ha*, 3rd sg *a-a-a-ta*, impv. 3rd sg. *a-a-du*, Hier. Luw. 3rd sg. pret. *á-tà*.

In contrast to the Hittite case-forms in *-a* which functioned as regular locatives, the Luwian outcomes of the Proto-Anatolian locatives in **-ayā* < **-ay *ā* appear, just as the Anatolian dative-locative forms in *-i* to the *a*-stems (which are old locatives), in both dative and locative use. This is an innovatory development in the Luwian group of languages.

1.5.2. The locative singular forms in *-a* to the Hittite heteroclitic stems originated from Indo-European endingless locatives of the type of Vedic *údan* to which in Proto-Anatolian is attached the postposition **ā*. Thus,

Hitt. loc. (directive) sg. *pahhuena* < **pahhuen *ā* (:nom. sg. *pahhur* 'fire');
Hitt. loc. (directive) sg. *wetena* < **weten *ā* (:nom. sg. *watar* 'water');
Hitt. loc. (directive) sg. *sehuna* < **sehun *ā* (:nom. sg. *sehur* 'urine').

Locative forms like *maltesna* (:nom. sg. *maltessar* 'prayer'), *tunnakisna* (:nom. sg. *tunnakessar* 'Innengemach') are inner-Hittite analogical innovations; they are explanable on the basis of the proportion *aruni : aruna = tunnakkisni : x* (x = *tunnakisna*).

1.5.3. Within the consonantal stems we find *kisrā* (:nom. sg. *kessar* 'hand') beside *kissari* and *kisrī; taknā* (: nom. sg. *tekan* 'earth') beside *taknī* and the endingles form *takan*; *nepisa* (:nom. sg. *nepis* 'sky') and *tapusa* (:nom. sg. *tapuwas* 'rib, side') beside the endingless locatives *nepis* and *tapus*. If Kammenhuber's explanation (1979:129) of *kisrā* by syncope is right, this form can be old. On the other hand it seems possible that *kisrā* and *taknā* represent analogical innovations based on the locatives *kisrī* and *taknī* (cf. also 1.5.2).

Hitt *nepisa* (< **nepis *ā*) and *tapusa* (< **tapus *ā*) are based on the endingless locatives *nepis* and *tapus* respectively.

The Hittite locative (directive) *karuiliyatta* (:*karuiliyat-* 'früherer Zustand') and the adverb *luk(k)atta* 'at dawn' (syncopated *lukta* KUB XXIX 4 I 55) represent old endingless locatives (cf. *lukat* 'at dawn which is an endingless locative) to which in Proto-Anatolian is attached the postpositive **a*. It can be mentioned that the adverb *luk(k)atta* can originate from the middle pres. 3rd sg. verb form of *luk(k)-* 'to dawn', see Kammenhuber (1979:123).

1.5.4. The dative-locative singular forms to the Anatolian nominal *i*-stems end in *-i* (consisting of the stem-final *-i-* and the locative ending **-i* or the dative one **-ey*)[10] and *-iya*. The latter ending is well attested; cf. e. g. Cun. Luw. dat.-loc. sg. *uwalanteya* (: nom. sg. *ulantis* '(the) dead'), *massaniya (massani-* 'god'), *naneya (nani(ya)-* 'brother'), ^{D}*Imrassiya*, Hier. Luw. dat.-loc. sg. TERRA-*ni-ya*, *Á-ra/i-nu-wa-ti-ya*, *ta-pa-sa* $^{\check{s}}$*-li-ya*, Hitt. (locatives answering the question 'wo') *luliya* (: nom. sg., *lulis* 'basin, pond') INA KUR *Luwiya*, (locatives answering the question 'wohin', i. e. directives) *hurtaliya* (: nom. sg. *hurtallis* 'medley, mash'), ^{NA4} *huwasiya* (: nom.-acc. neuter ^{NA4} *huwasi* 'Malstein, Massebe'), ANA KUR *Luwiya*, etc. This final *-iya*, expressing locative and dative functions in the different Anatolian languages, comes from Proto-Anatolian **-iyā* which consists of the locative singular ending **-iy* to the nominal *i*-stems and the postposition **ā*.

Similarly, the Hittite dative-locative singular endings *-a* and *-aya* to the adjectival *i*-stems (*suppa, suppaya*: nom. sg. *suppis* 'clean'; *hatuga, hatugaya*: nom. sg. *hatukis* 'frightful' terrible', etc.) are from the Proto-Anatolian locative singular final **-ay-i* to which is attached the postposition **ă*; the intervocalic *y* of *suppaya, hatugaya* can be a restoration, cf. Sturtevant and Hahn (1951: 87) and see below, 1.6.

1.5.5. Within the Hittite *ai*-stems we regularly find the dative-locative singular ending *-iya*, cf. e. g. *zahhiya* (: nom. sg. *zahhais* 'battle, fight'), *linkiya* (: acc. sg. *lingain* 'oath'), *luttiya* (: nom.-acc. sg. *luddai* 'window'). This ending is borrowed from the nominal *i*-stems; it replaces the Hittite outcome of a Proto-Anatolian **-aya* < **-ay-i *ă*. The Proto-Anatolian *-aya* is probably continued — with loss of the intervocalic *y* and contraction by the Hittite final *-a* of the form *zahha* (KBo XII 2 Vs. 12).

The replacement of the ending *-a* to the Hittite *ai*-stems by *-iya* is probably conditioned by its coincidence with the ending *-a* to the Hittite *a*-stems.

1.6. This explanation of the Hittite case-forms ending in the singular in *-a* is not radically new. A similar idea is proposed in 1951 by Sturtevant, according to whom the dative-locative forms in *-iya* and *-a* to the Hittite *i*-stems are formed by the attachment of a postposition: "The third type (*tu-uz-zi-ya* from *tu-uz-zi-is* 'army') consists of *tu-(uz-)zi* and the postposition that is appended to various case forms in the Indo-Europen languages; e. g. Skt. dat. *asuraya* = Av. *ahurai*, Av. loc. *gatava* from *gatu-* 'place' beside *haetō* 'at the bridge', Av. loc. pl. *raoδaēšva* from *raoδa-* 'outward appearance' beside loc. pl. *aspāēšu* from *aspa-* 'horse', OCS loc. *kamene* from *kamy* 'stone', Lith. loc. *rañkoje* from *rankà* 'hand'. The fourth type (*su-up-pa-ya* from *su-up-pi-is* 'clean') appears to consist of the second type (*su-up-pā-i*) with the postposition *-a*; but pre-Hitt. *-aya* should become *-a* and I can cite *ha-tu-ga* (KBo 3. 21. 2. 24) beside *ha-tu-ga-ya* from *ha-tu-ki-* 'frightful, terrible', as well as *su-up-pa* (KUB 14. 10.4.13). Hence *su-up-pa-ya*, like gen. *li-en-ka-ya-as*, is an analogical restoration" (Sturtevant and Hahn 1951: 87).

This proposition offers various difficulties:

(1). It remains unclear why the attachment of a postposition is restricted only to the Hittite *i*-stems.

(2). Sturtevant followed Brugmann's explanation (1911: 185-6) of the different forms. Now it is known that Brugmann is wrong in his explanation. The Sanskrit dative ending *-aya* to the IE *o*-stems cannot be explained by the attachment of a postposition, see Wackernagel and Debrunner (1975: 94). The Lithuanian locatives *rañkoje, žẽmėje,* etc., consist of the old locative forms and the postposition **en* (or **ę*), see Stang (1966: 182-3). On the Slavic locatives in *-e* see above, 1.3. Finally, the Avestan locatives *gātava, vīsya* etc., are formed by the attachment of the postpositive Indo-Iranian *ā* (see 1.4), not **ă*.

The only positive point of Sturtevant's assumption is the general idea that the endings *-iya* and *-a* to the Hittite *i*-stems are explanable by the attachment of a postpositive element.

1.7. The Hittite locative ending *-a* is written either *-a* (e. g. *aruna,* ID-*pa*) or *-a-a* (e. g. *ha-pa-a, ha-as-sa-a*). At first sight only the latter spelling seems to be regular. I am not sure, however, that the original quantity can consequently be reflected by the Hittite spelling[9]; note, for instance, the nom.-acc. pl. neuter forms[10] *ar-da-a-la (ardala-* 'saw'), *sa-a-ku-wa (sakuwa-* 'eye'), *sa-ra-amma (sarama-* 'a kind of bread') with *-a* < IE **-oh*.

In contrast, the Hittite dative-locative ending *-i* is attested not only by the expected spelling *-i*, but also by the spelling *-i-i*, cf. OHitt. *ha-as-si-i, ki-is-sa-ri-i* (beside *ki-is-sa-ri*), *pád-da-ni-i, pát-ta-ni-i,* see Otten and Souček (1969: 50).

1.8. Let us summarise the results of our discussion.

(1). The Hittite case-forms ending in the singular in *-a* are regular locatives (see 1.2).

(2). These Hittite forms in *-a* are explanable as original Indo-European locatives to which is attached a postposition **ā* in Proto-Anatolian; thus, within the a-stems the ending *-a* is, by loss of the intervocalic *y* and subsequent contraction, from Proto-Anatolian **-aya*; within the *i*-stems the ending *-iya* is from Proto-Anatolian **-iyā*, etc.; there are also Hittite case-forms in *-a* based on endingless locatives. See 1.5.

(3). This explanation is confirmed by the Luwian dative-locative forms in *-aya* to the *a*-stems and *-iya* to the *i*-stems; the Luwian endings *-aya, -iya* correspond to the Hittite ones *-a, -iya* respectively. See 1.5.3, 1.5.4.

(4). The reconstruction of a Proto-Anatolian postposition **ă* is supported by the fact that this postposition is explanable as the instrumental form of the Indo-European demonstrative pronoun **o(/*e)*; this pronoun is well attested in all the Anatolian languages (see 1.4).

(5) The attachment of postpositions to the locative forms is a well known phenomenon in the Indo-European languages, cf. e. g. the Iranian locative forms formed by the Indo-Iranian postposition **ā* (= Ved. *ā*) = Proto-Anatolian **ă*; the Umbrain locatives *arven, Acersoniem,* the Oscan ones *húrtin Kerriiin*; etc.

2. The Hittite suffix *-zi-el-, -zi-il*

2.1. According to Eichner (1972: 85, n. 6) and Georgiev (1978: 93-4), the suffix *zi-el, -zi-il* of the Hittite nouns *sar-ni-ik-zi-i-el* (also *-zi-il, -zi-el*) 'Busse, Ersatz', *ta-ya-zi-il* (gen. sg. *ta-ya-zi-la-as, da-ya-zi-la-as, ta-i-iz-zi-la-as*) 'Diebstahl' consists of the Indo-European suffix **-ti-* > Hitt. *-zi-* and the Hittite suffix *-il, -el* (Eichner reconstructs IE **-el*), attested by *hu-ur-ki-el, hu-ur-ki-il* 'Greuel, abscheuliche Tat, unerhörte Tat', *su-i-el, su-il* 'Faden', etc. Georgiev

accepts Sturtevant's opinion that the Indo-European suffix *-*ti*- can be seen in the Hittite compound suffix -*as-ti*- which equals OBg. -*os-tь*. He also argues that the conflation of functionally equivalent suffixes in the case of Hitt. -*zi-el*, -*zi-il* can be paralleled by the case of the Latin compound suffix -*tiōn*-, which is from -*ti*- + -*iōn*-.

Recently Hamp (1980:64) doubts this explanation and prefers to explain Hitt. -*zi-el*, -*zi-il* as a compound suffix which (with the sound change of **tw* into Hitt. *z*, postulated by Georgiev, ibid., p. 94-7) is derived from nouns in -*tu*-; i. e., Hitt. -*zi-el*, -*zi-il* < **-tw-el* < **-tu*- + **-el*.

2.2. From point of view of the Indo-European morphology as well as of the historical Hittite phonetics these two explanations are equally possible.

The criterion necessary for choosing among these two possibilities is provided by two other Anatolian words.

The Palaic noun nom.-acc. pl. neut. *su-nu-ut-ti-la* probably means 'Füllungen'; it can be formed by the suffix -*til* which equals Hitt. -*zi-el*, -*zi-il*, see Kammenhuber (1969:297), Carruba (1970:70). The underlying verb of *sunuttila* can be **sunu*- which is a verb suffixed with **-neu*-; the correlation of this verb to the attested Palaic *sunna*- (pret. 3rd sg. *su-ú-na-at*) 'füllen', Hittite *sunna*- (pres. 1st sg *su-un-na-ah-hi*, 3rd sg. *su-un-na-i*, 3rd pl. *su-un-na-an-zi*, pret. 1st sg. *su-un-na-ah-hu-un*, 3rd sg. *su-un-na-as* 'id.' is precisely the same as that of Hitt. *tarnu*- (pres. 3rd sg. *tar-nu-zi*) '(hinab)lassen' to *tarna*- (pres. 1st sg. *tar-na-ah-né*, 2nd sg. *tar-na-at-ti*, 3rd sg. *tar-na-i*, etc.) 'id.'.

We have also the Cuneiform Luwian noun *pu-ú-wa-ti-il* '(le) passé' which (see Laroche 1959:83, Kronasser 1966:326) is derived from *pu-ú-wa* 'jadis, auparavant'. Again, we are dealing with a suffix -*til* which is comparable with the Hittite one -*zi-el*, -*zi-il*, see Kronasser (1966:326, Kammenhuber (1969:297).

Evidently, there is no reason to derive Hittite -*zi-el*, -*zi-il* from **-twel* from **-tu-el*; Palaic *sunuttila* as well as Cuneiform Luwian *puwatil* confirm Eichner's and Georgiev's explanation of Hitt. -*zi-el*, -*zi-il* (=Pal., Cun. Luw.-*til*).

2.3. I believe that Hamp's objections against the explanation by the Indo-European suffix **-ti*- are not decisive.

2.3.1. The witness of the Hittite suffix -*asti*- for the existence of Anatolian continuants ot the Indo-European derivatives in **-ti*- (accepted by Georgiev, l. c., and doubted by Hamp, ibid., fn. 1) is not necessary. There are certain Hittite and Luwian abstract or action nouns which are evidently formed by the Indo-European nominal siffix **-ti*-.

The equation of Hitt. *luzzi*- (nom.-acc. sg. neut, *lu-u-zi*, *lu-uz-zi*,, (dat.-) loc. sg. *lu-uz-zi-ya*, etc.) 'villein labour' with Gk. *λύσις* 'ransom' points to IE **luti*- which is a derivative in **-ti*-, see Sturtevant and Hahn (1951:75-6), Kronasser (1966:203—4) and especially Brosman's discussion (1976:151).

In a previous article (Hittite Etymologies II (4-8), Ling. balk., XXV, 2) I have proposed that two other Hittite neuters are formed by the suffix **-ti*-.

Hittite *arziya*- 'cultivated land' probably represents a noun in **-ti*- and can be compared with OHG *art* 'ploughed land', OE *eard*, *ierd* 'ploughed land; produce of arable land, a crop', Olcel. *qrð* 'produce of arable land, a crop' (< Gmc. *arpiz* 'Ackerung'); the extension by -*a*- of *arziya* indicates that Anatolian **arti*- was treated as a noun in -*i*.

The Hittite word *armizzi*- 'bridge' is derived from a denominative verb **armiye*-, cf. the related Greek noun *ἁρμός* 'joining, joint' as well as the denominative verb *ἁρμόζω* 'to fit together, to join'.

According to Watkins (1971:77-9), the Old Hittite neuter LUGAL-*u-e-(ez-)zi*- 'kingship' is an abstract noun in IE **-ti*- (> Hitt. -*zi*-); it is derived from the Hittite denominative verb *hassue/i*- 'be king'.

To these nouns in **-ti*- can be added some Luwian forms.

Cun. Luw. *ipalati*- 'gaucherie' (acc. sg. *i-pa-la-a-ti-en*), which is translatable by Hitt. GÙB-*latar*, is derived from the adjective *ipala/i*- 'gauche', see Laroche (1959:51-2); **-ti*- of *ipalati*- evidently continues the Indo-European nominal suffix **-ti*-.

Other Luwian abstract or action nouns in IE -*ti*- are Cun. Luw. *kupiyati*- Plan' (nom. sg. *ku-pi-ya-ti-is*, acc. sg. *ku-pi-ya-ti-in*) which is derived from a verb in **-ye*- (cf. Laroche 1959:57, Kronasser 1966:237, Starke 1980:76 and cf. the root verb *kup*- 'planen') and Hier. Luw. LINGUA-*lati*- 'Sprache' (to Hitt. *lala*- 'sprechen', cf. Starke, l. c.

2.3.2. In contrast to Hamp (l. c.) I am not inclined to seek representatives only of the original Indo-European formation in -*ti*- (with zero grade of the root and derived from root verbs) in the Anatolian group of languages. If we assume that**-ti*- was a productive nominal suffix in common Anatolian, the derivation of such forms as Hitt. *sarnikzil/sarnikziel*, *tayazil/tayizil*, etc., is due to an innovatory development which can be paralleled by similar derivational innovations in other Indo-European languages.

Like in other cases of conflation of functionally equivalent suffixes (see Kuryłowicz 1964:52-3), Hitt. *sarnikzil/sarnikziel* implies a noun **sarnikzi*- which is derived from the verb with nasal infix *sarnink*- (pres. 1st sg. *sarnikmi*, 3rd sg. *sarnikzi*, 1st pl. *sarninkueni*, etc.) 'büssen, ersetzen'. Similarly, Pal. *sunuttila* implies a noun **sunutti*- which is derived from a verb **sunu*-. These Anatolian nouns in **-ti*- are no more surprising than Gk. *ὕφανσις* 'weaving' (to the nasal verb *ὑφαίνω* 'to weave').

According to Jasanoff (1978:91-2), Hitt. *tayezzi* '(he) steals' and OBg. *taitь* go back to an iterative-causative pre-form IE **(s)tohyeyeti*. If so, the derivation of the noun **tayaz(z)i-*/ **tayiz(z)i*- (attested by *tayazil/tayizzil*) is comparable with the derivation of Ved. *janayati*- 'generation' from the causative verb (3rd sg.) *janáyati*.

Secondary **-ti*- appears in Cun. Luw. **puwati*- (atteated by Cun. Luw. *puwatil*) just as in Cun. Luw. *ipalati*- 'gaucherie'; cf. also the secondary **-ti*- in Ved. *yuvati*- 'maiden', adj. 'young', OHG *jugund* 'youth' which are from the Indo-European adjective **yuwen*- (Ved. *yuván*- 'young'); in Ved. *addhati*- 'sage' from the adverb *addhā* 'truly', etc.

2.4. While IE **ti* yields Luw. *ti*, IE **ty* is represented by *s(s)* or *z(z)* in the Luwian group of languages, see van Brock (1968), Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies and Neumann (1973:40—41 with fn. 1). Then, Cuneiform Luwian -*til* (in *puwatil*) can be explained only as -*ti-l*.

This is evidently possible if we accept that the *l*-formant of the compound suffix Hitt. -*zi-el*, -*zi-il*, Pal., Cun. Luw. -*til* goes back to the Indo-European suffix **-el*/**-l* (cf. Eichner, l. c.), attested by IE **sepel* 'honouring, worshipping' (in the denominative verbs Skt. *saparyáti* 'serves, honours, worships', Lat. *sepelio* 'bury'), Gk. *γάμελα* (neut. pl.) 'Heiratsopfer' (from *γαμέω*

'to marry'), Hitt. *su-i-el, su-il,* etc. Then, Cun. Luw. *-til* represents the weak grade **-ti-l* of this compound suffix, whereas Hitt. *-zi-el, -zi-il* is probably from the full grade **-ty-el*. The co-existence of full and weak grade forms of the Indo-European compound suffixes is a familiar phenomenon; cf. e. g. the full grade form of the suffix of Ved. *kanyàn-* 'girl, virgin' beside the ordinary weak grade form Ved. *-in-* of this compound suffix.

It can be noted, however, that the Hittite suffix *-zi-el, -zi-il* is ambiguous; it can represent either **-ti-l* or **-ty-el*. Then, it is possible that the generalization of the weak grade form of this compound suffix is a common Anatolian innovation and that Hitt. *-zi-el, -zi-il* equals Cun. Luw. *-til*.

3. On Cun. Luw. SAL-*atti-/wanatti-/unatti-*, Hier. Luw. FEMINA-*nati-, huhati-*, etc.

3.1. Cun. Luw. SAL-*atti-* (acc. pl. SAL-*at-ti-in-za*) 'woman', probably *wanatti-/unatti-* 'id.' (identified by Starke 1980:74 ff.), Hier. Luw. FEMINA-*(na)ti-* (nom. sg. FEMINA-*na-ti-sa*, acc. sg. FEMINA-*na-ti-na*, dat. sg. FEMINA-*ti-i*, nom. pl. FEMINA-*ti-zi*) 'id.' appears beside Cun. Luw. *wana-* (dat. sg. *wa-a-ni*, nom. pl. *wa-na-a-an-za/wa-na-an-za*, adjective in *-assi-* nom.-acc. sg. neut. *wa-]na-a-as-sa-an, [wa-a-]na-as-sa-an*) 'id.' (identified by Starke 1980:74 ff.) just as Hier. Luw. *huhati-* 'grandfather' appears beside Hier. Luw. *huha-*, Lyc. *xuga-*, Hitt. *huhha-* 'id.'; Hier. Luw. REX-*ti-* 'king' beside Cun. Luw. LUGAL-*u-*, Hitt. *hassu-* 'id.' (cf. also the denominative verb Hier. Luw. REX-*wa-ti-*), etc.; see Starke (1980:74 ff. and esp. pp. 76—7).

Kammenhuber (1969:289) has assumed that Luw. SAL-*natti-* is enlarged by the suffix *-att-*. However, the meaning of the nouns of the type of Cun. Luw. SAL-*atti-*, Hier. Luw. FEMINA-*nati-* disagrees with the function of the (Hittite) suffix *-att-*.

According to Starke (ibid., p. 76—7), the nouns of the type of Cun. Luw. SAL-*atti-*, Hier. Luw. FEMINA-*natti-* are formed by a suffix *-ti-*; thus, Cun. Luw. *wanatti-* is from **gwenā-ti-* (cf. also Oettinger 1980:46). Thus, this suffix *-ti-* coincides in form with the Luwian suffix *-ti-*, which serves to form abstract or action nouns (Starke, l. c.) and which continues the Indo-European suffix **-ti-* (see above, 2.3.1.). The main weakness of this interpretation is that the origin of the supossed *-ti-* in the nouns of the type Cun. Luw. SAL-*atti-* remains enigmatic and, hence, the morphology of these nouns is unclear.

3.2. The formation of the Luwian nouns of the type of Cun. Luw. Luw. SAL-*atti-* can be clarified if we accept that the suffix is Cun. Luw. *-at(t)i-*, Hier. Luw. *-ati-*; thus, Cun. Luw. *wanatti-* < *wana-(a)tti-*, Hier. Luw. *huhati-* < *huha-(a)ti-*, etc.

Since in Hieroglyphic Luwian the preconsonantal *-n-* is not indicated in writing, the Hieroglyphic Luwian suffix *-ati-* of the discussed forms is evidently interpretable as [*-anti-*]; this interpretation of *-ati-* is rightly given by Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies and Neumann (1973:40) for Hier. Luw. CAELUM *ti-pa-sa-ti-sa*, TERRA *ta$_4$-sà*-REL + *ra/i-ti-sa* and the genitive (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i-s [Tarhuntis]*.

Now the origin of the Cuneiform Luwian suffix *-at(t)i-* in SAL-*atti-/wanatti-/unatti-* etc. becomes clear. The occasional appearance of *t* or *z* instead of the original *nt* or *nz* respectively in Cuneiform Luwian is well-known; cf. *wadaniya-* < *wandaniya-*, *hiruta-* < **hirunta-*, *uraz* < **uranz*, etc., and see Laroche (1959:132). Hence the suffix *-at(t)i-* of Cun. Luw. SAL-*atti-/wanatti-/unatti-* and *harduwat(t)i-* is explanable from **-anti-*,

Then, Cun. Luw. *-at(t)i-* and Hier. Luw. *-ati-* can be identified with the Cuneiform Luwian suffix *-anti-* which appears in such denominative forms as *tiyammanti-* 'terre' (: *tiyammi-* 'id.'), *tappasanti-* 'ciel' (: *tappas(a)-* 'id.'), *haratnanti-* 'offense' (: *haratar* 'id.'); Cun. Luw. *-anti-* serves also to form participles, cf. *wassanti-*, *ashanuwanti-* (beside *ashanuwant-*). See Laroche (1959:139—140), Kammenhuber (1969:283). The Cuneiform Luwian forms in *-anti-* functioned just as these in *-ant-*. (cf. Cun. Luw. *Tarhunt-*, *parnant-*, *washa(n)t-*, etc.) and, therefore, the explanation of Luw. *-anti-* from *-ant-(-anti-* < *-ant-i-)* (see Laroche 1959:139, Kammenhuber 1969:283) is obviously right.

3.3. The analysis of Cun. Luw. SAL-*atti-/wanatti-/unatti-* and Hier. Luw. FEMINA-*nati-* as *wana-(a)t(t)i-* < *wana-(a)nt-i-* confirms Georgiev's interpretation (1975a:115) of the Hittite nom. sg. SAL-*za* (cf. also SAL-*an-za*) as a derivative in *-ant-*. Thus, we have Hitt. **gwenant-*, Luw. **wana-(a)nt-i-* 'woman': Anat. **gwena-* (Hitt. nom. sg. SAL-*na-as*, acc. sg. SAL-*na-an*, gen. sg. SAL-*na-as*, dat.-loc. sg. SAL-*ni*, Cun. Luw. *wana-*) 'id.' just as Hitt. *huhhant-*, Hier. Luw. *huhati-[huhhanti-]* 'grandfather': Hitt. *huhha-*, Hier. Luw. *huha-*, Lyc. *xuga-* 'id.'.

In my opinion it is more likely to propose that the Hittite and Luwian words for 'woman' go back to common pre-forms than the assumption (cf. about Hitt. SAL-*(an)za* Kammenhuber 1969:289 and, with different explanation of Hitt. SAL-*na-*, Starke 1980:85—6 and Oettinger 1980:59—60) for different formations in the various Anatolian languages.

4. Hittite causative forms of the type of Vedic *várdhati*

4.1. Beside the intransitive middle forms of the Hittite verb *war-* 'to burn. (cf. e. g. ^{GIŠ}*zu-up-pa-ru wa-ra-an-ni*[11] 'a torch burns' KUB XXX 36 III 3, *pa-ah-hur ú-ra-a-ni* „a fire burns" KUB XXXIII 59 III 9), we have the isolated 3rd sg. active form *warai* which, used transitively, has a causative value: *pa-ah-hur-ra wa-a-ra-i* „kindles a fire" KUB XVII 27 II 26[12].

Hitt. *lazziya-*, inflected in the middle (pres. 3rd sg. *la-a-az-zi-at-ta, la-az-zi-at-ta*, SIG$_5$-*at-ta(-ri)*, SIG$_5$-*ta(-ri)*, 3rd pl. *SIG$_5$-an-ta(-ri)*, pret. 1st sg. *la-az-zi-ah-ha-at*, etc.) is an intransitive verb which means 'gut werden, gesund werden'; its isolated active forms pres. 1st sg. SIG$_5$-*zi-ya-mi* KUB XXXIII 24 I 44 is used transitively and, like *warai*, is a causative ('bringe in Ordnung').

Hitt. *luluwai-*, the intransitive middle forms (pres. 3rd sg. *lu-lu-wa-it-ta*, pret. 3rd pl. *lu-lu-wa-an-da-at*) of which mean 'gedeihen', has transitive and causative actives pres. 2nd sg. *lu-lu-wa-i-si* 'du förderst' KUB XXXI 135, 16, pret. 3rd sg. *lu-lu-wa-it* KUB XVI 14 I 29. According to Neu (1968b:52,68) — and this is obviously right — Hitt. *war-*, *lazziya-* and *luluwai-* are originally intransitive media tantum verbs. The active causative forms *warai*, *SIG$_5$-ziyami*, *luluwaisi*, *luluwait* represent an inner-Hittite innovatory development.

The same innovatory development is represented by the Hittite verbs *duske-* and *hap-*.

The reflexive middles pres. 3rd pl. *-za du-us-kán-ta* 'they are glad', pret. 3rd sg. *du-us-kat-ta-at* 'was glad' are opposed to the causative active 3rd pl. *duskanzi* '(they) delight'; cf. as a typological parallel the Greek pair *ἥδομαί* : *ἥδω* (see below). We find also the causative reflexive pres. 3rd sg. *-za du-us-ki-iz-zi* 'enjoys'; its reflexive meaning is due to the particle *-za*.

The middle forms pres. 3rd sg. *ha-ap-da-ri*, pret. 3rd sg. *ḫa-ap-ta-at*, *ha-ap-da-at*, imperative 3rd sg. *ha-ap-pa-ru* of the Hittite verb *ḫap-* are used intransitively and mean 'gefügt sein, sich fügen'; the active forms pres. 2nd sg. *ha-ap-ti*, 3rd sg. *ha-ap-zi*, 3rd pl. *ha-pa-an-zi* are used transitively and receive a causative value 'gefügig machen'. Hitt. *ḫapdari* is opposed to *ḫaptat* like *warani* to *warai*.

4.2. The innovatory development of Hittite causative or factitive actives from old media tantum verbs parallels the well known oppositions of the type of Vedic pres. med. 3rd sg. *várdhate* 'grows' : pres. act. 3rd sg. *várdhati* 'makes to grow', Greek pres. med. 1st sg. *μαίνομαι* 'I rage' : pres. act. 1st sg. *μαίνω* 'I infatuate' where the causative active forms appear at a later time than the corresponding intransitive middles. Similarly, we have Skt. *ikṣate* 'drips, trickles' : *iksati* 'sprincles, wets, moistens'; *námate* 'bows' : *námati* 'bends'; Gk. *ἔλπομαι* 'I hope' : *ἔλπω* 'I make to hope'; *παύομαι* 'I rest, cease from' : *παύω* 'I bring to an end, I stop, check'; *τρέφομαι* 'I nourish myself, I am supported' : *τρέφω* 'I make thick, I nourish'; *θέρομαι*, 'I become warm, grow hot, I warm myself' : *θέρω* 'I warm, heat'; *σεύομαι* 'I am in quick motion, I run' : *σεύω* 'I put in quick motion, I drive'; *ἥδομαι* 'I enjoy myself, I take delight' : *ἥδω* 'I please, I delight'; Lat. *plector* 'I suffer pain' : *plecto* 'I punish', etc., and see Speyer (1896 : 49), Delbrück (1897 : 417—9), Wackernagel (1920 : 129—30), Benveniste (1966 : 172—3), Kuryłowicz (1964 : 85—6) Schwyzer (1966 : 233—4); we find also the athematic intransitive middle Skt. *dugdhe* 'strömen lassen' from which is derived the causative active *dogdhi* 'melken' (Speyer, l. c.). According to Gonda (1960 : 37) "this phenomenon is due to an "original" incompleteness of active : middle system, to a comparative large number of activa and media tantum...". In this respect Kuryłowicz' statement that "the opposition *várdhate : várdhati* has a derivational character" (Kuryłowicz 1964 : 85) seems to be right.

4.3. The derivational process represented by such cases as Skt. *várdhate* → *várdhati*, Gk. *μαίνομαι* → *μαίνω* is due to the close association of the middle voice with the intransitivity in Sanskrit and in the classical languages. This association is, however, an innovation.

It seems that originally the transitive use was not restricted to the active forms; the transitive use of such middles as Gk. *κτάομαι* (Schwyzer 1966 : 229), Hitt. *ark-* 'zerschneiden', *ḫatta-* 'abstehen', *iskallai-* 'zerreissen', etc. (Neu 1968b : 54—6) can be old. We occur also causative or factitive forms with preserved middle endings like Gk. *στήσαντο* Il. 1, 480, *ἔλυσατω* Il. 14, 214, *σβέσατο* Il. 23, 237 (Chantraine 1958 : 414); the causative or factitive value of these middle forms is due to their transitive use. This appearance of transitive middles is not surprising since the middle voice originally expressed a special reference to the subject; see Meillet (1934 : 244). According to Gonda (1960 : 66), the original function of the middle was "to denote that a process is taking place with regard to, or is affecting, happening to, a person or a thing"; similarly Georgiev (1975 : 42): "Das Medium drückt aus, dass die betreffende Handlung oder der Zustand sich auf das Subjekt selbst bezieht, wobei die Vorstellung vorherrscht, dass das Subjekt besonders stark und vor allem im Sinne des Interesses beteiligt ist".

On the other hand, the intransitive activa tantum verbs **bhū-* (Skt. *ábhūt*, Gk. *ἔφυν*), **es-* (Hitt. *eszi*, Skt. *ásti*, Gk. *εἰμί*), etc., point that the active voice and the intransitivity are not mutually exclusive.

There are also intransitive active verbs, which, used transitively, receive a causative or factitive value. Thus, Skt. *srávati*, intransitive 'flows, streams, gushes forth', used transitively means 'flows with, sheds, drops'; note the meaning 'causes to flow, sheds, distills' of the regular causative in *-aya-* *srāvayati* (later *sravayati*). The related Greek *ῥέω*, intransitive 'flow, run, stream' means in transitive use 'let flow, pour'. Similarly, we have *tápati* intransitive 'gives out heat, is hot, shines' (RV.), transitive *tápanti* 'make hot, make warm' (RV.); Gk. *ῥέπω* intransitive 'I incline downwards, sink, fall', transitive 'make (the scale) incline one way or another'; *φωτίζω* intransitive 'shine, give light, beam', transitive 'enlighten, light up', etc.

4.4. Therefore, the appearance of an intransitive active *λάμπω* 'I give shine, beam, am bright' beside the pair intransitive middle *λάμπομαι* 'I give shine, beam, am bright' : causative-transitive active *λάμπω* 'I make light, light up' is not surprising; the middle forms of this Greek verb originally served to emphasize "that the process was ... limited to the sphere of the subject with regard to whom it took place" (Gonda 1960 : 49).

A similar case is presented by the Hittite verb *luk(k)-*.

According to Hoffmann (1968 : 214—220) the Hittite verbal stem *lukki-/lukka-* meaning 'to light' and attested by the active forms pres. 3rd sg. *lu-uk-ki-iz-zi*, 3rd pl. *lu-uk-kán-zi*, pret. 3rd sg. *lu-uk-ki-it*, 3rd pl. *lu-uk-ki-e-ir* represents a thematic present **lukke-* which is comparable with the Vedic middle pres. 3rd sg. *rocate* 'shines'; Hoffmann has proposed that the causative value and the active endings of the Hittite stem **lukke-* indicate that in this case we are dealing with a causative of the type of Vedic *várdhati*. This explanation is accepted by Neu (1974 : 79) and Oettinger (1979 : 275). The most plausible explanation, however, is that of Watkins (1971 : 69) and Cowgill (1974 : 563); they have proposed that the Hittite verbal stem *lukki-/lukka-* represents a regular Indo-European causative in **-éye-*; thus, Hitt. pres. 3rd sg. *lu-uk-ki-iz-zi* equals Ved. *rocáyati* 'illuminates', Av. *raočayeiti* and goes back to IE **loukéyeti*; the present 3rd pl. *lu-uk-kán-zi* is from IE **loukéyonti*, etc.

Beside these causatives we find also the intransitive athematic middle forms pres. 3rd sg. *lu-uk-ta* 'it dawns', pret. 3rd sg. *lu-uk-ta-at* 'it dawned' and the intransitive active 3rd sg. *lu-uk-zi* 'it dawns'. Hoffmann (ibid., 217—8) rightly compares the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit aorist forms middle 3rd sg. *árukta*, participle *rucāna-*, optative 1st sg. *rucīya*, etc.. However, his assumption that both Hittite and Sanskrit athematic forms represent an Indo-European aorist injunctive (1968 : 218—9) is unacceptable. The aorist stems in the various Indo-European languages cannot be traced back to the common proto-language; they arise after the separation of Hitfite.

A third group of forms is attested by Hitt. middle pres. 3rd sg. *lu-uk-kat-ta*, *lu-uk-ka-ta*, *lu-ug-ga-at-ta* 'it dawns', pret. 3rd sg. *lu-uk-kat-ta-ti* 'it dawned' which are rightly compared by Oettinger (1979 : 275) with the Vedic middle 3rd sg. *rocate*[13].

The active preterite 1st sg. *lu-uk-ku-un* 'I lighted' KBo XII 38 III 9 has, like the regular causatives in **-éye-* (Hitt. *lukkizzi*, etc.), a causative value; according to Hoffmann (1968 : 214 fn. 9) *lukkun* is from **lukkinun* or **lukkanun*. In view of the athematic causative-transitive form *lu-uk-ten* 2619/c 6 ( ] *zu-up-pa-a-ri lu-uk-ten* "die Fackel zündet an!"; cf. the use of the causative in **-éye- lukkizzi* in KUB XX 10 III 4—5 ^{GIS}*zuppari lukkizzi* "he lights a torch") it becomes clear that Hoffmann's explanation of *lukkun* is, as Neu (1974 : 79) has already mentioned, doubtfull. It is evident that Hitt. *lukkun* and *lukten* are explanable as causative active forms of the type of Hitt. *hapzi* and Skt. *dogdhi*.

Then, the use and the meaning of the Hittite set of forms intransitive middle *lukta* 'it dawns', *luktat* 'it dawned': causative-transitive active *lukkun* 'I light', *lukten* : intransitive active *lukzi* 'it dawns' can be explained under the line of the use and the meaning of Greek intransitive middle *λάμπομαι* : causative-transitive active *λάμπω*: intransitive active *λάμπω* respectively. The original value of the Hittite middles *lukta, luktat* served to express, like in the case of Gk. *λάμπομαι*, a special reference to the subject (see above and cf. also 2.3). Therefore, I believe that though the intransitive active *lukzi* is a late form in Hittite, there is no reason to accept Hoffmann's statement (Hoffmann 1968 : 219): "die Diathesenbezeichnung war bei *luk(k)-* irrelevant geworden".

4.5. Similarly, Hitt. *marriye-* 'zerstückeln, zerkleiner, zerlegen ; in Stücke gehen, entzwei gehen' is an intransitive middle verb in Old and Middle Hittite (med. pres. 3rd sg. *mar-ri-it-ta*, impv. 3rd sg. *mar-ri-e-it-ta[-ru]*), cf. e. g. Ì.UDU-*ma-wa* GIM-*an mar-ri-it-ta* KBo VI 34 I 44 "wie Schaffett aber zergeht" (Neu 1968a : 112—3). This Hittite verb comes from **mṛhye-* and evidently belongs to the class of Gk. *μαίνομαι*, Ved. *manyate*, whereas the Middle Hittite middle pret. 3rd sg. *mar-ra-at-ta-at* and the New Hittite middle pres. 3rd sg. *mar[-ra]-at-ta-ri* (rather *marra-* than *marri-*, see Oettinger (1979 : 280) replaced an original root verb **merh-*, with zero grade **mṛh-* of the middle forms; then, Hittite *marriye- : marra-* can be paralleled by such pairs as Ved. pres. *manyate* : root aorist *amata*. Oettinger's interpretation of Hitt. *mar-ri-it-ta* as *[mar-reta]*, with analogical *e*-vocalism of the thematic vowel on the basis of a hypothetical Proto-Hittite active form **marrezzi* (Oettinger, l. c.) is unconvincing to me; note that even the "thematic vowel" of the reconstructed active form can be — in view of the preceding *a*-colouring laryngeal — also analogical!

The active imperative form 3rd pl. *mar-ri[-ya-an-du]* KUB XIV 3 IV 51 appears in New Hittite; it is used transitively and means 'zerstückeln' (Sommer 1932 : 18—9, Neu, l. c,). Beside the pair intrans. middle *mar-ri-it-ta* : caus. active *mar-ri-ya-an-du* (which parallels such pairs as Gk. *μαίνομαι : μαίνω*), we have, however, the New Hittite intransitive active form pres. 3rd sg. *mar-ri-ya-az-zi* KUB XXXIII 120 III 72 'geht in Stücke' (Neu, l. c.).

4.6. The Hittite verb *tars-*, discussed by Hoffner (1974 : 139—143) and Oettinger (1979 : 452—4) is attested by its passive participle nom.-acc. sg. neut. *tar-sa-an* 'dried' and the infinitive I *tar-su-u-wa-an-zi*. As Hoffner (ibid., 142—3) has rightly proposed, "the Indo-European root which underlies *tars-* is probably **ters-* from which were derived the Sanskrit words *trsta-* 'dry, hard, rough' and *tarṣa-* 'thirst', the Avestan word *taršna-* 'thirst', the Greek words *tersomai* 'to become dry', *tersainō* 'to dry something out', *trasiā/tarsiā* 'drying platform for cereals, cheese and bricks', and the Latin verb *torreo* 'to dry something out, toast (cereals)' and its derivatives, Gothic *gepairsan* 'dried out', New High German *dürr, dörr* and *Darre*, and modern English *thirst*". Cf. also Oettinger (l.c.).

In view of the passive value 'dried' of *tarsan* (followed by the passive participle *mallan* 'milled' in the Hittite texts), the finite active forms of Hitt. *tars-* must denote 'to dry something out, to make dry'; these active forms are translatable by the causatives in **-éye-* Skt. *tarsáyati* and Lat. *torreo* as well as by Gk. *τερσαίνω*. According to Oettinger (l. c.), the Hittite forms can be explained as representatives of an Indo-European causative verbal stem **torséye-*; he holds that the causative suffix **-éye-* disappears without traces in Hittite (e. g. *tarsuwanzi*; cf. also Oettinger's explanation of such verbs as *mark-*[14]) and offers a complicated analogical development. This explanation is evidently based only on the semantics. Since the reconstruction of the suffix **-éye-* cannot be supported by the Hittite forms, Oettinger's proposal remains only an arbitrary invention without morphological grounds.

The explanation of Hitt. *tars-* as a root verb is not difficult if we pay attention to the Greek intransitive middle *τέρσομαι* 'I am dry, become dry'; it is also significant that Skt. *trsta-* and the corresponding Lat. *tostus* point to an intransitive root verb IE **ters-*. The Hittite causative-transitive *tars-* is opposed to these forms just as Hitt. *hapzi* to *haptari* and Skt. *dogdhi* to *dugdhe* or Hitt. *warai* to *warani* and Skt. *várdhati* to *várdhate*; the expected finite forms of Hitt. *tars-* can follow either *hi-* or *mi*-conjugation. It is remarkable in this respect that in Greek we occur the causative-transitive active forms pres. 3rd sg. *τέρσει* Theocr. 22,63, imperative *τέρσον* and the infinitive *τέρσαι* denoting 'to dry something out'. Though these causative forms represent an inner-Greek development, they exactly correspond to a plausible Hittite causative-transitive present 3rd sg. **tars-i* (= *τέρσ-ει*); we are evidently dealing with a convergent development of the IE verb **ters-* in Hittite and Greek.

4.7. The Hittite causative active verbal forms derived from old middles follow either *mi-* or *hi*-conjugation. *mi*-verbs are Hitt. *hapzi* and *lukkun, lukten* which are clear representatives of the type of Skt. *dogdhi*; SIG$_5$-*ziyami* and *marriyandu* are, like Gk. *μαίνω*, verbs in *-ye-*, whereas Hitt. *duskizzi, duskanzi*, related to the Sanskrit present *tuṣyati*, perfect *tutoṣa*, participle *tuṣta-* etc. (*tuṣ-* 'be content'), belong to the class of the *ske*-verbs. These Hittite causative forms imply that last Kuryłowicz' explanation of the whole Hittite *hi*-conjugation as derived — like Gk. *μαίνω* from *μαίνομαι* — from the mediopassive (Kuryłowicz 1979 : 143—6) is doubtfull; the facts indicate that there is no reason to postulate that the Hittite active forms derived from old middles were regularly inflected in the *hi*-conjugation.

Among the Hittite verbs, which belong to the group discussed in this paper, only *war-* and probably *tars-* follow the *hi*-conjugation. The opinion that the forms of the Hittite *hi*-conjugation continue not only Indo-European perfects, but also thematic (*ō*-)presents (Georgiev 1975 : 12—14, 25—6) is obviously right; note, for instance, that the Hittite verbs in *-(an)na-* and *-sa-*, which represent ordinary Indo-European present stems, are inflected in the *hi*-conjugation. Such oppositions as causative active *warai* : intransitive middle

warani indicate that Hitt. *war-* (and, respectively, *tars-*) cannot be explained as a representative of the Indo-European perfect; the factitive perfect forms are exclusively rare, cf. the late and isolated Greek pluperfect *επεφόρβει* which is used factitively like the present *φέρβω* 'I feel, nourish' (Chantraine 1927 : 122). Then, in view of the causative value of the active forms of Hitt. *war-*, *tarṣ-*, etc., these Hittite actives can continue rather Indo-European presents than perfects and, therefore, they can be compared with the thematic (*ō*-)causative forms or the type of Vedic *várdhati*.

5. Hittite *sarhiya-* and Greek ῥώομαι

5.1. Mittelberger (apud Schindler 1972 : 142) rightly compares Hittite *sarhiya-* (act. pret. 3rd sg. *sar-hi-ya-at*, impv. 3rd sg. *sar-hi-i-e-id-du*, med. 2nd sg. *sar-hi-ya-ah-hu-ut*) 'überfallen, losschlagen' with Greek *ῥώομαι* 'I move with speed or violence; I dart, rush, rush on'. However, the proposed different root states in Hittite (**serx-* or **srx-* ; *x* signifies the *o*-colouring laryngeal) and Greek (**srex-*) seem to me unnecessary.

According to Oettinger (1979 : 289—290), Hitt. *sarhiya-* is from **sr̥hye-*, whereas Gk. *ῥώομαι* represents **srohye-*. The main difficulty of this interpretation is that the Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal (**h*) is regularly lost before **i/y* in Hittite; thus, we have (with **hi/hy* after sonants) Hitt. *marriya-* 'zerstückeln, zerkleinern, zerlegen' < **mr̥hye-* (see above, 4.5.); *malliya-* (pres 3rd sg. *ma-al-li-iz-zi*, *ma-al-li-ya-az-zi*, pret. 3rd sg. *ma-al-li-e-it*) 'mahlen' < **mḷhye-*; *salli-* 'gross' < **selhi* (beside Cun. Luw. *salhatti-* and *salhitti-* 'Wachstum' with regularly preserved Cun. Luwian *h* < **h* before *-i-*, cf. also Ling. balk. XXIII, 1, pp. 78—9). A seeming exception is Hitt. *palhi-* 'breit' where *h* is from the Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal (cf. Lat. *plānus*, etc.). The *i*-stem of this adjective is completely isolated in the Anatolian (cf. Cun. Luw. *palhami-*) and non-Anatolian Indo-European languages. Therefore, this *i*-stem adjective can be explained as a late (inner-Hittite) analogical innovation along the line of other Hittite adjectives in *-i-* like *salli-*, *kappi-*, *suppi-*, etc.

5.2. In principle, it is not difficult to derive Hittite *sarhiya-* and Greek *ῥώομαι* from a common pre-form. Anttila (1969 : 113) rightly proposed that the Greek verb can be interpreted as a *ye*-present with zero-grade of the root; then, Greek *ῥώομαι* is from **sr̥xye-* with regular *ρω* < **r̥x* between consonants.

I have proposed (Ling. balk. XXIII (1980), 1, p. 78; 3, pp. 29—30) that, in contrast to the loss of IE **h* before **i/y* in Hittite, IE **x* is regularly preserved in this position. A clear instance of preserved **x* before *i/y* in Hittite is Hitt. *hissa-* 'pole, shaft' (= Ved. *īṣā́-* 'id.') < **xi̯'s-* (cf. the related Greek forms *οἰήϊον οἰαξ*, etc., with full grade of the root). Similarly, the initial sequence **xi-* is probably represented by Hitt. ^{GIŠ}*hikkarza* which can be compared with Gk. *ἴκρια* / *ἰκρία*; both forms can be traced back to a common Indo-European pre-form **xik-or-*[15].

Therefore, the preserved *h* before *y* of Hitt. *sarhiya-* implies that this *h* is from the Indo-European *o*-colouring laryngeal and that this Hittite verb as well as Gk. *ῥώομαι* goes back to IE **sr̥xye-*[16].

Closely related to Hitt. *sarhiya-* and Gk. *ῥώομαι* is the Sanskrit noun *sirā́* 'stream, water' (< **sr̥x-eh*) as well as the verbal set-forms (3rd sg.) desiderative *sisîrṣate* and future *sariṣyáti* (with *-īr-* < **-rx-* between consonants and *-ari-* < **-erx-* before consonants respectively); these set-forms appear beside the Sanskrit anit-root *sr̥-* (pres. 3rd sg. *sísarti*, etc.) 'to run, flow, speed, move go'. On other cognate forms see Pokorny (1959 : 909—910).

NOTES

[1] The appearance of locative forms consisting of old locatives and a postposition is an ordinary phenomenon in the Indo-European languages; compare the Umbrian locatives *arven, Acersoniem, ocre(m)*, etc., the Oscan ones *húrtín Kerriín*, which are formed by the attachment of the postpositive *en* 'in' to old locative forms; the Lithuanian locatives *rañkoje, žẽmėje*, Latvian *sieva*, which consist of old locative forms and the postpositive Baltic **en* or **ę* (Stang 1966 : 182—3, 199).

[2] ', *h*, and *x* signify the *e-*, *a-* aud *o*-colouring laryngeal respectively.

[3] On the Hittite data see Laroche (1970), Srarke (1977 : 42—3), Kammenhuber (1979 : 125 ff.).

[4] Other Palaic case-forms ending in the singular in *-a* are *ta-su-ú-ra*, ^{URU}*Li-ih-zi-i-na*, *ú-la-a-an-na* (Kammenhuber 1959 : 32, Carruba 1970 : 42).

[5] On the Hieroglyphic Luwian data see Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies and Neumann (1973 : 28), Neumann (1973 : 251).

[6] Laroche (1959 : 137, 1960 : 163).

[7] Similarly, in Lycian we have both finals *-a* and *-aje*; cf. *-a* in Lycian *kupa* 'in the tomb', *ñtata* 'in the apartment' (but also *sejẽtri ñtata* 'and for the lower apartment', see Houwink ten Cate 1961 : 90—1) beside *-aje* (corresponding to Luw. *-aya*) in *Maññmahaje*, etc. Cf. Neumann (1969 : 384 with fn. 1, 1973 : 251); on the phonetics of Lyc. *-aye-* cf. 1.7. and esp. fn. 10.

[8] Thus, there are two points which suggest that the attachment of the postpositive *a-* to the old locative forms can be dated to Proto-Anatolian :

(a) That the case ending *-a* to the Hittite *a*-stems is explanable from **ayā* < **-ay *ā* and, therefore, the attachment of the postpositive *a* can be dated before the monophtongization of the short diphtongs (IE **ei*, **oi* > Hitt. *i*).

(b) That not only the Hittite locative final *-a*, but also the Palaic *-a*, the Luwian *-a* and *-aya* and (see n. 7) the Lycian *-a* and *-aje* to the Anatolian *a*-stems are outcomes of the Proto-Anatolian **-ayā* < **-ay *ā*.

[9] The problem is well known. Compare, for instance, the Old Hittite variants *si-pa-an-ti* : *si-pa-a-an-ti*; *ma-ni-ya-ah-hi* : *ma-a-ni-ya-ah-hi*; *ha-as-sa-a-as* : *ha-a-as-si-i*; *ha-ra-na-na* : *ha-a-ra-na-an*; *ha-ah-ha-al-li-ti* : *ha-a-ah-ha-li-it*; *ne-pi-is* : *ne-é-p-i-is*; *ha-as-sa-az* : *ha-a-as-sa-an-na*; etc. See Otten and Souček (1969 : 45—6), Neu (1970 : 51).

[10] According to Georgiev (1973 : 43), the differences between the nom.-acc. pl. neuter endings to the *o*-stems can be explaned by the assumption of two sandhi-forms of the outcomes of the Indo-European ending **-oh* : „PIE. *-o-h* > a) im Sandhi vor Konsonant und Pausa : heth. *-aa* bzw. *-ā*, ai. *-ā*, lat. *-ā* > *-a*, got. *-a*, abg. *-a*; b) im Sandhi vor Vokal : heth. *-a*, gr. *α* (doch kann gr. *α* auch von den konsonantischen Stämmen übertragen sein, s. 1.12). In der Regel würde eine der beiden Sandhi-Formen generalisiert".

[11] Hitt. *wa-ra-an-ni*, *ú-ra-a-ni* are from **warari (*urari)* with dissimilation *r-r* > *r-n*, see Sommer (1927 : 123—4), Friedrich (1960 : 111), Neu (1968b : 25fn. 1), Georgiev (1975 : 48 fn. 3).

[12] On the meaning as well as on the forms of the Hittite verbs discussed in this paper see Kronasser (1966), Neu (1968a, 1968b), Oettinger (1979).

[13] Hoffmann's interpretation of these forms as **lukta*, **luktati* (Hoffmann 1968 : 218—9) is less probable.

[14] According to Oettinger (1979 : 425), "*märk-*^{hhi} 'zerwirken' bildet ... eine Gleichung mit ai. *marcáyati* 'vernichtet' (**mork-éye-ti*); zur semantischen Seite vgl. ai. *markā-* 'Vernichtung und aw. *mahrka-* 'Tod (Zerwirker ?)'". In view of the forms (pres. 1st sg. *ma-a-ar-ka-ah-hi*, 3rd pl. *mar-kán-zi*, pret. 3rd sg. *ma-ra-ak-ta* the reconstruction of a pre-form with the

causative suffix *-éye-* is unacceptable. Moreover, even from semantic point of view this interpretation is not necessary; cf. Grassmann, Wb. zum RV (s. v.) about Ved. *mrc- : "mrc-* 'beschädigen, versehren', ebenso im Caus."

[15]) Misprinted **H$_3$ikHor-*, Ling. balk. XXIII (1980), 3, p. 30.

[16]) From semantic point of view a connection of ῥώννυμι, ῥώμη (on these Greek forms see my note in Ling. balk. XXV (1982), 1) with ῥώομαι seems doubtfull.

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ACADEMIE BULGARE DES SCIENCES
LINGUISTIQUE BALKANIQUE, XXVI (1983), 2

Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

ZUM HETHITISCHEN *A*-LOKATIV

Nach dem Abdruck meines Artikels „Notes on Hittite and Luwian Grammar" in Linguistique balkanique XXV (1982), 3, S. 21—38, in dem ich eine Erklärung des hethitischen *a*-Lokativs vorschlage (S. 21—6), schickte mir Herr Dr. H. Eichner freundlicherweise eine Xerokopie der Seiten 203—212 seiner unpublizierten Dissertation „Untersuchungen zur hethitischen Deklination" von 1975. Auf diesen Seiten hat Herr Dr. H. Eichner die gleiche Erklärung vorgeschlagen, die auch ich in meinem Artikel für richtig halte.

Ich teile voll und ganz die von Herrn Dr. H. Eichner zum Ausdruck gebrachte Zufriedenheit über die bis ins Detail gehende Übereinstimmung zwischen seiner und meiner Erklärung.

Außerdem möchte ich mein Bedauern darüber ausdrücken, daß eine meiner Meinung nach sehr wahrscheinliche Erklärung, die Herr Dr. H. Eichner schon 1975 (zu einer Zeit, zu der ich noch nichts von der Existenz des hethitischen *a*-Lokativs ahnte) in seiner Dissertation gegeben hat, bis 1982, als mein Lehrer, Herr Prof. V. I. Georgiev meinen Artikel in „Linguistique balkanique" abdruckt, unveröffentlicht geblieben ist.

Die Priorität für diese Erklärung gebührt in der Tat Herrn Dr. H. Eichner. Ihre Neuentdeckung in meinem Artikel erhöht nur — nach meiner Meinung — die Wahrscheinlichkeit ihrer Richtigkeit.

ACADEMIE BULGARE DES SCIENCES
LINGUISTIQUE BALKANIQUE, XXVII (1984), 1

Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

ETYMOLOGIES

Hittite *kinaizzi*, Skt. *jināti* and Av. *zinā̊t*

As Otten (1958:59, fn. 3) has mentioned, the Hittite verb *kina(i)-* in KUB XXIV 10 III 19 f. and KUB XXIV 11 III 18 f. *nu ku-it-ta ar-ha-ya-an ki-na-iz-zi na-at-sa-an* A-NA V GAL GIR$_4$ *la-(a)hu-u-wa-i* is replaced by *sarra-* 'teilen, trennen, zerteilen' in the parallel text KUB XXIV 9 III 26 f. *nu ku-it-ta ar-ha-ya sar-ra[...]* *a-a-hu-wa-an* (see also Riemschneider 1957:145, fn. 27) and by *si-es-sar-an-zi (sessara-* 'zerteilen') in 416/c III 8. According to Riemschneider (1974:274), *kina(i)-* means 'zerkleinern, zerlegen' or likely and its participle *kinant-* is used to denote 'gerieben, zerstoßen (bei Nahrungsmitteln)' und 'beschädigt, abgestoßen' (bei Gegenständen)". Riemschneider's proposition is accepted by Neumann (1976:315), who has noted that *kina(i)-* can mean 'zerkleinern, (zer)reiben'; similarly Oettinger (1979:162), who gives the meaning 'zerkleinern (?), zerbrechen(?)'.

The stem of this Hittite verb is *kinā-* (cf. 1st sg. pres. *ki-na-a-mi*, 3rd pl. pres. *ki-na-an-zi, ki-na-a-an-zi*[1], 2nd pl. imperative *ki-na-a-at-ten*); the 3rd sg. present *ki-na-iz-zi* is an innovation. Hitt. *kinā-* exactly corresponds to the Indo-Iranian nasal verb **žinā̊ti*, attested by the Skt. 3rd sg. present *jināti* 'oppresses, deprives of', Av. 3rd sg. imperfect *zinā̊t* 'schädigt', Old Pers. *adinā* 'deprived of'; related forms appear only in the Indo-Iranian group, cf. Skt. *jyā́* Übergewalt', *jyā́nam, jyānīḥ* 'Bedrückung', Av. *zyāna-, zyāni-* 'Schädigung', infinitive *zyānai* 'zu schaden', etc.[2]

Hittite *sazkitta* 'he pushes (?)' and Sanskrit *sidh-* 'to drive off, to repel'

The Hittite 3rd sg. present mediopassive *sa-az-ki-it-ta* occurs in BoTU II 58,59[3]:

(58) *[li-e-ma-za-ká]n ka-a-as ku-u-un* EGIR-*pa-an*
sa-az-ki-it-ta ka-a-sa-za-kán ku-u-un
(59) *[pi-ra-an(?) sa-az-k]i-it-ta*

Sommer translates: „Nicht aber darf der eine den andern zurückdrängen (?) noch der eine dem andern Vorschub leisten (?)" (Sommer and Falkenstein 1938:9); see also Neu (1968:155), who has mentioned also a possible appearance of *sa-a(z)-ki-it-ta* in KBo XIII 15. Sommer (ibid., 102) rightly pointed out that *sazkitta* must be analysed as **sat-sk-*. The meaning 'schieben(?)', pro-

posed by Friedrich (1952:189) and accepted by Neu (l. c.) for the Hittite verb, is in accord with Sommer's translation of *appan sazkitta* and *piran(?) sazkitta*. Yet the exact meaning of *sazkitta* remains unknown and Eichner's and Oettinger's reinterpretation (see Oettinger 1979:329 with fn. 1) can be rejected only on morphological grounds; if we accept their explanation of the underlying *sat-* as from the Indo-European causative **sod-éye-* (> Goth. *satjan* etc.) 'setzen', the formation of *sazkitta* presents serious morphological difficulties.

In view of Friedrich's 'to push' Hitt. *sazkitta* may well be compared with the Sanskrit verb *sidh-* (pres. 3rd sg. *sedhati, sidhyate*, aor. 3rd pl. *(prá)sedhuḥ*, etc.) 'to drive off, to repel'. Then, Skt. *sidh-* and Hitt. *sat-* (in *sazkitta*) both remaining up to now isolated[4], go back to IE **sHdʰ-* (**H* signifies any laryngeal). The vocalism of the Sanskrit forms *sedhati, (prá)sedhuḥ, asaitsam* is due to secondary Indian ablaut developments like in such cases as Skt. *khédā* 'pressing, heavy burden': *khidáti* 'tears, presses' (also *khâdati* 'chews, bites, eats'); perfect *siṣedha*: pres. *sidhyati* 'succeeds, reaches successfully' (also *sâdhati* 'succeeds, prospers'), etc.

Hittite *sah-* 'to defile', *sehur* 'urine', Cun. Luwian *sahha-* 'Schmutz' and Greek *αἰονάω* 'to moisten, to foment'

According to Eichner (1973:69—70), Hitt. *sehur* 'urine', Cun. Luw. *sahha* Schmutz' and the Hittite verb *sah-* 'to defile' (3rd sg. mediopassive in KUB XIII 2 II 22-3 *kán ú-e-te-na-za sa-ha-a-ri* „mit (Ab)wasser verunreinigt"[5] are of common origin. Eichner points out that the timbre of IE **ē* is not affected by the a-colouring laryngeal in Hittite; this implies IE **sēhwr̥* for Hitt. *sehur*, with *vr̥ddhi* of the root syllable.

Hitt. *sah-* 'to defile', *sehur* 'urine' and Gun. Luw. *sahha-* 'Schmutz can be connected with Gk. *αἰονάω* 'to moisten, foment' (Hippocr. 424,5, etc.) and its derivatives *αἰόνημα, -ατος* 'fomentation', *αἰόνησις* 'fomenting'[6]. Gk. *αἰονάω* is a denominative verb in *-αω*; the underlying noun is IE **sehi-won*, from which, with the regular shortening of the „long diphtongs" before consonants (*ehiC* > *αιC-*), we have **αἰFον-*. The reconstructed *a*-colouring laryngeal is indicated by the vocalism of the Greek forms.

The noun **αἰFον-* is derived from an Indo-European verb **seh-i-*; this verb appears beside the non-enlarged **seh-* (>Hitt. *sah-*) just as IE **deh-i-* beside **deh-* 'to cut, divide' (Gk. *δαίς,-τος, δαίτη*, Hom. also *δαιτύς* 'meal, feast, banquet': Skt. *dâti* 'cuts, divides, mows', *dâtu* 'part, task'), IE **dʰe'-i-* beside **dʰe'-* 'to suck, give suck' (Skt. *dhenú-* 'milk-cow, cow', *dhénā* 'cow': *dhārú-* 'sucking', Gk. *θηλή* 'the part of the breast which gives suck, the teat, nipple'), etc. Then, the alternation of the root structure of Hitt. *sehur* (< IE **sēh-wr̥*) and Gk. **αιFον-* (< **sehi-won-*) reminds that of Skt. *dâtu* : Gk. *δαιτύς*.

NOTES

[1] The single *n* of *kinanzi* is analogical (IE-*VnhV*-yields Hitt. *-VnnV-*)
[2] On the Indo-Iranian forms see Mayrhofer (1956—1976) sub *jināti*[2] (with bibliography)
[3] On the text and translation see Sommer and Falkenstein (1933:8—9).
[4] As Mayrhofer (1956—1976, sub *sidhyati*) has rightly noted, *sidh-* 'to drive off, to repel' and *sidh-/sadh-* 'to succeed' can be separated in view of their semantic difference.
[5] On the text and translation see Neu (1968:144).
[6] The etymology of Gk. *αἰονάω* is unknown, see Frisk (1954—1960:42—3).

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ACADEMIE BULGARE DES SCIENCES
LINGUISTIQUE BALKANIQUE, XXXI, (1988), 1—2

Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

LUWIAN *ZA-/ZI-* 'THIS'

Melchert (1986:120) derives Luwian *za-* from IE **tyo-* and, from the phonological point of view, this is the best solution of the problem so far[1]; whereas IE **t* remains unassibilated before **i* in Luwian, it yields Luwian *z* when it is before **y*, see van Brock (1968:117—121), Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies and Neumann (1974:181 ff.).

Melchert's reconstruction IE **tyo-* for Luw. *za-*, which is given without further comment, undoubtedly suggests a comparison of the Luwian demonstrative pronoun *za-* 'this' (Cun. and Hier. Luw. nom. sg. anim. *zàs*, acc. sg. anim. *zan*, nom. -acc. sg. nt. *za*, dat. sg. *zati*, etc.) with Skt. *tya-* 'that' (acc. sg. masc. *tyám*, nom. -acc. sg. nt. *tyád*, gen. sg. masc. *tyásya*, fem. *tyásyās*, etc.) and the Germanic forms such as nom-acc. pl. nt. OSax. *thiu*, OHG *diu* which are used just as the outcomes of IE **to-* in Gothic and Old Icelandic.

Yet, if we start from IE **tyo-*, the variant *zi-*, attested by Cun. Luw. nom. pl. anim. *zinzi*, acc. pl. anim. *zinza*, Hier. Luw. acc. sg. anim. *zin*, nom. -acc. sg. nt. *zi*, dat. sg. *ziti*, etc., remains unexplained. Beekes (1982—1983:215 ff.) demonstrates, however, that the Sanskrit forms point to IE **ti-* which, as Debrunner held, is related to IE **to-* just as **k'ʷi-* and **ki-* to **k'ʷe/o-* and **k'e/o-* respectively.

Then, the Indo-European demonstrative pronoun **ti-* would appear in Proto-Luwian in two paradigmatic variants: **ti-* before endings beginning with consonants and **z-* before endings beginning with vowels; i. e., we must reconstruct the following Proto-Luwian paradigm:

acc. sg. anim. **tin* < **tim*
nom. -acc. sg. nt. **ti*
gen. sg. **zasya* (> Hier. Luw. *zasi*)
dat. and loc. sg. **zi* (< **ty-ey*) and **tidi* (< **ti-dʰi*)
abl. sg. **zadi* (> Hier. Luw. *zati*), etc.

In fact, we would expect the phonologically conditioned paradigmatic alternation **ti-/z-* in this paradigm to be eliminated. As Georgiev (1981:52) pointed out, against the „split in the root or the stem, which is caused by phonematic laws, a morphological law begins to function: this law is the law of unification of the split (bifurcated) root (or stem) or the normalization of the paradigm (neutralization of the allomorphs)"[2].

At this point the variant *zi-* (Cun. Luw. nom. pl. anim. *zinzi*, acc. pl. anim. *zinza*, Hier. Luw. acc. sg. anim. *zin*, nom. -acc. sg. nt. *zi*, dat. sg. *ziti*) can be explained by the replacement of the allomorph **t-* by **z-*, whereas *za-* in Cun. and Hier. Luw. acc. sg. anim. *zan*, nom. -acc. sg. nt. *za*, dat. sg. *zati* appears instead of *zi-* (or **ti-*).

The Sanskrit nom. sg. masc. *syá*, fem. *syâ* suggest that the Indo-European nom. sg. anim. form can be built on the suppletive pronominal stem **si-*. Then, it is possible that the Luwian nom. sg. anim. *zas* is secondarily formed to the rest of the paradigm.

NOTES

[1] Laroche (1958:109 n. 2) proposes that Luw. *za-* comes from *sa-* (IE **so-*), but the conditions for the phonetic change of **s-* into Luw. *z-* in this environment remain unclear. Tischler (1980:456) compares Hitt. *ka-* 'this', but the proposed alternation Hitt. *ka-*: Luw. *za-* is based only on the uncertain connection between Hitt. *karitt-* 'Flut' and Luw. *zariya-* 'stürmisch'.

[2] See also the 1st edition of Georgiev's book (Георгиев 1958:41—42). A more detailed discussion of this problem is given by Schindler (1974:1—9)

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Hittite marmarr(a)- *and Latin* mare

Georgi T. Rikov

Двойное *r* хет. *marmarr(a)-* требует реконструкции индоевропейского *set*-корня. В таком случае *a*-вокализм лат. *mare* обязан регулярному развитию *CRh₂V-* в лат. *CaRV-*.

The double *r* of Hitt. *marmarr(a)-* requires the reconstruction of an Indo-European *set*-root. Then, the *a*-vocalism of Lat. *mare* is due to the regular development of *CRh₂V-* into Lat. *CaRV-*.

According to Tischler (1980, p. 502, fn. 57) and Meid (1982, p. 95), the Hittite reduplicated noun *marmara-* or *marmarra-*, which possibly signifies 'swamp, marsh'[1], is related to OIr. *muir* 'sea', W., Bret. *mor* 'id.', Gmc. **mari* nt. (> Goth. *mari-* in *mari-saiws* 'lake', OHG *meri* 'sea') and **marīn-* fem. (> Goth. *marei* 'sea', etc.), OPruss. *mary* 'bay', Lith. *mãrė* (pl. *mãrios*) 'sea, bay'[2], OBg. *morje* 'sea'[3], Osset. *mal* 'deep standing water'[4]. The etymological dictionaries of the Indo-European languages adduce also Lat. *mare* 'sea'[5], the *a*-vocalism of which is hardly compatible with the *o*-vocalism, attested by the Celtic forms. It seems that a more careful analysis of the Hittite noun would provide us with the right solution to the well-known problem, presented by the vocalism of Lat. *mare*.

Whereas Tischler (loc. cit.) gives the Hittite noun as *marmara-*, Meid (loc. cit.) hesitates between *marmarā-* and *marmarra-*. In fact, according to the data, presented by Güterbock and Hoffner (1983, p. 192), the double notation of *r* is attested three times by the dat.-loc. sg. *mar-mar-ri* (2x) and the dat.-loc. pl. *mar-mar-ra-aš* (1x); the form *mar-mar-aš* occurs only once and its single *r* is possibly due to a scribal error. Since Hittite attests only the dative-locative forms *marmarri* and *marmar(r)aš* it is impossible to decide whether the Hittite word is a reduplicated consonant stem or a reduplicated *o*-stem. Therefore, I would accept the writing *marmarr(a)-*, as it is assumed by Güterbock and Hoffner (loc. cit.). Then, the double *r* in this Hittite noun suggests that we are dealing with an Indo-European *set*-root, cf. the well-known development of the Indo-European sequence *C(V)Rh$_x$V* into Hittite *CVRRV* in cases such as Hitt. *tarra-* 'be able' (e.g. 3rd sg. pres. middle Hitt. *tarratta*) : Hitt. *tarh-* 'to overcome, be capable' (e.g. 3rd sg. pres. act. *tarḫzi* < IE **térh₃-ti*), Skt. *tárati* (< IE **térh₃eti*), *tirāti, turāti* (< IE **tr̥h₃éti*) 'crosses over, passes over, overcomes'; Hitt. *iškalla-* 'to slit, slash, split' (e.g. 3rd sg. pres. act. *iškallai*) : Lith. *skélti* 'to split' (< IE **skelh₁-*), etc. True, if the reduplication of Hitt. *marmarr(a)-* is of Indo-European date, the laryngeal would be regularly lost and the expected Hittite form would be **marmara-*. In view of the comparative data, however, the formation of this Hittite noun is completely isolated; there are no related reduplicated forms in the other Indo-European languages. Therefore, the reduplication of Hitt. *marmarr(a)-* can be an inner-Hittite-(-Luwian?) innovation[6] and the double *r* of the Hittite noun points to an Indo-European *set*-root.

Now it becomes possible to reexamine the problem, presented by the discrepancy between the radical vocalism of Lat. *mare* and that of OIr. *muir*, W., Bret. *mor*. It was mentioned above that the Celtic forms point to an original *o*-vocalism of the root; Pedersen (1909, p. 32), Pokorny (1949–1959, p. 748) and Vendryes (1960, M73) reconstruct the Indo-European preform as **mori-*. With the exception of Lat. *mare* (also gen. pl. OLat. *marum*, abl. sg. Lat. *marĕ*) with its *a*-vocalism and, of course, the reduplicated Hitt. *marmarr(a)-*, the vast majority of the forms in the different Indo-European dialects can be explained as outcomes or derivatives of this preform. It is also clear that the Celtic forms cannot be derived from IE **mari-*, assumed by Trautmann (1923, p. 169–170) and Walde and Pokorny (1927, p. 234–235) on the basis of Lat. *mare*. There is also no reason for assuming an Indo-European ablaut *o : a* in this case[7] and the use of the laryngeal theory as Tischler (1980, p. 502 and fn. 57) does it (he tries to operate with IE **h₃* > Hitt. *a*) would lead to uncertain speculations[8]; moreover, if we reconstruct a sequence **-mh₃r-*, the double *r* of Hitt. *marmarr(a)-* remains unexplained.

In order to avoid these difficulties, Meid (1975, p. 209; 1982, p. 95) and Kuryłowicz (1976, p. 131), who accept the more plausible Indo-European preform **mori-*, suppose that Lat. *mare* could have been borrowed from an Indo-European dialect where IE **o* changed into *a*[9]. This solution, evidently based on the assumption that we are dealing with an Indo-European *anit*-root, eliminates the problem, presented by the *a*-vocalism ot Lat. *mare*. In this case, however, the double *r* of Hitt. *marmarr(a)-* is not taken into consideration.

In fact, the *set*-root, seen in Hitt. *marmarr(a)-*, radically changes the situation; now Peters' reconstruction of a *set*-root — IE **h₂morh$_x$-i, *h₂mr̥h$_x$-ey-s-*, based only on Lat. *mare* (Peters 1980, p. 222), is confirmed by the Hittite evidence. True, the initial *a*-colouring laryngeal (**h₂-*) is supposed by Peters (loc. cit.) on the basis of the highly doubtful connection of the words signifying 'sea' with Gk. ἀμαρύσσω 'I sparkle, twinkle, glance'; moreover, from the point of view of the historical phonology, Hitt. *marmarr(a)-* does not support this hypothesis. Therefore I would prefer to reconstruct IE nom.-acc. sg. nt. **morh$_x$-i*, gen. sg. **mr̥h$_x$-ey-s*. Hence the vocalism of the weak cases of Lat. *mare* can easily be explained; we are dealing with the well-known development of IE *CR̥h$_x$V* into Lat. *CaRV* (in particular, IE **mr̥h$_x$V-* > Lat. *marV-*), cf. for instance Lat. *carō* 'flesh' (originally 'a portion, a cut'): Gk. κείρω 'I cut, shear', aor. pass. ἐκάρην, OIr. *scaraid* 'separates'. Then, the vocalism of the strong cases of Lat. *mare* is due to the generalization of the zero-grade radical vocalism of the weak cases throughout the paradigm; a similar leveling is

[1] According to Otten's translation, see Güterbock and Hoffner (1983, p. 192).

[2] Lith. *mãrė* is a feminine *ja*-stem; cf. the Germanic feminine in *-ni-* **marin-*, built on the old neuter in *-i* (OHG *meri, mari, mere*).

[3] Slavic **morje* is a neuter noun in **-jo-*. The Slavic adjective **moriskъ* (> OBg. **moriskъ*, etc.) corresponds to OE *merisc, merix* 'Sumpf, Morast', 'Heide, Hochland', NHG *Marsch*, etc. which represent a substantivized adjective and can be traced back to West Germanic **mariska-*, see Rikov (1983, p. 332).

[4] On Osset *mal* which can reflect either Indo-Iranian **marya-* or **marva-* see Abaev (apud Mayrhofer 1961, p. 185–186), Abaev (1962, p. 28–29), Schmidt (1968, p. 11). Hitt. *marmarr(a)-* and Osset. *mal* indicate that the word for 'sea' can be traced back to Common Indo-European, cf. Meid (1982, p. 95): „Die weitverbreitete Ansicht, dass idg. **mori-* ein speciell westidg. Wort sei, ist angesichts hethit. *marmar(r)a-* und osset. *mal* 'tiefes, stehendes Gewässer' nicht mehr haltbar".

[5] Cf. for instance Walde and Pokorny (1927, p. 38), Pokorny (1949–1959, p. 748), Feist (1939, p. 346), etc.

[6] The underlying non-reduplicated Hittite noun was replaced by *aruna-* 'sea'.

[7] The ablaut **o : *a* is assumed by Walde and Hofmann (1972, p. 38–39).

[8] Then, Lat. *mare* < **mh₃ri-*, OIr. *muir* < **mh₃ori-?*

[9] Cf. for instance Meid (1982, p. 95): „Die idg. Form des 'Meer'-Wortes ist **mori-*, ein neutraler i-Stamm, woraus lautgesetzlich germ. **mari-* in ahd. *meri*, kelt. **mori-* in air. *muir*, usw., während lat. *mare* mit seinem *a*-Vokalismus nicht lautgesetzlich in seiner Sprache ist, sondern die vorgeschichtlich gewanderte Form eines idg. Dialektes mit Lautübergang *o* > *a* ist".

presented by the Latin nom.-acc. sg. nt. *cor* 'heart' (which appears instead of the expected outcome of IE **kḗrd*, cf. Gk. κῆρ 'heart'), gen. sg. *cordis*, etc[10].

In contrast to Lat. *mare*, the Celtic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic forms, which can be explained either as outcomes or derivatives of IE **morh₂i-*, represent a generalization of the *o*-grade of the strong cases throughout the paradigms. Osset. *mal* continues either Indo-Iranian **marya-* or **mārya-*; these preforms point to an underlying Indo-Iranian **mari-* which can be traced back to IE **morh₂i-*. The laryngeal after the consonantal **r* and before **i (/*y)* in IE **morh₂i-* is regularly lost in all these languages.

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[10] Besides Lat. *mare*, there is also a consonant stem, attested by the Old Latin gen. pl. *marum* (Naevius) and the Latin abl. sg. *marī* (Lucr.). According to Benveniste (1935, p. 76), these forms point to an Indo-European root noun **mar-*, from which is derived the well-attested noun in **-i-*; if so, we can suppose IE nom.-acc. sg. nt. **morh₂*, gen. sg. **mr̥h₂-es*, gen. pl. **mr̥h₂-om* (> Lat. *marum*), etc. Similarly, in view of the absence of Umlaut, the Old Icelandic nom. sg. masc. *marr*, acc. sg. *mar*, gen. sg. *mars* can be explained as an *a*-stem, formed by thematization of a root noun (cf. Darms 1978, p. 160: „Das Fehlen des *i*-Umlautes im Ngerm. ist bisher allerdings noch nicht geklärt"). True, the endings *-um* and *-ī* < **-ēd* of OLat. gen. pl. *marum* and Lat. abl. sg. *marī* can be explained as inner-Latin replacements of the expected *-ium* and *-i* which are inherent to the *i*-stems, see Leumann (1977, p. 439). Following Leumann's explanation of OLat. *marum*, Lat. abl. sg. *marī*, Darms (1977, p. 165) concludes: „Demnach wird man auch bei aisl. *marr*, bei dem ich wie in den Wb. angegebene *i*-Flexion nicht nachweisen konnte, den fehlenden Umlaut nicht durch die Annahme eines urspr. kons. Stammes erklären können, zumal der *i*-Umlaut im Aisl., wie bereits mehrfach bemerkt werden müsste, des öfteren dort steht, wo er nicht erwartet ist, und dort nicht steht, wo er eigentlich stehen müsste".

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Хетското marmarr(a)- *и латинското* mare

Връзката на хет. *marmarr(a)-* „блато (?)" със стирл. *muir* „море", брет. *mor* също, гот. *mari-* в *mari-saiws* „езеро" и пр. позволява да се преразгледа проблемът за *a*-вокализма на лат. *mare*, който, както е известно, не може да се съгласува с *o*-вокализма на коренната сричка, засвидетелствуван чрез келтските форми.

Хет. *marmarr(a)-* се среща три пъти с двойно *r* чрез формите на дат.-мест. пад. ед. ч. *mar-mar-ri* (2 пъти) и дат.-мест. пад. мн. ч. *mar-mar-ra-as* (1 път) наред с *mar-mar-as*, чисто единично *r* се дължи вероятно на грешка при писането. Така нис имаме хет. *marmarr(a)-*, като остава неясно дали хетското съществително е редуплицирана *o*-основа или редуплицирана консонантна основа. Двойното *r* на хет. *marmarr(a)-* показва, че трябва да се реконструира индоевропейски *set*-корен съобразно закономерния развой на ие. *C(V)Rh₂V-* в хет. *CVRRV-*. В такъв случай редупликацията на хет. *marmarr(a)-* представлява сравнително късна (хетска или хето-лувийска) иновация и това е в съгласие с липсата на точно съответствие в другите индоевропейски езици.

Индоевропейският *set*-корен, засвидетелствуван чрез хет. *marmarr(a)-* дава възможност да се обясни *a*-вокализмът в лат. *mare*. В случая очевидно трябва да се реконструира парадигмата на индоевропейската *i*-основа им. пад. ед. ч. **morh₂-i*, род. пад. ед. ч. **mr̥h₂-ey-s*. Вокализмът на лат. *mare* е резултат от генерализирането на нулевата степен на слабите падежи (срв. род. пад. ед. ч. **mr̥h₂-ey-s*) в цялата парадигма; развоят на ие. *CRh₂V-* в лат. *CaRV-* е добре известен. В келтските, германските и балтославянските форми е генерализиран коренният *o*-вокализъм на силните падежи, а ларингалът закономерно изчезва след консонантното *r* и пред *i/y*.

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Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

CUNEIFORM LUWIAN *(I)YAŠḪA-* 'TO TRUST (?)' AND HITTITE *ḪA(I)-* 'TO BELIEVE, TO REGARD AS TRUE'

The Cuneiform Luwian verb *(i)yašḫa-* 'to trust (?)' is attested by the 2nd sg. preterite active *i-ya-aš-ḫa-at-ta* KUB V 6 IV 3 (*nu-wa-mu-kan parā* UL *iyašḫatta* 'you did not trust (?) me'[1]) as well as by its derivatives (with gloss-wedges) *ya-aš-ḫa-an-ti-in* KUB XIX 23 Vs. 11, *ya-aš-ḫa-an-du-wa-ti* ibidem, 13, *ya-aš-ḫa-an-du-wa-an-ti* KUB XIV 7 IV 8, see L a r o c h e (1959: 50–51), K r o n a s s e r (1966: 480), T i s c h l e r (1978: 347) and P u h v e l (1984: 349).

The etymology of Cun. Luw. *(i)yašḫa-* remains unknoun so far[2].

As for the formation of Cun. Luw. *(i)yašḫa-*, K r o n a s s e r, loc. cit., rightly considers *(i)yašḫa-* a denominative verb in *-aye-* which is derived from an abstract noun **iyasha-*[3]. The reconstruction **iyasha-*, however, is unacceptable; the alternate spellings *iya-* and *ya-* indicate that the reading of the Cuneiform Luwian verb is */yasha-/*, see M e l c h e r t (1984: 15). Thus, we can reconstruct a Proto-Luwian abstract noun **yasha-*, from which the denominative verb **yashaye-* is derived.

In view of the deverbative origin of the Hittite and Luwian abstract nouns in *-šḫa-*[4], the Proto-Luwian noun **yasha-* points to an underlying verb **ya-* which can be connected with Hitt. *ḫa(i)-* 'to believe, to regard as true'.

From the point of view of the semantics this connection does not present difficulties.

The problems come into being, however, when one tries to account for the preforms of Hitt. *ḫa(i)-* and Proto-Luwian **ya-*.

According to B e n v e n i s t e (1962: 10–11; 1973: 509), Hitt. *ḫa(i)-* is related to the Latin noun *ōmen* (OLat. *osmen*) 'omen, sign, augury, prognostication'[5]. O e t t i n g e r (1979: 360-361 with fn. 212), who establishes the stem of the Hittite verb as *ḫa(i)-* on the basis of the 2nd sg. pret. act. *ḫa-a-iš* KUB XXVI 89 14', accepts Benveniste's etymology and claims that the stem *ḫai-* (in *ḫaiš*) is analogical. In view of the *o*-vocalism of Lat. *ōmen* and the preserved initial *ḫ-* in Hitt. *ḫa(i)-*, Oettinger considers the Hittite 1st sg. pres. act. *ḫa-a-mi*, 2nd sg. pres. act. *ḫa-a-ši*, 1st sg. pret. act. *ḫa-a-nu-un*, 2nd pl. pret. act. *ḫa-at-ten*, 3rd pl. pret. act. *ḫa-a-ir* to be representatives of an Indo-European root present 1st sg. pres. act. **h₂eh₃-mi*, 2nd sg. pres. act. **h₂eh₃-si*, etc., and derives Lat. *ōmen* from IE **h₂eh₃-s-mn̥*. Oettinger's reconstruction of an Indo-European root **h₂eh₃-* is evidently based on the arbitrary hypothesis that the Indo-European *o*-colouring laryngeal is lost in Hittite in any position[6]. This hypothesis must be rejected, however, in view of counter-examples such as Hitt. *ḫarganau-* 'palm, sole' (: Gk. *ὀρέγω* 'I stretch out', see W e i t e n b e r g 1984: 223)[7], Hitt. *ḫappar* 'business transaction' < IE **h₃op-r̥* or **h₃ep-r̥* (cf. Lat. *opus, -eris* 'work, labour; action, work, business' and see K i m b a l l 1987: 185–192)[8], Hitt. *šarḫiya-* 'überfallen, losschlagen' < IE **sr̥h₃-ye/o-* (: Gk. *ῥώομαι* 'I move with speed or violence; dart, rush, rush on', see R i k o v 1982: 35-36), etc. Yet Oettinger's reconstruction of IE **h₂eh₃-*, restricted only to Hitt. *ḫa(i)-* and Lat. *ōmen*, remains in accord with the opinion that IE **h₃* is lost in Anatolian when it appears (a) after a vowel and before a consonant and (b) between vowels (cf. M e l c h e r t 1987: 23-26). Luw. **ya-*, however, complicates the matter. In view of Oettinger's explanation of Hitt. *ḫa(i)-*, Proto-Luwian **ya-* should be a verb in **-ye/o-*, but the reconstruction of an Indo-European preform **h₂h₃-ye/o-*, with regular zero grade of the root, presents serious phonological difficulties. There is no evidence for the development of an Indo-European cluster **h₂h₃* before **y* in Anatolian, but Hitt. *šarḫiya-* < IE **sr̥h₃-ye/o-* indicates that the Indo-European *o*-colouring laryngeal (which had lip-rounding) before **y* is preserved in Anatolian as *ḫ*; then, we would expect Luw. **ḫ(i)ya-* < IE **h₂h₃ye/o-* instead of the attested *(i)ya-*. Therefore, the reconstruction of an Indo-European root **h₂eh₃-* must be rejected.

It is clear that the absence of the initial *ḫ-* in Cun. Luw. *(i)yašḫa-* requires the reconstruction of an Indo-European root **h₂ey-*; if so, the Hittite 2nd sg. pret. act. *ḫaiš* is not analogical. Then, Cun. Luw. *(i)yašḫa-* should represent a zero grade of this Indo-European root (IE **h₂ye/o-* > Proto-Luwian **ya-*); the loss of IE **h₂* before **y* is well attested in Luwian by the denominative verbs in *-a(i)-* which correspond to the Hittite ones in *-a(i)-* (< IE **-eh₂ye/o-*).

In view of this reconstruction, Hitt. *ḫa(i)-* and Cun. Luw. *(i)yašḫa-* can be related to Gk. *οἴομαι*, Epic *οἴομαι*, Doric *οἴω̃* 'I suppose, think, believe, hope, expect'. According to B r u g m a n n (1911/1912: 234), this Greek verb goes back either to **ὀ-ισιω* (**ὀ-ισιομαι*) or to **ὀ-ισω* (**ὀ-ισομαι*), where the *ὀ-* is the same prefix that occurs in verbs such as Gk. *ὀκέλλω* 'I run (a ship) aground, on shore' (: *κέλλω*) and *ὀτρύνω* 'I stir up, rouse, prompt, cheer, urge on, encourage'[9]. The zero-grade sigmatic verb stem IE **h₂is-* can be seen not only in Gk. *οἴομαι*, but also in Lat. *ōmen*, OLat. *osmen* which, as B r u g m a n n, ibidem, p. 236, assumed, is related to Gk. *οἴομαι* and might be derived, via a syncopated **opsmen*, from an earlier **op-is-men*[10]. I prefer to derive Gk. *οἴομαι* rather from **o-ισομαι* than from **ὀ-ισιομαι* and it is clear that *ὀ-ισομαι and **op-is-men* can be regularly traced back to **(hₓ)o-h₂is-e/o-* and **h₃ep-h₂is-mn̥* respectively.

There is no doubt that Proto-Luwian **ya-* can be derived from a thematicized radical verb **h₂y-e/o-* which is formed on the basis of the 3rd pl. **h₂y-ent(i)*; we are dealing with a transformation of an archaic athematic verb, as in the case of Cun. Luw. 2nd sg. pret. *pi-ya-aš*, 3rd sg. pret. *pi-ya-at-ta, pi-i-ya-at-ta* (*piya-* 'to give'), Hier. Luw. 3rd sg. pret. *pi-ia-ta* 'he gave', 3rd sg. impv. *pi-ia-tú*, Lyc. 3rd sg. pres. *pijeti* 'he gives', etc. (beside the ablauting Hitt. 3rd sg. pres. *pa-a-i* : 3rd pl. pres. *pi-ya-an-zi*).

The formation of Hitt. *ḫa(i)-*, however, is not so transparent. In view of the monophthongization of the Indo-European short diphthongs in Hittite, there is no reason for assuming an athematic radical verb IE **h₂ey-* > Anat. **hay-*. If one assumes a thematic radical verb IE *h₂ey-o-mi*, **h₂ey-e-si*, etc., we must expect Hitt. *ḫa-a-mi, ḫa-a-ši*, etc., but such a thematic verb cannot be of Indo-European inheritance and there are no other Hittite verbs of this shape (see G e o r g i e v 1978: 6). Then, I would assume that Hitt. *ḫa(i)-* continues a reduplicated thematicized perfect of the type of Hitt. *mema-* 'to speak' < Anat. **me-mn-e/a-* (formed with inner-Anatolian thematicization of the weak perfect stem IE **me-mn-*). If so, the weak perfect stem IE **h₂e-h₂i-*, thematicized in Anatolian and generalized in the whole paradigm, would yield Anat. **hahy-e/a-*. Such a verb stem, however, can be easily reinterpreted as a verb in **-ye/a-*; i.e., we have

Anat. **hahy-e/a-* → **hah-ye/a-*. Due to this reinterpretation as a verb in **-ye/a-*, Anat. **hah-ye/a-* > Proto-Hitt. **ha-ye/a-* > Hitt. *ḫai-/ḫa-* should be transferred into the *mi*-conjugation[11].

NOTES

[1] For text and translation see Puhvel (1984: 344); cf. also Kronasser (1966: 480).

[2] Sturtevant wrongly translates *iyašḫatta* as 'you are bound to' and connects it with Hitt. *išḫai-* 'to bind' (Sturtevant and Hahn 1951: 51). This etymology is rightly rejected by Puhvel, loc. cit.

[3] Thus also Tischler, loc. cit. The 2nd sg. pret. act. *iyašḫatta* is the only form, adduced by Kronasser, loc. cit.

[4] See Gusmani (1972: 255-266), Berman (1977: 231–239), who convincingly compares the abstract nouns in *-šḫa-* with the Greek infinitives in *-σαι* and Starke (1979: 247–261).

[5] According to Benveniste, the original meaning of Lat. *ōmen* is 'declaration of truth'.

[6] Cf. for instance Eichner (1978: 162 fn. 77).

[7] Cf. also Melchert (1987: 21–22), Rasmussen (1992: 56).

[8] Lat. *opus* is a noun in **-s-* and points to **$h_3$ep-e/os-* (see Kimball 1987: 186); **h_2o-* is morphologically impossible in this case. According to Kimball (1987: 185–192), whereas **h_3V-* is developed into Hitt. *ḫV-*, Lyc. *epirije-* (: Hitt. *ḫappiriya-* 'city') suggests that IE **h_3* in this position is lost in Lycian. Yet the traditional interpretation of Lyc. *epirije-* as 'to sell' is now doubted by Rasmussen (1992: 56–59).

[9] See also Frisk (1963: 366).

[10] Brugmann's opinion that Gk. *οἴομαι* and Lat. *ōmen* are related to Skt. *íṣyati* 'sets in motion, swings' is doubtful from the point of view of the semantics.

[11] The Indo-European verbs in **-ye/o-* are regularly inflected in Hittite in the *mi*-conjugation.

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Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

ON CUN. LUW. *(I)YAŠḪA-* AND HITT. *ḪA(I)-*. AN ADDENDUM

Now I have seen that Čop have also connected Hitt. *ḫa-* 'to believe, trust' with Gk. *οἴομαι* 'I think, suppose, believe' and Lat. *ōmen* (OLat. *osmen*). However, he accepts the alternative explanation of Gk. *ὀΐω* and Lat. *ōmen,* OLat. *osmen* as **owisyō* and **owismen* respectively and derives Hitt. *ḫa-* from **Howo-* (cf. P u h v e l 1991:10)[1]. If so, my comparison of the Hittite verb with Cun. Luw. *(i)yašḫa-* 'to trust(?)' (R i k o v 1993:245—246) would be impossible.

However, Čop's explanation of Hitt. *ḫa-* as **Howo-* is uncertain and Puhvel, loc. cit., rightly doubts it.

In fact, P u h v e l (1991:9—10) first gives the Hittite verb as *ḫai-* and I believe that this is the right solution.[2] He ingeniously derives Hitt. *ḫa(i)-* from **hay-āye-* which accounts for the inflection of the Hittite verb.[3]

If so, the connection of Hitt. *ḫa(i)-* and Cun. Luw. *(i)yašḫa-* can be retained. The loss of the initial laryngeal in Cun. Luw. *(i)yašḫa-* suggests that the underlying Indo-European root can be reconstructed rather as **h$_2$ey-* than as Puhvel's **h$_3$ey-* and that the Luwian form is based on an earlier **h$_2$y-e/o-* (cf. R i k o v 1993:245—246).If Gk. *οἴομαι* and Lat. *ōmen,* OLat. *osmen* are derivatives of a zero-grade they can be related to the Anatolian forms. OIr. *óeth* 'oath' and Goth. *aiþs* 'id.', **h$_2$is-*[4], compared by Puhvel, loc. cit., with Hitt. *ḫa(i)-*, can continue IE **h$_2$oy-to-*.

NOTES

[1] Čop's article is inaccessible for me.

[2] Cf. also R i k o v (1993:246), where I prefer *ḫa(i)-* on the basis of the 2nd sg. pret. act. *ḫaiš* as well as the comparison with Cun. Luw. *(i)yašḫa-*.

[3] My own explanation of Hitt. *ḫa(i)-* as a reduplicated perfect **h$_2$e-h$_2$y-* which is subsequently thematized and reanalyzed as **hah-ye/a-* in Anatolian (R i k o v 1993:246-247) is less probable.

[4] Cf. R i k o v (1993:246).

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ORPHEUS 3 (1993)

Hieroglyphic Luwian CUM-*ni* (*344) *iyasa-* 'to buy from', Lycian *ije-* 'to buy' and Hittite *iwaru-* 'gift, inheritance-grant, dowry'

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

The Hieroglyphic Luwian verb CUM-*ni iyasa-* 'to buy from' is identified by H a w k i n s and M o r p u r g o - D a v i e s (1982:92 ff.), who adduce the following forms:

3rd pl. or sg. pret. CUM-*ni* (*344) *i-ia-sá-ta* (TÜNP, 2);
3rd pl. pret. CUM-*ni* (*344) *i-sa-ta* (CEKKE, rev. 1);
2nd sg. impv. CUM-*ni i-ia-sa* (ASSUR letter g, "III", 4).

This Hieroglyphic Luwian verb is rightly interpreted by H a w k i n s and M o r p u r g o - D a v i e s, *ibidem,* pp. 101—104, as a *"sa*-iterative to an *iya*-root"[1]. They assume, however, that Hier. Luw *iya-* represents a reduplicated verb which is related to Cun. Luw. *aya-/a-* 'to make'. From the point of view of the semantics this etymology seems doubtful; moreover, as M e l c h e r t (1989:42) points out, a reduplicated verb to Luw. *aya-/a-* would be rather **isa-* (=Hitt. *īšša-* 'to make') than the attested *iyasa-*.

M e l c h e r t (1989:42—45) rightly connects Hier. Luw. *iyasa-* with the Lycian 3rd sg. preterite *ijetẽ* 'bought' TL 48 b and offers a convincing etymological solution which is based on the well-known semantical relation between the verbs of buying and these of taking[2]. He argues that Hier. Luw. *iya-* and Lyc. *ije-* are uncompounded forms of Anatolian *pē-/pi-* 'to give' which "represents an old univerbation of the preverb *pe-* 'hin-' and PIE **ai-" (ibidem,* p. 44). Following B e n v e n i s t e (1966:315—316), he mentions that "giving and taking were viewed as parts of a single exchange in PIE. In the various daughter languages either 'give' or 'take' is generalized"; he also believes that the Anatolian data can be explained "by assuming that the root **ai-* was specialized in Anatolian in the sense 'take', as in Greek. To express the "opposite" act . . . , the stem **ai-* was compounded with the preverb *pe* which indicated motion away from the speaker, whence Anat. *pē-/pi-* 'give'" (*ibidem,* p. 44—45).

2. Melchert's assumptions for the original meaning of IE **ai-* and its semantic development in Anatolian are hardly compatible with the comparative data.

In fact, the evidence of Gk. αἴνυμαι 'I take' and Toch. A *e-*, B *ai-* (given by M e l c h e r t 1989:44 with the meaning 'to give'), is particularly instructive; these verbs clearly indicate that the expressions of the "opposite acts" 'to give' and 'to take' follow the grammatical opposition between the active and middle voice. Thus, as S c h m i d t

[1] According to H a w k i n s and M o r p u r g o - D a v i e s (1982:101), Hier. Luw. *isa-* can be explained from *iyasa-* by reduction of *iya-* into *i-*.

[2] On the semantic development of 'to take' into 'to buy' in the Indo-European languages see Buck (1949:817—818). Similarly, 'to sell' is often developed from 'to give' and this development is attested by Hier. Luw. *arha piya-* 'to sell' : *piya-* 'to give' (see H a w k i n s and M o r p u r g o - D a v i e s 1982:94—101).

(1969:61, 360 with fn. 2) points out, the Tocharian active forms 1 st sg. pres. A *esam*, B *aiskau*, 3rd sg. pres. B *aissäm*, 1st sg. subj. A *em*, B *āyu* serve to express the meaning 'to give', whereas the middle forms Toch. B 1st sg. subj. *aimar*, 3rd sg. subj. *aitär*, 3rd sg. opt. *ayīträ* are used to express the opposite meaning 'to take'; according to Schmidt, *ibidem*, p. 360, the original meaning of these middle forms was 'sich etwas geben'[3]. The Greek medium tantum αἴνυμαι also means, as the related Tocharian middle forms, 'to take', cf. e. g. αἴνυτο τόξον "(she) took the bow" Od. 21,53. Similarly, the active forms of Skt. *da-* mean 'to give' (cf. Ved. 3rd sg. pres. act. *dádāti* 'gives', 3rd sg. aor. act. *ádāt* 'give', etc.), but its middle forms, reinforced with the preverb *ā*, are used to express the action of taking, cf. e. g. 3rd sg. aor. inj. middle *ādita* (> IE**e/oh*$_1$ *dh*$_3$*-to*) in AB VII 23, 3 *mā ma indra indriyam ādita* "let not Indra take my power" (Keith). The situation is well known and I would refer to another statement of Benveniste, different from that cited by Melchert: "Enfin les langues ont effectué à l'aide de cette diathèse des oppositions lexicales de notions polaires où in même verbe, par le jeu des désinences, pouvait signifier ou "prendre" ou "donner": skr. *dāti*, "il donne" : *ādāte*, "il reçoit"[4]; gr. μισθοῦν "donne en location" : μισθοῦσθαι "prendre en location"; δανείζειν "prêter" : δανείζεσθαι "emprunter"; lat. *licet*, "(l'objet) est mis enchères" : *licetur*, "(l'homme) se porte acquérir" (Benveniste 1966:175)[5].

Thus, it is clear that Hier. Luw. (*344) *iyasa-* 'to buy' and Lyc. *ije-* 'id.', in spite of their synchronically active endings (Hier. Luw. *-ta* (?), *-a(n)ta*, Lyc. *-tẽ*), represent the ordinary middle meaning 'to take' of IE **h*$_2$*ey-*, with a subsequent specialization of 'to take' as 'to buy'.

3. If so, it is also clear that Hier. Lyw. (*344) *iyasa-* and Lyc. *ije-* point to an underlying Indo-European thematic middle, formed with zero grade of the root.

Then, there are two problems which must be clarified: (1) that of the reconstruction of the *a*-colouring laryngeal in IE **h*$_2$*ey-* and (2) that of the formation of the supposed middle and its incorporation in the active paradigm in Luwian.

3.1. The initial *a*-colouring laryngeal in the Indo-European root **h*$_2$*ey-* is identified on the basis of Gk. αἴνυμαι and the Anatolian data do not disprove this. The loss of IE **h*$_2$ before **y* at the beginning of the word is attested in Luwian by Cun. Luw. *(i)yašha-* 'to trust' (see Rikov, forthcoming); similarly, the Luwian denominative verbs in *-a(i)-*, corresponding to the Hittite ones in *-a(i)-* (< IE *-eh*$_2$*-ye/o-*), represent the loss of IE *h*$_2$ before **y* in the middle of the word in Luwian. This implies an Indo-European preform **h*$_2$*yo-*, to which Hier. Luw. (*344) *iyasa-* and Lyc. *ije-* can be traced back.[6] The appearance of Luw. *iya-* instead of the expected *ya-* is well attested by Cun. Luw. UL *iyašḫatta* 'you did not trust (?)' which occurs beside *yašḫantin* and *yašḫanduwa(n)ti* (cf. Melchert 1984:15) and this suggests that Hier. Luw. *iya-* in (*344) *iyasa-* appears instead of *ya-* (< IE **h*$_2$*yo-*). Similarly, since */y/* is regularly represented by *ij* in Lycian, Lyc. *ijetẽ* can be also derived from IE **h*$_2$*yo-*[7].

The absence of *ḫ* < IE **h*$_2$ in the possible cognate forms in Hittite also calls for explanation.

If the Hittite noun *iwaru-* 'gift, inheritance-grant, dowry' is related to Hier. Luw. (*344) *iyasa-* and Lyc. *ije-*, the loss of the initial **h*$_2$ in this Hittite noun does not present phonological difficulties. Hitt. *iwaru-* can be explained either as *i-war-u-* (see Carruba 1966:16, n. 17) or, by reduction of **iya-* into *i-*, as **iya-war-u-* (see Puhvel 1984:503); i.e., we have either IE **h*$_2$*i-* or IE **h*$_2$*y-*. It is significant in this respect that the Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal is lost in Hittite not only before **y*, but also before **i*, cf. for instance Hitt. *inan-* 'an illness'[8] > IE **h*$_2$*ino-* which appears beside the full-grade forms Skt. *énas-* 'sin, guilt', Av. *aēnah-* 'violence, damage', Gk. αἰνός 'dread, terrible', see Rikov (1980:77; 1989:41)[9]; Hitt. *inu-* 'to make hot' which is related to Gk. αἴθω 'I burn' and, as a verb in **-new-*, can be formed with regular zero grade of the root (IE **h*$_2$*i-*)[10], etc.

If we accept the opinion that Hitt. *pāi-/pē-/piya-* 'to give' and its cognate forms in the other Anatolan languages represent a compounded verb, consisting of the preverb *pe-* and the outcome of IE **h*$_2$*ey-*[11], the loss of the *a*-colouring laryngeal is hardly explanable. Additional difficulties are presented by the vowel gradation in the pair Hitt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *pāi* 'gives': 3rd pl. pres. act. *piyanzi* 'they give' (which parallels that in pairs such as Hitt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *dāi* 'places' : 3rd pl. pres. act. *tiyanzi* 'they place') as well as by the reduplication in the related Cun. Luw. *pipišša-* 'to give', Hier. Luw. *pipasa-* 'id.', Lyc. *pibije-* 'id.'[12]. Therefore, it seems that Peters (1980:82*83) rightly rejects the traditional explanation of Hitt. *pāi-* as a compounded verb[13]; Melchert (1984:32 and fn. 65), who prefers the analysis of Hitt. *pāi-* as **pe-ai-*, adduces Čop's connection of this Hittite verb with Ossetic *fedun* 'pay' and OHG *feili* 'for sale'[14] as an alternative possibility and mentions: "These forms would permit. . . a root **peh*$_1$*(i)-* of the same shape as other roots of the class: *išpāi-* 'be satisfied' < **speh*$_1$*i-*, *dai-* 'place' < **dheh*$_1$*i-* etc. The attested inflection would then be perfectly regular"[15]. Then, Hier. Luw. (*334) *iyasa-*, Lyc. *ije-* and Hitt. *iwaru-* can be separated from Hitt. *pāi-* and its cognate verbs in the other Anatolian languages.

3.2. Now the formation of the Proto-Luwian verb **ya-*, attested by Lycian *ijetẽ* and the Hieroglyphic Luwian *sa*-iterative (*344) *iyasa-*, can be clarified.

[3] Or 'sich geben lassen', see Pokorny (1949—1959:10).

[4] Skt. *dáti*, given by Benveniste as a present indicative, is in fact the aorist subjustive to the aorist indicative *ádat* 'gave'; the present indicative is attested by the reduplicated *dádāti* 'gives' (also *dádati*). Similarly, a present indicative *ādāte* 'takes' does not exist.

[5] Cf. also Schmidt (1969:360 fn. 2).

[6] In view of cases such as Skt. *kravyá-* 'raw flesh', Lith. *kraūjas* 'blood' < IE **krew-yo-* < **krewh*$_2$*-yo-* (: Gk. κρέας 'meat', Skt. *kravis-* 'raw flesh' < IE **krewh*$_2$*-s-*) which suggest a very early loss of IE **h*$_2$ after consonants and before **y* (see Pinault 1982:265—272; Mayrhofer 1986:140), the loss of the initial *a*-colouring laryngeal before *yod* can be also of Indo-European date; then, we can assume that Hier. Luw. (*344) *iyasa-* and Lyc. *ije-* continue IE **yo-* which goes back to an earlier **h*$_2$*yo-*.

[7] In view of the connection of Hier. Luw. (*344) *iyasa-* and Lyc. *ije-* with Gk. αἴνυμαι, the assumption that we are dealing with a rediplicated verb (cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies 1982:102, who reconstruct IE **h*$_1$*e-h*$_1$*(e)y-e/o-* on the basis of a different etymological connection) is unacceptable; the Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal before **i* is continued by *h* in Luwian, cf. for instance (at the beginning of the word) the reduplicated Cun. Luw. *hišhiya-* 'to bind' (Cun. Luw. *hi-* < IE **h*$_2$*i-*) and see Rikov (1980:78—79); (in the middle of the word) Cun. Luw. *šalhitti-* 'Wachstum' (: Hitt. *šalli-* 'great', see Rikov 1989:41). — The possibility that Hier. Luw. (*344) *iyasa-* and Lyc. *ije-* continue Anat. **iya-* < *IE **iyo-* which may be an allophonic variant of IE **yo-* (< IE **h*$_2$*yo-*) after heavy syllables is doubtful; cf. Edgerton (1943:85).

[8] Possibly 'affliction of specific body parts', see Puhvel (1980:204).

[9] The same etymology of Hitt. *inan-* is independently given by Puhvel (1980:204; 1984:366).

[10] See Rikov (1980:77; 1989:41).

[11] See Pedersen (1938:115), Melchert (1984:32 fn. 65) with references.

[12] See B. Josef apud Peters (1980:83).

[13] Peters, *loc. cit.*, rightly mentions that the connection of Hitt. *pāi-* and Gk. αἴνυμαι leaves unexplained the loss of IE **h*$_2$ in this Hittite word.

[14] B. Josef (apud Peters, *ibidem*, p. 83) connects Hitt. *pāi-* with the „Celtiberian verb *ro-piseti*, which occurs in the Botorita text, which may mean 'give'. . ."

[15] Hitt. *ispai-*, *dai-* etc. are inflected in the Hittite *hi-* conjugation and continue old non-reduplicated perfects, formed with *o*-grade of the root; then, they must be derived from IE **spoh*$_1$*i-*, **d*^{h}*oh*$_1$*i-* etc. respectively.

We have seen above that the meaning 'to take', which is developed into 'to buy' in Hier. Luw. (*344) *iyasa-* and Lyc. *ije-*, is inherent to the middle forms of IE **h₂ey-* 'to give'; this suggests that Lyc. *ijetẽ*, which points to a Proto-Luwian 3rd sg. preterite **yata*, is in fact a latent middle. True, the matter is complicated by the fact that the Luwian and Lycian preterite active endings 3rd sg. Luw. *-tta/-ta*, Lyc. *-te/-tẽ* and 3rd pl. Luw. *-a(n)ta*, Lyc. *-ⁿte/-ⁿtẽ* can be traced back to the Indo-European secondary middle endings 3rd sg. **-to* and 3rd pl. *-nto* respectively (see Watkins 1962:98; 1969:174; Yoshida 1991:169—170); the incorporation of these middle endings into the active paradigm can be posterior to the loss of the final dentals in Proto-Luwian (cf. e. g. Cun. Luw. *malli* 'mead' = Hitt. *milit* 'id.')[16].

Yet it is clear that the Proto-Luwian deponent **ya-* is built on the basis of a 3rd sg. pret. middle **y-a*, where **-a* (< IE **-o*) continues the 3rd sg. secondary middle ending that appears in forms such as Ved. *áduha* 'gave (milk)', etc.; then, the underlying Indo-European 3rd sg. preterite middle can be reconstructed as **h₂y-o*. The Proto-Luwian 3rd sg. pret. middle **y-a*, reinterpreted as a verb stem **ya-* and zero ending (**∅*), can incorporate a new 3rd sg. secondary ending and, then, the rest of the paradigm in Proto-Luwian can be built on the basis of the new 3rd sg. preterite.

If the addition of the ending *-ta* (< IE **-to*) to Proto-Luwian **ya* is posterior to the incorporation of this ending into the active paradigm in Proto-Luwian, the development would be as follows: Proto-Luwian 3rd sg. pret. **ya* 'took' (or 'bought') + 3rd sg. pret. act. ending **-t* > **yat* which, after the loss of the final dental, yields again **ya*, to which the new 3rd sg. preterite active ending **-ta* is added; hence we have Proto-Luwian 3rd sg. pret. **yata* which is directly continued by Lycian *ijetẽ* 'bought'. In view of their synchronically "active" meaning 'took' (or 'bought'), both the Proto-Luwian 3rd sg. preterite **yat* and **yata* can be the basis, on which the rest of the active paradigm is built. A similar development is presented by the Vedic aorist forms 1st sg. *ā́dam*, 2nd sg. *ā́das*, 3rd sg. *ádat*, 1st pl. *ā́dāma* which, in spite of their active endings, have the ordinary middle meaning 'to take', attested by the regular middle forms such as *ādita* (*mā . . . ādita* 'let not take'), etc. As Wackernagel (1926:14—15) points out, the Vedic 3rd sg. aorist *adat* can be derived form a 3rd sg. aorist middle **ā d-a*[17], to which the 3rd sg. secondary active ending **-t* is added[18]; the other forms of the paradigm — cf. 1st sg. *ā́dam*, 2nd sg. *adas*, 1st pl. *ádama* — are built on the basis of the 3rd sg. *ā́dat*[19].

If the addition of **-ta* to the Proto-Luwian 3rd sg. pret. middle **ya* is anterior to the incorporation of this ending into the paradigm of the active in Proto-Luwian, we would have a 3rd sg. pret. middle **yata* 'took'[20]; specialized later as 'bought'; then, in view of its synchronically "active" meaning ('took' or 'bought') and the use of **-ta* as a new active ending in Proto-Luwian, the 3rd sg. preterite middle **yata* was reinterpreted as a member of the paradigm of the active. The rest of the active paradigm is built on the basis of this 3rd sg. form.

The middle voice is scarcely attested in the Luwian group of languages. Therefore, reconstructing the stages of the prehistoric development which would led to the incorporation of an individual Indo-European middle form — as the supposed IE **h₂y-o-* into the active paradigm of Luwian, we are dealing only with possibilities. Yet although the way of the development remains hypothetical, there is no doubt that Hier. Luw. CUM-*ni* (*344) *iyasa-* 'to buy from'[21] and Lyc. *ije-* 'to buy', in view of their form and meaning, must be traced back to an ancient middle preform.

[16] Similarly, the Old Persian 3rd plural secondary ending *-atā* (< **-anta)* which is originally a middle ending, appears in the active paradigm beside (or instead of) the ending *-a* < **-ant*, see Meillet (1931:82 f.), Jamison (1981:178) and cf. for instance OPers. *āha* and *āhatā* 'they were', *āyatā* 'they went' etc. Jamison (1981:156—194) demonstrates that the loss of the final **-t* in the Sanskrit 3rd plural secondary ending *-an* (< **-ant)* leads to the incorporation of the middle ending *-anta* into the active paradigm in Rig-Veda; the forms in *-an* and *-anta* are in complementary distribution in Vedic. Yoshida (1991:370 fn. 31) refers to Jamison's study and adduces the Vedic development as a parallel to that in Luwian.

[17] Indo-Aryan **d-a* continues IE 3rd sg. middle **dh₃-o*, formed with zero grade of the root and the ending **-o*.

[18] Cf. also Ved. 3rd sg. *áduhat* beside *áduha* 'gave (milk)', *áśayat* 'lay' < **áśay-a* + *-t*, ets. (see Wackernagel 1907:309—313; Watkins 1969:90—91). Similarly, the Vedic 3rd plural middle ending *-ran* (cf. e. g. Ved. *áduhran*) represents the addition of an active ending to a middle one (*-ran* < **-ro* + *-nt*), see Wackernagel (1907:311); Watkins (1969:91). — The Hittite 3rd sg. pret. act. *daš* 'took' probably continues Anat. 3rd sg. middle **da* (IE **dh₃-o)*, to which the 3rd sg. secondary active ending **-s* is added. As for Cun. Luw. 3rd sg. pret. act. *ta-at-ta, da-a-ad-da* 'took', Hier. Luw. *tà-ta, ta-tà* 'id.', they can represent the development, assumed for Lyc. *ijetẽ;* cf. also fn. 20.

[19] Similarly, the active paradigms of Hitt. *da-* 'to take', Cun. Luw. *da-* 'id'. Hier. Luw. *ta-* 'id.' can be built on the basis of the Anatolian 3rd sg. preterite **da* to which the 3rd sg. active endings are added (cf. fn. 18, 20). It is significant in this respect that the Analogian middle forms 1st sg. **dahha,* 2nd sg. **datha* can be reinterpreted as active forms of the *hi-* conjugation, see Eichner (1975:93—94).

[20] Cun. *ta-at-ta, da-a-ad-da* and Hier. Luw. *tà-ta, tà-tá* can represent the same development. On Ved. *mā́ . . . īśata* 'er soll nicht Macht haben' see Debrunner (1949—130—135), who explains Ved. *īśata* as **īśa + -ta.*

[21] Hier. Luw. (*344) *iyasa-* is, of course, an iterative in *-sa* -to **ya-* (> Lyc. *ije-*), as Hitt. *daškila-* to Hitt. *da-* 'to take'.

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HITTITE ŠUWA- 'TO FILL', ŠUTA(I)- 'TO FILL UP' AND SLAVIC *SYTЪ 'SATISFIED, REPLETE'

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

1. Hittite *šū-* 'full' and *šuṅn(a)-* 'to fill' point to an Indo-European disyllabic root

1. As Otten and Souček (1969:100) point out, the inflection of Hitt. *šū-* 'full' indicates that we are dealing with an adjective in *-u-*, cf. nom. sg. anim. *šu-u-uš*, acc. sg. *šu-u-un, šu-u-ú-un,* nom. -acc. sg. nt. *šu-u, šu-u-ú* and acc. pl. anim. *šu-u-wa-mu-uš*[1].

According to Watkins (1975:378), the spelling *šu-u-* suggests that an intervocalic laryngeal is lost and this points to an underlying Indo-European disyllabic root **sewh$_x$-*[2].

The reconstruction of an Indo-European *set* root is confirmed by the Hittite nasal infix verb *šunn(a)-* 'to fill' which, as *šann(a)-* 'to keep secret, pass over in silence, conceal, hide' and *tarn(a)-* 'to let go, allow', follows the *ḫi*-conjugation, cf. 1st sg. pres. act. *šu-un-na-aḫ-ḫi,* 3rd sg. pres. act. *šu-un-na-i,* 3rd pl. pres. act. *šu-un-na-an-zi,* 1st sg. pret. act. *šu-un-na-aḫ-ḫu-un,* 3rd sg. pret. act. *šu-un-na-aš*[3]. The infinitive *šu-un-nu-ma-an-zi* is formed from the original athematic stem of the weak forms, cf. the Hittite verbal noun *ša-an-nu-um-mar* (: *šann(a)-),* 1st pl. pret. act. *tar-nu-en* BoTU 21, 5—6, *tar-nu-mi-en,* 1st pl. pres. act. *tar-nu-um-me-ni* (: *tarn(a)-),* etc.

2. Hittite *šuwa-/šu-* 'to fill', Hieroglyphic Luwian *suwa/i-* 'id.' and Cuneiform Luwian *šuwa-* can be derived from an Indo-European root verb

2.1. The Hittite nasal infix verb *šunn(a)-* implies the existence of an underlying Indo-European disyllabic root verb.

This root verb is continued by Hitt. *šuwa-/šu-* 'to fill' which is attested by the active forms 1st pl. pres. *šu-wa-u-e-ni,* 3rd pl. pres. *šu-(u-)wa-an-zi*[4] and the middle forms 3rd sg. pres. *šu-wa-at-ta-ri,* 3rd sg. pret. *šu-(u-)wa-at-ta-at, šu-ut-ta-ti* and 3rd sg. impv. *šu-ut-ta-ru*[5].

Hier. Luw. *suwa/i-* 'to fill', which is attested by the 1st sg. preterite forms *su-wa/i-ha, su-wà/ì-ha* in the Karatepe bilingual, evidently corresponds to Hitt. *šuwa-*[6].

The Cuneiform Luwian 3rd sg. preterite *šu-u-wa-at-ta,* if it means 'filled', can be added to these forms[7].

[1] See also Watkins (1975:378), Melchert (1984:29) and Weitenberg (1984:136—140).
[2] Watkins, *loc. cit.,* identifies the laryngeal as the *o*-colouring one, see below, § 3.2.
[3] On the data see Kronasser (1966:563—564) and Oettinger (1979:158—159).
[4] On the data see Kronasser (1966:479), Kammenhuber (1975—1984:375) and Hoffmann (1984:138—139).
[5] The middle forms mean 'sich füllen, sich weiten, anschwellen, voll werden', see Neu (1968:159).
[6] Kammenhuber (1956:2—3), Meriggi (1962:112).
[7] Kammenhuber, *loc. cit.,* Laroche (1959:88). — This Anatolian verb is also attested by the Palaic participle *šuwant-* 'gefüllt', see Kammenhuber (1959:86) and Carruba (1970:71).

In contrast to Kammenhuber (1956:3), who interprets Hitt. *šuwa-,* Hier. Luw. *suwa/i-* and Cun. Luw. *šuwa-* as a primary verb, Kronasser (1966:479) gives the Hittite verb among the denominatives in **-aye-*[8] and derives it from the adjective *šū-* 'full'[9]. However, the stem *šuwai-* is given by Kronasser only on the basis of the 3rd sg. imperative *šu-wa-a-id-du* which occurs in KUB XXIV 9+III 24′. As Oettinger (1979:296 fn. 73) and Hoffmann (1984:137—138) point out, this imperative form means rather 'er soll schieben' than 'er soll füllen' and must be separated from the forms signifying 'to fill'[10]. Then, the stem of the Hittite verb is *šuwa-.*

In fact, the attested forms of Hitt. *šuwa-* 'to fill' are inflected as the forms of the thematized verbs of the type of Hitt. *ḫulla-* 'to fight', *išpar(r)a-* 'to lay flat', *marra-* 'to heat, melt, dissolve', *šarra-* 'to divide, share', etc.; thus, we have Hitt. 1st pl. pres. act. *šu-wa-u-e-ni* along with *šar-ra-u-e-ni;* 3rd pl. pres. act. *šu-(u-)wa-an-zi* along with *ḫu-ul-la-an-zi, iš-pár-ra-an-zi, šar-ra-an-zi;* 3rd sg. pres. middle *šu-wa-at-ta-ri* along with *mar-ra-at-ta-ri, šar-ra-at-ta-ri;* 3rd sg. pret. middle *šu-(u-)wa-at-ta-at* along with *mar-ra-at-ta-at, šar-ra-at-ta-at.* Thus, there is no doubt that the forms of Hitt. *šuwa-,* together with Hier. Luw. 1st sg. pret. *su-wa/i-ha, su-wà/ì-ha* and possibly Cun. Luw. 3rd sg. pret. *šu-u-wa-at-ta,* can be interpreted as thematized primary verb forms.

The interpretation of Hitt. *šuwa-,* Hier. Luw. *suwa/i-* and Cun. Luw. *šuwa-* as thematized primary verbs is supported by the retention of two athematic verb forms, the Middle Hittite 3rd sg. pret. middle *šu-ut-ta-ti* and 3rd sg. impv. middle *šu-ut-ta-ru,* which mean 'to swell' and occur in similar contexts[11]:

KBo VI 34 III 17 *na-aš-ša-an* SA-SU *šu-ut-ta-ti*
'. . .and his inner parts swelled'
ibidem, line 21 *na-aš-ša-an* SA-SU *šu-ut-ta-ru*
'. . .and may his inner parts swell'

The possibility that Hitt. *šu-ut-ta-ti* and *šu-ut-ta-ru* are residual athematic verb forms, retained beside the thematized *šu-wa-u-e-ni, šu-wa-at-ta-ru, šu-(u-)wa-at-ta-at,* is confirmed by the occurence of athematic verb forms beside the thematized *ḫulla-, išpar(r)a-, šarra-,* etc., cf. for instance 1st sg. pres. act. *iš-pa-ar-ḫi,* 1st pl. pret. act. *ḫu-ul-lu-mi-en* and *šar-ru-um-me-en,* where the ending *-umen* continues Sievers-Edgerton variant **-uwen* (after heavy syllables) of **-wen*[12]; 1st sg. pret. act. *iš-pár-ḫu-un* and 3rd sg. impv. act. *iš-pa-a-ru,* the infinitive *šar-ru-wa-an-zi,* etc. As Melchert (1984:16—19) rightly points out, such forms indicate that Hitt. *ḫulla-, išpar(r)a-, šarra-,* etc. are originally athematic verbs and the interpretation of Hitt. *šuttati* as an athematic form is suggested by Sturtevant (1931—168), who notes that the root appears in *šuttati* "as *su* without any suffix except the mediopassive personal ending". Then, the survived Hitt. *šuttati* and *suttaru* suggest that Hitt. *šuwa-,* Hier. Luw. *suwa/i-* and Cun. Luw. *šuwa-* can be interpreted as thematized root verbs.

2.2. Now the formation of the Hittite iterative *šuške/a-* (Old Hitt. 2nd sg. pres. act. *šu-uš-ki-ši* KUB XXXI 143 II 22) can be clarified.

[8] Friedrich (1952—1954:200) and Hoffmann, *loc. cit.* also give the stem of this Hittite verb as *šuwai-.*
[9] Thus also Kronasser (1966:479).
[10] Yet Oettinger (1979:296) gives Hitt. *šuwae-* 'to fill' and unconvincingly assumes that this Hittite verb is formed on the basis of Hitt. *šuwant-* 'full' which is ambiguous; it can be interpreted either as a derivative in *-ant-* of *šū-* full' (see Oettinger, *loc. cit.*) or as a participle of Hitt. *šu (wa)-* (see for instance Kammenhuber 1956:2—3).
[11] On the text and translation see Neu, *loc. cit.* The active forms signifying 'to fill' and the middle ones signifying 'to swell' are connected by Goetze (1954:403—404).
[12] Cf. Melchert (1984:24—25).

It is clear that Oettinger's explanation of Hitt. *šuške/a-* as a denominative verb, formed by the suffix *-ške/a-* from *sū-* 'full' (Oettinger 1979:296) is improbable; neither Hittite-Luwian, nor the other branches of the Indo-European language family attest denominative verbs, formed with the suffix **-ske/o-*. True, according to Oettinger (1979:324 fn. 135), the Hittite iterative in *-ške/a-* *ešḫaške/a-*, attested by the participle *ešḫaškant-* 'bloody', is also a denominative verb, formed from Hitt. *ešḫar* (gen. sg. *ešḫanas)* 'blood'. However, Eichner (1970:12) convincingly derives Hitt. *ešḫaškant-* from **ešḫanškant-* which is syncopated from **ešhaniškant-* and points to an underlying denominative verb **ešḫaniya-* (: *esḫan-* 'blood'); thus also Puhvel (1984:309).

As for Hitt. *šuške/a-*, Eichner (1970:18 n. 23) derives it from *šunške/a-* which is syncopated from *šunnaške/a-* (or **šunneške/a-*, **šunniške/a-);* i.e., we are dealing with an iterative in **-ske/a-*, formed from the nasal infix verb *šunn(a)-*[13]. However, following Friedrich (1952—1954:200), Eichner, *loc. cit.*, mentions the possibility that Hitt. *šuške/a-* can be derived from *"šuwai-"* and this suggests the right way of explanation.

We have seen above that there is no reason to postulate a stem *šuwai-* 'to fill' and that the attested Hittite *šuwa-* is a thematized stem which appears beside the survived athematic forms *šuttati* and *šuttaru.* Then, the Hittite iterative *šuške/a-* can be formed with zero grade of the root from the athematic verb *šu-*. Since the oldest group of the verbs in *-ske/o-* is formed with zero grade of the root (cf. e.g. Hitt. *zikke/a-* 'to lay, lay down' < IE **d^{h}h$_1$-ske/o-;* Skt. *gácchati* 'goes', Av. *jasaiti* 'comes' < IE **g^{w}m̥-ske-ti,* Gk. βάσκε 'go!' < IE **g^{w}m̥-ske,* etc.), Hitt. *šuške/a-* can continue an archaic verb in **-ske/o-*.

3. The laryngeal which is lost in Hitt. *šu-* 'full' and its cognates should be identified as **h$_1$*.

3.1. The reconstruction of an Indo-European *set* root **sewh$_2$-* is unacceptable.

According to Oettinger (1979:158—159), Hitt. *šunn(a)-* goes back to an Indo-European nasal infix present **suneh$_2$-* and Hitt. *šū-* 'full' continues either IE **sewh$_2$-*[14] or **sewh$_2$-u-*. Oettinger (1979:298 fn. 78) also adds the Hittite iterative *šumreške/a-* 'to be pregnant' which is formed from a denominative in *-a(i)-* and assumes an underlying noun **sewh$_2$-wr̥*.

As Melchert (1984:29 fn. 60, 62) points out, however, from the point of view of the Hittite historical phonology, IE **h$_2$* is continued by Hitt. *ḫ* in such phonetic environments, cf. Hitt. *šuḫḫa-* 'to pour', etc. Then, we should expect Hitt. **šuḫḫu-* **suḫḫu(wa)r-* instead of the attested *šū-* 'full', *šumr-* (in *šumreške/a-),* etc. and it is clear that the laryngeal which is lost cannot be the *a*-colouring one.

Yet Weitenberg (1984:139) tries to preserve the reconstruction of an Indo-European disyllabic root **sewh$_2$-*. He rejects Kronasser's and Oettinger's explanation of Hitt. *šuwa-* 'to fill' as a denominative verb and ingeniously derives this Hittite verb from IE **suh$_2$-ye/o-,* to which a deverbative adjective in **-u- *suh$_2$y-u-* (> Hitt. *šū-* 'full') is formed. It is well known that the Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal before yod is regularly lost in Hittite-Luwian, cf. for instance the denominative verbs in *-a(i)-* which continue denominatives in **-eh$_2$ye/o-;* Hitt. *taye-/taya-* 'to steal' < IE **teh$_2$ye/o-* or **toh$_2$y-eye/o-;* Hitt. *tu-u-wa* 'far', *tu-u-wa-az* which possibly continues IE **duh$_2$yo-*, etc. (see Eichner 1988:141—142 and fn. 61). Therefore, from the point of view of the historical phonology, Weitenberg's explanation of Hitt. *šū-* 'full' does not present difficulties. The weakness of this explanation, however, is that most of the forms of Hitt. *šuwa-/šu-* 'to fill' (cf. *šuwaweni, šuwattat, šuttati, šuttaru*) cannot be directly derived from IE **suh$_2$-ye/o-* and must be explained as results of different and uncertain analogical transformations[15].

3.2. The evidence for IE **sewh$_3$-* is also doubtful.

Watkins (1975:378) derives Hitt. *šū-* 'full' from IE **suh$_3$u-* and assumes that the Indo-European *o*-colouring laryngeal is lost in Hittite in this position; then, Hitt. *šunn(a)-* 'to fill' should be derived from IE **sunh$_3$-*. Melchert (1984:29) prefers to reconstruct rather IE **h$_1$* than **h$_3$,* "since good evidence for the treatment of **h$_3$* in this position is lacking". Three years later, however, he accepts the explanation of Pal. *šūna-* 'to fill' (or 'to pour out'?)[16] as a nasal infix verb[17] and assumes that this Palaic verb, in view of its single *-n-* and its vowel *-a-*, should continue IE **suneh$_3$-*[18]; then, the laryngeal which is lost in Hitt. *šū-* 'full' and its cognates must be identified as the *o*-colouring one, as it is assumed by Watkins (see Melchert 1987:24—26). However, Melchert's explanation of Pal. *šūna-* as **suneh$_3$-* is highly uncertain.

In fact, the plene spelling *su-ú-* in the Palaic 3rd sg. pret. *su-ú-na-at* and 2nd sg. impv. *su-ú-na*[19], taken together with the single *-n-* in these forms, suggests that Palaic *šūna-* 'to fill' is rather a denominative verb of the type of Pal. *ḫantana-* 'begegnen(?)', *marana-*, etc. As Melchert (1984a:37—38) points out, the Palaic verbs of this type are "in origin denominatives to *n-* or *na*-stems", but pairs such as Hitt. *impa(i)-* : *impana(i)-* 'to worry' ← 'to burden oneself', Pal. *marḫiya* : *marḫina-* indicate that "the form *-na-* may have been abstracted as a unitary suffix". Then, as for Pal. *šuna-*, there are two possibilities which can be taken into consideration:

(1) that Pal. *šūna-* continues **sunāye-* < **suh$_x$nah$_2$ye/o-* (<**suh$_x$neh$_2$ye/o-*) which is a denominative verb in **-eh$_2$ye/o-* to **suh$_x$no-* and

(2) that Pal *šūna-* is formed to **su-* 'to fill' (cf. Hitt. *su-* 'to fill', discussed above, § 2.1) by the "unitary suffix" *-na-* as Pal. *marḫina-* to *marḫiya-*, Hitt. *impana(i)-* to *impa(i)-*, etc.

In any case, the colour of the laryngeal which is lost cannot be identified on the basis of Pal. *šūna-*.

3.3. Since the Indo-European non-colouring laryngeal is lost in Hittite-Luwian in any position (cf. Eichner 1973:53—56), the best possibility is that it is the laryngeal which is lost in Hitt. *šū-* 'full' and its cognates (cf. Melchert 1984:29).

Then, the explanation of the attested forms does not present difficulties.

The Hittite 3rd sg. pret. middle *šuttati* 'swelled' is based on IE **suh$_1$-to* and the 3rd sg. impv. middle *šuttaru* 'may swell' continues **suh$_1$-to-ru.* The Hittite 3rd pl. pres. act. *šuwanzi* 'they fill' can go back to IE **suh$_1$-enti.*

Hitt. *šuwa-* 'to fill', Hier. Luw. *suwa/i-, suwà/ì-* 'id.' and possibly Cun. Luw. *šuwa-* represent a thematization of the athematic root present 3rd sg. act. **sewh$_1$-t(i),* 3rd pl.

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[13] Weitenberg (1984:139) derives Hitt. *šuške/a-* directly from **sunh$_2$ske/o- (:šunna-);* on Weitenberg's reconstruction of a *set* root in **-h$_2$-* see below, § 3.1.

[14] Oettinger's explanation of Hitt. *šū-* 'full' as **seuh$_2$-* is evidently unacceptable, cf. acc. pl. anim. *šūwamuš* which clearly indicate that we are dealing with an *u*-stem and see § 1.

[15] Cf. Weitenberg, *loc. cit.*: „*Suwauen* und die Medialformen *suttati, suwattat* usw. erklären sich unbedenklich als Umbildungen (für das Medium vgl. Oettinger, o.c., 297: Synkope mit späterer Restitution) oder man könnte auch vermuten, daß für das Medium später ein Stamm *su-* abstrahiert worden sei".

[16] According to Kammenhuber (1956:2—3; 1959:86) and Carruba (1970:71), Pal. *šūna-* signifies 'to fill' and this is commonly accepted; Melchert (1987:25) prefers 'to pour out'.

[17] This explanation of Pal. *šūna-* and its comparison with Hitt. *šunn(a)-* is commonly accepted, see Kammenhuber, *loc. cit.*, Carruba, *loc. cit.*, Kronasser (1966:564), Oetinger (1979:158), etc.

[18] As Melchert (1987:24—25) points out, the development of IE *Vnh$_x$V* into Pal. *VnnV* is attested by Pal. *šunnuttil-* 'Füllung (?)'. He argues that IE **suneh$_1$-* would yield Pal. **suneli-* and (since IE **suneh$_2$-* is also impossible, see § 3.1) concludes that Pal. *šūna-* should continue **sunēh$_3$-*.

[19] According to Melchert (1987:26), „attested *šūnat* for expected **šunāt* may reflect retraction of the accent to the first syllable"; this explanation is evidently uncertain.

act. **suh₁-ent(i)*, seen in Hitt. *šuttati, šuttaru* and possibly *šuwanzi*. We can reconstruct Anat. **suwa-* which, if it is old, points to **suh₁-e/o-* and can be formed on the basis of the 3rd pl. act **suh₁ent(i)* (cf. Hitt. *šuwanzi*)[20].

The Hittite iterative *šuške/a-* continues IE **suh₁-ske/o-*.

Hitt. *šunn(a)-* 'to fill' points to an Indo-European nasal infix present 3rd sg. act. **suneh₁t(i)*, 3rd pl. **sunh₁ent(i)* (cf. Hitt. *šunnanzi*) which relates to the root present Hitt. *šu-* as Hitt. *tarn(a)-* 'to let go, allow' to *tarḫ-* 'to overcome, be capable' (<IE **terh₂-*); another Hittite verb in *-n(a)-*, formed from an Indo-European disyllabic root in **-h₁-*, is *šann(a)-* 'to keep secret, pass over in silence, conceal, hide' (:Gk. ἄνεω 'in silence' < IE instr. sg. **sn̥h₁-ew-oh₁*), see Rikov (1995:331–5).The thematized stem *šunna-* continues IE **sunh₁-e/o-* which is formed on the basis of the 3rd pl. act. **sunh₁enti* (cf. Hitt. *šunnanzi*), whereas the infinitive *šunnumanzi*, with *-umanzi* from Sievers-Edgerton variant **-uwanzi* (:*-wanzi*) is possibly a residual athematic form[21].

Pal. *šūna-* 'to fill' possibly continues a denominative verb **suh₁neh₂ye/o-* which is formed from a stem in **-no-* IE **suh₁-no-*.

Hitt. *šuta(i)-* 'to fill up', attested by the 3rd sg. pres. act. *šu-ta-a-i-iz-zi* KBo V 2 I 61 and 3rd pl. pres. act. *šu-ú-da-an-zi* KBo XIX 130 I 10, is rightly explained by Oettinger (1979:377) as a denominative verb in **-aye-* (< IE **-eh₂ye/o-*) which is formed from a verbal adjective in **-to-*[22]. Similarly, we have Hitt. *muta(i)-* 'to put away, remove' which is derived from IE **muh₁-tó-* (cf. Skt. *-mūta-* in *kā́ma-mūta-* RV. X 10, 11, if it means 'impelled by love', and see Oettinger, *loc. cit.*); Hitt. *mita(i)-* 'to fasten, fix' (: IE **mi-tó-*); Hitt. *šakta(i)-* 'to perform sick-maintenance' (: IE **sok-to-* > OIr. *socht* 'stupor'), etc.[23] Then, Hitt. *šuta(i)-* continues **suh₁teh₂ye/o-* which points to an underlying verbal adjective IE **suh₁-tó-*.

As Puhvel (1982:181–182) points out, the formation of adjectives in *-u-* from verbs is productive in Hittite and Lithuanian, cf. Hitt. *ḫarpu-* 'hostile' (: *ḫarp-* 'to separate'), *ḫatku-* 'tight' (: *ḫatk-* 'to squeeze, shut'), *alpu-* 'smooth, rounded', Lith. *alpùs* 'weak' (: Lith. *alpti* 'to swoon'), etc. Hitt. *šū-* 'full' can be also a deverbative adjective in *-u-*, formed from *šu-* 'to fill, swell' (< IE **sewh₁-/*suh₁-*); we have nom. sg. anim. *šu-u-uš* < IE **suh₁-u-s*, acc. pl. anim. *šu-u-wa-mu-uš* < **suh₁-ew-us*, etc.[24].

4. Hittite *šuta(i)-* 'to fill up' and Slavic **sytъ* 'satisfied, replete'

4.1. There is no convincing etymology of Hitt. *šuwa-* 'to fill', *šu-* 'full', etc. so far.

[20] The reduplicated Hieroglyphic Luwian verb *susu-*, attested by the preterite *su-su-ta* (see Meriggi 1962:112) can be rather an innovation than an archaism, cf. Weitenberg (1984:138).

[21] The Palaic noun *šunnuttil-* which is attested by the nom.-acc. pl. nt. *šu-un-nu-ut-ti-la* and possibly means 'Füllung' (see Kammenhuber 1959:14–15, 86; Carruba 1970:70) is clearly derived from a nasal infix verb, corresponding to Hitt. *šunn(a)-*. This Palaic noun is formed with the suffix *-ttil-* which corresponds to Cun. Luw. *-til-* (cf. *puwatil-* 'the past') and Hitt. *-(z)zil-* (cf. Hitt. *šarnikzil-* 'restitution', *tayazzil-* 'theft'), see Kammenhuber, *loc. cit.*, Carruba, *loc. cit.*, etc. The double *-nn-* of Pal. *šunnuttil-* comes from IE **nh₁* (cf. fn. 18), but the second *-u-* of this Palaic noun remains unclear. According to Melchert (1987:25 and fn. 14), this *-u-* can be explained as a „connective *-u-*", but this explanation is evidently doubtful. I have suggested elsewhere that Pal. *šunnu-* (in *šunnuttil-*) relates to Hitt. *šunn(a)-* as Hitt. *tarnu-* (cf. 3rd. pres. act. *tarnuzi)* to *tarn(a)-* 'to let go, allow' (Rikov 1982:27). It remains unclear, however, whether the Hittite transfer of *-n(a)-* verbs into *-nu-*verbs is shared by the scarcely attested Palaic. — Since Pal. *-ttil-* is a compound suffix (cf. Rikov 1982:26–29; Melchert 1984:119–120), Oettinger's comparison of Pal. *šunnuttil-* with the Hittite noun in **-ti- *šunnezzi-/ *šunnazzi-* (attested by the Hittite denominative verb *šunnizziya-/šunnazziya-* 'übervoll werden", see Oettinger 1979:356) suggests that Pal. *šunnuttil-* can be derived by assimilation of *u — a* (or *u — e*) into *u — u* from an earlier **sunnattil-* (or **sunnettil-*) < Anat. **sunati-* (or **suneti-*) + *-(e)l-*.

[22] Oettinger, *loc. cit.*, reconstructs IE **suh₂-tó-*, but his identification of the laryngeal as the *a*-colouring one is unacceptable, see § 3.1.

[23] See Oettinger, *loc. cit.* (with references).

[24] Melchert (1984:29) reconstructs nom. sg. anim. **séwh₁/₃-u-s* (> Hitt. *šu-u-uš* 'full'), acc. pl. anim. **suh₁/₃-éw-us* (> Hitt. *šuwamuš*); this suggests that the monophthongization of the Indo-European diphthongs in Hittite must be dated before the loss of IE **h₁*.

4.1.1. According to Sturtevant (1931:168–169), Hitt. *šunn(a)-* 'to fill', *šuwant-* 'full', etc. are related to Skt. *sunóti* 'presses out' (RV., etc.) and this etymology is repeated by Sturtevant and Hahn (1951:134), Kammenhuber (1956:3–4) and Melchert (1987a:183 fn. 4).

If this etymology is right, the *set* root, attested by the Anatolian forms, remains isolated. The related forms in the other Indo-European languages clearly point to an Indo-European *anit* root **sew-*, cf. Skt. *sunóti* (< IE **sunewti*) as well as 3rd sg. impv. act. *sótu* RV. (< IE **sew-tu*), 2nd du. impv. act. *sutám* RV. (*su-* 'to press out'), the past passive participle *sutá-* 'pressed, extracted' RV. (< IE **su-to-*), Av.*hunao-/hunu-* 'to press, press out' (cf. 3rd du. pres. act. *hunutō*, 3rd sg. inj. middle *hunūta*, active participle *hunuuant-*, etc.), past passive participle *huta-*, etc., OIr. *suth* 'milk' (< IE **su-to-m*) and Lith. *sulà* 'Birkensaft'[25]; then, Melchert's attempt to derive all these forms from IE **sewh$_x$-* (Melchert 1987a:183 fn. 4) is wrong. Since Skt. *su-* 'to press out' is clearly *anit*, there is also no reason to assume an earlier **sunā́ti* beside the attested *sunóti*, as it is in cases such as Skt. *sinā́ti* 'binds, ties' RV. beside *sinoti* Br.[26] Besides the formal problems, the connection of 'to fill' and 'to press out' is semantically far from evident[27].

4.1.2. The other etymologies of Hitt. *šu(wa)-*, etc. are less convincing.

Goetze (1954:403–404) assumes that IE **ḱ* was palatalized before **u* not only in Luwian, but also in Hittite and compares Hitt. *šuwa-* 'to fill' (middle 'swell up') with Skt. *śváyati* 'swells up', *śava-* 'strength', *śū́ra-* 'strong, hero', Gk. κυός 'fetus', κυέω 'to become or be pregnant', etc. However, Goetze's etymology is phonologically impossible and must be rejected. As Kammenhuber (1956:2) points out, Hier. Luw. *suwa-* 'to fill', which corresponds to Hitt. *šuwa-* 'id.', is spelled with the *su*-sign and never with *śu* which occurs in Hier. Luw. *aśuwa/i-* 'horse', *śuwa-* 'dog' and possibly represents IE **ku;* then, Hier. Luw. *suwa-* 'to fill' and its cognate forms must reflect only IE **s-* (see also Melchert 1987a:183 fn. 4).

According to Kronasser (1966a:80–81), Hitt. *šunn(a)-* 'to fill' and *šuwa-* 'id.' (given as *šunna-* and *šuwa(i)-* in his article) are denominative verbs which, together with the Sanskrit nouns *sū́tu-* 'pregnancy' and *sūtí-* 'birth, production', the Indo-European word for 'son' (Skt. *sūnú-*, Av. *hunu-*, Lith. *sūnùs*, etc.), etc., can be derived from an Indo-European adjective **sū-* 'full', to which the Hittite adjective *sū-* 'full' should be traced back[28]. As for the Sanskrit primary verb 3rd sg. pres. middle *sū́te* 'brings forth' RV., Kronasser, *loc. cit.*, unconvincingly explains it as an analogical formation, built on the basis of the Sanskrit nouns *sū́tu-* and *sūtí-*. An additional difficulty is presented by the lack of evidence for the meaning 'full' of the abundantly attested forms outside the Hittite-Luwian languages, see Weitenberg (1984:139)[29].

[25] On the data see Pokorny (1959: 912–913).

[26] Cf. Sturtevant (1931:168): „There is no difficulty on the formal side; transfers between the *nā-* class and the *neu-* class are common in Aryan and there is no doubt that the phenomenon is old".

[27] It seems that the best solution is that of Sturtevant (1931:169), who assumes a development of 'to press out' into 'to fill': „Now a sentence meaning 'presses out sap into a bowl' would in IH contain two accusatives, 'sap' and 'bowl'. If the former were omitted, the sentence would inevitably mean 'fills a bowl'". Kammenhuber (1956:3) reconstructs an Indo-European *anit* root **sew-* and assumes that its original meaning was 'Saft, Flüssiges'; hence 'to press out' in Indo-Iranian, 'to fill' in Hittite-Luwian, etc. Since Skt. *sótu, sunóti*, Hitt. *šu-, šuwa-*, etc. are primary verbs, this explanation is unconvincing.

[28] Following Kronasser, Oettinger (1979:159) compares Hitt. *šū-* 'full' and *šunna-* 'to fill' with Skt. *sū́tu-* 'pregnancy' and adduces Hitt. *šumreške/a-*, 'to be pregnant' which can be derived rather from **sewh$_1$-mr* than from **sewh$_2$-wr* (see § 3.1). As Weitenberg (1984:140) notes, the meaning of Hitt. *šumreške/a-* is due to an inner-Hittite development and „dieses Verb kann nicht eine ursprüngliche Bedeutung „schwanger" für die ganze anatolische Gruppe bezeugen".

[29] Cf. Weitenberg, *loc. cit.*: „Hier werden Bedenken durch die Tatsache erweckt, daß nur das Anatolische die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieser Wurzel, „voll", bewahrt habe, gegenüber dem einheitlichen Befund der übrigen indogermanischen Sprachen. . ."

4.2. Yet the Indo-European *seṭ* root **sewh$_1$-/*suh$_1$-*, seen in Hitt. *šuwa-* 'to fill', *šū-* 'full', etc. and their inner-Anatolian cognates, is attested in another language branch of Indo-European; we have the Slavic adjective **sytъ* 'satisfied, replete' (cf. OBg. *sytъ* ἀρκούμενος, Bg. *sit* 'satisfied, full, replete', SCr. *sît* 'satisfied, replete', Sn. *sìt* 'id.', Russ. *syt, sytyj* 'id.', Ukr. *sytyj* 'id.', Cz. *syt, sytý* 'id.', Sk. *sýty* 'id.', Pol. *syty* 'id.', USorb. *syty* 'id.', LSorb. *syty* 'id.'), from which a number of derivatives are formed, and the substantive **sytъ* (in OBg. *do syti* εἰς κόρον, Russ. dial. *dosytъ* 'fairly, enough', Ukr. *dosytъ* 'enough, fairly', Pol. *dosyć* 'enough').

Slavic **sytъ* 'satisfied, replete' and **sytъ*, which originally means 'repletion, satiety, satisfaction', are traditionally explained as cognate to Skt. *asinvá-* 'insatiable' and possibly *sínam* 'provision, supply, store', Gk. ἄατος 'insatiable' (< IE **ṇ-sh$_2$-tó-*), Lat. *satis* 'enough' (< IE *sh$_2$-tí-*), Goth. *sad(s)* ἐμπεπλησμένος, full, satisfied' (< IE **sh$_2$-to-*), (with secondarily introduced full grade of the root) OIr. *sáith* 'satiety', Lith. *sótus* 'satisfied, replete; nourishing', *sótis* 'satiety, satisfaction', etc. (see Vasmer 1953—1958 III:59—60; Pokorny 1959:876)[30]. However, the *-y-* of Slav. **sytъ* remains unclear; in fact, it requires the derivation of the Slavic adjective from an Indo-European preform **suh$_x$-to-* and suggests that we are dealing with an Indo-European root, different from the well-attested IE *seh$_2$-/*sh$_2$-* 'to satisfy'[31].

On the other hand, it is clear that the connection of Slav. **sytъ* with Hitt. *šuwa-* 'to fill', *šū-* 'full', etc. does not present phonological and morphological difficulties. Slav. **sytъ* continues an Indo-European verbal adjective **suh$_1$-tó-* 'filled, full' which is formed from an Indo-European root verb **sewh$_1$-/*suh$_1$-*, attested by the Hittite middle *šu-* 'to swell', the thematized Hitt. *šuwa-* 'to fill', Hier Luw. *suwa-* 'id.', Cun. Luw. *šuwa-* 'id.', etc. The antiquity of Slav. **sytъ* is guarranteed by the Hittite denominative verb *šuta(i)-* 'to fill up' which, as we have seen above (§ 3.3), is formed by the suffix **-eh$_2$-ye/o-* from IE **suh$_1$-tó-* (> Slav. **sytъ*)[32].

Similarly, there are no difficulties from the point of view of the semantics; the development of 'filled, full' into 'satisfied, satiated, replete' is well attested in the Indo-European languages, cf. e.g. Gk. πλήρης 'full' and 'full of, satisfied, satiated'; Lat. *plēnus* 'full' and 'full of food, replete', 'satisfied, sated'; Lith. *pílnas* 'full' and 'satt (nach dem Essen oder Trinken)', etc.

Thus, beside Hitt. *šunn(a)-* 'to fill' (< IE **sunh$_1$(-e/o)-)* which points to an Indo-European nasal infix present **suneh$_1$-/*sunh$_1$-*, we have also Hitt. *šu-* middle 'to swell' and the thematized Hitt. *šuwa-* act. 'to fill', Hier Luw. *suwa-* 'id.', Cun. Luw. *šuwa-* 'id.' which are representatives of an Indo-European root verb **sewh$_1$-/*suh$_1$-*. IE **sewh$_1$-/*suh$_1$-* and **suneh$_1$-/*sunh$_1$-* are attested by a number of derivatives in Hittite-Luwian; one of these derivatives, the Hittite denominative verb *šuta(i)-* 'to fill up' is evidently derived from the Indo-European verbal adjective **suh$_1$-tó-* 'filled, full', to which the isolated Slavic adjective **sytъ* 'satisfied, replete' should be traced back. It is clear that the Hittite-Luwian and the Slavic forms represent not a common lexical innovation, but a shared retention from the period of Common Indo-European.

[30] The other etymologies of Slav. **sytъ* are less convincing, see Vasmer, *loc. cit.*

[31] Machek (1971:600) ingeniously derives Slavic **sytъ, *sytъ* by lengthening from IE **sə-u-* and compares IE **sə-n-u-* which can be seen in Skt. *asinvá-*. However, there is no reason for assuming such a lengthening in the case of IE **sə-u-*. As for Sn. *dósti* 'enough', Cz. *dost, dosti* 'id.', Sk. *dosť, dosti* 'id.', Pol. *dość* 'id.', USorb. *dosć* 'id.', LSorb. *dosć* 'id.' and Bg. *dòsta* 'enough', SCr. *dösta* 'id.', Trubačev (1978:86) rightly points out that these adverbs can be explained by the inner-Slavic shortening of vowels in adverbs.

[32] Slavic **sytъ*, attested by OBg. *do syti*, etc., can be also archaic; it can continue IE **suh$_1$-ti-* which, as a deverbative noun in **-ti-*, is formed with regular zero grade of the root.

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Hittite *paške-, išpant-, maškan-,* cluster simplifications and anaptyctic vowels

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

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1. Indo-European **KsC* > Hittite *šC*

1. Hittite *paške-* and *išpant-*

1. Following Melchert (1984:108, 134, 148), Vine (1993:51) mentions that the *-i-* in Hittite iteratives such as *šarninkiške-* (: *šarnink-* 'to make restitution'), etc. "results from a regular anaptyxis after guttural and before the sequence *-s-* plus consonant, cf. preterites like 2/3 sg. *šakkiš* 'knew', *akkiš* 'died'"[2].

According to Vine (1993:51 fn. 13), I have explained "Hitt. *paške-* 'set upright' in terms of **pak-ške-*, with dissimilatory loss of the first velar". In view of the supposed "regular anaptyxis", Vine, *loc. cit.,* considers my explanation to be "phonologically aberrant".

However, my explanation of Hitt. *paške-* is as follows:

"In view of Hitt. *ispant-* 'night' < **kspant-* (: Skt. *kṣap-* 'night'), we can assume that the sequence **ksT* is changed into Hitt. *sT* (*T* = any stop). If so, the Hittite verb *paske-* can represent **pakske-* which comes either from IE **pH₂ǵ-ske-* (cf. Gk. pres. πήγνυμι, aor. ἐπάγην 'to make fast, to stick, fix on, to fasten together, to put together, to make solid', Lat. *pangō* 'to fasten, fix, drive in', Skt. *pajra-* 'firm, solid', etc.) or from IE **pH₂ḱ-ske-* (cf. Gk. πήσσω, Att. πήττω 'πήγνυμι', Lat. *pacīscor,* OLat. *paciō* 'to make a bargain, a contract', Av. *pas-* 'to fetter', etc.)"; see Rikov (1982:24).

The difference between my simplification of the sequence **ksC* into Hitt. *šC* and Vine's "dissimilatory loss of the first velar" is clear. In spite of the assumed "regular anaptyxis" of *-i-* between gutturals and *s* plus consonant[3], there is no **kišpant-* in Hittite; in fact, the attested Hitt. *išpant-,* passed over in silence by Vine, guarrantees the simplification of the Indo-European cluster **ksC* into Hitt. *šC.*

Vine, *loc. cit.,* replaces my **pakske-* by **pakške-* and his *š* implies that my non-attested **pakske-* is a form of Hittite date. This is inexact. For typographical convenience, the diacritics of Hitt. *š* and *ḫ* have been omitted in *Linguistique balkanique* of that time. Nevertheless, my statement that *"ksT* is changed into Hitt. *sT"* clearly indicates that **kspant-* and **pakske-* are forms of pre-Hittite date and prevents the misinterpretation of these forms as **kšpant-* and (Vine's) **pakške-* respectively.

Now my own explanation can be refined. Since Hitt. *paške-* can be connected either with Gk. πήγνυμι, etc., or with Gk. πήσσω, etc., it is clear that **ksC* can be replaced by the more general **KsC.* Hitt. *maškan-* and *maškiške-,* discussed below, suggest that this replacement is correct.

2. Hittite *maškan-* and *maškiške-*

2. The Hittite *n*-stem *maškan-* (nom.-acc. sg. *maškan,* abl. sg. *maškannaz*) 'bribe (given to officials), gift, propitiatory gift (given to gods)'[4] can be explained as a deverbative abstract noun of the type of Hitt. *ḫenkan-* 'death, fate' (: *ḫenk-* 'to offer'), *lagan-* 'bent, inclination' (: *lak-* 'to knock out, to turn, to fall'), *naḫḫan-* 'fear' (: *naḫḫ-* 'to fear')[5]. The underlying verb, from which *maškan-* in derived, is attested by the iterative in *-ške- maškiške-* 'to give presents'[6], cf. KBo XX 34 rev. 7—9 *nušmaš arui[š]gazi-maškišgazi* 'he is showing reverence and giving presents to you (gods)'[7].

Hitt. *maškan-* and *maškiške-* can be connected with Skt. *maghám* 'gift, reward, wealth' (RV. VS.), *maghá-tti-* 'giving and receiving of presents' (RV.), *maghávan(t)-* 'bountiful, munificent', masc. 'bestower of gifts, esp. of institutors of sacrifices, who pay the priests and singers' (RV., etc.)[8] and possibly Av. *maga-* and *magauuan-,* if these Avestan forms mean 'gift' and 'generous' respectively[9].

Although these Indo-Iranian words point to an Indo-European root which ends in **-gʰ-,* it is difficult to separate them from Skt. *máṁhate* 'gives away, bestows abundantly' (RV. Brāhm., etc.), *maṁhána-* 'gift' (RV.), *maṁhiṣṭha-* 'bestowing most abundantly' (RV. Brāhm., etc.) and probably Av. *mązā-* and *-mązа-, -mązah-* 'Pfandwert'[10]. Skt. *máṁhate* can be interpreted as a reduplicated verb *ma-ṁh-* (as it is assumed by Kuiper)[11] which continues Indo-Iranian **ma-mźh-.*

The alternation of velar and sibilant, attested by Indo-Iranian **magh-* (cf. Skt. *maghám,* Av. *maga-*) and **ma-mźh-* (cf. Skt. *máṁhate,* Av. *-mązа(h)-*) is parallel to

[1] The symbols, used in this paper, are as follows: *V* = any vowel; *R* = any sonant; *C* = any stop; *K* = any velar (or palatovelar) guttural; *P* = any labial stop; *T* = any dental stop; h_1, h_2 and h_3 signify the *e-, a-* and *o*-colouring laryngeal respectively.

[2] According to Melchert (1984:108), the *i* in the 3rd sg. preterites such as *akkiš* can be explained as an anaptyctic vowel between gutturals and *s* in the word boundary (see § 6); cf. however § 9. On the possibility that the assumed anaptyctic *i* can continue non-accented **e* see § 6.

[3] However, an anaptyctic vowel *a* in this phonetic environment appears in Old Hitt. 3rd pl. pres. act. *ḫi-in-ga-aš-kán-zi* (*ḫink-* 'to bestow, consign', see Neu 1983:65), 2nd pl. pres. act. *tág-ga-aš-te-ni* (: *takkeš-/takš-,* see § 12.2).

[4] On the meaning see *CHD* 3/2, p. 209.

[5] Cf. Tischler (1990:161—162).

[6] Cf. Tischler, *loc. cit.*

[7] On the text and translation see *CHD* 3/2, p. 210.

[8] According to Meißner (1993:42—48), Skt. *maghávan-* can be explained rather as a compound *maghá-van-* 'Gabe bringend', 'Gabe schenkend' than as an adjective in *-van-,* derived from *maghá-.*

[9] The connections of Skt. *maghá-* either with Goth. *magan* 'to have power, to be able', OBg. *mogǫ* 'I can', etc. (see Pokorny 1959:695) or with Goth. *manags* 'sufficient, very large, many', OBg. *mъnogъ* 'abundant, many', etc. (see Pokorny 1959:730, who also adds Skt. *máṁhate,* etc.) are semantically doubtful; cf. Mayrhofer (1956—1980 II:546): "Beide Etymologien sind ganz unsicher".

[10] From the point of view of the semantics, the possibilities that Skt. *máṁhate,* etc. can be related either to Skt. *mahān* 'great, large', *máhi* 'great', Gk. μέγας 'id.', Hitt. *mekki-* 'much, many', etc. (< IE **megh₂-*) or, together with Skt. *maghá-* etc., to Goth. *manags,* etc. (cf. fn. 9) seem unconvincing; cf. also Mayrhofer (1956—1980 II:538) with references.

[11] Cf. Mayrhofer, *loc. cit.*

that in cases such as Skt. *róka-* 'light, brightness' RV. (< IE **lowko-*), *rukmá-* 'ornament of gold' (RV. AV.), *rúkmant-* 'bright, brilliant, glittering' (TS.), *virúkmant-* 'id.' (RV.) and Skt. *rúśant-* 'bright, light, brilliant' (RV. AV.), Khotansacian *rrusana-* 'bright, glittering'. As Georgiev (1981:59—60) pointed out, in Skt. *róka-* etc., "the original velar is regularly preserved", whereas in Skt. *rúśant-* (< IE **luk-ent-*), the velar was regularly palatalized and assibilated"[12]. Similarly, IE **g^h* remains non-palatalized in Skt. *maghám* and Av. *maga-*, which continue an *o*-stem, and Av. *mimaγza-* 'zu spenden versuchend' which comes from **mi-mg^h-s-e/o-;* it is, however, regularly palatalized and assibilated in Skt. *máṁhate* (< Indo-Iranian **ma-mźh-a-tay* < IE **me-mg^h-e-toy*) as well as in the Sanskrit and Avestan derivatives of Indo-Iranian **ma-mźh-*[13].

Hitt. **maške-*, from which *maškiške-* and *maškan-* are formed, can be derived by the suffix **-ske-*[14] from an Indo-European root verb **meg^h(-e/o)-*[15]; this root verb relates to the reduplicated IE **me-mg^h(-e/o)-* (> Skt. *máṁhate,* etc.) as Hitt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *šeššzi* 'sleeps', Skt. 3rd sg. impv. act. *sastu,* 2nd pl. impf. act. *ásastana* (: *sas-* 'to sleep') to Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *sásasti;* Skt. 3rd sg. pres. middle *sácate* 'accompanies, follows' to Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *síṣakti;* Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *bharti* and *bhárati* 'bears' to Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *bíbharti,* etc.[16]

If so, the root vocalism of the Hittite **ske-*verb **maške-* calls for explanation. It is well known that the Indo-European verbs in **-ske-* are originally formed with zero grade of the root, cf. Skt. *gácchati* 'goes', Av. *jasaiti* 'comes', Gk. βάσκε 'go!' (< IE **g^{w}m-ske-*), etc. as well as Hitt. *akkuške-* (: *eku-* 'to drink'), *azzik(k)e-* (: *ed-* 'to eat'), *kuaške-* (: *kuen-* 'kill'). However, neither IE **mg^h-ske-* nor an innovated full-grade **meg^h-ske-* are possible sources of Hitt. **maške-*[17]. In fact, the root vocalism of Hitt. *maškiške-* and *maškan-* indicates that the underlying verb **maške-* is formed with morphological zero grade of the root; as Kuryłowicz (1968:225—256) pointed out, IE *R̥(C)* and *oR(C)* fall together into Hitt. *aR(C)* and this leads to the replacement of the old zero grade of the *CeC*-roots by the morphological zero grade **CoC* (= Hitt. *CaC*), cf. the Hittite causative *šašnu-* 'zum Schlaf veranlassen' (: *šeš-* 'to sleep'), the denominatives *maknu-* 'to make abundant, to increase' and *makkešš-* 'to be or become numerous, too many, excessive' (: *mekki-* 'much'), etc.

[12] Cf. also Georgiev (1937:121), Mayrhofer (1956—1980 III:69, 75—76).

[13] Thus, Skt. *maṁhána-*, Av. *mąza-*, *-mąza-*, etc. can be derived from Indo-Iranian **mamźh-*.

[14] In view of the Balto-Slavic evidence, the suffix can be reconstructed as IE **-ske-/*-sko-*, whereas Indo-Iranian points to IE **-ske-/*-sko-*, see for instance Kronasser (1966:581) with references; I will use **-ske-*. In fact, this problem is outside the scope of this paper.

[15] The *-šk-* in Hitt. *maškiške-* and *maškan-* can represent a regressive assimilation of the original sequence **-g^{h}sk-* into **-ksk-* which, with subsequent cluster simplification, yields Hitt. *-sk-;* similarly, if Hitt. *paške-* is related to Gk. πήγνυμι, etc., its *-sk-* is simplified from **-ksk-* which is assimilated from **-ǵsk-*. Cf. also the assimilatory devoiced **k^w* (< IE *g^{wh}*) in Hitt. *akkuške-* (< **h$_1$g^{wh}ske-*, cf. Hitt. *eku-/aku-* 'to drink' < IE **h$_1$eg^{wh}-/*h$_1$g^{wh}-*). — However, Puhvel (1972:112—115) accepts the opinion that Bartholomae's law is of Indo-European date and assumes that it operates in Hittite. If so, the *-šk-* in Hitt. *maškiške-* and *maškan-* would represent *-zg-* which is simplified from **-gzg^h-* < **-g^{h}sk-*. Of course, the reflexes of IE **zg^h/*zg* and **zd^h/*zd-* in Hittite cannot be distinguished from those of IE **sk* and **st* respectively, cf. for instance Hitt. *št* from IE **zd* and **zd^h* in cases such as Hitt. *ḫašduer-* 'twigs' (Hitt. *št* < IE **zd,* cf. Gk. ὄζος 'bough, branch, twig', etc.) and 2nd pl. pres. middle *paḫḫašduma* (*pahš-* 'to protect, guard'), *eštummat* (*eš-* 'to sit'), 2nd pl. pret. middle *kišdummat* (*kiš-* 'to become, happen'). (Hitt. *št* < IE **zd^h*).

[16] If IE **ms* changes into Hitt. *š,* Hitt. **maške-* can be derived by the suffix **-ske-* from a Common Anatolian reduplicated verb, corresponding to Skt. *máṁhate* (< Indo-Iranian **ma-mźh(-a)-* < IE **me-mg^h(-e/o-);* then, Hitt. **maške-* can continue, via **mamske-*, an earlier **mamkske-*. Since there is no reason for assumming that the **ske-*verbs, formed from reduplicated verb stems, are of Indo-European date, the formation of Hitt. **maške-* (if from **mamkske-*) can be dated to Common Anatolian. — According to Melchert (1988:212—214), however, whereas **ns* changes into Hitt. *š, *ms* yields Hitt. *nš;* if so, Hitt. **maške-* cannot be derived from **mamske-* (< **mamkske-*). However, Hitt. *tašuwant-* 'blind' (cf. Skt. *támisrā* 'a dark night' < IE *temh$_1$s-*) contradicts the supposed change of **ms* (in this case from IE **mh$_1$s*) into Hitt. *nš.*

[17] Instead of **maške-*, attested by *maškiške-* and *maškan-*, we would expect either Hitt. **aške-* (or **anške-?* Cf. fn. 16) from IE **ṇg^h-ske-* or Hitt. **meške-* from **meg^h-ske-*.

3. Elimination of the cluster **KsC* in Hittite

3. The cluster simplification of IE **KsC* into Hitt. *šC* is attested by the following instances:

IE **k-sC:* Hitt. *išpant-* 'night' < **kspant-* < IE **ksp-ent-* or **ksp-ont-* (cf. Skt. *kṣap-* 'night').

IE **ḱ-sC* or **ǵ-sC:* Hitt. *paške-* 'to set up, fix, fasten' < **pakske-* which continues either IE **ph$_2$ḱ-ske-* (cf. Gk. πήσσω Att. πήττω 'I make fast, fix on, fasten', Lat. *pacīscor,* OLat. *paciō,* etc.) or IE **ph$_2$ǵ-ske-* (cf. Gk. πήγνυμι, aor. ἐπάγην 'πήσσω', Lat. *pangō* 'I fasten, fix, drive in');

IE **g^h-sC:* Hitt. *maškiške-* 'to give presents' and *maškan-* 'gift' point to the non-attested verb in *-ške- *maške-* which is derived rather from **makske-* (: IE **meg^h(-e/o)-* besides IE **me-mg^h(-e/o)-,* attested by Skt. *máṁhate* 'gives away, bestows abundantly', etc.; cf. also Skt. *maghám* 'gift, reward, wealth', etc.).

The basic words of Hitt. *išpant-, paške-* and **maške-* are lost in Anatolian.

Due to the cluster simplification of **KsC* into Hitt. *šC,* the formation of Hitt. *paške-* and **maške-* is not transparent and these original iteratives in **-ske-* function as durative presents in Hittite. This leads to the formation of new derivatives such as the participle *paškant-,* the noun *paškawar* (: *paške-*), the iterative *maškiške-* and the abstract noun *maškan-* (: **maške-*).

4. Now it is clear that the original *ske*-iteratives of Hitt. *ak(k)-* 'to die, to be killed', *ark-* 'to mark off', *ištalk-* 'to flatten', *ištark-* 'to become sick', *ḫark-* 'to get lost, lose oneself', *ḫarni(n)k-* 'to make disappear, ruin', *ḫe(n)k-/ḫi(n)k-* 'to bow (reverentially), *li(n)k-* 'to swear', *šarni(n)k-* 'to make restitution' etc. should undergo the cluster simplification of **KsC* into Hitt. *šC;* this would lead to forms such as **aške-* (<**ak-ske-*), **aršikke-* (<**ark-ske-*), **ištalaške-* (<**stalk-ske-*), **ištaršikke-* (<**stark-ske-*), **ḫaršikke-* (<**hark-ske-*), **ḫarniške-* (<**harnink-ske-*), **ḫeške-/*ḫiške-* (<**ḫenk-ske-/*ḫink-ske-*), **liške-* (<**link-ske-*), *šarniške-* (<**sarnink-ske-*), etc. In fact, the cluster simplification of **KsC* into Hitt. *šC* destroys the root (or stem) integrity between the basic verbs (e.g. *ak(k)-, li(n)k-*) and their iteratives in *-ške-*, as **aške-, *liške-*, etc.[18] Then, it is not surprising that the opaque iteratives in **-ske-* such as **aške-, *aršikke-, *ḫiške-, *liške-, *šarniške-*, etc. are replaced by the transparent *akkiške-, arkiške-, ḫinkiške-* and *ḫingaške-, linkiške-, šarninḳiške-*, etc. On the origin of *-i-(/-e-)* see §§ 7—8.

II. Indo-European **PsC* > Hittite *šC*

5. According to Melchert (1984:109), "anaptyxis also occurs in a sequence labial + *s* + consonant" in Hittite, and this is exemplified by instances such as the Middle Hittite iteratives *appiške-* (: *ep-* 'to take, hold') and *terippiške-* (: *teripp-* 'to plow'), cf. Melchert (1984:134).

There are two instances which suggest that the Indo-European sequence **PsC* is simplified into Hitt. *šC.*

Thus, Melchert (1984:110) convincingly explains Hitt. *iške-* 'to anoint' as an original iterative in **-ske-* to Hitt. *peš-* 'to rub'; then, he assumes that **ps-ske-* yields **ske-* (> Hitt. *iške-*) and mentions that "the semantic development of 'rub (in)' to

[18] The Hittite iteratives in *-ške-* belong to the conjugation of the basic verbs, see Kuryłowicz (1958:237); hence opaque forms such as **aške-, *liške-*, etc. should be eliminated.

'smear, anoint' is obvious"[19]. It is clear that the change of **ps-ske-* into **ske-* (> Hitt. *iške-*) presupposes an intermediate stage **pske-* which suggests that the sequence **PsC* is simplified into Hitt. *šC*.

Hitt. *ištanza(n)-* 'soul, spirit, mind, will' can be another representative of the assumed cluster simplification. Eichner (1973:98) derives Hitt. *ištanza(n)-* via **stants* from IE **psten-* 'female breast, tit, nipple'; this etymology is accepted by Oettinger (1979:59) and Melchert (1984:110), who adduces Hitt. *ištanza(n)-* as another instance of the phonetic development, seen in Hitt. *iške-*. From the point of view of the semantics, however, this etymology seems uncertain and Puhvel (1984:471) rightly doubts it[20].

If the cluster **PsC* is simplified into Hitt. *šC*, we should expect that the *ske*-iteratives of Hitt. *ep-/ap-* 'to take, hold', *ḫarp-* 'to take to, begin', *karip-/karap-* 'to devour', *karp-* 'to lift', *šarip-/šarap-* 'to sip', *teripp-* 'to plow', *warp-* 'to wash, bath' will appear as **aške-* (<**ap-ske-*), **ḫaršikke-* (<**harp-ske-*), **kariške-* (if from **krep-ske-*) or **karšikke-* (with zero grade *-ar-* < **-r̥-*), **karšikke-* (<**karp-ske-*), **šariške-* (if from **srep-ske-*) or *šaršikke-* (with *-ar-* < **-r̥-*), **teriške-* (<**trep-ske-*), **waršikke-* (<**warp-ske-*) respectively. However, such iteratives, the association of which with the basic verbs is apparently lost, should be eliminated; they are replaced by the transparent *appiške, ḫarpiške-, karipiške-, karpeške-, šarapeške-, terippiške-* and *warpeške-* respectively. On the origin of *-i-(/-e-)* see §§ 7—8.

III. The anaptyctic *i(/e)*: a re-evaluation of the data

6. It is clear that the *i* in cases such as *akkiške-* and *appiške-* prevents the simplification of **K* or **P* plus **sC* into Hitt. *šC* and preserves the root unity within the paradigms of Hitt. *ak(k)-* 'to die', *ep-/ap-* 'to take, hold', etc.

According to Oettinger (1979:41, 218, 319) and Melchert (1984:108, 134, 148), we are dealing with an anaptyctic vowel which appears after gutturals and labials and before *s* plus consonant; similarly, they assume that the anaptyxis also occurs in Hitt. *takkeš-/takkiš-* (when before endings beginning with consonants) and the 3rd sg. preterites *akkiš* 'died' and *šakkiš* 'knew', where the anaptyxis appears after *K* and before *s* in final position (see Oettinger 1979:41, 218 and Melchert, *loc. cit.*). Whereas Oettinger identifies the anaptyctic vowel as *e*, Melchert operates with *i* and considers the Middle and Neo-Hittite instances with *e* to be analogical. In view of the *e* in Hitt. *teripp-* 'to plow', however, Melchert (1984:131) mentions the possibility that this anaptyctic vowel can represent an original non-accented **e*, as it was already assumed by Oettinger.

However, the explanation of these cases by anaptyxis is not unquestionalle.

1. Hittite *i/e* after gutturals (and labials) and before *-šk(e)-*

7. The Hittite verbs in *-ye-/-ya-* regularly form iteratives in *-i-šk(e)-*, where *-i-* is syncopated from *-ye-* (or *-ya-*); cf. Old Hittite *anniške-* (: *aniya-* 'to work, carry out'), *piššiške-* (: *peššiya-* 'to throw'), Middle Hittite *ilališke-* (: *ilaliya-* 'to desire, want'), *wemiške-* (: *wemiya-* 'to find') and see Melchert (1984:102, 133).

[19] Oettinger's comparison of Hitt. *iške-* with Skt. *iṣ-* 'refreshment, strength', *iṣirá-* 'streaming, vigorous', etc. (Oettinger 1979:327) is rejected by Melchert, *loc cit.*, and Puhvel (1984:423) as semantically unconvincing. Georgiev (1979:14) compared Hitt. **iške-* not only with Skt. *iṣṇāti, iṣyati* 'sets in motion', *iṣ-, iṣirá-*, etc., but also with Gk. ἰάομαι 'I heal'; Puhvel (1984:423—424) separates Hitt. *iške-* and Gk. ἰάομαι from the Sanskrit words.

[20] In fact, the etymology of Hitt. *ištanza(n)-* is uncertain; a survey of the attempts at explanation is given by Puhvel (1984:471), who derives Hitt. *ištanza(n)-* from IE **s(t)ent-to-* and compares Lat. *sensus* 'feeling', OHG *sin(n)* 'sense, mind', etc.; this etymology seems also doubtful.

It is clear that iteratives such as Hitt. *ḫarkiške-, ištalkiške-, ištarkiške-, ḫarpiške-, karpiške-*, etc. can be formed rather from verbs in *-ye-/-ya-* than from their underlying root verbs. Thus, we have as follows (deverbatives in *-ye-/-ya-* vs. underlying root verbs):

Hitt. *ḫarkiya-* 'to get lost, lose oneself' (cf. 3rd pl. pres. act. *ḫar-ki-ya-an-zi*, 3rd sg. impv. act. *ḫar-ki-e-id-du*, 3rd sg. impv. middle *ḫar-ki-it-ta-ru, ḫar-ki-ya-it-ta-ru*, iterative *ḫarkiške-*) vs. *ḫark-* 'id.' (cf. 1st sg. pres. act. *ḫar-ak-mi*, 2nd sg. pres. act. *ḫar-ak-ti*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *ḫar-ak-zi*, 3rd pl. pres. act. *ḫar-kán-zi*, etc.);

Hitt. *ištalkiya-* 'to flatten' (cf. 3rd sg. pres. middle *iš-tal-ki-ya-at-ta-ri*, iterative *ištalkiške-*) vs. *ištalk-* 'id.' (cf. sg. pres. act. *iš-tal-ak-zi*);

Hitt. *ištarkiya-* 'to become sick, to ail, afflict' (cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *iš-tar-ki-ya-az-zi*, 3rd sg. pret. act. *iš-tar-ki-it, iš-tar-ak-ki-it, iš-tar-ki-at*, 3rd sg. pret. middle *iš-tar-ak-ki-ya-at-ta-at*, iterative *ištarkiške-*) vs. *ištark-* 'id.' (cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *iš-tar-ak-zi*, 3rd sg. pret. act. *iš-tar-ak-ta*);

Hitt. *ḫarpiya-* 'to take to, begin, assemble (?)[21] (cf. 1st sg. pres. act. *ḫar-pí-ya-mi*, 2nd sg. pres. act. *ḫar-pí-ya-si*, iterative *ḫarpiške-*) vs. *ḫarp-* 'id.' (cf. 2nd sg. pres. act. *ḫar-ap-ši*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *ḫar-ap-zi*, 3rd pl. pres. act. *ḫar-pa-a-an-zi*);

Hitt. *karpiya-* 'aufheben' (cf. 1st sg. pres. act. *kar-pí-i-e-mi*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *kar-pí(-i)-iz-zi, kar-pí-e-iz-zi*, 3rd pl. pres. act. *kar-pí-an-zi*, iterative *karpiške-* and *karpeške-*) vs. *karp-* 'id.' (cf. 1st sg. pres. act. *kar-ap-mi*, 2nd sg. pres. act. *kar-ap-ši*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *kar-ap-zi*, 3rd pl. pres. act. *kar-ap-pa-an-zi, kar-ap-an-zi*).

However, iteratives such as Hitt. *ḫarkiške-, ištalkiške-, ištarkiške-, ḫarpiške-, karpiške-*, formed from verbs in *-ye-/-ya-*, function also as iteratives of the underlying root verbs *ḫark-, ištalk-, ištark-, ḫarp-, karp-*. Then, we are dealing with new correlations such as *ḫark- : ḫarkiške-, ištalk- : ištalkiške-, ištark-/ištarkiške-, ḫarp- : ḫarpiške-, karp- : karpiške-*, on the basis of which the compound suffix *-i-šk(e)-* is abstracted; hence we have *ak(k)- : akkiške-, ark- : arkiške-, ḫe(n)k- : ḫi(n)k- : ḫinkiške-, li(n)k- : linkiške-, ḫatk-* 'to snut, close': *ḫatkiške-* etc. beside *ḫingaške-, ḫadgaške-* which are formed with anaptyctic *a* before *-šk(e)-*.

8. It is also well known that the Hittite verbs in *-a(i)-* form iteratives in *-e-šk(e)-*, cf. Hitt. *arkuweške-* (: *arkuwa(i)-* 'to plead, argue, rejoin'), *ḫatreške-* (: *ḫatra(i)-* 'to write'), etc. Then, correlations such as Hitt. *ištalk- : ištalga(i)-* (cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *iš-tal-ga-iz-zi* 'flattems'), *tarup(p)-* 'sammeln, versammeln' (cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *ta-ru-up-zi*, etc.) : *taruppa(i)-* 'id.' (cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *ta-ru-up-pa-iz-zi*, etc.) would lead to the formation of the compound iterative suffix *-e-šk(e)-*, based on the verbs in *-a(i)-*. Since Hittite attest a number of verbs in *-a(i)-* which occur beside verbs in *-ye-/-ya-* (cf. Hitt. *ištalga(i)- : ištalkiya-, taruppa(i)- : taruppiya-*, e.g. 3rd sg. pret. act. *ta-ru-up-pí-ya-at*), the confusion of *-e-šk(e)-* und *-i-šk(e)-* in Hittite is not surprising; hence we have Hitt. *akkeške-, ḫinkeške-, šarninkeške-, karpeške-* beside *akkiške-, ḫinkiške-, šarninkiške-, karpiške-*.

2. The Hittite 3rd sg. preterites in *-iš*

9. As I have suggested elsewhere (Rikov 1986—1987:§ 12), since the Indo-European non-accented **e* appears as *i* in Hittite (cf. Hitt. *nepiš-* 'heaven, sky' < IE **néb^{h}es-*), the final *-iš* of the Hittite 3rd sg. preterite forms can continue the Indo-

[21] On the meaning of Hitt. *ḫarp-, ḫarpiya-* see Puhvel (1991:182).

European 3rd sg. perfect ending *-*e*, to which the 3rd sg. secondary ending *-*s*[22] of the *eh₃*-conjugation is added.

According to Melchert (1984:97—98), the Hittite 3rd sg. preterite *ta-a-li-iš, da-a-li-iš* 'left alone' is formed from a stem in *-*i-*, seen in the 3rd pl. pres. act. *dalianzi* and 2nd pl. pret. act. *dališten*. This is evidently unconvincing. In fact, there is no reason to separate *dalianzi* and *dališten* from 1st sg. pres. act. *daliyami*, 2nd sg. pres. act. *daliyaši*, 3rd sg. pret. act. *daliyat*, etc. which point to a stem *daliya-*. Hitt. *daliya-*, as the other Hittite deverbatives in *-ye-/-ya-*, is inflected in the *mi*-conjugation, whereas Hitt. *tališ, dališ* are evidently 3rd sg. preterite active forms of the *ḫi*-conjugation. On the other hand, the Hittite *ḫi*-forms such as the thematized 1st sg. pres. act. *da-a-la-aḫ-ḫi, ta-la-aḫ-ḫi*, 1st sg. pret. act. *ta-a-la-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 2nd sg. impv. act. *da-a-la* do no attest the supposed enlargement *-i-*, which is inherent to the *ḫi*-verbs *išpai-* 'to be satiated', *ḫuwai-* 'to run, hurry', *dai-* 'to put'. Then, Hitt. *tališ, dališ* can continue an Indo-European 3rd sg. perfect in *-*e*, to which the 3rd sg. secondary ending *-*s* is added[23].

The phonetic development of IE *oh_1iC* via *oyC* (with loss of the intervocalic *h_1*) into Hitt. *eC* is well attested by Hittite 1st sg. present active forms such as *ḫu-i-iḫ-ḫi* (: *ḫuwai-* 'to run, hurry'), *pa-ri-iḫ-ḫi* (: *parai-* 'to blow, blow into'), *te-e-iḫ-ḫé, te-e-iḫ-ḫi* (: *dai-* 'to put'), etc. which can be traced back to Indo-European 1st sg. perfects *h_2woh_1i-h_2e* + *-*i*, *$proh_1i$-h_2e* + *-*i* and *d^hoh_1i-h_2e* + *-*i* respectively. Similarly, the Hittite 1st sg. pret. act. *ḫu-e-iḫ-ḫu-un, te-iḫ-ḫu-un*, 2nd sg. pret. act. *ši-iš-ta* (: *šai-* 'to press, shoot') also represent the monophthongization of *ay* < *oy* < *oh_1i* when before consonants.

This implies that the Hittite 3rd sg. preterites *ḫu-wa-iš, ḫu-u-wa-a-iš, ḫu-wa-i-iš, pa-ra-iš, ša-i-iš* and *da-a-iš, da-iš* cannot be formed by direct addition of the ending *-*s* to the perfect stems *h_2woh_1i-, *$proh_1i$-, *soh_1i-* and *d^hoh_1i-* respectively. True, according to Kimball (1993:14—28), the Indo-European short diphthongs *oy* and *ow* are retained as diphthongs in Hittite when they appear before resonants and *s*. If so, Kimball's opinion that the 3rd sg. ending *-*s* is directly added to perfect stems such as *d^hoh_1i-* (*ibidem*, p. 24) would be right. However, the evidence for the development of the Indo-European sequences *oys* and *ows* into Hitt. *ais* and *aus* respectively is highly uncertain. Kimball 1993:14—17) tries to prove this development by two instances of Hitt. *-aiš-* in root morphemes, but it is clear that Hitt. *maišta-* 'fleece(?)' (: Skt. *meṣa-* 'ram, fleece', *meṣī-* 'ewe, fleece, sheepskin', Av. *maēšā-, maēšī-* 'id.', OBg. *měchъ* 'bag', etc.) can be derived not only from IE *$moys$-to-*, but also from IE *moh_2is-to-;* as I have suggested elsewhere (Rikov, forthcoming), IE *h_2* is lost in Hittite not only before *y*, but also before *i*[24]. In fact, Kimball's theory depends on the interpretation of the scarcely attested Hitt. *maišt-*, if it means 'solar disk', and the evidence of this isolated instance seems insufficient.

[22] According to Burrow (1954:35—42; 1957:61—65), the Indo-Iranian and Hittite data point to an Indo-European 3rd sg. secondary ending *-*s*. In Indo-Iranian, this ending is possibly attested by the Vedic 3rd sg. root aorist optative forms in *-yā-s*, as *bhūyā́s*, etc., on the basis of which the paradigm of the precative is built (cf. 1st sg. prec. act. *bhūyā́sam*, 1st pl. prec. act. *bhūyā́sma*, etc. and see especially Watkins 1962:90—96); by the Gathic Avestan 3rd sg. opt. act. *-tuiiā̊* Y 29,9 (*mā zbaraϑaēibiia fratuiiā̊ ma gavaēibiia aiβi. tūtuiiā̊* 'let him not have power with his feet, let him not have power with his hands'); by the Old Persian 3rd sg. imperfect active forms *āiš* 'went', *atiy-āiš* 'went past', *akunauš* 'made', *adaršnauš* 'dared' and thematic optatives such as 3rd sg. act. *vināϑayaiš* (: *vi-nāϑaya-* 'to injure, harm'), etc. — Following Georgiev (1975:12—14, 25—26), I have assumed that the Hittite *ḫi*-conjugation consists of forms which can be traced back to Indo-European perfects and verbs of the *eh₃*-conjugation; if so, since the Indo-European 3rd sg. perfect ending is *-*e*, the Hittite and Indo-Iranian 3rd sg. ending *-*s* can be identified as the 3rd sg. secondary ending of the Indo-European *eh₃*-conjugation (Rikov 1986—1987:§§ 9—10).

[23] Cf. Rikov, *ibidem*, § 12. The Hittite 3rd sg. preterite forms such as *iyanniš* (: *iyanna-* 'to go, march'), which are formed from present stems, represent a secondary spread of the final *-iš* (< *-*e* + *-*s*).

[24] The available data suggest IE *oh_1iC* > *oyC* > Hitt. *eC*, but IE *eh_2iC*/*oh_2iC* > *$ahiC$* > Hitt. *aiC*.

In view of Hitt. *tališ, dališ*, however, the problem of the monophthongization of *-*oy*- (< *-*oh_1i*-) before *-*s* is not relevant to cases such as Hitt. *daiš*, etc. There is no doubt that the Hittite 3rd sg. preterite forms *ḫuwaiš, paraiš, šaiš* and *daiš* can be derived from Indo-European 3rd sg. perfects *h_2woh_1y-e, *$proh_1y$-e, *soh_1y-e* and *d^hoh_1y-e* respectively, to which the 3rd sg. secondary ending *-*s* is added[25].

Now it is clear that Oettinger's and Melchert's explanation of the *-i-* in the Hittite 3rd sg. preterite forms *a-ak-ki-iš* 'died' and *ša-ak-ki-iš* 'knew' as an anaptyctic vowel (Oettinger 1979:41, Melchert 1984:108) is not necessary. Thus, Hitt. *akkiš* and *šakkiš* can be explained by addition of the 3rd sg. secondary ending *-*s* to the Indo-European perfects 3rd sg. *h_1ok-e* and *sok-e*[26] (if Hitt. *šak(k)-/šek(k)-* 'to know' is related to Lat. *sciō*)[27].

The formation of these Hittite 3rd sg. preterites is paralleled by similar formations in other Indo-European languages.

Thus, the final *-ed* of Praenest. *vhevhaked*, Osc. *deded*, etc. can be explained as consisting of the 3rd sg. perfect ending *-*e* and the 3rd sg. secondary ending *-*t* (> *-d*).

Similarly, the Vedic 3rd sg. pluperfects *jagrabhat* (: *grabh-* 'to seize', cf. 3rd sg. perf. *jagrā́bha*, the *-ā-* of which is analogical), *tastambhat* (: *stambh-* 'to prop', cf. 3rd sg. perfect *tastambha*) are formed from 3rd sg. perfects with the ending *-a* (< IE *-*e*) plus the 3rd sg. secondary ending *-t;* cf. also the Vedic augmented 3rd sg. pluperfect *aciketat* (: *cit-* 'to perceive', 3rd sg. perf. *cikéta*), etc.[28].

3. Hittite *takkeš-* and *takš-*

10. Hitt. *takš-*, also *takkeš-/takkiš-* and *taggaš-*, means 'zusammenfügen, unternehmen (Feldzug); zuteil werden lassen, zuteilen, zufügen, vereinbaren, mischen, zücken', see Tischler (1991:40) with references.

Hitt. *takkeš-* and *takkiš-* are usually explained either as graphic variants of *takš-*, or as forms, developed from *takš-* by anaptyxis (see below, § 12).

However, in view of the attempts at etymological explanation of this Hittite verb, these solutions are evidently doubtful.

11.1. Sturtevant's connection of Hitt. *takš-/takkeš-/takkiš-* with Skt. *tákṣati* 'fashions, carpenters, cuts' (cf. 3rd sg. inj. act. *takṣat*), *tā́ṣṭi* 'id.', Gk. τέκτων 'builder', Lat. *texō* 'I bride, weave', OIr. *tál* 'adze', Lith. *tašaũ* 'I hew, cut', OBg. *tešǫ, tesati* 'to hew, cut', etc. (Sturtevant 1930:214) is almost generally accepted, see Tischler (1991:42) with references. Since the *kš* in Hitt. *takš-* can continue only IE *Ks* and cannot be derived from the Indo-European cluster *$kþ$ (i.e., *tk)*[29], the reconstruction of IE *$teǩþ$-* (cf.

[25] Rikov, *loc. cit.*

[26] Or IE *soh_2g-e*, if Hitt. *šak(k)-/šek(k)-* is related to Lat. *sāgiō* 'I perceive acutely', OIr. *saigim* 'I seek out', Goth. *sokjan* 'to seek', etc.

[27] Rikov, *loc. cit.*

[28] Similarly, the formation of the Hittite 3rd sg. pret. act. *a-ar-ša-, a-ar-aš* 'arrived', which consists of the perfect stem *ar-* (< IE *h_1or-*) and the ending *-š*, is paralleled by that of the Vedic pluperfects 2nd sg. act. *ájagan* (< Indo-Aryan *$á$-jagam-s;* *gam-* 'to go'), *cākán* (< Indo-Aryan *$cākan$-s;* *kan-* 'to be pleased, enjoy'), 3rd sg. act. *ájagan* (< Indo-Aryan *$á$-jagam-t*), *rārán* (< Indo-Aryan *$rāran$-t;* *ran-* 'to rejoice') which, as Hitt. *arš*, also represent a replacement of the old perfect endings by secondary ones. On Hitt. 3rd sg. pret. act. *la-a-aḫ-ḫu-uš* 'poured' (thematized *la-a-ḫu-wa-aš*), etc. which are probably formed from present stems see Rikov, *loc. cit.*

[29] The Indo-European sequence *TK* is attested in Hittite by the oblique cases of *tekan-* 'earth' (cf. gen. sg. *taknaš*, dat.-loc. sg. *taknai*, "directive" *taknā* and the endingless loc. sg. *dagan*), by Hitt. *ḫartak(k)a-* 'bear(?)' and *ḫatk-* 'to shut, close' (:Gk. ἄχθομαι 'I am burdened, loaded', see Puhvel 1991:268 with references). Shindler's assumption that the *kš* of Hitt. *takš-* can reflect IE *ktl*/*kd* (Schindler 1977:34) is unacceptable, see Mayrhofer (1982:249).

for instance Pokorny 1959:1958—1059) is evidently unacceptable. Oettinger (1979:218—219) accepts Laroche's opinion that Hitt. *takš-* means 'conformer à, combiner, arranger' (cf. Laroche 1963:69—70) and, following Hoffmann (1976:595 fn. 6), gives two different roots, IE **teḱþ-* 'behauen, zimmern' (cf. Skt. *tákṣati, tā́ṣṭi,* Av. *taša-* 'axe', Gk. τέκτων, etc.) and IE **teks-* 'zusammenarbeiten, verbinden', to which Lat. *texō,* Hitt. *takš-* and OPers. *ham taxša-* 'to work with, effect' are traced back. According to Mayrhofer (1982:247—249; 1986:156), however, all the forms, given by Pokorny, *loc. cit.,* under **teḱþ-,* can be derived from IE **teḱs-*[30] and this seems the right solution to the problem.

As it was mentioned above, Laroche (1963:69—71) defined the meaning of Hitt. *takš-* as 'conformer à, combiner, arranger'; he compared this Hittite verb with Hitt. *takk-* 'ressembler, convenir à', Gk. δέκομαι, Attic δέχομαι 'I take, accept, receive', Lat. *decet* 'it becomes, it fits, is fitting', Gk. δοκέω 'I expect, think, suppose, imagine, seem', δόξα 'expectation, notion, opinion', etc.[31] Laroche reconstructed IE **deḳ-/dok-/doks-* and mentioned: "Le développement, particulier au hitt., du thème à sifflante *doks-* vers la notion d'"egalite" doit être trés ancien; il peut servir à expliquer l'alsence de **deks-* "droit" en hittite" (Laroche, *ibidem,* p. 71). Watkins (1969:117), who follows Laroche, also derives Hitt. *takš-* from an *o*-grade preform **doḳs-,* but compares only Gk. δόξα.

11. 2. However, there is no reason for assuming that Hitt. *takš-* (also *takkeš-,* etc.) can be formed with *o*-vocalism of the root.

Thus, Gk. δοκέω is regularly formed with radical *o*-vocalism, as the other iteratives and intensives in -εω (< *-ε̯ω), cf. Gk. φορέω, ὀχέω, φοβέω and see Schwyzer (1939:718—719), Risch (1974:309). The radical *o*-vocalism of Gk. fut. δόξω, aor. ἔδοξα, etc. is along the line of that of δοκέω, see Wackernagel (1895:37—38, Schwyzer (1939:718 fn. 2). Hitt. *takk-* follows the *ḫi*-conjugation and evidently continues an *o*-grade perfect. The comparison of the root vocalism of Hitt. *takš-* with that af Gk. δόξα, which is a noun, is of no importance. In fact, Hitt. *takš-/takkeš-/takkiš-* is clearly a primary verb which is inflected in the Hittite *mi*-conjugation and this indicates that there is no reason for assuming an original *o*-vocalism of the root, cf. the radical *e*-vocalism of primary verbs such as Skt. *rakṣati* 'protects, guards', Gk. ἀλέξω 'I ward off, turn aside'; Gk. δέψω 'I work, knead' (: δέφω 'I soften by working, with the hand'; Gk. ἕψω 'I boil, seethe' (cf. Gk. ἑφθός 'boiled'); Gk. τείνω 'I stretch, pull tight', Goth. *at-þinsan* 'to draw to oneself', Lith. *tęsti* 'to stretch', etc. and see Brugmann (1916:337—339). In fact, Skt. *dákṣati* 'acts to the satisfaction of', which, in view of Laroche's etymology, can be related to Hitt. *takš-* (cf. Tischler 1991:43), also presupposes an original *e*-vocalism of the root. In fact, from the point of view of the morphology, the explanation of Hitt. *takš-/takkeš-/takkiš-* as a verb, formed with radical *o*-vocalism, is evidently unacceptable.

11. 3. In view of its radical *a*-vocalism, however, Hitt. *takš-* (also *takkeš-/takkiš*) cannot be derived from IE **teḳs- (*teks-)* or **deḳs-*.

True, Oettinger (1979:219), who derives Hitt. *takš-* from IE **teks-,* assumes that IE **e* before groups of two consonants changes into Hitt. *a.* This hypothesis, however, is contradicted by instances such as Hitt. *ekt-* 'net' (cf. also Cun. Luv. *aggati-* 'catch-net') which, as Poetto (1994:160—174) points out, is related to Skt. *akṣu-* 'eine Art Netz', etc., and Hitt. *kištant-* 'hunger' (: Hitt. *kašt-* 'id.', Toch. A *kaṣt,* B *kest* 'id.'). Moreover, when Oettinger (1979:208) accepts Meriggi's connection of Hitt. *lipš-, lipša(i)-* 'abschauern, abstossen(?)' with Gk. λέπω 'I peel', etc. (see also Tischler 1990:63—64), he is forgetting his own hypothesis and permits the

[30] If so, OPers. *ham taxša-,* etc. can be separated from these forms, see Mayrhofer (1982:249 fn. 40).

[31] According to Hamp (1971:22), the original meaning of IE **deḳ-* is 'to conform (esp. to society's values)'.

development of IE **e* before two consonants into Hitt. *e.* Then, from the point of view of the Hittite historical phonology, Hitt. *takš-* cannot be derived from an *e*-grade Indo-European preform **TeKs-*.

12. The possibility which remains is that Hitt. *takš-, takkeš-/takkiš-* and *taggaš-* are formed with zero grade of the root and that the *a* of these Hittite forms can be explained as an anaptyctic vowel, as the first *a* in Hitt. gen. sg. *taknaš,* dat.-loc. *taknai,* loc. sg. *dagan,* "directive" *taknā* (: *tekan-* 'earth'), where the writings *da-a-ga-* and *ta-a-ak-* in *da-a-ga-an* and *ta-a-ak-na-a* respectively guarrantee the anaptyxis of *a* between the dental and the guttural stop[32].

12.1. This explanation accounts well for the Hittite 3rd pl. pres. act. *ták-ša-an-zi* which can be derived, with anaptyxis between the dental and guttural, from IE **TKs-enti;* similarly, we have Hitt. 3rd pl. pret. act. *ták-še-ir,* 3rd pl. pres. middle *ták-ša-an-ta-an-ta-ri, ták-ša-an-da-ri,* 3rd pl. impv. middle *ták-ša-an-ta-ru,* participle *takšant-,* infinitive *ták-šu-an-zi,* verbal noun *ták-šu-wa-ar* 'Treue(?)' and the deverbative nouns *takšan-* 'Mitte, Fuge, Zusammenfügung', *takšatar* 'Elene' (denominative verb *takšatniya-* 'einebnen'), *takšeššar* 'Zusammenfügung, Anordnung' and *takšul-* 'Anordnung, Pakt, Friede' (denominative verb *takšula(i)-* 'sich vertragen, freundlich sein', hence *takšulatar* 'Freundlichkeit, Einigkeit, Friede'). All these forms represent IE **Ks* which is retained before vowels in Hittite[33].

12.2. Since the Indo-European cluster **KsC* is simplified into Hitt. *šC,* we can expect Hitt. 2nd pl. pres. act. **tašteni* (< **taks-teni*), 2nd pl. pret. act. **tašten* (< **taks-ten),* etc. Instead of these opaque forms, which would destroy the paradigmatic unity of the Hittite verb, Hittite attests 2nd pl. pres. act. *tág-ga-aš-te-ni* and *ták-ki-iš-te-ni, ták-ki-eš-te-ni*[34]. These forms can be analogical innovations; thus, the Hittite 2nd pl. pres. act. *tág-ga-aš-te-ni* (Telipinu II 60) can be formed with an inner-Hittite anaptyxis between the guttural and *s*[35] along the line of the 3rd pl. pres. act. *takšanzi,* etc. The Hittite 2nd sg. pres. act. *tág-ga-aš-ši* (Telipinu II 15) 3rd sg. pret. act. *tág-ga-aš-ta* (ibid., II 13) and the Neo-Hittite 3rd sg. impv. act. *tág-ga-aš-du* are due to a paradigmatic leveling.

12.3. The variants *takkeš-* and *takkiš-* are well attested in the active singular, cf. Hitt. 2nd sg. pres. act. *ták-ki-iš-ši,* 3rd sg. pres. act. *ták-ki-eš-zi, ták-ki-e-eš-zi, ták-ki-iš-zi,* 1st sg. pret. act. *ták-ki-eš-šu-un,* 3rd sg. pret. act. *ták-ki-iš-ta, ták-ki-e-eš-ta.* These variants occur also in the 2nd and 3rd plural active, cf. *ták-ki-iš-te-ni, ták-ki-eš-te-ni* and *ták-ki-eš-ša-an-zi, ták-ki-e-eš-ša-an-zi.*

According to Kronasser (1966:47, 398) and Neu (1974:91 fn. 191), Hitt. *takkeš-* is only a graphic variant of */taks-/.* As Neumann (1962:155—156) points out, however, the writing *ták-ki-e-eš-* in the 3rd pl. pres. act. *ták-ki-e-eš-ša-an-zi* (cf. also 3rd sg. pres. act. *ták-ki-e-eš-zi,* 3rd sg. pret. act. *ták-ki-e-eš-ta*) has phonemic value. The possibility that we are dealing with an anaptyctic vowel *e,* as it is suggested by Neumann, *loc. cit.,* is also accepted by Tischler (1991:41). According to Melchert (1984:108, 134), however, this anaptyctic vowel can be identified as *i* and it originally appears in the sequence guttural + *s* + consonant, cf. OHitt. *takkišta,* MHitt. *takkišzi.* He also assumes that the variant *takkeš-* is due to the influence of the inchoatives in *-ešš-* (Melchert 1984:134—135). In fact, the explanations of Hitt. *takkeš-/takkiš-* by anaptyxis are based on the assumption that we are dealing with an original *takš-,* from which *takkeš-* and *takkiš-* are developed.

[32] According to Schindler (1977:31), the anaptyxis, seen in Hitt. gen. sg. *taknaš* can be dated to Indo-European; thus, IE **dʰgʰmes* can be developed into **dʰVgʰmes* (the *-n-* in Hitt. *taknaš,* etc. is analogical). It seems, however, that the anaptyxis in Hitt. *takš-* can be dated to a prestage of Anatolian.

[33] Cf. Hitt. *wakšiya-* 'ermangeln' and see Oettinger (1966:219).

[34] On Hitt. *takkišteni, takkešteni* see below, §§ 13, 15.

[35] See Tischler (1991:41). It is possible that the *a* in Hitt. *ḫingaške-,* etc. is also anaptyctic.

However, we have seen above that Hitt. *takš-* continues IE **TKs-*. From the point of view of the morphology, the active singular forms of this Hittite athematic *mi*-verb cannot be derived from the zero-grade **TKs-;* such an assumption would be morphologically improbable. Since not only **TeKs-* and **ToKs-*, but also **TKs-* should be eliminated as a possible source of the active singular forms of this Hittite verb, the only possibility which remains is the reconstruction of IE **TKes-* in the active singular[36]. Then, the Hittite 3rd sg. pres. act. *takkeszi* and 3rd pl. pres. act. *takšanzi* point to an Indo-European ablauting paradigm 3rd sg. pres. act. **TKes-ti,* 3rd pl. pres. act. **TKs-enti.* This paradigm represents a well known inflectional pattern.

Thus, the Cypriote 2nd sg. imperative act. γράσθι points to IE **gr̥s-dʰi.* This suggests that the Greek thematic present γράω 'I gnaw, eat' is formed on the basis of the 3rd pl. pres. act. **gr̥s-enti* and that the related Sanskrit 3rd sg. pres. act. *grásati* 'swallows, consumes' can represent a thematization of the strong forms of the original athematic present. Then, as Kuiper (1934:217) points out, we are dealing with an original athematic present IE 3rd sg. pres. act. **gres-ti,* 3rd pl. pres. act. **gr̥s-enti.*

Similarly, the Hittite 3rd sg. pres. act. *ḫu-i-iš-zi* 'lives' and 2nd sg. impv. act. *ḫu-e-eš* can be derived from an Indo-European athematic paradigm 3rd sg. pres. act. **h₂wes-ti,* 3rd pl. pres. act. **h₂us-enti.* The Sanskrit past passive participle *uṣita-* (Sūtras) is a residue of this ablauting paradigm, whereas Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *vásati* 'dwells, lives, stays', Av. 3rd sg. pres. act. *vaŋhaiti* 'dwells, stays', Goth. *wisan* 'to be', etc. are representatives of the thematic conjugation.

Skt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *śvasiti* 'blows, snorts, hisses' (which is evidently a secondary *set* form, created along the line of *ániti* 'breathes', see Mayrhofer 1956—1980 III:401), 1st sg. pres. middle *ā śuṣe* 'fache an' and the middle participle *ā śuṣāna-* continue forms of an Indo-European ablauting paradigm 3rd sg. pres. act. **kwes-ti,* 3rd pl. pres. act. **kus-enti,* see Kuiper (1934:224) and Mayrhofer, *loc. cit.;* cf. also the related thematic verbs Lat. *queror* 'to complain, ONorse *hvæsa* 'zischen, schnauben'.

13. The comparison of Hitt. *takkeš-/takkiš-/takš-* either with Skt. *tákṣati,* Lat. *texō,* etc. (< IE **teḱs-*) or with Skt. *dákṣati* (< IE **deḱ-s-*, cf. also Gk. δέκομαι, Lat. *decet,* etc. < IE **deḱ-*) has a clear consequence. Since the Hittite verb cannot continue IE **TeKs-* or IE **ToKs-* (see §§ 11.2, 12.3), an Indo-European ablauting paradigm 3rd sg. pres. act. **TKes-ti,* 3rd pl. pres. act. **TKs-enti* should be reconstructed. There is no doubt that Hitt. *takkeš-/takkiš-/takš-* can be derived by anaptyxis of *a* between the dental and guttural stop from this paradigm; thus, we have as follows:

IE 1st sg. pres. act. **TKes-mi* ⟶ Hitt. *takkešmi*
IE 2nd sg. pres. act. **TKes-si* ⟶ Hitt. *takkišši*
IE 3rd sg. pres. act. **TKes-ti* ⟶ Hitt. *takkeszi, takkišzi*
IE 3rd pl. pres. act. **TKs-enti* ⟶ Hitt. *takšanzi,* etc.

The expected opaque 2nd pl. pres. act. **tašteni* (← IE **TKs-thₗe-*) is replaced by *taggašteni* (see § 12.2) and *ták-ki-iš-te-ni, ták-ki-eš-te-ni* which restore the root unity within the paradigm. It is clear that Hitt. *takkišteni, takkešteni,* formed along the line of the strong forms, entails the spread of the stem *takkeš-* outside the active singular, cf. the isolated Hitt. 3rd pl. pres. act. *ták-ki-e-eš-ša-an-zi, ták-ki-eš-ša-an-zi* and 3rd pl. pret. act. *ták-ki-e-eš-šir* KBo XVIII 178 obv. 3'.

If so, Hitt. *takkeš-/takš-* alongside with Hitt. *ḫartak(k)a-* 'bear(?)', *ḫatk-* 'to shut, close' and the oblique cases of *tekan-* 'earth' (e.g. gen. sg. *taknaš,* etc.) attest to the regular reflex of the Indo-European sequence *TK* in Hittite.

[36] The possibility that the *e* in Hitt. *takkeš-* is inherited is suggested by Čop, who connects the Hittite verb with Gk. δέκομαι, Skt. *dákṣati,* etc.; see Tischler (1991:43). Čop's article is inaccessible to me.

14. Whereas Hitt. *takkeš-* points to the state two **TKes-,* its likely congeners, attested in various branches of the Indo-European language family, guarrantee the state one **TeKs-,* cf. either Sturtevant's connection of the Hittite verb with Skt. *tákṣati,* Lat. *texō,* Lith. *tasaũ,* OBg. *tešǫ,* etc., or Laroche's comparison of Hitt. *takkeš-/takš-* with Gk. δόξα, Lat. *decet,* etc. (cf. also Skt. *dákṣati* and see § 11.2).

The reconstruction of the athematic present **TKes-ti* (> Hitt. *takkešzi*) beside the thematic **TeKs-e-ti* (cf. either Skt. *tákṣati,* Lat. *texit* or Skt. *dákṣati*) reminds us of Kuiper's statement that athematics of the shape **CR-es-mi* along with original "subjunctives" **CeR-s-ō*[37] can be posited for Indo-European[38]; this statement can be well adapted to Benveniste's theory of the Indo-European root (Benveniste 1935:147—173). There is no doubt that this theory can be successfully applied if Hitt. *takkeš-* comes from an Indo-European "theme" II **dḱ-es-* which, together with the "theme" I **deḱ-s-* (> Skt. *dákṣati*), can be derived from IE **deḱ-* (> Gk. δέκομαι, Lat. *decet,* etc.).

However, if Hitt. *takkeš-/takš-* is related to Skt. *tákṣati,* etc., such an analysis would be specultative. In theory, IE **tḱes-* and **teḱs-* can be also explained as stems ("theme" II and "theme" I respectively), derived from an unknown two-consonant root **teḱ-*. In view of the available data, however, IE **tḱes-* and **teḱs-* functioned rather as roots and this implies that other possibilities are also admissible; thus, the zero-grade **tḱs-* can be the basis on which either the state one **teḱs-* or the state two **tḱes-* are secondarily created.

15. Similarly, Pedersen's connection of Hitt.*takkeš-/takš-* with Lat. *facessō* 'I do eagerly, perform, fulfil, accomplish' (Pedersen 1938:139—144) also excludes the interpretation of the *-e- (-i-)* in Hitt. *takkeš- (takkiš-)* as an anaptyctic vowel.

IE **dʰeh₁-k-/*dʰh₁-k-* is well attested in Italic, Greek and Phrygian, cf. Lat. 1st sg. perf. *fēcī,* Gk. 1st sg. aor. act. ἔθηκα (< IE **dʰeh₁-k-*) as well as Lat. *faciō* 'I make, perform, produce, accomplish', Osc. *fakiiad* 'faciat', Umbr. *façia* 'id.', Phryg. 3rd sg. middle αδ-δακετοϱ, etc. (< IE **dʰh₁-k-*); cf. for instance Pokorny (1959:236).

The Venetic 3rd sg. preterite *vhagsδo* 'fecit' probably continues an old middle form (cf. Lejeune 1966:200—202; Watkins 1969:174[39]; then, Venet. *vhagsδo* points to IE **dʰh₁ks-to.*

If Phryg. ψ represents *ks,* the Old Phrygian 3rd sg. pret. *daψet* can be interpreted as another sigmatic form, derived from IE **dʰeh₁-k-/*dʰh₁-k-* (cf. Dyakonov and Neroznak 1977: 184—185; Brixhe and Lejeune 1984:41). Then, OPhryg. *daψet* can be derived from a thematized preform **dʰh₁ks-e-t* which is built on the basis of the 3rd pl. **dʰh₁ks-enti* (to which the Hittite 3rd sg. pres. act. *takšanzi* can be traced back), **dʰh₁ks-ent*[40].

As for Hitt. *takkeš-/takkiš,* it is clear that it cannot continue IE **dʰeh₁ks-* which would yield Hitt. **teks-*. From the point of view of the morphology, the athematic strong forms *takkešmi, takkišši, takkešzi/takkišzi,* etc. cannot be traced back to the zero-grade **dʰh₁ks-* which is inherent to the weak forms of the paradigm (cf. Hitt. *takšanzi,* etc.).

Then, we are left with the possibility that the Hittite strong forms *takkešmi, takkišši, takkešzi/takkišzi,* etc. continue IE **dʰh₁k-es-*. Thus, Pedersen's etymology of Hitt. *takkeš-/takš-* implies the reconstruction of the following paradigm:

[37] The short vowel subjunctives are originally thematized indicative forms of the Indo-European *eh₃*-conjugation, see Rikov (1986—1987:§§ 61—64). Cf. also Kuryłowicz (1964:139).

[38] See Kuiper (1934:210—215; 1934a:36—40).

[39] Cf. Pedersen (1938:114), who compared Hitt. *takkeš-/takš-* with Venetic *vhagsδo.*

[40] In fact, the reinterpretation of the 3rd pl. forms in **-ent(i)* as forms in **-e-nt(i)* is one of the sources for the creation of the *tud*-class presents and the thematic aorists with radical zero grade in the Indo-European languages.

1st sg. pres. act. *d^hh_1ks-mi* > Hitt. *takkešmi*
2nd sg. pres. act. *d^hh_1ks-si* > Hitt. *takkišši*
3rd sg. pres. act. *d^hh_1ks-ti* > Hitt. *takkešzi, takkišzi*
3rd pl. pres. act. *d^hh_1ks-enti* > Hitt. *takšanzi*
3rd sg. pret. act. *d^hh_1ks-t* > Hitt. *takkišta*
3rd sg. pret. middle *d^hh_1ks-to* > Venet. *vhagsθo*, etc.

The 2nd pl. pres. act. *d^hh_1ks-th_1e would yield again Hitt. **tašteni* (cf. § 12.2) and its replacement by innovations such as *taggašteni* and *takkišteni/takkešteni* (cf. §§ 12.2; 13) is not surprising.

IV. Conclusion

1. The simplification of the Indo-European cluster **KsC* into Hitt. *šC* occurs in the morphologically isolated words *išpant-* 'night' (: Skt. *kṣap-* 'id.'), **maške-*, attested by *maškiške-* 'to give presents' and *maškan-* 'gift' (: Skt. *márṁhate* 'gives away', *maghám* 'gift') and *paške-* 'to set up, fix, fasten' (: Gk. πήσσω, Att. πήττω 'I make fast, fix on, fasten', etc. or Gk. πήγνυμι, aor. ἐπάγην, etc.)[41].

Although the evidence is uncertain, it is possible that IE **PsC* is also simplified into Hitt. *šC*[42].

2. The hypothesis that the *-i-* in the Hittite iteratives *ḫarkiške-, šarninkiške-*, etc. and the 3rd sg. preterites *akkiš, šakkiš* represents an anaptyctic vowel is possible, but not necessary.

2.1. Due to the cluster simplification of IE **KsC* (and **PsC*?) into Hitt. *sC*, we should expect opaque iteratives in *-ške-* such as **ḫaršikke- (: ḫark-), *karšikke- (: karp-)*, etc. These iteratives are replaced by the transparent *ḫarkiške-, karpiške-*, etc. which can be explained as derivatives of verbs in *-ye-/-ya-*, cf. *ḫarkiya-, karpiya-*. The new correlations such as *hark- : ḫarkiške-, karp- : karpiške-*, etc. lead to the formation of the compound suffix *-i-ške-* which serves to form iteratives such as *akkiške- (: ak(k)-), linkiške- (: link-)*, etc. The compound suffix *-e-ške-* can be formed in the same way, cf. Hitt. *ištalk- : ištalga(i)-* (beside *ištalkiya-*); *tarup(p)- : taruppa(i)-* (beside *taruppiya-*)[43].

2.2. The explanation of the *-i-* in the Hittite 3rd sg. preterites *akkiš* and *šakkiš* as an anaptyctic vowel is also only a possibility. In fact, these preterites can be derived from Indo-European 3rd sg. perfect forms, to which the secondary ending **-s* is added; thus, we have Hitt. *akkiš* < IE **$h_1$ok-e* + **-s* and *šakkiš* IE **sok-e* (or **soh$_2$g-e*) + **-s*[44].

3. The explanation of *i(/e)* in Hitt. *takkeš-/takkiš-* as an anaptyctic vowel cannot be reconciled with the attempts at etymological explanation of this Hittite verb.

From the point of view of the historical phonology, Hitt. *takkeš-/takkiš-* cannot be derived from IE **TeKs- (*teḱs-, *deḱ-s-)* or **d^heh$_1$k-s-* which would yield **tekš-* in Hittite. From the point of view of the morphology, the *a* in Hitt. *takkeš-/takkiš-* cannot continue IE **o;* Gk. δόξω, ἔδοξα are inner-Greek innovations after δοκέω. There is also no reason for assuming that the athematic strong forms *takkešmi, takkišši, takkešzi/takkišzi* etc. can represent the zero-grades **tḱs-, *dḱ-s-* or **d^hh$_1$k-s-* which are inherent to the weak *mi*-forms.

[41] Cf. §§ 1–3.
[42] Cf. § 5.
[43] Cf. §§ 4–5, 7–8.
[44] Cf. § 9.

Then, we are left with the possibility that Hitt. *takkešzi, takšanzi* is an athematic *mi*-verb in **-es-/*-s-* which can be traced back either to IE **TKes-ti, TKs-enti (*tḱes-ti, *tḱs-enti* or **dḱes-ti, *dḱs-enti)* or to **d^hh$_1$kes-ti, *d^hh$_1$ks-enti*. If we accept the former possibility, Hitt. *takkeš-/takš-* attests the regular reflex of the Indo-European sequence *TK* in Hittite and the *a* between the dental and guttural can be a relatively old anaptyctic vowel, as that in Hitt. *taknaš*, etc. The second *a* in Hitt. *taggašteni* can be explained as an inner-Hittite anaptyxis, as the second *a* in Hitt. *ḫatgaške-*, etc., whereas Hitt. *takkišteni, takkešteni*, etc. are formed along the line of the strong forms of the paradigm[45].

[45] Cf. §§ 10–15.

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Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

ON THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN INDO-EUROPEAN $*H_2$ AND $*H_3$ IN HITTITE

1. *The Hittite h reflects both Indo-European a- and o-colouring laryngeal.*

1.1. The importance of the Anatolian languages for the laryngeal theory is due to the fact that the Hittite, Luwian and Palaic *h* is the only independent phoneme existing within the phonemic inventar of the Indo-European languages as a direct reflection of both *a-* and *o*-colouring laryngeal (respectively $*H_2$ and $*H_3$); in Anatolian as well as in the other Indo-European languages the non-colouring laryngeal ($*H_1$) is lost in all positions[1].

Namely the representation of both IE $*H_2$ and $*H_3$ by the Anatolian *h* and the change of IE $*o$ into Anatolian *a* are the reasons that on the basis of the inner-Anatolian data the nature of the laryngeal reflected by *h* remains in most of cases unclear. Distinct reflections of $*H_2$ and $*H_3$ in Hittite are still not attested and the postulation of $h < *H_2$ in Hitt. *hašterza* „star" (: Grk. ἀστήρ „star")[2], *harki-* „white, light, clear" (: Grk. ἀργός „shining, glistening; white") and $h < *H_3$ in Hitt. *hastai-* „bone" (: Grk. ὀστέον „bone"), Luw. *hauli-* „sheep"[3] (: Grk. οἶς, ὄις „sheep") is a matter of the etymological analysis. Neither can a distinction between the reflections of $*H_2$ and $*H_3$ in Hittite be made by their vocalization since any laryngeal is vocalized in Hittite as *a*[4].

1.2. At present, the only hypothesis about an inner- Hittite distinction of the reflexes of IE $*H_2$ and $*H_3$ is that of Couvreur (1937:252—256). According to Couvreur, the single **h** represents the IE *a*-colouring laryngeal, whereas the double **hh** is the representative of the *o*-colouring one. This is an attractive hypothesis; if so, we have here a further manifestation of Sturtevant's law and the opposition *h : hh* (cf. 3 sg. pres. *lahui* „pours" : *pahhur* „feir") is interpretable in the line of the oppositions t *: tt* or *k : kk*. But the alternation of *h* and *hh* in cases such as 1 sg. pret. *na-a-hu-un : na-ah-hu-un (nah(h)-* „to fear, to be afraid") or 3 sg. pres. *la-a-hu-i, la-a-hu-u-i, la-hu-i* : 3 sg. pret *la-a-ah-hu-uš,* 2 pl. impv. *la-ah-hu-tin (lah(h)u-* „to pour") is a strong objection against Couvreur's hypothesis; see Hendriksen 1941 : 22, 38—39. It is clear that in the absence of a firm link between the graphic signs of Hittite and their linguistic units, the problem can not be solved in this way.

However, we can expect that some positive results about an inner-Hittite distinction between the reflections of IE $*H_2$ and $*H_3$ can be achieved if we turn our attention to the behaviour of these reflections in different phonetic environments.

2. *In Hittite IE *H_2 is not preserved as h after vowel and before *i; this loss of *H_2 contrasts with its retention as h before vowels other than *i.*

2.1. Two familiar cases representing IE *eH_2i are the Hittite verbal stem *taia-* „steal" and the Hittite suffix *-ai-* which serves to form nomina actionis.

Hendriksen's reconstruction **təye-* for Hitt. *taia-* (3 sg. pres. *taezzi*, etc.)[5] is not cogent since the expected Hittite representative of IE **təye-* would be **tiie/a-*. According to Gamkrelidze (1968: 95), Georgiev (1969: 549) and Watkins (1975:371) Hitt. *taia* goes back — and it is obviously right — to IE **teH₂ie/o-*, to which also Grk. τητάομαι „to be in want", Av. *tāya-* „theft", etc., belong.

As regards the Hittite action nouns in *-ai-* (cf. Hitt. *ištarningai-* „illness", *tuhhuuai-* „smoke", *zahhai-* „battle", *lingai-* „oath", etc.), Pedersen's connection of these nouns with the Indo-European nomina actionis and feminina in **ā* (i. e., **-eH₂-*)[6] is evidently correct; but his assumption that the Hittite suffix *-ai-* represents IE **-eH₂-* + **-ye/o-* is unacceptable. The right solution is that of Hendriksen (1941:65—66) who reconstructed the proto-form **-eH₂i-* for Hitt. *-ai-*. More recently the problem was examined by Georgiev (1965:81—87) who points out that the suffix **-eH₂i-* is common Indo-European. The extension of **-eH₂-* by **-i-* (see Georgiev 1975:107 fn. 6) is paralleled by the addition of **-i-* to other stem-formations; cf. the enlarged u-stem in Skt. *ghṛ́ṣvi-* „lively, joyfull" beside *ghṛ́ṣu-* or the enlarged r-stem in Skt. *vádhri-* „a castrated animal", Grk. ἔθρις beside Skt. *vadhar-*, etc.

In the both cases — that of *taia-* and that of the noun suffix *-ai-* — the appearance of Hitt. *-ai-* instead the expected **-ahi-* as a reflection of the IE sequence **-eH₂i-* is significant.

2.2. A third case is the Hittite 3 sg. mid. *a-a-ri*, participle *a-a-ant-* (*a-a-* „be hot"). According to Sturtevant (1942:45) Hitt. *a-a-* is related to Lith. *áiskus* „clear", Av. *ayarə* „day", Grk. αἴθω „burn", αἶθος „heat, fire", Skt. *édhas* „firewood", etc. by an intermediate form **aia-*. Sturtevant's etymology does not offer difficulties for the explanation of the intervocalic loss of **-i*; cf. the absence of the etymological **i* in Hitt. *panzi* < **pe-ianzi*. But in accord with the *a*-vocalism of the cognate Greek forms we can expect an appearance of of the phoneme *h* < IE **H_2* in the Hittite word.

In traditional terms Lith. *áiskus* < IE **aidh-sk-* represents the lengthened grade of the IE root **ăi-*. In terms of the laryngeal theory we can reconstruct a series of formulae: **H_2eH_1i-*, **H_2eH_2i-* (reduplication?), **H_1eH_2i-* or even **eH_{2i}-* (if we accept the arbitrary objections of Beekes 1969:90—92 against Benveniste's theory about the PIE root structure[7]). The problem can be elucidated if we turn to Hitt. *a-a-ri*. In view of the discussed change of the IE sequence **-eH₂i-* into Hitt. *-ai-* the possible proto-forms of Hitt. *a-a-ri* are IE **H_1eH_2ie/o-rei* or *eH₂ie/o-rei*[8]. Then, IE **(H_1)eH₂ie/o-rei* > Common Anatolian **ahie/a-re* > proto-Hittite **aiari* > Hitt. *a-a-ri*.

2.3. The Hittite verbs in *-ai-* are not reliable evidence for the change of IE **-eH₂i-* into Hitt. *-ai-*; the denominative origin of these verbs (with *-ai-* < IE **-eH₂-ie/-o-* is questionable and, following Georgiev (1978:8—9), we can interpret the Hittite verbs in *-ai-* as primary ones. I do not think that relations such as Hitt. *tarma-* „nail": *tarmai-* „to fasten, to fix", Luw. *tarma(i)-* are as important for the postulation of the secondary origin of this verbal-class as Watkins (1975:370—371) holds[9]. Brosmann (1978:99) has suggested that Hitt. *tarma-* is a verbal noun derived from *tarmai-* and — in view of the different stem-formations of Grk. τέρμα „end, goal" (*-α* < **-ŋ*), Lat. *termen, terminus* „boundary marker" stressed by Brosmann — this explanation seems to me acceptable. If so, *-m-* of the Hittite verb *tarmai-* is explicable in connection with Grk. θέρμω „heat, make hot" beside θέρομαι, Ved. *dram-* „to run" beside Grk. διδρᾱσκω „run away", Toch. B *yām-* „to make" beside Hitt. *iia-* „id.", etc.[10]

2.4. While the post-vocalic IE **H_2* before **i* is lost in Hittite, it is preserved as Hitt. *h* before vowels other than **i*.

According to Sturtevant (1931:120, 1942:35), Hitt. *lahha-* „campaign" is closely related to Grk. λᾱός, Ion ληός „men (i. e., „soldiers"), a land army, people". The a-colouring laryngeal of the root, indicated by the Greek form (**leH₂-ues*) is retained as *h* in Hitt. *lahha-* < IE **leH₂-o-*.

The Hittite denominative verb *nahšariia-* „to be afraid" and the noun *nahšaratt-* „fear, respect" point to a noun **nahšar* which corresponds to Old Irish *nár* (< **nāsro-*) „noble, magnanimous, honourable, modest"; see Goetze and Pedersen (1934:61), Pedersen (1938:187) and cf. Vendryes (1960:N-3). The *a*-colouring laryngeal is proved by the vocalism of the Old Irish correspondence which represents **neH₂sro-*; the bare root **neH₂-* is attested by Hitt. *nahh-* „to fear, to be afraid, to show respect", from which the verbal noun *nahhan* „respect" is formed, with preserved reflection of the intervocalic **H_2*

According to Georgiev (1978a:95), Hitt. *zahh-* „to beat" corresponds to Grk. σάω „sift, bolt", διασσάω, διαττάω „sift, riddle"; the Hittite and Greek verbs represent IE **tueH₂-*. In the Hittite forms 3 sg. *zahi* (= Grk. σάει < IE **tueH₂ei*, see Georgiev, l. c.), 3 pl. *zahhanzi*, etc., the inter-vocalic IE **H_2* is preserved as Hitt. *h(h)*. In the same way, the second laryngeal is retained as *hh* in the root of the verbal noun *zahhai-* < IE **tueH₂-eH₂i-* (but **H_2* of the suffix is lost before **i*).

3. *In Hittite the initial IE *H_2- is lost before *i, but not before other vowels.*

3.1. Hitt. *inan* „illness" belongs to the class of the Hittite abstract nouns in *-an*, attested by forms such as *takšan* „joint" (to *takš-* „to joint"), *nahhan* (see § 2.4), *henkan* „death, epidemy, μοῖρα. Therefore we can suppose that Hitt. *inan* „illness" is derived from a verb corresponding to Av. *inaoiti* „vergewaltigen, kränken"; cf. also the Avestan verbal noun *intay-, initay-* „Vergewaltigung, Kränkung"[11]. The initial *a*-colouring laryngeal is reconstructible on the basis of the *a*-vocalism of full grade Grk. αἰνός „dread, horrible" (of feelings), „dread, terrible" (of persons) which is related to the weak grade Av. *inaoiti*, etc.; the weak grade **H_2i-* is expectable for the class of nasal verbs. The loss of the initial **H_2* in Hitt. *inan* is evidently conditioned by its position before **i* and parallels the loss of **H_2* in the sequence **-eH₂i-*.

3.2. Another candidate for the supposed phonetic development is the Hittite nasal verb *inu-* „to make hot" which seems to be a causative to *a-a-ri*[12]. In view of the reconstruction of Hitt. *a-a-ri* as **(H_1)eH₂ie/orei* the protoform of Hitt. *inu-* must be **(H_1)H₂i-neu-* or **(H_1)H₂idh-neu-* with the familiar Hittite assimilation *-tn-* > *-n(n)-*[13].

3.3. Before vowels other than **i* the initial IE $*H_2$ is regularly preserved as *h* in Hittite; cf. Hitt. *hašterza, harki-* (see § 1.1), *hark-* „to hold, have" (to Lat. *arceo* „contain, hold in, enclose"), *huuantes* „wind" (to Grk. ἄημι „breathe hard; blow"), etc. There is no place to discuss in details all problems of the reflections of initial $*H_2$ in Hittite; but it can be noted that cases of the so-called irregular loss of the laryngeal or Kuryłowicz' $*H_4$ are explicable by the Hittite vocalization of the laryngeals; see fn. 4.

4. *In contrast to the development of IE *H_2i- in Hittite, the initial *H before *i is preserved as Hitt. h.*[3]

4.1. The best instance is Hittite *hišša-* „pole, shaft" which exactly corresponds to Vedic *īṣā-* „id." (see Sommer 1949:161); the cognate Greek forms with full grade of the root, namely οἰήϊον „rudder, helm", οἴαξ „handle of rudder, tiller", indicate an initial **o**-colouring laryngeal. Hitt. *hišša-* and Ved. *īṣā-* go back to IE $*H_3iH_1$s-; on this reconstruction see Lindemann 1970: 40—41 and cf. the long *ī* of the Vedic word. Then, the Hittite reflection *hi-* of IE $*H_3i$- strikingly contrasts with the change of IE $*H_2i$- into Hitt. **i-** and points to a proto-Hittite distinction between the reflections of the Indo-European *o*-colouring and *a*-colouring laryngeals.

4.2. A relatively clear case with weak grade of the root is the Hittite nasal verb 3 sg. pres. middle *hinikta* KUB XXXIV 16 III 64, KBo III 7 II 23 which perhaps signifies „wets, pours, deluges" and, consequently, can be distinguished from *hink-* „to present" or *hink-* „to bow" (see Hart 1976: 93-96)[14]. The connection of Hitt. *hinikta* „wets, pours, deluges" with Grk. ἰκμάς „moisture", ἰκμαίνω "moisten" and Skt. *siñcati* „pours out" (with s-mobile)[15] seems plausible. Since in Hittite IE $*H_1$ is lost in all positions and IE $*H_2$ is lost before *i, the initial *h-* of Hitt. *hinikta* must reflect only IE $*H_3$[16].

5. *Area and relative chronology*

According to Georgiev (1974:117—121), the Hittite nomina actionis in *-ai-* and the Luwian nomina abstracta in *-ahi-* are of common origin: they both reflect the Indo-European noun formation in **-eH₂i-*. The formal contrast between the Hittite suffix and the Luwian one suggests that the loss of the *a*-colouring laryngeal before *i is limited only to Hittite.

The absence of an initial *h* in Hitt. *išhai-* „to bind" beside Luw. *hišhiia-* „id." can be interpreted in the same way. The appearance of *h* in the middle of the Hittite word and the comparison of this word not only with Skt. *syáti* „binds" but also with Lat. *saeta* point to an *a*-colouring laryngeal of the root (see Kuryłowicz 1927:101 and more recently Lindemann 1979:155—157), The best assumption about the initial *h-* of Luw. *hišhiia-* is that of Crossland, who has suggested a reduplication of the type of Skt. *tiṣṭhati* (see Cowgill 1965:163). If so, we can reconstruct a common proto-form for both Hittite and Luwian verb; i. e., IE $*H_2isH_2$- > Hitt. *išh-* with loss of IE$*H_2$ before *i and Luw. *hišh-* with preserved reflex of IE $*H_2$ before *i. However. the reduplication of the Hittite verb is not obvious since the initial *i-* can be a prothetic vowel.

Then, the opposition Hitt. *i-* (respectively *-ai-*): *hi-* reflecting the Indo-European opposition $*H_2i$- (respectively $*-eH_2i$-): $*H_3i$- suggests that in proto-Hittite the reflections of IE $*H_2$ and $*H_3$ were two different sounds. Namely the supposed retention of *h-* < IE $*H_3$ before *i* in Luwian allows us to date the proto-Hittite loss of IE $*H_2$ before *i* to the period after the separation of proto-Hittite from the rest of the Anatolian languages. However, the scarcely attested and ambiguous Hittito-Luwian correspondences containing the Indo-European sequence $*H_2i$ are not sufficient evidence about the area and chronology of the change of $*H_2i$ into *i*.

*Excurs: Seeming exceptions to the rules IE *-eH₂i- > Hitt. -ai- and IE *H₂i- > Hitt. i-.*

The appearance of *h* <IE $*H_2$ before *i in cases such as Old Hittite *iš-hi-an-zi* „they bind" beside Old Hittite *iš-ha-an-zi* and 3 sg. *iš-ha-ai-zi*, Middle Hittite gen. sg. *za-ah-hi-ia-as*, Old Hittite dat.-loc. sg. *za-ah-hi-ia* beside nom. sg. *za-ah-ha-is* „battle", etc., is not surprising. In cases where the ordinarily attested form of the stem can be changed by a purely phonetic development, this normal form of the stem is as a rule restored. Thus, in the end of the word (i. e., before pause) IE $*H_2$ and $*H_3$ are regularly lost in the pre historical period, cf. for instance the Hittite nominative-accusative plural ending *-a* of the IE *o*-stems; but the original *h* is restored in the end of the word in the imperatives *ša-a-ah* and *ua-al-ah* under the line of the indicative forms, cf. 1 sg. pres. *ša-an-ah-mi* „I look for, I seek", pret. *ša-an-ah-hu-un, ša-ah-hu-un*, etc., or 1 sg. pres. *ua-al-ah-mi* „I beat", see Georgiev (1969:549). Similarly, *h* of the verbal suffix *-ahh-* is restored in forms such as 2 sg. pres. *ma-ni-ia-ah-ti* „you hand, deliver", *pa-ap-ra-ah-ti* „you soil", 2 pl. pres. *kat-te-ir-ra-ah-te-e-ni* „you lower" although in this position *h* can be lost as in the isolated and phonetically regular 2 sg. *i-da-la-ua-at-ti* „you make evil" (but cf. the normal 2 sg. *i-da-la-u-ua-ah-ti*); this restoration is based on the 1 sg. forms in *-ahhi*, 3 sg. in *-ahi*, etc. (cf. Georgiev 1969:55).

If Hitt. *himma-* „imitation, substitute" is a word of IE inheritance, the possible proto-forms are $*H_2eim$-, $*H_3eim$- (but we can expect also OHitt. **hemma-*) or $*H_3im$-. Hitt. *himma-* is comparable with Lat. *imago* „image", but the nature of the initial laryngeal remains unclear. Lat. *aemulus* „rival", if connected with *imago*, would indicate an initial *a*-colouring laryngeal; however, this connection is semantically uncertain (cf. the doubts expressed by Ernout and Meillet 1959:11, 309). In any case, a reconstruction $*H_2im$- (see Tischler 1978:245) is beyond proofs.

NOTES

[1] See more recently Eichner 1972:53—56.

[2] The proto-form of Hitt. *hašterza* is IE $*H_2est$- (thus rightly Watkins 1972:85), not Lindemann's $*H_2st$- (Lindemann 1970:70) which would yield Hitt. *ašt-*. Note Hitt. *aštira-* and cf. Ved. instr. pl. *stŕbhiḥ*, Av. acc. sg. *stārəm*, Old Irish *ser*, Goth. *stairno* as possible representatives of IE $*H_2st$-; but Friedrich (1952:37) gives the meaning of the Hittite word with

question mark. Grk. *ἀστήρ* can represent the both weak (*$*H_3st$-*) and full grade (*$*H_3est$-*) of the root.

[3] The Hittite word for „sheep" is ambiguous. We can read both *UDU iiant-* (then Pedersen's etymology is acceptable) and *UDU-iiant-* (see Wittmann 1964 : 117—118); if the latter reading is correct, Wittmann's guess for a Hitt. *$*ḫauiiant$-* is plausible.

[4] Cf. 3 pl. pres. *appanzi* < IE *$*H_1p$-* beside 3 sg. pres. *epzi* < IE *$*H_1ep$-; *appa* „after, behind" < IE *$*H_2p$-* (cf. Skt. *ápa* < IE *$*H_2ep$-*), etc.

[5] Hendriksen 1941 : 46.

[6] Pedersen 1938 : 37—39.

[7] Beekes' argument is the appearance of Dor. 3 pl. *ἐντί* and the Attic participle *ὄντες*. A straightforward reconstruction points to IE *$*es$-*, not *$*H_1es$-*; but the latter proto-form can be reconstructed on the basis of Hom. *ἔασι*, Myc. *eesi* and non-Attic *ἐόντες* which, according to Beekes, result from „analogic extension of the stem *$*es$-*". In contrary to that, Cowgill 1965 : 165—167 has suggested that *ἐντί* and *ὄντες* are of secondary (analogic) origin. I am not sure that Benveniste's theory can be refuted by so ambiguous forms as Doric *ἐντί* and Attic *ὄντες*.

[8] I. e., the order of the laryngeals is determined by the loss of IE *$*H_2$*. The reconstruction of the full grade is also the only possibility since the weak grade *$*(H_1)H_2ie/o$-* would yield Hitt. *$*ia$-*, not *a-a-*. About *$*(H_1)H_2i$-neu-* > Hitt. *inu-* see § 3.2.

[9] Luwian *-ai-* as a reflex of IE *$*-eH_2i$-* is also not certain, see § 5.

[10] About the verbal stems enlarged by *-m-* see Kuiper 1937 : 62, Burrow 1965 : 289—290.

[11] On the Avestan words see Bartholomae 1904 : 21, 367 and, on the noun formation in *-tay-*, Bartholomae 1901 : 103.

[12] See Neu 1968 : 71.

[13] In view of the single *-n-* the reconstruction *$*(H_1)H_2i$-* neu- for *inu-* seems preferable

[14] Hitt. *ḫinikta* is incorrectly given by Tischler 1978 sub *ḫink-*[1] „to present".

[15] Hart, 1. c.

[16] A connection of *ḫinikta* (*ḫininк-*?) with *ḫeiu-* „rain" seems possible.

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Indo-European $*h_2$ and $*h_3$ before $*y$ and $*i$ in Hittite

GEORGI T. RIKOV

Sofia University

IE $*h_2$ before $*y$ and $*i$ is lost in Hittite, cf. Hitt. *tayezzi* 'steals', etc. as well as *inan-* 'illness' (: Gk. αἰνός 'dread, terrible'), *inu-* 'make hot' (: Gk. αἴθω 'kindle'), *iskunahh-* and *iskuna(i)-* 'stain, defile' (: Gk. αἰσχύνω 'make ugly'). The labialized h_3 before $*y$ and $*i$ is continued by Hitt. *h*, cf. Hitt. *sarhiya-* 'überfallen, losschlagen' (: Gk. ῥώομαι 'move with speed or violence; dart, rush'), *hissa-* 'pole, shaft' (: Gk. οἴαξ 'handle of rudder, tiller', οἰήιον 'tiller, helm, rudderpost'), *hinikta* 'wets, pours, deluges'.

1. The principal developments of the Indo-European laryngeals in Hittite (-Luvian) are well known.

Kuryłowicz (1927, 101–103) pointed out that Hitt. *h* continues IE $*h_2$ (= Kuryłowicz' $\underset{\frown}{a}_2$) and demonstrated this by instances such as Hitt. *hantezzi-* 'forward, first' (: Lat. *ante* 'before'), *harki-* 'white, bright' (: Gk. ἀργής 'id.'), etc.

In view of Hitt. *es-* 'be' (< IE $*h_1es$-), *ed-* 'eat' (< IE $*h_1ed$-), etc., he came to the conclusion that IE $*h_1$ (= $\underset{\frown}{a}_1$) is lost in Hittite.[1]

In 1934, Cuny assumed that Hitt. *h* continues not only IE $*h_2$, but also IE $*h_3$ (= $\underset{\frown}{a}_3$)[2] and this is now confirmed by cases such as Hitt. *harganau-* 'palm, sole' (: Gk. ὀρέγω 'stretch out'),[3] *hasduer-* 'twigs' (: Gk. ὄζος 'bough, branch, twig'),[4] etc.

Sturtevant (1930, 155–57) adduced a number of instances which point to Indo-European preforms with $\breve{a}$-vocalism, but have no *h* in Hittite. In order to avoid this difficulty, Kuryłowicz (1935, 75) assumed an Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal $\underset{\frown}{a}_4$ which is lost in Hittite. Now it is clear, however, that there is no reason for assuming two different *a*-colouring laryngeals on the basis of the Hittite data. In fact, the developments of IE $*h_2$ either into Hitt. *h* or *zero* are conditioned by the occurence of $*h_2$ in different phonetic environments, cf. Eichner (1988, 136–43). Similarly, the partial loss of IE $*h_3$ in Hittite is also well attested, cf. Melchert (1987) and Beekes (1988, 79–85), who differ in the details.

[1] Kuryłowicz (1927, 104).
[2] See Szemerényi (1973, 17).
[3] Weitenberg (1984, 223), Melchert (1987, 21–22).
[4] Puhvel (1991, 239), Mayrhofer (1993/1994, 69).

Analecta Indoeuropaea Cracoviensia, vol. II: *Kuryłowicz Memorial Volume. Part One.* Ed. by W. Smoczyński. Cracow: Universitas, 1995, pp. 187–90

However, the hypothesis that the developments of IE *h_2 and *h_3 are parallel in Hittite (cf. Beekes 1988, 79–85) is unacceptable; thus, the available data point to different developments of IE *h_2 and *h_3 before *y and *i in Hittite.

2. INDO-EUROPEAN *h_2y > HITTITE AND LUVIAN y. It is well known that IE *h_2 in the middle of the word and before *y is lost in Hittite-Luvian, cf. Hitt. *tayezzi* 'steals' < IE **teh$_2$yeti* or **toh$_2$yeyeti*; Lyc. *sttati* 'stands' < IE **steh$_2$yeti*; the Hittite and Luvian denominative verbs in *-a(i)-* < IE **-eh$_2$-ye/o-*; Hitt. *tuwa-* 'far, in(to) a distance' < IE **duh$_2$yo-* and see Eichner (1988, 141–42).[5]

There are two Luvian forms which represent the loss of IE *h_2 at the beginning of the word and before *y. Cun. Luv. *(i)yasha-* 'trust (?)' is a denominative verb in *-a(i)-* which is derived from a noun in *-sha-*. In view of the deverbative origin of the nouns in *-sha-*, the Luvian noun **yasha-* points to an underlying thematic verb **ya-* (< IE **h$_2$y-e/o-*[6]); this verb is related to Hitt. *ha(i)-* 'believe', Lat. *ōmen*, OLat. *osmen* 'omen, sign' (< **opsmen* which is syncopated from **op-is-mn̥*, where *-is-* goes back to IE **-h$_2$is-*) and probably Gk. οἶομαι, ὀΐομαι 'suppose, think, believe' which can continue either *ὀ-ισι̯ομαι or *ὀ-ισομαι (with the prefix ὀ-, as Gk. ὀκέλλω) and points either to IE **h$_2$is-ye/o* or to IE **h$_2$is-e/o*.

Hier. Luv. *iyasa-* 'buy' and Lyc. *ije-* 'id.' are related to Hitt. *iwaru-* 'gift' (cf. § 3), Gk. αἶνυμαι 'take' and Toch. A *e-*, B *ai-* act. 'give', middle 'take'.[7] Then, Hier. Luv. *iyasa-* and Lyc. *ije-* can be derived from a thematic verb **h$_2$y-e/o-* 'take' which is built on the basis of a 3rd sg. middle **h$_2$y-o* and parallels the formation of Ved. *ā́da-* 'take'.

3. INDO-EUROPEAN *h_2i- > HITTITE i-. Hitt. *inan-* 'illness', which is related to Skt. *énas-* 'sin, guilt', Av. *aēnah-* 'violence, damage' and Gk. αἰνός 'dread, terrible', can continue IE **h$_2$ino-* (Rikov 1980a, 77).

Hitt. *inu-* 'make hot' (: Gk. αἴθω 'kindle') can be formed, as a verb in **-new-*/**-nu-*, with zero grade of the root; then, Hitt. *inu-* suggests that IE **h$_2$i-* changed into Hitt. *i-* (cf. Rikov, l. c.).

Hitt. *iskuna(i)-* and *iskunahh-* 'stain, defile', which Puhvel (1984, 427) compares with Gk. αἰσχύνω 'make ugly', can continue IE **h$_2$isg^h-* (Rikov 1980b, 30 fn. 3).

[5] Hitt. *h* is analogically restored in *ishiyanzi* 'they bind' (: *ishai* 'binds'), etc.; it also appears in relatively recent formations, as *lahhiya-* 'travel, march' (: *lahha-* 'campaign', cf. Gk. λᾱός 'men'), etc.

[6] There is no reason to reconstruct IE **h$_3$y-*, cf. Hitt. *sarhiya-* (§ 4).

[7] Cf. Melchert (1989, 42–43). The ablauting paradigm of Hitt. *pai-/pe-/piya-* 'give' as well as the generalized weak stem in Luvian and Lycian suggest that this Anatolian verb can be derived from IE **peh$_1$i-*, cf. Osset. *fedun* 'pay', OHG *feili* 'for sale', and see Melchert (1984, 32 fn. 32).

These forms, the zero-grade radical vocalism of which is assumed also by Kimball (1994, 8), indicate that IE *h_2 is lost before *i in Hittite.

Hitt. *iwaru-* can be explained either as *i-war-u-* or (by syncope) as **iya-war-u-* (Puhvel 1984, 503); then, it points either to IE **h$_2$i-* or to IE **h$_2$y-* (cf. § 2).

Hitt. *him(m)a-* 'imitation, substitute', which is related to Lat. *imago* 'image, representation', *imitor* 'imitate, copy', *aemulus* 'rival, rivalring', does not contradict the supposed change of IE **h$_2$i-* into Hitt. *i-*. As Hamp (1982/83, 170–77) points out, the Indo-European nouns in **-mo-* are formed with *o*-grade of the root. Then, the zero grade radical vocalism, assumed by Puhvel (1991, 315), is unacceptable and Hitt. *him(m)a-* should be derived from IE **h$_2$oymo-*.[8]

4. INDO-EUROPEAN *h_3y, *h_3i > HITTITE *hy*, *hi*. In view of Gk. ῥώομαι 'move with speed or violence; dart, rush (on)', Hitt. *sarhiya-* 'überfallen, losschlagen' can be derived from IE **sr̥h$_3$-ye/o-* (Rikov 1982, 35). Possible cognates are Gk. ῥώμη 'bodily strength, might, force' (< IE **sr̥h$_3$-meh$_2$*), ῥῶσις 'strengthening' (< IE **sr̥h$_3$-ti-*) which clearly point to an IE *set* root in **-h$_3$-*, see Rikov (1988, 124–25).

There is also no doubt that the initial *h-* of Hitt. *hissa-* 'pole, shaft' continues IE *h_3. Thus, Slav. **oje*, pl. **ojesa* 'pole, shaft' (cf. SCr. *óje*, Sn. *ojê*, etc.) points to an old *s*-stem. It is also well known that neither the Indo-European *s*-stems, nor their derivatives in **-so-* and **-seh$_2$* are formed with *o*-grade of the root; we are dealing either with the *e*-grade of the strong cases or with the original zero grade of the weak cases, cf. Gk. μέλος 'limb' (< IE **mel–os/es-*), Br. *mell* 'Knöchel' (< Celt. *melsā*) and Skt. *pr̥kṣ-* 'nourishment', *pr̥kṣa-* 'id.'. Since Gk. οἴαξ 'handle of rudder, tiller' and οἰήιον 'tiller, helm, rudderpost' are derived either from a stem in **-so-* (cf. Av. *aēša-* 'plow') or from a stem in **-seh$_2$*, their radical vocalism indicates that the initial laryngeal is *h_3-;[9] then, Hitt. *hissa-* and the corresponding Skt. *īṣā́* 'pole, shaft' continue IE **h$_3$ih$_1$seh$_2$*.

Since IE **h$_2$i-* changes into Hitt. *i-* (cf. § 3), Hitt. *hinikta* 'wets, pours, deluges' points to IE **h$_3$inek-*/**h$_3$ink-*, cf. Rikov (1980a, 78).

Then, whereas IE *h_2 is lost before *y and *i in Hittite, the labialized *h_3 in the same position is continued by Hitt. *h*.

[8] Hitt. *ishizziya-* 'be lordly, dominate, prevail' is a relatively recent derivative of *isha-* 'master, lord', cf. Puhvel (1984, 388). Hitt. *palhi-* 'broad' continues **pl̥h$_2$-ey-* (Melchert 1984, 45 fn. 91), Cun. Luv. *salhitti-* 'Wachstum' can be derived from **sl̥h$_2$-ey-*, etc. In fact, the evidence for IE **h$_2$i* > Luv. *hi* (Rikov 1980a, 78) is scarce and uncertain.

[9] IE **h$_2$ih$_1$seh$_2$*, from which Eichner (1988, 138, 141) derives Hitt. *hissa-* and Skt. *īṣā́*, requires the derivation of the Greek forms from a morphologically unconvincing *o*-grade **h$_2$oyh$_1$s-*.

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Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski
Dept. of General and Indo-European Linguistics
Tsar Osvoboditel 15
BG–1000 Sofia

Georgi T. Rikov

Hittite *šanna-* and Greek ἄνεω

GEORGI T. RIKOV

The Hittite verb *šanna-* 'keep secret, pass over in silence, conceal, hide' follows the *ḫi*-conjugation, cf. 1st sg. pres. act. *ša-an-na-aḫ-ḫi*, 2nd sg. pres. act. *ša-an-na-at-ti*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *ša-an-na-i*, *ša-an-na-a-i*[1]. The inflection of this Hittite verb as well as its geminated *nn* suggest that we are dealing with a nasal infix present of the type of Hitt. *tarna-* 'let go, allow', *šunna-* 'fill', etc.[2] and this requires the reconstruction of an Indo-European *seṭ* root **senh$_x$-*. The laryngeal of this *seṭ* root, however, cannot be identified on the basis of the inner-Hittite evidence; therefore, it is necessary to re-examine the related forms in the other Indo-European languages.

According to H. Ehelolf (apud Lohmann 1933, 326 fn. 1), Hitt. *šanna-* is related to Skt. *sanutár* 'aside, apart, away from', Av. *hanarə*

[1]On the data see Kronasser (1966, 566–567), Oettinger (1979, 160).
[2]Cf. Oettinger (1979, 155–160), Georgiev (1983, 8–15).

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I. Safarewicz memoriae dicata
Ed. W. Smoczyński
Cracoviae: Universitas 1995, pp. 331–335.

'aside, apart, without'; Gk. *ἄτερ* 'without, except, besides; about, apart, away from', Lat. *sine* 'without', OIr. *sain* 'separate', Goth. *sundro* 'alone, apart', OIcel. *sundr* 'asunder', etc. and Toch. A *sne*, B *snai* 'without'[3]. Duchesne-Guillemin (1947, 83), Grošelj (1954, 158) and Oettinger (1979, 159) repeat this etymological solution and add Gk. *ἄνευ* 'without, away from, far from'. Grošelj, loc. cit., connects all these forms with the Greek adverb *ἄνεω* 'in silence'.

This group of forms, however, cannot be derived from a common source.

According to the traditional explanation of Gk. *ἄτερ*, it goes back to IE **sn̥-ter* (cf. for instance Pokorny, loc. cit.) and this suggests that the family of Skt. *sanutár*, etc. can be derived from an Indo-European *aniṭ* root **sen-*. Yet Beekes (1982/83, 207), following Gonda, explains Gk. *ἄτερ* as **sm̥-ter*, where **sm̥-* is the zero grade of IE **sem-* 'one' and Meier-Brügger (1988, 137–141) also prefers this solution.

If the Greek adverb *ἄνευ* is related to Skt. *sanutár*, etc., it clearly indicates that we are dealing with a disyllabic root **senh₁-*; Gk. *ἄνευ* would continue an Indo-European endingless loc. sg. **sn̥h₁eu*[4]. Yet the alternative suggestion which links Gk. *ἄνευ* with Goth. *inu*, ON *án, ón*, OS *āno*, OHG *ânu* 'without'[5] is recently supported by Hamp (1982, 189–190), who reconstructs IE nom.-acc. nt. **h₁enh₁u* > Goth. *inu* (lengthened grade IE **h₁ēnh₁u* > ON *án, ón*, OS *āno*, OHG *ânu*) and the endingless loc. sg. **h₁n̥h₁eu* > Gk. *ἄνευ*.

Among the other forms, given by Pokorny (1959, 907) under *seni-, senu-* (*seni-*), *sn̥-ter-*, OIr. *sain* 'separate', OW *han* 'alium', etc. indicate that the root is disyllabic, but these Celtic forms cannot be used as evidence for the colour of the laryngeal[6].

[3]Lohmann (1933, 325–326) adds also Hitt. *šanizzi-, šanezzi-* 'süß, wohlschmekkend, wohlriechend'. From the point of view of the semantics, the comparison of Hitt. *šanna-* with *šanḫ-* 'search, seek' (Georgiev 1983, 9, 14) is unacceptable. Cf. also Oettinger (1979, 159).

[4]Oettinger, loc. cit., derives Gk. *ἄνευ* from IE **sn̥h₂-eu;* in view of Gk. *ταναός* (on which see below), *πλάταια* < IE **plth₂eu̯-ih₂* (see Beekes 1969, 179), etc., this is phonologically impossible.

[5]See for instance Feist (1939, 295).

[6]The evidence of the rest of forms, given by Pokorny, loc. cit., for an Indo-European *seṭ* root **senhₓ-* (or **senh₂-*) is usually misjudged. Thus, Skt. *sanutár* can be derived not only from IE **sn̥h₂u-ter* (Oettinger 1959, 159), **sn̥hₓu-ter*

Yet we have the Greek adverb *ἄνεω* 'in silence' which, rightly connected by Grošelj, loc. cit., with Hitt. *šanna-*, deserves a more cautious analysis.

Gk. Hom. *ἄνεω* is an adverbially used instrumental singular form ending in *-ω*; the yotation of *ἄνεϙ* is secondary and this form relates to *ἄνεω* like Gk. *τῷ* to *τῶ* (cf. Chantraine 1958, 249). The initial *αν-* of Gk. *ἄνεω* represents the regular development of the Indo-European sequence *CR̥hₓV-* into Greek *CαRV-*, cf. for instance Gk. 3rd sg. aor. act. *ἔβαλον* 'they threw' IE **é-gʷl̥h₁-ont* (with secondary replacement of **-ent* by **-ont*) and Gk. *ταναός* 'outstretched, tall, taper' (= Corn. *tanow* 'thin, fine') which, as Beekes (1976, 9–12) points out, goes back to IE **tn̥h₂-eu̯-os*. In view of forms such as Gk. *ταναός*, where **h₂* changes the following **e* into **a*, the laryngeal in *ἄνεω* should be identified as **h₁*; the development of IE *CR̥h₁e-* into Gk. *CαRε-* is also attested by Gk. *καλέω* 'I call, summon, invite, invoke' which, together with Hitt. *kalleš-* 'call, invite', continues IE **kl̥h₁-es-*. Then, Gk. *ἄνεω* can be derived from an instrumental singular form **sn̥h₁-eu̯-oh₁*, where the final **-oh₁* of the *o*-stems replaces the old ending **-h₁*; i.e., the original instrumental singular form should be IE **sn̥h₁-eu̯-h₁*.

If so, Hitt. *šanna-* points to an Indo-European nasal infix present 3rd sg. act. **sn̥neh₁ti*, 3rd pl. act. **sn̥nh₁enti*; the generalization of the weak stem, attested by Hitt. *šanna-* (< IE **sn̥nh₁e/o-*), is due to the reinterpretation of IE 3rd pl. ect. **sn̥nh₁-enti* as **sn̥nh₁e-nti*. This type of nasal infix presents, although it is not so common as the type in **-neh₂-*, is well attested in the other Indo-European languages; cf. for instance Skt. *pr̥ṇáti* 'fills' (RV) < IE **pl̥neh₁ti* along with *pr̥ṇati* (RV) < IE **pl̥nh₁eti* and Av. 2nd sg. imp. act. *pərənā* < IE **pl̥nh₁e-* (: Gk. *πλῆτο* 'filled', etc.); Gk. *βάλλω* 'I throw' < IE **gʷl̥nh₁-*

(Beekes 1982/83, 207–208) and **senhₓu-ter*, but also from IE **senu-ter*. Similariy, Lat. *sine* can continue IE loc. sg. **senh₂-i* (Oettinger, loc. cit.), **sn̥hₓ-i* (Beekes, loc. cit.) and **sen-i*. Contrary to Beekes, loc. cit., I do not believe that the Tocharian forms A *sne*, B *snai* can be used as evidence for an Indo-European *seṭ* root; it is well known that the same finals (A *-e*, B *-ai*) are also attested by adverbs such as Toch. A *eçe* 'exactement' = B *aiçai* 'id.'; A *spante* 'en toute confiance' = B *spantai* 'id.', etc. (cf. van Windekens 1979, 23) which, of course, do not point to Indo-European *seṭ* roots.

e/o- along with the surviving IE *$*g^{w}\underline{l}neh_1$-* in the future *βαλλήσω* (: Arcad. aor. 3rd sg. act. *ἔζελε* < IE *$*é\text{-}g^{w}elh_1t$*, etc.)[7], etc. As for Hittite, along with *šanna-* < IE *$*s\underline{n}nh_1\text{-}e/o$-*, we have also *zinna-* 'finish' which, if it is related to Lat. *sinō*, continues IE *$*sinh_1\text{-}e/o$-* and *šunna-* 'fill' which possibly goes back to IE *$*sunh_1\text{-}e/o$-*, see Melchert (1984, 29 fn. 61)[8].

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[7]See Strunk (1967, 40–45, 56–59) with references.

[8]Forms such as Hitt. 1st sg. pres. act. *šu-ú-ni-ya-mi*, 2nd sg. pres. act. *zi-in-ni-ši*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *šu-ú-ni-iz-zi*, *šu-un-ni-ya-zi*, *tu-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi*, *du-wa-ar-ni-zi*, *du-wa-ar-ni-ya-az-zi* (*duwarna-/duwarni-* 'break'), *zi-in-ni-iz-zi*, *zi-ni-iz-zi*, etc. are regular derivatives in *-i(ya)-* from nasal infix verbs in *-na-*, cf. e.g. 1st sg. pres. act. *šu-un-na-aḫ-ḫi*, *du-wa-ar-na-aḫ-ḫi*, *zi-in-na-aḫ-ḫi*, etc. and see Sturtevant (1931, 138). Since the Old Hittite texts attest consistently *-ni-*, never *-ne-* (cf. e.g. OHitt. *zi-in-ni-zi* KBo XX 10 I 5, XX 37 Vs. 5), Oettinger's assumption that *-ni-* in *duwarni(ya)-*, *zinni-* continues IE *$*neh_1$-* (Oettinger 1979, 150–152) is unacceptable, see Melchert (1984, 114–115); but Melchert's hypothesis that the *i*-vocalism of *duwarni(ya)-*, *zinni-* is due to the influence of the duratives in *-anni(ya)-* (ibid., p. 117) is also doubtful.

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Sofia University "St. Kliment Ochridski" — Georgi T. Rikov
Department of General
and Comparative Linguistics
Tsar Osvoboditel 15
BG–1000 Sofia

Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia
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Georgi T. RIKOV (Sofia)

HITTITE *ḫarnant-*, *ḫarnammar* AND *ḫarnu-*

1. There are several Hittite forms which point to a nasal verb **ḫarn(a)-* 'to stir, churn, ferment, agitate, foment'[1].

According to Kronasser (1966:568) and Puhvel (1991:171), Hitt. *ḫarnant-* 'fermented' (nom.-acc. sg. nt. *ḫar-na-an*, acc. sg. *ḫar-na-an-ta-an*) is the participle of a verb **ḫarn(a)-*. Yet Melchert (1983:14) rightly mentions that *ḫarnant-* can „represent either the participle of a verb **ḫarne/a-* or the extension of an adjective **ḫarna-* 'fermented'"[2].

The Hittite nom.-acc. sg. nt. *ḫarnammar* 'agitation, ferment, leaven(ing), yeast' is a noun in *-mar/-mn-*; the oblique stem *ḫarnamn-* of this noun is attested by the denominative verb *ḫarnamniya-* 'to stir (up), churn, cause to ferment, incite', from which the noun in *-šḫa- ḫarnamniyašḫa-* 'stir, commotion, turmoil' is derived[3]. As Melchert (1983:14) and Puhvel (1991:173) point out, Hitt. *ḫarnammar/ḫarnamn-* can be either a deverbative[4] or a denominative; cf. the Hittite deverbative *tiyam(m)ar* 'rope, cord' (: *tiya-* 'to bind') as well as denominatives such as Hitt. *ḫilammar* 'entry hall' (: *ḫila-* 'courtyard'), *miummar* 'kindness' (: *miu-* 'soft, gentle, mild')[5].

Although the ambiguity of Hitt. *ḫarnant-* and *ḫarnammar* is evident, Kronasser (1966:320, 568) and Puhvel (1991:171–173) prefer to derive these forms from a nasal verb **ḫarn(a)-*. In fact, this is assured by the Hittite adjective *ḫarnu-* which is attested by the nom. pl. *ḫarnueš* KUB XXIX 7 Vs. 44 and means 'in ferment, stirred up'[6]. Since denominative adjectives in *-u-* from nouns in *-na-* (and *-a-*) are lacking in Hittite[7], Puhvel's explanation of the formation of Hitt. *harnu-* as parallel to that of *ḫatku-* 'shut, tight' (: *ḫatk-* 'to shut')[8] is obviously right. Thus, Hitt. *ḫarnu-* clearly points to an underlying nasal verb **ḫarn(a)-*.

2. The previous etymological explanations of Hitt. **ḫarn(a)-* are semantically possible. They offer, however, serious formal difficulties.

Knobloch (1959:35) hesitatingly compares Hitt. *ḫarnammar*, *ḫarnamniya-* and *ḫarnamniyašḫa-* with the *n*-forms, given by Pokorny (1959:328) under *er-* : *or-* : *r-* 'sich in Bewegung setzen, erregen'[9].

Puhvel (1991:173; 1995:178) connects Hitt. **ḫarn(a)-* with Gk. ἐρωή 'stir, motion, rush', OE *rǣs* 'movement, rush', etc.[10] and derives the Hittite verb from an Indo-European nasal infix present which can be reconstructed either as **E_2r̥-n-E_1-* or as **Hr̥-n-E-*[11].

However, Puhvel's explanation of Hitt. **ḫarn(a)-* is phonologically unacceptable. In view of the ε- of Gk. ἐρωή, the initial Indo-European laryngeal should be identified as the non-colouring one; thus, we have Gk. ἐρωή < IE **$h_1$roh$_1$s-eh$_2$*, OE *rǣs* < IE **$h_1$reh$_1$s-o-* and this indicates that Puhvel's later replacement of the initial non-colouring laryngeal **E_2-* (= h_1) in his **E_2r̥-n-E_1-* by the non-identified **H-* (= h_x-) in **Hr̥-n-E-*[12] is unfounded. On the other hand, since IE **h_1* is lost in any position in Anatolian[13], the initial *ḫ-* of Hitt. **ḫarn(a)-* contradicts the supposed connection of this Hittite verb with Gk. ἐρωή, etc.

As for the *n*-forms, which can be adduced in accord with Knobloch's etymology, the root *e*-vocalism of OE *eornost* 'battle, duel', OS, OHG *ernust* 'firmness' (< PGmc. **ernusti-*) points to IE initial **h_1e-* and offers the same phonological difficulty as the initial ε- (< IE **h_1-*) of Gk. ἐρωή[14]. Goth. *rinnan* 'to run, walk', OIcel. *rinna* 'to flow, run', OE, OS, OHG *rinnan* 'id.', OFris. *rinna* 'id.' (< PGmc. **renn-a-*) can be derived, as Lühr (1976:78) suggests, rather from IE **$h_x$rinh$_x$-e/o-* (cf. Skt. *riṇáti* 'causes to flow' < IE **$h_x$rineh$_x$ti*)

[1] On the data see Kronasser (1966:320, 568) and Puhvel (1991:171–173); on the meaning of **ḫarn(a)-* and the attested forms see Puhvel, l.c. — In view of the alternating *-na-* and *-n-* in the paradigm of the Hittite nasal verbs of this type (e. g. Hitt. *tarnai* 'lets go, allows' : *tarnummeni*, etc.), I prefer **ḫarn(a)-* instead of **ḫarne/a-* or the almost generally accepted **ḫarna-*.

[2] Cun. Luw. NINDA*ḫarnantašši-*, which means a type of leavened bread, is derived by the suffix *-ašši-* from **ḫarnant-*, corresponding to the Hittite form in *-ant*, cf. Laroche (1959:24), Hoffner (1974:155).

[3] See Kronasser (1966:320), Melchert (1983:14) and Puhvel (1991:172).

[4] Thus Kronasser (1966:320, 568).

[5] On the Hittite nouns in *-mar/-mn-* see Kronasser (1966:319–321) and especially Melchert (1983).

[6] On the text as well as on the meaning of Hitt. *ḫarnu-* see Puhvel, l.c.

[7] Cf. Weitenberg (1984:187–217).

[8] See Puhvel (1991:172–173).

[9] Cf. Pokorny (1959:326–332).

[10] Given by Pokorny (1959:336) under *ere-s-*, *rēs-*, *rōs-*. According to Pokorny, l.c., „Zugehörigkeit unserer Wz. **eres-* zu **er-*, **or-* 'in Bewegung setzen, lebhafte Bewegung' ist erwägenswert".

[11] According to Puhvel (1984:X), „*H* = laryngeal", „E_1 = voiceless *e*-coloring laryngeal, lost in Hittite" and „E_2 = voiced *e*-coloring laryngeal, Hittite *h-*, *-h-*".

[12] Cf. Puhvel (1995:178).

[13] See Kuryłowicz (1927:104), Eichner (1973:54–55), Melchert (1993:240–241).

[14] In view of its initial ε-, Gk. ἔρνος 'shoot, scion' (Pokorny 1959:328) should also be separated from Hitt. **ḫarn(a)-*.

than from IE *$h_x$rinw-e/o-; this implies an underlying verb stem *$h_x$reyh$_x$-[15]. In fact, the root connection of PGmc. *renn-a- with Hitt. *ḫarn(a)- is possible, see below § 3 and fn. 23. However, neither IE *$h_x$rinh$_x$-e/o- nor IE *$h_x$rinw-e/o- are compatible with the root structure of the Hittite verb and we can assume only a distant relationship in this case[16].

3. As Rix (1970:100) points out, the forms, given by Pokorny (1959:326–332) under *er- : or- : r-*, can be traced back to two different roots, IE *$h_1$er-/*h_1r- (cf. Skt. *ṛcchati* 'goes towards a thing, reaches, attacks', Gk. *ἔρχομαι* 'I come', Hitt. *ari* 'comes (to)', iter. *arškizzi*, caus. *arnuzzi*, etc.)[17] and IE *$h_3$er-/*h_3r- (cf. Skt. *ṛṇóti* 'arises, moves', aor. *árta*, Gk. *ὄρνῡμι* 'I stir (up)', aor. *ὦρτο*, etc.)[18]. It is also well known that IE *h_3 at the beginning of the word and before syllabic sounds (*V*, *R̥*, *i*, *u*) is continued by *ḫ* in Hittite and Luwian, cf. for instance Hitt. *ḫappar* 'business transaction' (< IE *$h_3$op-r̥ or *$h_3$ep-r̥, cf. the Latin *s*-stem *opus*, *-eris* 'work, labour; action, work, business')[19], Hitt. *ḫarganau-* 'palm, sole' (: Gk. *ὀρέγω* 'I stretch out')[20], Hitt. *ḫišša-* 'pole, shaft' (< IE *$h_3$ih$_1$s-) and *ḫinikta* 'wets, pours, deluges' (< IE *$h_3$inek-/*$h_3$ink-)[21], etc.

Then, it is clear that the Hittite and Luwian representatives of IE *$h_3$er-/*h_3r- would have an initial *ḫ-* (< IE *h_3-). It is significant in this connection that Georgiev (1975:111) compares the Hittite noun *ḫarnau-* 'birthing seat' with Gk. *ὄρνῡμι* 'I stir (up)', Lat. *orior* 'I rise, get up', etc.; in accord with Rix' law, he reconstructs the initial laryngeal as the *o*-colouring one and assumes that Hitt. *ḫarnau-* continues IE *$h_3$erneh$_3$-u-. Yet the explanation of Hitt. *ḫarnau-* as an original action noun in *-new-/*-nu-* seems more likely and Ofitsch (1995:21–23), who accepts Georgiev's root connection, convincingly derives the Hittite noun from IE *h_3r̥-new/nu-*[22].

[15] It is possibly attested by the Armenian aorist *y-areay* (: pres. *y-arnem* 'I stand up, arise'), see Jasanoff (1981:17).

[16] Since the root vocalism of the Germanic adjectives in *-ni-* follows that of the underlying verbs, the root connection of PGmc. *arni- (cf. Goth. *arni-ba* 'certain, only') with Hitt. *ḫarn(a)- is also possible, cf. § 3. However, the formation of this Germanic adjective is evidently different from that of the Hittite nasal verb.

[17] Skt. *ṛcchati* and Hitt. *arškizzi* go back to IE *h_1r̥sketi. According to Rix (1970:98–99), the *-ρχ-* in Gk. *ἔρχομαι* reflects *-rsk-*; hence this Greek verb can correspond to Skt. *ṛcchati* and Hitt. *arškizzi*. — Hitt. *ari* continues IE 3rd sg. perfect *$h_1$or-e + *-y*, whereas the causative *arnuzzi* can be explained as an inner-Hittite innovation.

[18] See Rix, l.c.: „Die 'große Bewegungswurzel' idg. *er-* enthält... aus der Sicht der Laryngalhypothese zwei Wurzeln: *$h_2$$_1$r- 'zugehen auf' in ai. *ṛcháti* gr. *ἔρχομαι* heth. *arḫi arškizzi* (samt kausativem *arnuzi* 'bringt') und *$h_2$$_3$r- 'aufspringen, losstürzen' in ai. *ṛṇóti* (faktitiv), gr. *ὄρνῡμι* toch. A *ars-*, B *ers-* (kausativ 'hervorbringen'), lat. *orior*".

[19] See Kimball (1987:185–187).

[20] See Weitenberg (1984:223).

[21] See Rikov (1995b:189); Lindeman (1970:40) already derives Hitt. *ḫišša-* from IE *$h_3$ih$_1$s-.

[22] According to Ofitsch (1995:24–25), IE *$h_1$er-* and *$h_3$er-* meant 'to move horizontally' and 'to move vertically' respectively, whereas „die heth. Verben, die etymologisch zur Wurzel *$h_1$er- gehören, besitzen einen allgemeinen Richtungsaspekt, die Wurzel *$h_3$er- jedoch spezifiziert im Hethitischen die Bewegung nach oben oder unten und in weiterer Folge die Bewegung des Kindes während des Geburtsvorganges". — Ofitsch assumes that Hitt. *ḫaršar* 'head' can also be derived from IE *$h_3$er-* (ibid., p. 25–26), but this seems less probable; according to Peters (1980:230 fn. 176[a]) and Puhvel (1991:190), Hitt. *ḫaršar*, gen. sg. *ḫaršanaš* can be derived by an assimilation of *k — *h* into *h — *h* and subsequent loss of the interconsonantal *h* from *karḫsar, -anas* (< IE *ḱ(e)rh$_2$sr̥, *ḱ(e)rh$_2$sen-*, cf. Skt. *śīrṣan-* 'head' < IE *ḱr̥h$_2$sen-*, etc.). — If Hitt. *ḫaruwa-* (abl. sg. or pl. *ḫaruwaz*) 'road' and Hier. Luw. *harwa-* 'id.' are related to Gk. *οὖρος* 'fair wind' (Puhvel 1991:203–204), these forms, together with Av. *auruua-* 'schnell, tapfer', would go back (in spite of Puhvel, l. c.) to IE *$h_3$erwo- (cf. also IE *$h_3$rew-* in Gk. *ὀρούω* 'I dart, rush forward' < *$h_3$row-s-*, Lat. *ruō* 'I rush down, tumble, go to ruin, hasten', etc. as well as the nasal infix presents Skt. *ṛṇóti*, Av. *ərənaoiti*, Gk. *ὄρνῡμι*). It is clear, however, that Ofitsch' hypothesis on the semantical development of IE *$h_3$er-* in Hittite is hardly compatible with this explanation of Hitt. *ḫaruwa-*.

[23] Cf. also Gk. *ὀρτίνω* 'I stir up, rouse' which, together with PGmc. *renna-* (cf. § 2), continues *$h_3$rinh$_x$-; Skt. *riṇáti* < *$h_3$rineh$_x$-ti*, etc.

[24] Cun. Luw. NINDA*ḫarnantašši-* (cf. fn. 2) indicates that the verb stem *harn(a)-* can be traced back to Common Anatolian.

In fact, the Hittite nasal verb *ḫarn(a)- can be explained as a derivative of IE *$h_3$er-/*h_3r-, to which Hitt. *ḫarnau-*, Skt. *ṛṇóti*, Gk. *ὄρνῡμι*, etc. are also traced back; this accounts well for the initial *ḫ-* (< IE *h_3-) of the Hittite verb[23].

4. Now the formation of Hitt. *ḫarn(a)- calls for explanation.

In view of the available data, there is no reason for assuming an Indo-European *set* root *$h_3$erh$_x$-/*h_3r̥h$_x$-, from which the nasal verb *ḫarn(a)- can be derived; the attested forms in the different branches of the Indo-European language family are clearly *anit* and point to IE *$h_3$er-/*h_3r-. True, we have the Sanskrit nasal present *ṛṇāti*, but the appearance of this isolated form in Dhatupatha 9.27 can be explained, as Cowgill (1963:255; 1965:154) points out, as an inner-Indic replacement of the inherited *new*-present *ṛṇóti*.

Then, the nasal verb *ḫarn(a)- should be explained as an inner-Anatolian innovation[24]. In fact, two different solutions to the formation of *harn(a)- are possible.

4.1. The nasal verb *ḫarn(a)- can be explained as the reshaped outcome of the Indo-European *new*-present *h_3r̥néwti, *h_3r̥nwénti* (> Skt. *ṛṇóti*, etc.). If so, the appearance of this *n(a)*-verb is due to the partial merger of the *nu-* and *n(a)*-verbs which is well attested by the Hittite lst pl. active forms, the verbal nouns in *-war* and the infinitives in *-wanzi*. Thus, we have Hitt. *arnu-mmeni*, *arnu-mmen*, *arnu-m(m)ar*, *arnu-manzi* (: *arnu-* 'to move along, make go, stir, raise') etc. as well as *šann-umar* (: *šann(a)-* 'to keep secret'), *šunn-umar* (: *šunn(a)-* 'to fill'), *tarn-ummeni*, *tarn-um(m)en*, *tarn-umar*, *tarn-um(m)anzi* (: *tarn(a)-* 'to let go, allow'); in view of the change

of *-*uw*- into Hitt. -*um*-, this implies Anat. **arnu-weni* and **tarn-uweni*[25], etc. The double appreciation of such forms as forms of the both *nu*- and *n(a)*-class would lead to the interchange of *nu*- and *n(a)*-verbs in Hittite and Anatolian.

A clear instance of this interchange is presented by the pair Hitt. *tarn(a)*- : *tarnuzi*, where the isolated 3rd sg. pres. act. *tarnuzi* KBo II 8 III 21' is obviously of secondary origin; it is formed on the basis of *tarnummeni*, *tarnum(m)en*, *tarnumar*, *tarnum(m)anzi* along the line of *arnuzzi* : *arnummeni*, *arnummen*, *arnum(m)ar*, etc.[26] Similarly, the Palaic verb stem **šunnu*- (in the deverbative *šunnuttil*- 'Füllung') is probably formed in the same way, cf. Hitt. *šunn(a)*- 'to fill'.

Then, **ḫarn(a)*- can represent the opposite direction of development, due to the reinterpretation of Anat. **harnu-weni*, **harnu-wen* (< IE **h₃r̥-nu*-), etc. as forms of a *n(a)*-verb; hence the proportion Anat. **tarnuweni*, etc. : **tarn(a)*- = **harnuweni*, etc. : *x* (*x* = **harn(a)*-). However, the main weakness of this explanation is the absence of other Common Anatolian representatives of this development.

4.2. It is evidently preferable to derive **ḫarn(a)*- by a secondarily abstracted suffix -*n(a)*- from a root verb **har*- which can be compared with the aorists Skt. *ā́rta*, Gk. *ὦρτο* (< IE **é-h₃r̥-to*)[27]; similarly, Skt. *uṣnan* (: *uṣ*- 'to burn'), *kuṣnā́ti* (: *kuṣ*- 'to tear'), *badhnā́ti* (: *bandh*- 'to bind'), etc. are formed from *aniṭ* roots, suffixed by -*nā*-(/-*nī*-/-*n*-).

If so, the formation of **ḫarn(a)*- is identical with that of Hitt. *ḫurn(a)*- 'to hunt' which is attested by the infinitive *ḫurnuwanzi* (ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*ša-aš namma ḫurnuwanzi* UL *paizzi* KUB XXXIII 121 II 8 'he (Kessi) no longer goes to the mountains to hunt'[28]) and the iteratives *ḫurniškizzi* and *ḫuwarniškizzi*. According to Čop, this Hittite verb is related to Latv. *vert*, *veĻu*, *vēru* 'laufen', Lith. caus. *varýti*, *varaũ* '(ver)treiben, jagen; führen, leiten', OBg. *variti*, *varjǫ προφῠ́νειν* as well as to Gk. *ἀὐρι-* (in the compound *ἀὐρι-βάτᾱς* 'swift-striding' Aesch. Fr. 263, cf. also *ἀὔρι·ταχέυς* AB 464), SCr. *jùriti* 'to crush after, chase', etc.[29]; the accented suffix of Lith. *varýti* clearly indicates that we are dealing with an underlying *aniṭ* root[30]. Then, the nasal verbs *ḫurn(a)*- and **ḫarn(a)*- are formed from *aniṭ* roots, suffixed by -*n(a)*-[31].

[25] The endings *-*uweni*, *-*uwen*, etc. (cf. Hitt. *tarn-ummeni*, *tarn-um(m)en*, etc.) are Sievers-Lindeman variants of *-*weni*, *-*wen*, etc., see Melchert (1984:24–25).

[26] Cf. Oettinger (1979:58 fn.45): „Prs. Sg. 3. *tarnuzi* KBo II 8 III 21' dürfte zu Pl. l. *tarnummeni* nach der Proportion *arnuzi* : *arnummeni* entstanden sein".

[27] If so, Anat. **har*- (< IE **h₃er*-/ **h₃r̥*-) relates to the aorists Skt. *ā́rta*, Gk. *ὦρτο* as Hitt. *me-ir-zi*, *me-ir-ta* (*mer*- 'to disappear') to Skt. aor. *amṛta* (*mr̥*- 'to die'); Hitt. *lu-uk-ta* 'it dawns', *lu-uk-ta-at* 'it dawned' to Skt. aor. *arukta* (*ruc*- 'to shine'), etc.

[28] On the text and translation see Hoffner (1974:125); cf. also Puhvel (1991:433). Already Ehelolf (1927:148–149) rightly translated Hitt. *ḫurnuwanzi* as 'jagen'.

[29] Čop's etymology of Hitt. *ḫurn(a)*- is generally accepted, see Tischler (1978:305) and Puhvel (1991:433) with references.

[30] The other forms, related to Hitt. *ḫurn(a)*-, can reflect either an *aniṭ* or a *seṭ* root. In fact, even the evidence of the Latvian dialectal verb *vert*, *veĻu*, *vēru* 'laufen' (Rūjiena; Liel-Salaca) is not sufficient for a definite solution. In view of Latv. dial. *àizvērt* 'schnell weglaufen' (Rūjiena), Mühlenbach and Endzelin emended Latv. dial. *vert* as *vērt* (Mühlenbach 1923–1932 IV:542), but the ambiguity of this form is evident: Latv. dial. *vērt* can be either from an IE *seṭ* root **h₂werh_x*- or (with lengthend grade of the radical vowel) from an IE *aniṭ* root **h₂wēr*-.– The state two of the root **h₂wer*-, the existence of which is assured by the Baltic forms and OBg. *variti*, is also attested by the Hittite data. Thus, whereas Hitt. *ḫurnuwanzi* and *ḫurniškizzi* are formed with the expected zero grade **h₂wr̥*- (on Hitt. *ur* < IE **wr̥* see Eichner 1973:73–76), *ḫuwarniškizzi* points to an older *e*-grade of the root (with Hitt. *arC* < **erC*) which should be analogically introduced from a Common Anatolian outcome of IE **h₂wer*-.

[31] According to Puhvel (1995:177), Hitt. *šunn(a)*- 'to fill' and *šann(a)*- 'to keep secret' can be explained as „containing... the productive causative-factitive -*na*-"; if so, their formation is identical with that of Hitt. *ḫurn(a)*- (cf. the meaning 'to hunt' of the differently formed Lithuanian causative *varýti*) and **ḫarn(a)*-. However, the plene writing in the Hittite adjective *šū*- 'full' (cf. nom. sg. anim. *šu-u-uš*, acc. sg. *šu-u-un*, *šu-u-ú-un*, etc.) as well as the related Slavic **syti* 'satisfied, replete' point to an Indo-European disyllabic root **sewh₁*-/**suh₁*-; then, Hitt. *šunn(a)*- (: *šuwa*- 'to fill', middle *šu*- 'to swell') can reflect a nasal infix present **sunh₁(-e/o)*- (Rikov 1994:67–74). Similarly, in view of the related Greek adverb *ἄνευω* 'in silence' (< instr. sg. **sn̥h₁-ew-oh₁*), Hitt. *šann(a)*- can be derived from a nasal infix present **sn̥nh₁(-e/o)*- (Rikov 1995a: 331–335).

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On Hittite *ḫulla-* and Greek ἀλῶναι

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

1. Inflection and etymology of Hittite *ḫulla-* and *ḫulli*(ya)-

1. Hitt. *ḫulla-* 'to smash, quash, defeat' follows the *mi-* conjugation in Old Hittite,[1] cf. 2nd sg. pres. act. *ḫu-ul-la-aš-ši*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *ḫu-ul-la-az-zi*, *ḫu-u-ul-la-az-zi*, 1st sg. pret. act. *ḫu-ul-la-nu-un*, 3rd sg. pret. middle *ḫu-la-at-ta-ti*, 3rd sg. impv. middle *ḫu-la-da-ru*.

The 3rd sg. pres. act. *ḫullai* and 3rd sg. pret. act. *ḫulliš* appear in Neo-Hittite texts and can be explained as inner-Hittite innovations.[2]

As Neu (1974:74) points out, the attested forms do not confirm Friedrich's (1952—1954:73) assumption that the stem of this Hittite verb is *ḫulla(i)-*[3]. It is also clear that Hitt. *ḫulla-*, which is originally inflected in the *mi*-conjugation, cannot be explained as a thematic verb; in fact, there is no reason for assuming a Hittite verb class in **-o-mi, *-e-si, *-e-ti* (see Georgiev 1978:6)[4], and the Hittite thematicized verbs such as *malla-*, 'to grind', etc. follow the *ḫi*-conjugation, cf. Hitt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *mallai* as well as the innovated Neo-Hittite *ḫullai*. If so, Hitt. 3rd sg. pres. act. *ḫullizzi* and 3rd sg. pret. act. *ḫullit*, attested in Old Hittite, can hardly be separated from the Neo-Hittite forms 3rd sg. pres. act. *ḫulliyazzi*, 1st sg. pret. act. *ḫulliyanun*, 3rd sg. pret. act. *ḫulliyat*, 1st pl. pret. act. *ḫulliyawen*, which are evidently verbs in *-ye/a-*.[5]

2. Puhvel (1991:367—368; 1995:178) rightly rejects the well-known connection of Hitt. *ḫulla-* with *walḫ-* 'to strike, attack'[6] and explains *ḫulla-* as a nasal infix verb[7] in **-neh₃-*, "a particularly close cognate" of which is Gk.ἀνᾰλίσκω 'to waste, spend', (F)ἀλίσκομαι 'to

[1] On the Hittite data see Neu (1974:74—75, and Oettinger (1979:261—262); cf. also Kronasser (1966:510).
[2] See below, § 5.2.
[3] Cf. also Kronasser, *loc. cit.*
[4] Georgiev, *loc. cit.*, rejects Bader's (1975:12—13, 23—24) reconstruction of a verb class in **-e/o-mi*, etc., and rightly mentions that Arm. *berem*, SCr. *berem*, etc. represent independent and parallel innovations. — Oettinger (1979:259—314) juxtaposes Hitt. *ḫullizzi, ḫullanzi* with verbs such as *mallizzi, mallanzi (malla-* 'to grind') and also reconstructs an Indo-European thematic verbs class in **-e-ti, *-o-nti*. However, Hitt. *malli-, malliya-*, etc. are regular derivatives in *-ye/a-*, see Melchert (1984:16—19), where *ḫulli-, ḫulla-*, however, are unconvincingly explained; on Melchert's recent explanation of this Hittite verb see below, § 5.3. — The opinion that the Hittite *mi*-forms *ḫullaši, ḫullazzi*, etc. are due to inner-Hittite thematicization (see Oettinger 1979:263—264 among others; cf. already Kronasser 1966:510) is also unacceptable; there are no other Hittite active singular *mi*-forms which would represent such a development.
[5] Cf. Puhvel (1991:368) and see below, § 5.3.
[6] According to Puhvel (1991:367—368), this connection "presupposes an ad-hoc dissimilatory loss of an initial laryngeal in *walḫ-* or an equally unsatisfactory metathesis of laryngeal in *ḫull(a)-*. It may be preferable to posit two semantically similar but formally distinct roots... The usually alleged crop of cognates (Lat. *vellō* 'pluck, tear', *volnus* 'wound', Gk. οὐλή 'wound', Goth. *wilwan* 'rob', ON *valr* 'carnage', etc.: IEW 1144—5) admits of attachment to either one".
[7] As Melchert (1994:82) mentions, Lehrman (after Cowgill) already derives Hitt. *ḫulla-* from a nasal infix present.

be captured, be defeated, be convicted', aorist (F)ἁλω-. The interpretation of *ḫulla-* as an Indo-European *neh*$_3$-present accounts well for the *mi-* forms of this Hittite verb. There are, however, a number of problems, which call for explanation.

2. The formation of Gk. ἁλῶναι and the loss of the initial laryngeal in the Greek forms

3. Puhvel derives Hitt. *ḫulla-* either from IE **H_1w̥lneA^w-* (1991:368) or from IE **Hw̥lneA^w-* (1995:178). Most of the phonetic changes, suggested by these reconstructions, are regular. Thus, the development of IE **-wl̥-* into Hitt. *-ul-* is parallel to that of IE **-wr̥* into Hitt. *-ur-*,[8] and the assimilation of **-ln-* into Hitt. *-ll-*, supposed by Puhvel, is attested by a number of instances.[9] According to the almost usual practice of the laryngeal theory, Puhvel's reconstructions **H_1w̥lneA^w-* and **Hw̥lneA^w-* must be rendered as **$h_x$wlneh$_3$-*; the change of IE **-eh$_3$C-* into Anat. *-*āC-* (cf. Hitt. *ḫullaši, ḫullazzi)*[10] and the loss of the laryngeal in *ḫullumen*[11] are also regular. Despite of Puhvel, the Hittite *ḫ* cannot reflect the Indo-European non-colouring laryngeal[12], and this implies that the initial laryngeal, continued by *ḫ-* of *ḫulla-*, must be identified either as IE **h_2-* or IE **h_3-*;[13] hence Hitt. *ḫulla-* points to IE **$h_{2/3}$wlneh$_3$-*.

4. However, Gk. ἁλίσκομαι and ἁλῶναι have no prothetic vowels, cf. the initial *F-* in Thess. Fαλισσκεται and Arc. Fαλοντοις; then, the connection of these Greek forms with Hitt. *ḫulla-*, which guarantees the initial IE **$h_{2/3}$-*, offers a serious difficulty.

4.1. Puhvel, l.c.c., derives the aorist (F)ἁλω- from IE **H_1w̥lleA^w-* or **HwlleA^w-* (i. e., **h_xw̥lleh$_3$-*) which can now be given as **h$_{2/3}$w̥lleh$_3$-*; in fact, Puhvel's attempt at explanation modifies Hettrich's (1975:150—152) **w̥leh$_3$-* and Peters' (1980:31 n.) **wlleh$_3$-*, which are already doubted by Normier (1978:132) and Beekes (1988:74—75). There is no reason for assuming, however, a loss of the initial laryngeal in the Greek outcome of a Sievers-Edgerton variant **$h_{2/3}$w̥lleh$_3$-*; as far as I know, there are no other representatives of such a development in Greek.

4.2. Francis (1974:69—71) convincingly interprets Gk. ἁλῶναι as an intransitive aorist in **-eh$_1$-* and derives it from IE **w̥lh$_3$-eh$_1$-*. The reconstruction of IE prevocalic **wlh$_3$-* accounts well for both ἁλίσκομαι and ἁλῶναι (cf. also Rix 1976:74, Normier 1978:133—134, Beekes 1988:74 and Klein 1988:221); the development of IE *CRh$_3$V-* into Gk. *CaRV-* is also attested by Gk. πεπαρεῖν 'to offer', which comes from **pe-pr̥h$_3$-e/o-*[14] (see Floyd 1971:677—678 fn. 4, Peters 1980:30 fn. 19). However, Normier's attempt to explain the initial *ḫ-* of Hitt. *ḫulla-* by a metathesis of **-h$_3$-* in an original preform **welh$_3$-/*wl̥h$_3$-* (continued by Hitt. *walḫzi* as well) is evidently unconvincing.

4.3. Yet Francis' explanation of Gk. ἁλίσκομαι and ἁλῶναι as zero-grade derivatives in **-iske/o-* and **-eh$_1$-* respestively is not only morphologically correct; it would also account for the loss of an initial laryngeal in these Greek forms. According to Peters (1980:23—24 fn. 18), the initial laryngeal in the Indo-European sequence **h_xCL̥C-* is lost in Greek, cf. Gk. λῆνος 'wool', Hitt. *ḫulana-* 'id.' < IE **$h_{2/3}$wl̥h$_1$-no-/-neh$_2$*; Gk. ῥαίνω 'to sprinkle', Hitt. *ḫurniya-* 'to spray, sprinkle' < IE **$h_2$wr̥nh$_x$-ye/o-*, etc.

Similarly, in view of Peters' rule, the loss of the initial laryngeal in Gk. ἁλίσκομαι, ἁλῶναι (: Hitt. *ḫulla-*) presupposes an Indo-European sequence **h_xCL̥C-*, in particular **$h_{2/3}$wl̥C-*; this indicates that Gk. ἁλῶναι reflects rather IE **$h_{2/3}$wl̥h$_3$-eh$_1$-* than a Sievers-Edgerton variant **$h_{2/3}$wlleh$_3$-*. Of course, Gk. ἁλίσκομαι also continues IE prevocalic **$h_{2/3}$wl̥h$_3$-*.

3. Interpretation of the forms of Hittite *ḫulla- and ḫulliye/a-*

5.1. Most of the attested forms of the Hittite *mi*-verb *ḫulla-* can directly be derived from the forms of the Indo-European nasal infix present **$h_{2/3}$wl̥neh$_3$- / *$h_{2/3}$wl̥nh$_3$-*,

The Hittite 2nd sg. pres. act. *ḫullaši*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *ḫullazzi* and 3rd sg. impv. act. *ḫulladdu* continue IE **$h_{2/3}$wlneh$_3$-si, *$h_{2/3}$wl̥neh$_3$-ti* and **$h_{2/3}$wl̥neh$_3$-tu* respectively. The strong stem **$h_{2/3}$wlneh$_3$-* can also be seen in the 1st sg. pret. act. *ḫullanun.*

The weak stem **$h_{2/3}$wlnh$_3$-* is attested by the Hittite 3rd pl. pres. act. *ḫullanzi,* which directly continues IE **$h_{2/3}$wlnh$_3$-enti,* and the 1st sg. pret. act. *ḫullumen* and the verbal substantive *ḫullumar*, where *-umen* and *-umar* can be explained as Sievers-Edgerton variants **-uwen* and **-uwar* of **-wen* and **-war* respectively.[15]

The Hittite 3rd pl. pres. middle *ḫullantari* is ambiguous; yet, it represents rather IE **$h_{2/3}$wlnh$_3$-n̥to-rei* than a thematicized form.

The single *-l-* of the Hittite 3rd sg. pret. middle *ḫulattati* KBo III 29,14 (dupl. KBo VIII 41,4) and 3rd sg. impv. middle *ḫuladaru* KBo III 29 I 15 (dupl. KBo VIII 41,5)[16] calls now for explanation. The inherited athematics *ḫullaši, ḫullazzi, ḫullanzi, ḫulladdu* imply that Hitt. *ḫulattati* and *ḫuladaru* can also continue old athematic forms. This is assured by the single *-l-* and *-t-* of *ḫuladaru,* which must be read */hultaru /*; the development of the Indo-European sequence *-lnh$_x$t-* via **-llt-* into Hitt. *-lt-* would be regular. As for Hitt. *ḫulattati /hulatadi/,* it can be developed by an inner-Hittite anaptyxis of *-a-* from an athematic **ḫultadi.* Then, Hitt. *ḫulattati* is formed on the basis of IE 3rd sg. middle **$h_{2/3}$wlnh$_3$-to,* and *ḫuladaru* directly continues IE 3rd sg. impv. middle **$h_{2/3}$wlnh$_3$-to-reu.*[17]

5.2. The *ḫi-* forms 3rd sg. pres. act. *ḫullai* and 3rd sg. pret. act. *ḫulliš* are evidently formed on the basis of the reinterpretation of the 3rd pl. pres. act. *ḫullanzi* (< IE **$h_{2/3}$wlnh$_3$-enti*) as *ḫulla-nzi.* Although this development takes place within the historical period of Hittite, it parallels that of the other Hittite verbs in *-na-* such as *šanna-* 'to keep secret, passes over in silence, conceal, hide', *šunna-* 'to fill', *tarna-* 'to let go, allow', *duwarna-* 'to break' which follow the *ḫi*-conjugation and can be compared with the thematic type in **-nh$_x$-e/o-*, attested by other Indo-European languages; cf. Gk. κάμνω 'to be weary, tired, exhausted', Skt. *pr̥náti* 'fills', etc. In

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[8] Cf. e. g. Hitt. *ḫulana-* 'wool' < IE **$h_{2/3}$wl̥h$_1$-neh$_2$-* (Peters 1987:114—115); on the development of IE **wR̥* into Hitt. *-uR-* see Eichner (1973:74) and Melchert (1994:126—127) w. refs.

[9] See Melchert (1994:81—82) w. refs.

[10] Cf. Melchert (1994:73). In fact, Hitt. *lāman* 'name', which comes (with dissimilated *l — n* from **n — m*) from IE **h$_1$neh$_3$mn-*, is the only possible representative of this change in Hittite. Pal. *šūnat* 'filled' can continue **suh$_x$neh$_2$-et* (see Rikov 1994:70), and Hitt. *da-* 'to take' can be built on the basis of the zero-grade **dh$_3$-* of the middle, cf. the Vedic aorist forms *ádam, ádas, ádat, ádāma* and see Eichner (1975:93—94), Rikov (1993:81 fn. 19). — Similarly, IE **eh$_2$C* also changes into *āC* in Anatolian, see Melchert (1994:69).

[11] See below, § 5.1.

[12] Thus already Kuryłowicz (1927:104), Eichner (1973:54—55), Melchert (1994:61—68).

[13] See also Melchert (1994:55, 66, 82).

[14] With analogically restored ablaut of the thematic vowel.

[15] Cf. Melchert (1984:24—27; 1994:57—58). According to Eichner (1988:136—137), however, the post-consonantal laryngeals before **w* yield Hitt. *u*, cf. Hitt. *tumeni, dummeni* 'we take'<**dh$_3$-wenei.* — Puhvel's (1960:37; 1987:241) assumption that the interconsonantal IE **A_1^{w}* (=**h$_3$*) yields *u* in Hittite is unacceptable; yet his (1991:368) comparison of *ḫullummen* and *ḫullumar* with *tarnummeni* and *tarnummar (< *tr̥nh$_2$-)* is rather in accord with Eichner's explanation.

[16] For these middle forms see Neu (1968:59).

[17] This possibility is supported by the fact that the only two instances with single *-l- (< *-lnh$_3$-)* attest this *-l-* before endings, beginning with stops. According to Neu (1974:75 fn. 133), however, "die Einfachschreibung des *-l-* dürfte zu Lasten des Abschreiben gehen". If so, Hitt. *ḫulattati* and *ḫuladaru* can be juxtaposed with the instances, which attest occasional writings of *-R-* instead of the regular *-RR-*, cf. e. g. Hitt. 1st sg. pres. act. *mu-na-a-mi (: munna(i)-* 'verbergen').

fact, such thematic nasal infix presents can be formed at different dates since the dialectal period of Indo-European.[18]

The Hittite 2nd pres. act. *ḫullatteni* is ambiguous; it can represent either an analogical spread of the strong stem *ḫulla-*, seen in *ḫullazzi*, etc. (< *$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}neh_3$-), or a spread of the thematicized *ḫulla-*, abstracted on the basis of *ḫulla-nzi*.

Similarly, the Hittite 3rd sg. pret. middle *ḫullatat* is probably built on the basis of the 3rd pl. pres. middle *ḫullantari* and 3rd pl. pret. middle **ḫullantat(i)*, which can be reinterpreted as *ḫulla-ntari* and **ḫulla-ntat(i)* respectively.

5.3. Melchert (1994:54—55, 66, 82) interprets Hitt. *ḫulli-* (cf. OHitt. *ḫullizzi, ḫullit*) as *ḫulle-* and derives it, together with *ḫulla-* (cf. Hitt. *ḫullanzi*), from the paradigm of an Indo-European nasal infix present **$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}neh_1$-ti, *$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}nh_1$-enti*. This is in accord with Oettinger's (1979:151—152) and Melchert's (1984:36, 114—117) interpretations of verbs such as Hitt. *zinni-/zinna-* 'to finish', etc. as nasal infix presents in **neh_1-/*-nh_1-*; in my opinion, this theory is untenable, see Rikov 1996:71—78). Moreover, as we have seen above, the related Gk. ἀλῶναι continues IE **$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}h_3$-eh_1-*, and implies an underlying Indo-European *set* root **$h_{2/3}we\underline{l}h_3$/*$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}h_3$-*, from which the nasal infix present **$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}neh_3$-ti, *$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}nh_3$-enti*, (>Hitt. *ḫullazzi, ḫullanzi*) is regularly formed; hence Melchert's reconstruction of an Indo-European present in **neh_1-/*-nh_1-* is evidently impossible.

In fact, Hitt. *ḫulli-, ḫulliya-* can be explained as an inner-Hittite deverbative in *-ye-/-ya-* which is derived from the *mi*-verb *ḫullazzi, ḫullanzi;* it is well known that the suffix *-ye-/-ya-*, which is productive in the history of Hittite, serves to form derivatives of both *mi-* and *ḫi*-verbs, cf. Hitt. *ištalkiya-* 'to flatten': 3rd sg. pres. act. *ištalkzi* 'flattens' and Hitt. 3rd. sg. pres. act. *malli(ya)zzi* 'mills, grinds': *mallai* 'id'; *duwarni(ya)zzi* 'breaks': *duwarnai* 'id', etc.[19]

The iterative *ḫulliške-* 'to defeat', attested by the 1st sg. pres. act. *ḫulliškinun* and the supine *ḫulliškiuwan*, is compared by Puhvel (1991:368) with Gk. ἀλίσκομαι. However, Hitt. *ḫulliške-* and Gk. ἀλίσκομαι are derived from different verb stems and must be explained as independent formations. Thus, Hitt. *ḫulliške-* is formed from *ḫulli-, ḫulliya-* (with *ḫull-* < **$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}nh_3$-*), whereas Gk. ἀλίσκομαι presupposes **$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}h_3$-*.

4. Inherited strong stems of Indo-European *neh$_x$*-presents in Hittite

6. It is clear that the Hittite *mi*-verb *ḫulla-* can directly continue an Indo-European nasal infix present 3rd sg. pres. act. **$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}neh_3$-ti*, 3rd pl. pres. act. **$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}nh_3$-enti*.

Besides Hitt. *ḫullaši, ḫullazzi* and *ḫulladdu*, which go back to IE **$h_{2/3}w\underline{l}neh_3$-si , *-ti, *-tu*, there are also two isolated *mi*-forms, *tu-wa-ar-na-zi* Laws I § 12 and *du-wa-ar-na-du* KBo II 3 II 41—45, which may continue strong forms of the underlying nasal infix present. This implies that *tuwarnazi* and *duwarnadu* can reflect (with analogically introduced full grade of the root, cf. Cun. Luw. *lawarri-* 'to despoil, strip'[20]) IE **$d^hw\underline{l}neh_{2/3}$- ti, *-tu*. True, there are also other possible interpretations of these two isolated *mi*-forms of Hitt. *duwarna-*, which as a rule follows the *ḫi*-conjugation; see Kronasser (1966:564), Oettinger (1979:310), Rikov (1996:71 fn.1).

The other Hittite representatives of Indo-European nasal infix presents in **-neh$_x$-/*-nh$_x$-* can be explained as remodellings, which are usually based on the weak stems in **-nh$_x$-*. The only exception is Hitt. *(kina(i)-* which, according to Puhvel (1995:177–178), signifies rather 'sift, sort, fritter' than 'to crush, break (up)' or the like[21], and can a be related to Gk. διᾰ-ττάω 'to sift', 3rd pl. pres. act. σᾶσι (Hdt.) **kyeh$_2$yonti*. The single *-n-* of Hitt. *kina(i)-* guarantees that this Hittite nasal verb is formed from the strong stem of the underlying nasal infix present; this implies that Hitt. *kina(i)-* continues **kineh$_2$ye/o-*, which is derived by the suffix **-ye/o-* from IE **kineh$_2$-*.[22]

[18] See Rikov (1996:74—75).

[19] See Puhvel (1991:368), who compares Hitt. *ḫulla- : ḫulliya-* with *arra-* 'to wash' : *arriya-* 'id.' and *ḫatta-* 'to pierce, prick, penetrate' : *ḫazziya-* 'id.'

[20] See Rikov (1996:76).

[21] For this meaning see Oettinger (1979:162) w. refs.

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[22] It is generally accepted, however, that Gk. διαττάω (analyzed as *(δια–)τϝαίω) is related to Skt *titaü-* 'sieve, cribble', see Pokorny (1959:1085), Mayrhofer (1956—1980 I:499), Frisk (1960—1972 I:386). — If Hitt. *kina(i)* originally signifies 'to crush, break (up)', it can be compared with the nasal infix present Skt. *jināti* 'deprives', Av. *zina* 'to harm' (cf. 3rd sg. subj. act. *zināṯ* Y. 11,5), OPers 3rd sg impf. act. *adina* 'deprived'; cf. also Skt. *jyāni-* 'disappearance' Av *iiana-* 'damage', etc. (see Rikov 1984:63). If so, Hitt. *kina(i)-* would reflect **ǵineh$_2$ye/o-*, which is derived by the suffix *-ye/o-* from the strong stem of the Indo-European nasal infix present 3rd sg. pres. act. *gineh ti* 3rd pl pres act *ginh$_2$-enti* (continued by Skt. *jināti*, Av. *zināṯ*, OPers. *adina*).

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On Hittite *šalli-*, Cuneiform Luwian *šalhitti-* and their congeners

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

1. Hitt. *šalli-* 'great; adult' follows the well-known inflectional pattern of the Hittite *i*-stem adjectives, cf. nom. sg. c. *šalliš*, acc. sg. c. *šallin*, nom.-acc. sg. nt. *šalli*, gen. sg. *šallaš* (< **sallayas*), *šallayaš* and abl. sg. *šallayaz* (with restored intervocalic **-y-*), dat.-loc. sg. *šallai* (< **sallayey*), nom, pl. c. *šallaēš*, acc. pl. c. *šallauš*, nom.-acc. pl. nt. *šalla* (< **-aya*), dat.-loc. pl. *šallayaš*[1].

The derivatives of Hitt. *šalli-* are regularly formed by deletion of the stem-final *-i-*, cf. the Hittite denominative verbs *šallešš-* 'to become great', *šallanu-* (in the iterative *šallanuške/a-*) 'to make greath' and the abstract noun *šallatar* 'Größe', dat.-loc. sg. *šallanni;* cf. Kronasser (1966: 45, 295) and Oettinger (1979: 248—250). As Watkins (1973: 62 ff.) points out, the Hittite denominatives in *-ēšš-* (< **-eh$_1$-s-*) such as *šallēšš-* (: *šalli-*), *nakēšš-* 'to become heavy, weigh' (: *nakki-* 'heavy') and *palḫēšš-* 'to become broad' (: *palḫi-* 'broad') attest an archaic derivational pattern; their formation is comparable to that of the Proto-Italic denominative statives such as **potē-* (> Osc. *pútiad* 'possit', Lat. *potēns* 'powerful, capable'), which is also derived by deletion of **-i-* from the *i*-stem **poti-* (> Lat. *potis* 'powerful')[2].

Cun. Luw. *šalḫitti-* and *šalḫ(i)anti-* 'growth' (nom. sg. *šalḫittiš*, acc. sg. *šalhittin, šalḫiyanten, šalḫantin*)[3], which are related to Hitt. *šalli-*, are evidently derived from an *i*-stem adjective **šalḫi-*[4].

2. It is almost generally accepted that these Hittite and Luwian forms are derived from an Indo-European *set* root ending in **-h$_2$-*[5]. According to Oettinger (1979: 549—550), the contrast of Hitt. *-ll-* with Luw. *-lḫ-*, attested by Hitt. *šalli-* and Cun. Luw. *šalḫitti-*, is due to a difference in accent (IE **VĹh$_2$V* > PAnat. *VLLV*, but IE **VLh$_2$V* > PAnat. *VLhV*). Melchert (1994: 51, 55, 79) assumes that Hitt. *šalli-* and Cun. Luw. *šalḫitti-* can reflect not only IE **sVlh$_2$i-* and **sl̥h$_2$i-*, but also IE **sélh$_2$i-* and **sl̥h$_2$éy-* respectively[6], and mentions

[1] See Friedrich (1952—1954: 179) and Kammenhuber (1969: 194).

[2] Cf. also the Latin inchoatives in *-ēscō, -ēscere* (< **-eh$_1$-sk-*) such as *lūcēscere* 'to grow light' (: *lūcēre* 'to be light') which are directly comparable to the Hittite inchoatives in *-ēšs-* (< **-eh$_1$-s-*) like *lukkēszi* 'it grows light'; see Watkins (1962: 76—77; 1973: 66 ff., esp. p. 87). On the other hand, Watkins' (1973: 72 ff.) attempt to establish the existence of denominative statives in *-ē-* (< IE **-eh$_1$-*) in Hittite is unacceptable, see Oettinger (1979: 338—339).

[3] On the data see Friedrich (1952—1954: 179).

[4] Hieroglyphic Luwian attests the nom. -acc. sg. nt. *s^3-la-ha-za (salhanza)* which is related to Hitt. *salli-* and Cun. Luw. *salhitti-*, cf. Laroche (1960: 204): "382 *salahai* 'majesté?'; cf. hitt. *sallatar*?".

[5] See for instance Bernabé Pajares (1973: 435), Oettinger (1979: 550), Melchert (1984: 44—45; 1994: 51), Rikov (1995: 189 fn. 9). — Since the *-ḫ-* of Hitt. *palḫi-* 'broad' continues IE **-h$_2$-* (cf. Lat. *plānus* 'flat, smooth', Lith. *plóti* 'to flatten', *plónas* 'thin, flat', etc.), Rasmussen (1989: 205) assumes that the *-ll-* of Hitt. *salli-* would reflect either IE **-lh$_1$-* or IE **-lh$_3$-*; since he neglects Cun. Luw. *salhitti-, salh(i)anti* (with retained *-h-*), his argumentation is groundless.

[6] See also Melchert (1984: 45 fn. 91) and Rikov, *loc. cit.* — For the developments of IE *VRh$_{2/3}$V* and *CR̥h$_{2/3}$V* into Hitt. VRRV and *CarhV* respectively see already Bernabé Pajares (1973: 430—438); for Hitt. *salli-* and Cun. Luw. *salhitti-* cf. Bernabé Pajares, *ibid.*, p. 435.

(*ibid.*, p. 89): "[T]he contrast of Hitt. *salli-* 'great' with CLuv. *šalḫitti-* 'growth' and with Hitt. *palḫi-* 'broad' ... suggests that quantitative ablaut ... still alive in P[roto-]A[natolian]".

However, the Luwian (and Anatolian) *h* can continue not only IE $*h_2$, but also IE $*h_3$[7]. Then, it is clear that the colour of the laryngeal cannot be identified on the basis of the Anatolian data.

3. The related forms in the other Indo-European languages also point to an underlying *set* root. The reconstruction of a co-existing *aniṭ* root (cf. Thurneysen 1932: 13) is beyond proof; the evidence for such *aniṭ* root is limited to formations, where the loss of the laryngeal is conditioned by the phonetic environment.

Thus, Skt. *sárvaḥ* 'entire, whole, intact, all, every', Av. *hauruua-* 'intact, entire', Gk. Attic ὅλος, Hom., Epic and Ionic οὖλος 'whole, entire, complete', Toch. A *salu* 'completely'[8] and Alb. *gjallë* 'alive'[9] point to an Indo-European adjective in **-wo-* which can be reconstructed either as **solwo-*[10] or (with loss of the laryngeal after the radical *o*-vocalism) as $*solh_{2/3}wo$-[11].

The effect of de Saussure's law can also be seen in Osc. *sullus* nom. pl. masc. 'omnes', Lat. *sollus* 'unbrocken, whole, complete' Lucil. (which can be borrowed from Oscan, cf. Festus 298: *Sollum Osce totum et soldum significat*), and the first member of the Latin compounds *sollers* 'full of devices or expedients, clever, skilled, ingenious, resourceful', *sollemnis* 'performed, celebrated; formal, ceremonial' and *sollicitus* 'restless (of movements); constantly troubled or disturbed'. These forms point to PIt. **solnos*[12], to which Pael. *solois* 'omnibus' (**sollois*) can also be traced back[13].

On the other hand, the Indo-European *set* root is clearly attested by the Old Irish adjective *slán* 'whole, sound, healthy' which, according to de Bernardo Stempel (1987: 140) w. refs., goes back to IE $*s\underline{l}h_xno$-; in view of the *-h-* in the related Luwian forms, this Old Irish adjective can continue either IE $*s\underline{l}h_2no$- or $*s\underline{l}h_3no$-.

4.1. Lat. *salvus* 'complete, intact', Osc. σαλαFς, *salavs* 'id.' and Umbr. *saluom, saluo, saluuom* (acc. sg. m. and nom.-acc. sg. n.) 'id.', *salua, saluua* (acc. pl. f.) also point to an Indo-European disyllabic root.

True, neither Osc. σαλαFς, *salavs*, the second *-a-* of which can be anaptyctic[14], nor Umbr. *sal(u)uom* and *sal(u)ua* with their alternating *-uv-* and *-v-* guarantee the reconstruction of PIt. **salVwos*, see Schrijver (1991: 295—296) w. refs. Since the assimilation of IE **-lw-* into Lat. *-ll-* is beyond proof (see especially Solmsen 1905: 437—450), Schrijver (1991: 294) concludes that "there is no observable difference between original **-u-* and **-Vu-* after *r, l*" in Latin, and assumes that Lat. *salvus* can reflect either PIt. **salVwos* or PIt. **salwos*.

However, the *-al-* of these Italic forms must represent the regular reflex of the Indo-European prevocalic sequence $*-\underline{l}h_{2/3}$-, cf. Lat. *palam* 'overt, publicly' (: Lat. *plānus* 'flat, wide', Hitt. *palḫi-* 'broad'), *palma* 'hand, palm' and Gk. παλάμη 'hand' (< $*p\underline{l}h_2emeh_2$), etc. This implies an underlying Indo-European adjective in **-u-*, the stem variants $*s\underline{l}h_{2/3}ew$- or $*s\underline{l}h_{2/3}u$- of which would result by thematicization in the assumed Proto-Italic **salVwos* or **salwos* respectively[15].

Latin furnishes additional evidence for this *u*-stem adjective. Lat. *salūs, salūtis* 'hail' and *salūbris* 'wholesome, salutary' are derived from a non-attested denominative verb **salvēre*, ppp. **salūtus* which presupposes an underlying Proto-Italic adjective **salu-* (< IE $*s\underline{l}h_{2/3}u$-); cf. Leumann (1977: 349) and Schrijver (1991: 196, 296—297).

4.2. Gk. ὁλοός, interpreted by Suidas as φρόνιμος καὶ ὑγιής, and the denominative verb ὁλοεῖται · ὑγιαίνει (Hesych.) guarantee the antiquity of the Indo-European adjective in *-u-*, reconstructed on the basis of Italic data. Meillet (1927: 40—42), who unconvincingly operates with an Indo-European *aniṭ* root and considered OIr. *slán*, which is clearly *set*, to be inexplicable[16], ingeniously assumed that Gk. ὁλοός is an adjective in **-owo-* which is originally formed with zero grade of the root: "le vocalisme radical de ὁλοός est emprunté à ὅλος de même que celui de hom.-ion. κενεός à κεν(F)ο′ς (att. κενός, hom. κεινός" (*ibid.*, p. 41); see also Ernout and Meillet (1932: 851) and Chantraine (1968—1980:795). This is the right way of explanation, and Schrijver (1991:297) correctly concludes that Gk. ὁλοός, in view of its full grade suffix **-ow-*, is reshaped from an *u*-stem $*s\underline{l}h_x$*-u-, *-ew-*, to which Lat. **salu-* (cf. *salūs, salūtis* and *salūbris*) is traced back.

However, Gk. ὁλοός is significant in another respect. From the point of view of the Greek morphology, the suffix -oo- (< *-oFo-*) of this Greek adjective is unusual, cf. the ordinary -ε- (< *-εFo-*) in Gk. κενεός 'empty; empty-banded', etc. There are also forms in -αο-, and Beekes (1976: 9—12) has already derived Gk. τανaός 'outstretched, tall, taper', together with Corn. *tanow* 'thin' and MBr. *tanau* 'id', from IE $*t\underline{n}h_2$*-ewo-*, whose *yo*-derivative $*t\underline{n}h_2$*-ewyo-* is continued by OIr. *tanae* 'thin' and W. *teneu* 'id.'. In spite of Joseph's (1982: 39—40) doubts, this indicates that IE **-h$_2$-*, may change the following suffixal **-e-* into *-a-* across the morpheme boundary; forms such as Gk. τάλαντον 'balance, weight' (< IE $*t\underline{l}h_2$*-ent-*) and ταλαός 'stead-fast, stout-hearted; bold, daring, hardy' (< IE $*t\underline{l}h_2$*-ewo-*) represent the same development. Similarly, Gk. ὁλοός can owe its unusual suffixal vocalism to the laryngeal, preceding the suffix **-ew-*; this laryngeal must be the *o*-colouring one. If so, the original **ὁλοός (reshaped into ὁλοός along the line of ὅλος) would be explained as thematicization of IE $*s\underline{l}h_3$*-ew-*, from which — via a thematicized PIt. **salowos* — Lat. *salvus*, Osc. σαλαFς, *salavs* and Umbr. *saluuom, saluom* might also be derived.[17]

[7] Luw. *h* cannot reflect IE $*h_1$ which is lost in Anatolian, see Kuryłowicz (1927: 104), Eichner (1973: 54—55) and Melchert (1994: 65—68) w. refs.

[8] See van Windekens (1976: 412). On Toch. B *solme* see Rasmussen (1989: 205).

[9] See Orel (1998: 129—130) w. refs.

[10] See for instance Solmsen (1904: 15), Frisk (1960—1972 II: 385), Chantraine (1968—1980: 794), etc.

[11] See Schrijver (1991: 297), who reconstructs IE $*solh_xwo$-.

[12] Cf. Schrijver, loc. cit., who derives PIt. **solnos* from IE $*solh_xno$-.

[13] See Buck (1904: 187). — On Lat. *solidus* see § 5; on Arm. *olj* and OIr. *(h)uile* etc., wich can also represent regular loss of the laryngeal, see fn. 21.

[14] See Buck (1904: 35), Leumann (1977: 58) and Schrijver (1991: 295).

[15] Schrijver (1991: 296—297) is inclined to accept Thurneysen's (1887: 160—161) opinion that Lat. *salvus* regularly reflects IE **solwo-*, but the assumed sound change of IE **ol* into Lat. *al* (and PIt. **al*) is beyond proof. Similarly, Schrijver's alternative explanation of Lat. *salvus*, Osc. σαλαFς, *salavs* and Umbr. *saluuom, saluom* as outcomes of PIt. **salvos* which was remodelled from **solvos* under the influence of an *u*-stem **salu-* (< IE $*s\underline{l}h_x$*-u-*, $*s\underline{l}h_x$*-ew-*, cf. *salus*, etc.) is unnecessary and unconvincing.

[16] In 1932, Meillet assumes that OIr. *slán* is due to contamination of **solno-* with the root, seen in Lat. *sānus* 'healthy, sound, sane'; see Ernout and Meillet (1932: 851). As Schrijver (1991: 296) points out, this explanation is "improbable because **solno-* would hardly have been replaced by **slāno-* and because the root of *sānus* does not occur in Celtic".

[17] Besides ὁλοός there is also another instance of -oFo- in Greek: this is ὀλοός 'distinctive, destroying, burtful, deadly' which can be assimilated from *ὀλεFος, cf. ὀλέσσαι 'to destroy', ὄλεθρος 'destruction, ruin' and see Schmidt (1893: 332—333): "Wahrscheinlich hat in ὁλοός das erste o mitgewirkt, gerade wie εκο auch nur hinter vorhergehendem *o*-laute assimiliert ist ('Αλωποκοννήσιοι)"; thus also Schwyzer (1939: 472), Frisk (1960—1972 II: 380) and Chantraine (1968—1980: 793). If the underlying Indo-European root is $*h_3elh_1$- (see Beekes 1969: 131, 236), the initial o- of *ὄλεFος would directy result from $*h_3l$- of a thematicized zero-grade *u*-stem $*h_3lh_1$*-ew-*, cf. also $*h_3lh_1$*-u-*, thematicized into οὖλος; cf. also the zero-grade *ἄλοFος which is thematicized from $*s\underline{l}h_3$*-ew-*. — However, Cowgill (1965: 158) assumes that Gk. ὀλέσσαι, ὄλεθρος, etc are derived from an Indo-European *set* root ending in $*-h_3$ (with *ἐλο- → ὀλε-, cf. στορέσσαι 'to spread, lay down' ← IE $*sterh_3$-); according to Puhvel (1991: 14), Gk. ὄλλῡμι, ὄλεθρος, etc are related to Hitt. *hallanniya-* 'lay waste, ruin, savage, ravage', and the underlying Indo-European root must be reconstructed as $*h_3elh_3$-. If so, -oF- of ὁλοός is changed form *-ew- by the preceding *o*-colouring laryngeal as in the case of *ὁλοFός (→ ὁλοός).

5. Lat. *solidus* (cf. also *soledus* CIL I^2 1259 and the syncopated *soldus*) 'solid, thorough, whole, entire, complete' is interpreted by Niedermann (1899: 230) and Solmsen (1904: 16) as evidence for an underlying *o*-stem adjective; see also Walde and Pokorny (1927—1932 II:511), Walde and Hofmann (1938—1956 II:472) and Pokorny (1959:980). However, Niedermann's assumption that Lat. *solidus* is directly derived from **solos*, is inexact; it is well known now that the Latin adjectives in *-idus* are usually derived from primary and denominative statives in *-ēre*, and that the denominative statives in *-ēre* might be formed from *o*-stem adjectives, cf. for instance Lat. *albidus* 'white, whitish, pale' ← *albeō*, *albēre* 'to be white (with), appear white' ← *albus* 'white'; *flāvidus* 'yellowish' ← *flāveō*, *flāvēre* 'to be yellow' ← *flāvus* 'yellow' and see Leumann (1977: 329, 553:554) w. refs. If so, Lat. *solidus* can be formed from a denominative **soleō*, **solēre* which might presuppose an underlying *o*-stem adjective **solus* (< PIt. **solos*).

However, the evidence for a Proto-Italic *o*-stem adjective **solos* is questionable.

Thus, in spite of Solmsen, *loc. cit.*, Pael. *solois* 'omnibus' does not point to a Proto-Italic adjective **solos*; it can be derived from PIt. **solnos* which is continued by Osc. *sullus*, etc. (see § 3).

According to Niedermann, *loc, cit.*, Lat. *solōx* '(of wool, also of sheep) having a coarse texture'[18] is remodelled from **solus* along the line of the pair *ferōx* 'having a violent or savage nature, fierce, savage; warlike, bellicose' : *ferus* '(of animals, birds) undomesticated, wild; (of plants, fruits) uncultivated; (of persons) uncivilised, barbarous, fierce, ferocious'; Solmsen, *loc. cit.*, following Niedermann, considered *solōx* to be the most cogent evidence for the supposed *o*-stem **solus*.[19] However, from the point of view of the semantics, the connection of Lat. *solōx* with *solidus* and its congeners is far from obvious (cf. Ernout and Meillet 1932: 912 on *solōx*: "Sans étimologie claire"). Thus, there is no reason for assuming a common source of *solōx* and *solidus*.

It is significant in this respect that the Italic denominatives in **-ēre* can be derived not only from *o*-stem adjectives, but also — by deletion of the suffixes — from adjectives in *-i-*, *-u-* and *-ro-*; see Watkins (1973: 62—64) and cf. Lat. *potis* : Osc. *pútíad*, Lat. *potēns* (see § 1); Lat. **algu-* (substantivized *algus* 'cold') : *algeō*, *algēre* 'to feel cold, be cold', from which *algidus* 'cold' is formed, etc. If so, Lat. *solidus* may be derived, via a denominative **soleō*, **solēre*, not only from an *o*-stem, but also from an *i*-stem or from an *u*-stem adjective; in fact, the *u*-stem adjective is attested indirectly in Latin, cf. *salūs*, *salūtis*, *salūbris* and see § 4.1.

6. We can now return to the *i*-stem adjectives (cf. § 1), the derivational relation of which to the *u*-stem, transformed into Gk. ὁλοός, Lat. *salvus* etc., and to the *no*-stem, attested by OIr. *slán*, is evidently archaic.

In view of its double *-ll-*, the Hittite adjective *šalli-* would represent the regular phonetic development of the Indo-European sequence *VRh$_x$V* into Proto-Anatolian *VRRV*, cf. Hitt. *tarra-* 'to be capable, be able' (<IE **terh$_2$-e/o-*), *harra-* 'to crush, pound, ruin'(< IE **h$_2$erh$_3$-e/o-*) etc. and see Melchert (1994: 51, 79—80) w. refs. This implies that the Hittite nom. sg. c. *šalliš*, acc. sg. c. *šallin* and nom.-acc. sg. nt. *šalli* can directly continue either IE **selh$_3$-i-* or IE **solh$_3$-i-*; in view of de Saussure's law, we can prefer, after Melchert (1994: 51), the reconstruction of *e*-grade radical vocalism. It is clear that the full grade of the strong stem *šalli-* (< IE **selh$_3$-i-*) was generalized in the whole paradigm in Hittite, cf. gen. sg. *šallayaš*, abl. sg. *šallayaz*, dat.-loc. sg. *šallai*.

According to Melchert, *loc. cit.*, Hitt. *šalli-* and Luw. **salhi-* (cf. Cun. Luw. *šalḫitti-*, *šalḫianti-*, *šalḫanti-*) can be derived from a proterokinetic *i*-stem adjective (see also § 2); if so, we can reconstruct IE **selh$_3$-i-*, **sl̥h$_3$-ey-* which would result in PAnat. **salli-*, **salhay-*.[20] Whereas Hitt. *šalli-* represents the generalization of the strong stem IE **selh$_3$-i-* in the whole paradigm, the Luwian forms, in view of their retained *-ḫ-*, are derived from the stem of the weak cases IE **sl̥h$_3$-ey-*. The phonetic development of the Indo-European sequence *CR̥h$_3$V* into Hittite and Luwian *CaRḫV* would be regular; similarly, IE *CR̥h$_2$V* also yields Hittite and Luwian *CaRḫV*, cf. for instance the Hittite *i*-stem adjective *palḫi-* 'broad' (cf. nom. sg. c. *palhiš*, nom. pl. c. *palḫaēš*, dat.-loc. pl. *palḫaš*) which, as Melchert (1984: 45 fn. 91) points out, can be explained by generalization of the stem of the weak cases IE **pl̥h$_2$-ey-*.

In fact, Hitt. *šarḫiya-* 'überfallen, losschlagen' (< IE **sr̥h$_3$-ye/o-*) and Cun. Luw. *šarḫammi-* 'strong, forceful, vigorous' (cf. nom. pl. c. *šarḫamminzi* KBo XIII 260 III 8') indicate that IE **-h$_3$-* after syllabic sonants is retained as *-ḫ-* in Hittite and Luwian; in view of the related Gk. ῥώμη 'bodily strength, strength, might, force' (< IE **sr̥h$_3$-meh$_2$*), ῥῶσις 'strengthening, encouragement, confirmation' (< IE **sr̥h$_3$-ti-*) etc., the laryngeal must be identified as the *o*-colouring one, cf. Rikov (1995: 189). Thus, the development of IE **-r̥h$_3$-* in Hittite and Luwian, attested by Hitt. *šarḫiya-* and Cun. Luw. *šarḫammi-*, confirms the explanation of Cun. Luw. *šalḫitti*, etc. as derivatives of IE **sl̥h$_3$-ey-*.

Although the Anatolian adjective in *-i- *salli-*, **salhay-* is evidently inherited from Indo-European, the non-Anatolian evidence for this *i*-stem adjective is scarce and uncertain;[21] in fact, it is limited to the isolated Gk. ἔλις · μόνος καὶ ὅλος (Hesych.). If this Hesychius' gloss is reliable, it can be derived from IE **selh$_3$i-s*, to which Hitt. *šalliš* is also traced back.[22]

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[18] *solōx* or *sōlōx*, see Leumann (1977: 377).

[19] Cf. also Walde and Hofmann (1938—1956 II: 472) and Pokorny (1959: 980), who also accept Niedermann's opinion that Lat. *solōx* is built on the basis of an *o*-stem adjective **solos*.

[20] IE **sl̥h$_3$-ey-* would yield PAnat. **salhay-* before vowels, and PAnat. **salhē* before consonants.

[21] According to Meillet, Arm. *olj* 'whole, sound' and OIr. *(h)uile* 'all, every, whole' continue an Indo-European adjective in **-yo-* which can be derived from a *s*-less variant of the root, seen in Lat. *salvus*, etc., see Ernout and Meillet (1932: 851—852) and cf. also Meillet (1936: 52) and Godel (1975: 81). However, as Pedersen (1909—1913 I; 411, 413) points out, OIr. *huile*, W., Bret. *holl* and W., Corn., Bret. *oll* can go back to an Indo-European preform with initial **s-*, to which, according to Solta (1960: 230—231) w. refs. and Klingenschmitt (1982: 40 fn. 6), Arm. *olj* can also be traced back. Klingenschmitt, loc. cit., reconstructs an Indo-European *anit* preform **solyo-*, but IE **solh$_3$yo-* would also account for both Celtic and Armenian forms. We can assume that Arm. *olj*, OIr. *(h)uile*, etc. are thematizations of an Indo-European *i*-stem adjective **solh$_3$i-*, just as Skt. *vr̥ṣṇya-* 'manful, mighty' is a thematization of Skt. *vr̥ṣṇi-*, *vr̥ṣṇí-* 'id.'; however, this possibility is uncertain, and other solutions are also possible.

[22] Cf. von Blumenthal (1930: 35), according to whom Gk. ἔλις "gehört seiner Bedeutung nach zu ὅλος < **solu̯os*, obwohl **sel-* sonst nicht vorzukommen scheint". See also Walde and Hofmann (1938—1956 II: 472), where ἔλις is misprinted as ἔλος.

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Georgi T. RIKOV (Sofia)

HITTITE *marra-*, *marriye-* AND $^{(TU_7)}$*marḫa-*

1. According to Güterbock and Hoffner (1983: 180), the Hittite verbs *marra-* and *marri-*, *marriye-*, *marriya-* signify (intrans., middle and part.) 'to melt (down), dissolve, stew or cook until tender' and (trans. act.) 'to heat (something) up (?), bring to a boil (?), melt down (?)'. They comment the meaning of these Hittite verbs as follows: "The translations 'melt (down)' and 'stew/cook' are meant to indicate that heat has been applied to the object, so that it...changes from a solid state to a liquid one". Güterbock and Hoffner (ibid., p. 181) also mention that "the idea of heat appears to be present also in *marri-* 'daylight' 'heat-of-day' (= Akk. *ṢĒTU*) and *mar-ra*[-...], n., (= Akk. *ḫunṭu*?)".

There is also the Hittite adverb *marri* which signifies 'in the heat of emotion or passion (?), rashly (?), impetuously (?)' and (in *mekki marri*) 'exceedingly, very much'; it is an adverbially used dative-locative of a noun, which can be related to *marra-*, *marri(ye)-* 'to melt (down), stew/cook' and *marri-* 'daylight (?)', see Güterbock and Hoffner (1983: 185) and Tischler (1990: 135)[1].

Hitt. $^{(TU_7)}$ *marḫa-* n. (a kind of stew or cooked food)[2] can be added to the family of Hitt. *marra-*, *marri(ye)-*; cf. Starke (1982: 162), who compares this Hittite noun with Hitt. *mar-ra*[-...] n., the meaning of which is probably '(something) cooked or boiled'[3].

2. In view of the semantics, Petersen's (1937: 207) connection of Hitt. *marri(ye)-* with Gk. *μαραίνω* 'reibe auf, verzehre', etc. (see Pokorny 1959: 735-

[1] According to Tischler, l.c., the original meaning of the adverb *marri* can be '(schon) bei Tagesanbruch, (ganz) früh'.

[2] See Güterbock and Hoffner (1983: 182).

[3] The Luwian participle acc. sg. [*ma*]*rḫanuwamman* 'brewed (?)' can be formed from a *nu*-verb **marḫanuwa-*, "based on the same root as the noun $^{(TU_7)}$*marḫa-*..." (Güterbock and Hoffner 1983: 182-183). According to Oettinger (1979: 280-281), this Luwian participle (unconvincingly translated as 'zerkleinert') is related to Hitt. *marra-*, *marriye-*; cf. also Starke, l. c. However, the reading of the initial sign of Cun. Luw. [*ma*]*rḫanuwamman* is uncertain (*ma* or *wa*), cf. Tischler (1990: 132).

736) under "*mer-, merə-* 'aufreiben, reiben' und 'packen, rauben'"[4] is unconvincing. Yet Tischler (1990: 129-130) gives 'zerstückeln' and (middle) 'in Stücke gehen' among the meanings of Hitt. *marra-, marri(ye)-* and accepts Petersen's etymology[5]. If so, two Indo-European roots fall together into Hitt. *marra-, marri(ye)-* which would signify not only 'to melt (down), stew/cook', but also – as a hononymous verb – 'to divide, cut up'. However, evidence for the latter meaning of Hitt. *marra-, marri(ye)-* is lacking in the Hittite texts.

True, the translation of the Hittite 3rd sg. pret. middle *marrattat* KUB XXXIV 91 I 4,5,7 is uncertain[6]. However, the change of the Indo-European sequence **VRh₂V* into Hitt. *VRRV* is shared by Palaic as well; as Melchert (1994: 79-80) points out, this change must be dated to the period of Proto-Anatolian. Thus, Pal. *šunnuttil-* 'Füllung' guarantees the development of the intervocalic IE **-nh₁-* into Pallaic **-nn-*[7]. Similarly, Pal. *bānnu-* 'liver' (< **'fattened'), which is related to Lith. *penėti, penù* 'to fatten', *pę̣slas* 'Masttier, Mastschwein' etc., comes from **penh₂u-*[8]. Then, the single *-r-* of Pal. *mareššа-* (cf. 3rd sg. pres. *ma-ri-iš-ši, ma-ri-eš-š[a-t]i* 'zerstückeln (?)'[9] indicates that this Palaic iterative in *-ešša-*, which is usually derived from IE **mer-, merə-* 'aufreiben'[10], represents the *aniṭ* variant of this root, as the related OIr. *meirb* 'lifeness, inanimate', etc.[11] This implies that a connection of Pal. *mareššа-* with the Hittite 3rd sg. pret. middle *marrattat*, which is semantically ambiguous, would be unlikely; in fact, there is no reason to separate Hitt. *marrattat*,

[4] See also Oettinger, l. c.

[5] Benveniste (1932: 140) translates Hitt. *marriye-* as 'émietter, broyer (du sel)' and unconvincingly compares this Hittite verb with Skt. *mrityati* 'decays, is dissolved' (which, however, is related to Skt. *mṛṇáti* 'crushes, grinds', Hitt. *malli* 'grinds', etc., see Mayrhofer 1956-1980 II: 695) and Lat. *friare* 'reiben' (but its *fr-* cannot reflect **mr-*); see Petersen, l. c., Tischler (1990: 132).

[6] Cf. also Neu (1968: 112): "Für eine Interpretation zu wenig Kontext".

[7] Rikov (1994: 71 fn. 21). According to Melchert, l. c., the *-nn-* of Pal. *šunnuttil-* comes from IE **-nh₁-*, but this assumption is based on his own explanation of Pal. 3rd sg. pret. *šūnat* 'filled' as **suneh₁-t* (see also Melchert 1987:24-25). However, Pal. *sūna-* can be a verb of the type of Pal. *ḫantana-* 'begegnen', etc. and cannot be used as evidence for a *neh₁*-present (Rikov 1994: 70).

[8] Rikov (1995a: 49-51).

[9] On the interpretation of Pal. *mareššа-* as 'zerstückeln (?)' and its connection with Hitt. *marriya-* (given with the same meaning) see Kammenhuber (1959: 23, 35, 81) and Carruba (1970: 64); cf. also Tischler (1990: 131).

[10] Cf. Tischler (1990: 131-132).

[11] Besides Pal. *mareššа-* 'to divide, cut up' or the like, there is another possible representative of IE **mer-* in Anatolian; this is the Cuneiform Luwian verb *maruwa(i)-*, which is attested by the 3rd sg. pret. *ma-ru-wa-a-it* in KBo VI 29 II 12 *šarazzi katteraya anda :maruwait nu nepiš tekanna katkatenut* "she ... above and below; she shook heaven and earth" (for the text and translation see Güterbock and Hoffner 1983: 202).

which is clearly *seṭ*, from the participle *marrant-* 'melted' and *marri(ye)-, marriya-* 'to melt (down), stew/cook'.

3. There is no doubt that Güterbock's and Hoffner's connection of Hitt. *marra-* and *marri(ye)-, marriya-* with *marri-* n. 'daylight (?), sunlight (?), heat-of-day (?)'[12] suggests the correct etymology of the Hittite verbs. As Günter Neumann (apud Tischler 1990: 135) points out, the Hittite noun *marri-* can be compared with Russ. dial. *marь, mar* 'Sonnenglut', *marit* 'die Sonne brennt', etc., which are related to Skt. *márīci-* 'shining mote, ray of light', *marīcin-* '(radiant) sun', Gk. *μαρμαίρω* 'flash, sparkle, glissen, gleam', *μαρῖλη* 'embers of charcoal, coal-dust', *Μαῖρα* 'the Sparkler' (i.e., the dog-star), *ἀμαρύσσω* 'sparkle, twinkle, glance', Lat. *merus* 'pure, unmixed', etc.[13] The semantics of the Hittite verbs *marra-* and *marri(ye)-* is then comparable with that of the related South Slavic verbs such as SCr. *(pri-, ràz-)mariti* 'beim Feuer Wachs aufgehen lassen'[14], etc.

The translations of this Luwian verb as 'rougir' (Laroche 1959: 69), 'rot erhellen' (Kronasser 1966: 478), 'rot machen' (Oettinger 1959: 385) or the like are evidently unacceptable; more convincing seems the translation 'to blacken', offered by Güterbock and accepted by Starke (1986: 163). Both translations are in accord with the explanation of Cun. Luw. *maruwa(i)-* as a denominative verb in **-āye-* (< IE **-eh₂-ye/o-*) which is related to Gk. adv. *μορυχώτερον* 'more obscurely' (Arist.), *μορύσσω* 'soil, stain, defile, sully', Arm. *mṙayl* 'obscurity, mist, cloud, shadow, shade; obscure, dark, dusk', etc. and perhaps Anat. **maru(wa)-* 'red (?)' (reconstructed on the basis of the onomastics); see Tischler (1990: 149-151) and cf. also Pokorny (1959: 734).
In KBo VI 29 II 12, *šarazzi katteraya* 'above and below' are semantically parallel to *nepiš tekanna* 'heaven and earth' which stand 'above' and 'below' respectively; this suggests that the actions, expressed by *maruwait* and *katkattenut*, may belong to similar semantic ranges, and supports the translations of *maruwa(i)-* as 'durcheinandermengen' (Friedrich 1952-1954: 138) or 'vermengen/trennen' (Tischler 1990: 151). If so, the Cuneiform Luwian denominative *maruwa(i)-* is derived from **maru(wa)-* (< IE **moru-* or **morwo-*) which can be compared with Lith. *marvà* 'Mischmasch, alles durcheinander'. This isolated Lithuanian word is connected by Schmidt (1875: 26), Persson (1912: 821) and Fraenkel (1962-1965: 413) with OBg. *mrъ vica* 'Krümchen', OHG *maro, marwi, mur(u)we* 'mürbe, zart, reif', OIr. *meirb*, etc., which can be explained as derivatives of a stem in **-u-* from IE **mer-* (cf. Persson 1912: 822). – This interpretation of Cun. Luw. *maruwa(i)-* remains only a guess; yet IE **mer-* is also attested in Anatolian by stems with different extensions, cf. Tischler (1990) sub *mark-* 'to divide, separate; cut up' (p. 137-138) and *marza(i)-* 'to scatter (?)' (p. 153).

[12] See § 1.

[13] Cf. Pokorny (1959: 733).

[14] Cf. Skok (1971-1974: 407).

4. In view of the initial *α-* of Gk. *ἀμαρύσσω* as well as the prevocalic *-αρ-* in all the Greek forms, Peters (1980: 222) derives Gk. *Μαῖρα* and *μαρίλη* from IE **h₂mr̥hₓ-i-* and reconstructs the Indo-European root as **h₂merhₓ-*; his reconstruction of a disyllabic root is now confirmed by the intervocalic double *-rr-* of the related Hittite forms.

If so, the loss of IE **h₂-* in the Hittite forms indicates that they must be explained by Saussure-Hirt's law[15] as derivatives of IE *o*-grade **h₂morhₓ-*. This implies that the Hittite *i*-stem *marri-* 'daylight(?)' can be explained as the only inherited *o*-grade derivative of IE **h₂merhₓ-*; that the middle and the participle of Hitt. *marra-*[16] are analogically formed after non-attested Hittite (or Anatolian) outcomes of Indo-European active singular perfect forms **h₂morhₓ-h₂e*, **-th₂e*, **-e(y)*; that Hitt. *marri(ye)-*, *marriya* is an inner-Hittite (or Anatolian?) derivative of *marra-*; and, after all, Hitt. $^{(TU_7)}$*marḫa-* is inexplicable, since the loss of an initial **h₂-* cannot be reconciled with the preserved *-ḫ-* in this Hittite noun.

Not only the Hittite forms, but also the Greek ones can hardly be derived from Indo-European preforms with an initial **h₂-*; thus, the rule IE **hₓCr̥-* > Gk. *Cr̥-* (cf. Gk. *λῆνος* 'wool', etc. and see Peters 1980: 23 fn. 18)[17] accounts well for Gk. *μαρίλη*, *Μαῖρα*, *μαρμαίρω*, but the "prothetic" *α-* (< IE **h₂-*) in *ἀμαρύσσω* is phonologically irregular.

If we accept IE **h₂marhₓ-/*h₂mr̥hₓ-*, as it is suggested by Rasmussen (apud Peters 1980: 222), not only the radical *e*-vocalism of Lat. *merus* remains unexplained (cf. Peters, l.c.), but also Saussure-Hirt's law cannot operate in Anatolian.

Most of the difficulties, presented by the initial *α-* of Gk. *ἀμαρύσσω*, are well known, cf. Frisk (1960-1972 I: 87), according to whom "sichere Erklärung fehlt"; Beekes (1969: 72), who even considers *ἀμαριγή* (and *ἀμαρύσσω*) to be non-Indo-European; and Peters, l.c., who also mentions the possibility that the *α-* of *ἀμαρύσσω* can be secondary.

As far as I know, the only solution, which seems plausible, is that of Tichy (1983: 295), according to whom "die Grundlage von poet. *ἀμαρύσσε-* könnte letztlich ein der bezeugten Bildung *Ἀμφί-μαρο-* entsprechendes Kompositum kleinasiat.-äol. **α-μαρο-* 'Schimmerndes an sich habend' → 'schimmernd, strahlend, blitzend' gewesen sein".

At any rate, the *α-* of Gk. *ἀμαρύσσω* is not sufficient reason for assuming an initial *a*-colouring laryngeal in the underlying Indo-European root.

[15] For the development of IE **hₓRo-* into Anat. *Ra-* see Melchert (1994: 49-50) with references.

[16] For the attested forms see § 5.2.

[17] For Gk. *λῆνος* see also Peters (1987: 114-115).

5. It is well known that the Indo-European non-colouring laryngeal is lost in any position in Anatolian[18]; then, the *-ḫ-* of Hitt. $^{(TU_7)}$*marḫa-* indicates that the laryngeal of the underlying Indo-European *seṭ* root **merhₓ-/*mr̥hₓ-* must be identified either as IE **h₂* or as *h₃*.

5.1. Hitt. *marri(ye)-*, *marriya-*, attested by 2nd sg. pres. act. [*m*]*ar-ri-it-ti*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *mar-ri-ya-az-zi*, 3rd sg. pres. middle *mar-ri-it-ta*, *mar-ri-ya-tar-ri* 3rd sg. impv. middle *mar-ri-it-ta-ru*, *mar-ri-e-et-ta-ru*[19], is a verb in *-ye/a-*. In contrast to IE **h₃*, the *a*-colouring laryngeal is lost before **i and *y* in Hittite[20]; this implies that Hitt. *marri(ye)-*, *marriya-* can continue IE **mr̥h₂-ye/o-*[21].

5.2. Hitt. *marra-*, which is attested by 3rd sg. pret. middle *mar-ra-at-ta-at*, participle nom. pl. *mar-ra-an-te-es*[22], is a verb of the type of Hitt. *mall(a)-* 'to grind' (cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *mallai* vs. the athematic *malli*, inf. *malluwanzi*) and *šarr(a)-* 'to divide, share' (cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *šarrai*, middle *šarrattari* vs. the athematic 1st pl. pret. act. *šarrummen*, inf. *šarrumanzi*)[23]; then Hitt. *marra-* would go back to IE **merh₂(-e/o)-*[24].

5.3. If the translation of Hitt. *mar-ri-iš* as 'daylight' is correct[25], the dative-locative sg. *mar-ri* KBo XV 2 rev. IV, 7 and the adverb *mar-ri* (once *mar-ri-i*) represent rather an *i*-stem than an *a*-one[26].

Since traces of the Indo-European *ih₂*-stems are lacking in Hittite, Hitt. *marri-* must continue an old *i*-stem, which can be reconsrtucted either as IE **merh₂i-* or as IE **morh₂i-*.

The Indo-European *ih₂*-stems retain the vocalism unaltered in all the forms of the paradigm. Then the radical full grade of Skt. *marī-* (in *márīci-* RV. etc., *marīcin-* Ep.) together with the zero grade of Gk. *Μαῖρα* and *μαρ-* (in *μαρίλη*) indicate that the Sanskrit and Greek *ih₂*-stems are derived from an ablauting *i*-stem IE

[18] See Melchert (1994: 65-68) with references.

[19] For the forms see Güterbock and Hoffner (1983: 180).

[20] See Rikov (1995b: 187-190).

[21] See Rikov (1982: 33, 35), where the meaning of the Hittite verb is given as 'zerkleinern'.

[22] See Güterbock and Hoffner, l. c. The Hittite 3rd sg. pres. middle *mar-*[*ra/i-*]*at-ta-ri* KUB I 13 II 26 can be read rather *marrattari*, see Oettinger (1979: 288), Rikov (1982: 33) and cf. Güterbock and Hoffner (1983: 182), who interpret this verb form as *mar*[*r*]*attari*. On Hitt. *marrattat* see above.

[23] See Melchert (1984: 16-19), who rightly considers the verbs of this type to be original athematics of the *ḫi*-conjugation.

[24] Cf. also Rikov (1982: 33), where an original athematic ablauting verb **merh₂-/*mr̥h₂-* is assumed; however, the Hittite finite verb forms do not confirm this assumption. Cf. fn. 32. – On the development of IE **VRhₓV* into Anat. *VRRV* see Melchert (1994: 79-80) with references and cf. § 2.

[25] See Tischler (1990: 135) with references.

[26] See Güterbock and Hoffner (1983: 185-186), Tischler, l. c.

nom. sg. **merh₂i-s* (or **morh₂i-s*), gen. sg. **mr̥h₂ey-s*. It is clear that the full grade Hitt. *marri-* and Aryan **mari-* (attested by the derived *ih₂*-stem *marī-* in Skt. *márīci-*, etc.) have generalized the radical vocalism of the strong cases of this *i*-stem, whereas Gk. *Μαῖρα* and *μαρῖ-* (in *μαρῖλη*) represent the zero grade vocalism of the weak cases[27].

5.4. Hitt. $^{(TU_7)}$*marḫa-*, attested by the acc. sg. $^{(TU_7)}$*mar-ḫa-an*, *mar-ḫa-a-an* and the dat.-loc. sg. *mar-ḫi*[28], can be explained as a deverbative *o*-stem, the original meaning of which ('cooked stew/food' or the like) is narrowed into the attested 'a kind of stew or cooked food'.

However, the retained *-ḫ-* in Hitt. *marḫa-* calls for explanation.

In view of the regular development of IE **VRHₓV* into Proto-Anatolian **VRRV*[29] the Hittite noun *marḫa-* cannot be derived from a morphologically regular IE **mórh₂o-* which would yield **marra-* in Hittite.

From the point of view of the historical phonology, Hitt. *marḫa-* points to an Indo-European preform **mr̥h₂o-*; cf. the retained *-ḫ-* in Hitt. *palḫi-* 'broad' (< IE **pl̥h₂ey-*) and Cun. Luw. *šalḫitti-* 'growth' (< IE **sl̥h₂ey-*)[30]. It is more likely, however, to explain Hitt. *marḫa-* as an inner-Anatolian innovation, which can be parallel to similar innovations in other branches of the Indo-European language family; cf. for instance the Greek deverbative *τύπος* 'blow', the zero grade radical vocalism of which follows that of the underlying Gk. *τύπτω* 'beat, strike, smite'[31].

Now Hitt. *marḫa-* can be explained as an inner-Anatolian derivative of a verb, which is formed with zero grade of the root; in fact, of this verb can be seen in Hitt. *marri(ye)-*, *marriya-* which, as it was suggested above, goes back to IE **mr̥h₂-ye/o-*. This is acceptable if the formation of the Hittite deverbative noun *marḫa-* is ascribed to a period of Proto-Anatolian, which is earlier than that of (1) the development of **r̥* into *ar* and (2) the loss of **h* (< IE **h₂*) before **y*; in other words, PA *mr̥ha-* (> Hitt. *marḫa-*) is formed from PA **mr̥h-ye/a-* (> Hitt. *marri(ye)-*, *marriya-*)[32] at the time when this verb in **-ye/a-* co-existed with PA **marra-* (> IE **merh₂-e/o-*)[33].

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[27] Cf. also Peters (1980: 222), who derives the *ih₂*-stems Skt. *marī-* (in *márīci-*, etc.) and Gk. *Μαῖρα*, *μαρῖ-* (in *μαρῖλη*) from an ablauting *i*-stem, but unconvincingly assumes that this *i*-stem can be seen in OIr. *muir* 'sea', Lat. *mare* 'id', etc.; cf. Rikov (1993: 29-32).

[28] Cf. fn. 2. On Cun. Luw. [*ma*]*rḫanuwamman* see fn. 3.

[29] In view of this development, there is no reason to accept Starke's (1986: 162) assumption that the retained *-ḫ-* in Hitt. $^{(TU_7)}$*mar-ḫa-* (and Cun. Luw. [*ma*]*rḫanuwamman*) is a Luwian peculiarity.

[30] On the development of IE **R̥Rh₂V* into Hittite and Luwian *arhV* see Melchert (1994: 51, 55) with references. However, the assumed **pl̥h₂i-* would yield Hitt. **palli-* instead of the attested *palḫi-*; on the loss of IE **h₂* (< PA **h*) before **i* see Rikov (1995b: 187-190 and fn. 8).

[31] On this type of deverbative nouns see for instance Brugmann (1906: 154-156).

[32] It is also possible that Hitt. *marḫa-* is derived from a Proto-Anatolian *tud*-present **mr̥h-e/a-* (<**mr̥h₂-e/o-*); of course, such a *tud*-present would imply the existence of an ablauting athematic verb **merh₂-*/**mr̥h₂-*; cf. fn. 24. Uncertain.

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[33] On the relative chronology of the developments of IE **R̥Rh₂V* and **VRHₓV* in Anatolian see Melchert (1994: 55).

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Hittite *duwaduna*- 'underground water-course(?)'

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

As far as I know, there is no convincing etymology of Hitt. *duwaduna*- 'unterirdischer Wasserlauf(?)' which occurs in KUB II 1 rev. IV 33 (dupl. Bo 6113, 10): ^{D}*Alaš* HUR.SAG^{MES}-*aš ḫumantaš* (32) ^{D}Alaš ÍD^{MES}-*aš humantaš* (33) ^{D}*Alaš duwadunas ḫumantaš* (34) ^{D}Alaš *šuppiyantaš* (35) *ḫumantaš* "die Ala-(Schutz)göttin aller Flüsse, die Ala-(Schutz)göttin aller Flüsse, die Ala-(Schutz)göttin aller *duwaduna*, die Ala-(Schutz)göttin aller reinen (= Quellen?)"; see T i s c h l e r (1991–1994: 498) w. refs.

It is possible that this Hittite noun is related to Ved. *dhávate* 'runs, flows' RV. and *dhávati* 'runs' RV. AV. etc.,[1] MPers. *davidan* 'run, hurry', Gk. θέω 'run', NHG *Tau*, the river names *Düna* and West Slavic *Dvina*, etc. (cf. P o k o r n y 1959: 259–260)[2]

If so, Hitt. *duwaduna*- can be explained as a reduplicated noun as other Hittite water-words such as *aršaršur*- 'flowing, steam' (: *arš*- 'flow'), *lelḫu(wa)rtima*- 'outpourings(?)' (: *laḫḫu*- 'pour'), **hu(wa)nhu(wa)na*-, seen in *ḫu(wa)nḫueššar, ḫunḫu(wa)neššar* 'wave(s), sea(s), flow', etc.[3]

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[1] Ved. *dhávati* is formed with lengthened grade of the root and relates to *dhávate* as *krámati* 'strides' to *krámate* 'id.', see R i k o v (1986–1987: §32); thus also G o t ō (1987: 184), who translates *dhávati* and *dhávate* as 'laufen, eilen] and 'dahinlaufen, dahincilen' respectively.

[2] According to G e o r g i e v (1941: 33), Gk. δυάν · κρήνην Hsch., which also belongs to this set of forms, is a Pre-Greek (Pelasgian) word; P o k o r n y (1959: 260) considers δυάν to be „Greek-Illyrian". Gk. ἄδδεε · ἐπείγον Hsch., on which see F r i s k (1960–1972 I: 669), can also be interpreted as a borrowing from Pre-Greek (Pelasgian). – V o n B l u m e n t h a l's (1931: 172–173) interpretation of δυάν as an Illyrian word, related to Gk. θυέλλα 'hurricane, squall' (: θύω 'rage, seethe') is less likely.

[3] On the function of the reduplication in such water-words see O e t t i n g e r (1998: 453).

Hittite *palkuiyanta, palkušta* and the development of Indo-European *$*C\underset{\circ}{R}h_xC$* in Hittite

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

1. In accord with P e t e r s' (1987: 114–115) explanation of Gk. λῆνος 'wool', M e l c h e r t (1994: 65–66) interprets Hitt. *ḫulana-* 'id.' either as */hulna-/* or, with anaptyctic vowel, as */hulana-/* and derives it from IE *$*h_{2/3}w\underset{\circ}{l}h_1neh_2$*; this indicates that the Indo-European sequence *$*w\underset{\circ}{R}h_1C$* changes into Hitt. *uRC*. This development is identical to that of IE *$*w\underset{\circ}{R}C$* in Hittite, cf. Hitt. *ḫurkil-* 'sin, perversion' (< IE *$*h_{2/3}\,w\underset{\circ}{r}gel$-), etc. and see E i c h n e r (1973: 73), M e l c h e r t (1994: 126–127); similarly, IE *$*\underset{\circ}{R}C$*, when after *$*K^w$*, yields Hitt. *uRC*, cf. Hitt. *gulš-* 'incise' (< IE *$*k^w\underset{\circ}{l}s$-*), and see M e l c h e r t (1994: 126) w. refs.

If S c h i n d l e r's (1975: 263) reconstruction of a proterokinetic paradigm nom.-acc. sg. nt. *$*h_1neh_3mn$*, gen. sg. *$*h_1\underset{\circ}{n}h_3men$-s* for the Indo-European word for 'name' is correct,[1] Hitt. *laman* 'name', *lam(ma)niya-* 'to name, call' and Hier. Luw. *la-m(a)-ni-ya-* 'to call upon' are derived with dissimilation of **n-* to *l-* from the strong stem of this proterokinetic paradigm, whereas Hier. Luw. *á-ta*$_{4/5}$*-ma(n)-za* 'name', Lyc. *adāma-* 'id.' and Lyd. *ēlamν* 'designation' are dissimilated from **anman* which, via **anhman-*, goes back to the oblique stem IE *$*h_1nh_3men$-*; see M e l c h e r t (1994: 73, 82–83). If so, the Indo-European sequence *$*C_1\underset{\circ}{R}h_3C_2$* (seen in the oblique stem *$*h_1\underset{\circ}{n}h_3men$-*) changes into C_1aRC_2 in Anatolian.

One can assume that IE *$*C_1\underset{\circ}{R}h_xC_2$* changes into Hitt. (and Anat.) *$*C_1aRC_2$* (cf. B e e k e s 1988: 84 with question mark) and – when *$*C_1$* = **w* or *$*K^w$* – into *(K)uRC*$_2$, but there is no satisfactory evidence for the development of the interconsonantal *$*\underset{\circ}{R}h_2$* in Anatolian. Thus, Beekes' tentative interpretations of Hitt. *danduki-* 'mortal' (as if from IE *$*d^h\underset{\circ}{n}h_2tu$-*) and *taš(u)want-* 'blind' (as if from IE *$*t\underset{\circ}{m}h_xswent$-*, with non-identified laryngeal) are uncertain, since the zero grade radical vocalism is not obligatory in the formations in **-tu-* and **-went-*. O e t t i n g e r (1979: 550), assuming loss of IE *$*h_2$* between nasals and sibilants, derives *danduki-* either from IE *$*d^h\underset{\circ}{n}h_2tu$-* or IE *$*d^h\underset{\circ}{o}nh_2tu$*, and *taš(u)want-* from IE *$*te/omh_xs$-went-;* yet M e l c h e r t (1994: 69–70), who doubts that IE *$*VNh_2s$* changes into Hitt. *Vs*, prefers Čop's connection of *taš(u)want-* with Skt. *dásyati* 'lacks'. Similarly, the explanations of Hitt. *damišḫa-* 'violence' and *damašš-/damešš-* (op)press', where the possibilities of inner-paradigmatic levellings complicate the matter, are far from certain; for a survey of the different explanations see M e l c h e r t (1994: 70–71).

2. Yet the Hittite 3rd pl. pres. middle *palkuiyanta* KUB XXIX 1 III 5 and 3rd sg. pret. act. *palkušta* 272/t Z.6, signifying 'to clap (with hands)', 'chant' vel sim.,[2] probably provide reliable evidence for the development of IE *$*\underset{\circ}{R}h_2$* between consonants in Hittite. These Hittite verb forms, which are derived from a non-attested *u*-stem,[3] can be related to the set of forms, given by P o k o r n y (1959: 832–333) under "*plāk-, plāg-* 'schlagen', auch *plēk-, plēg-; plāgā* 'Schlag'"; cf. Gk. πλήσσω 'strike, smite', πληγή 'blow, stroke', Lat. *plāga* 'stroke, plague', *plangō, plangere* 'to beat, strike; to beat (the breast, etc. as a sign of sorrow, mourning); to bewail', OE *flocan* 'to strike; to clap with hands' (cf. *heó floceþ hyre folmum* 'she claps with her hands'), etc.

The meanings 'to beat the breast' and 'to clap with hands' as signs of sorrow, mourning, etc.', attested by the Latin nasal present *plangō* and OS *flocan,* are developed from the original meaning 'to strike' which is still alive in Greek, Latin (cf. *plangō* and *plāga*) and Lithuanian (cf. *plakù*); these meanings underlie the semantics of OBg. *plakati sę, plačǫ sę* 'cry, weep, wail, lament', Bg. *plača* 'cry, weep', Russ. *plákatь pláču* 'id.' etc. and Goth, *faiflokun* 'bewailed'[4]. But the clapping of the hands can express not only sorrow or mourning, but also pleasure, joy, approbation, support, etc.; according to S e e b o l d (1970: 205), OE *flocan* signifies "'Hände zusammenschlagen' als Zeichen des Schmerzes (und Freude?)". Then, from the point of the semantics, it seems possible to connect these forms with Hitt. *palkuiyanta* (in KUB XXIX 1 III 4–5 *nu-za-kán* LUGAL-*un du-uš-ki-eš-kán-zi na-an-za-an-kán pal-ku-i-ya-an-ta* „und sie unterhalten den König und ...en ihm"; see N e u 1968: 134) and *palkušta.*

3. The reconstruction of an Indo-European athematic root present can account well for the variation of **-g-* and **-k-* in the attested forms (cf. e. g. OE *flocan* : OBg. *plakati sę, plačǫ sę*); see C h a n t r a i n e (1968–1980: 917).

This variation can also be due to relatively recent developments. Thus, Gk. πλήσσω explained as *πλᾱκjω, is usually equated to OBg. *plačǫ*[5] (<*$*pleh_2k$-ye/o-*)[6]; if so, it is the only Greek form which unquestionably goes back to the root variant in **-k-*. However, according to F r a e n k e l (1962–1965: 603) and B e e k e s (1969: 200), πλήσσω can be explained as an inner-Greek innovation which is created on the basis of the *s*-aorist ἔπληξα and future πλήξω.

4. The radical vocalism of the attested forms calls for more detailed discussion.

(1) Full-grade forms:

Gk. aor. ἔπληξα, πλῆξα (Doric πλᾶξα), fut. πλήξω reflect *$*pleh_2g$-s-*. Gk. πληγή, Dor. πλαγά and Lat. *plāga* are ambiguous; they can be derived either from *$*pleh_2geh_2$*[7] or from *$*pl\underset{\circ}{h}_2geh_2$*.[8]

PGmc. **floka-*, attested by OE *flocan* and OFris. *urflokun* 'cursed, damned', OS *flokan* 'to swear, curse', OHG *-fluohhan* 'id.', etc. continue IE *$*pleh_2g$-e/o-*. On the semantics of the Old Frisian, Old Saxon and Old High German forms see S e e b o l d (1970: 205).

OBg. *plakati sę, plačǫ sę,* Bg. *plača*, etc.'point to *$*pleh_2k$-*.[9]

(2) Zero-grade forms:

The Greek passive aorists in -η- and the reduplicated thematic aorists are regularly formed with zero grade of the root, cf. for instance (aorists in -η-) τάρπην, ἐτάρπην (: pres. τέρπω 'delight, gladden, cheer), πάγην, ἐπάγην (: pres. πήγνῡμι 'stick, fix in'), ἐτάκην (: pres. τήκω, Dor. τᾱκω 'melt, melt down'), etc. and (redupl. aorists) εἶπον 'I said', Skt. *ávocat* 'said' (< *$*e$-we-wk^w$-e/o-*), ἔπεφνον 'I slew' (: pres. θείνω 'strike'), etc.

[1] See also P e t e r s (1980: 244 fn.198) and B e e k e s (1987: 1–12). However, S t ü b e r (1997: 74–88) reconstructs IE nom.-acc. nt. *$*h_1nom\underset{\circ}{n}$* gen. sg. *$*h_1\underset{\circ}{n}m$-en-s,* which replaced an original acrostatic paradigm with weak stem *$*h_1nem$-n-*.

[2] On the meaning of these Hittite verb forms see N e u (1968:134–135) and O e t t i n g e r (1979:333).

[3] See O e t t i n g e r, *loc. cit.,* who gives the Hittite verb as *palkue-*, which can be a denominative in **-ye-/*-ya-* from a noun **palku-;* Hitt. *palkuiyanta* is reshaped under the influence of the *ye*-verbs from */palkuanta/,* whereas *palkušta* would represent **palkuēšš-*.

[4] On the semantics see for instance W a l d e and H o f m a n n (1938–1956 II:315 w. refs.

[5] Cf. for instance R i s c h (1974:283), F r i s k (1960–1972 II:562) and C h a n t r a i n e (1968–1980:917).

[6] The zero grade *$*pl\underset{\circ}{h}_2k$-* in Greek is also possible; see S c h r i j v e r (1991:224).

[7] See B e e k e s (1969:200).

[8] Cf. S c h r i j v e r (1991:223).

[9] However, Lith. *plõkis* 'stroke, blow' *(: plakù)* is an abstract noun in **-iyo-* with lengthening of the radical vowel and can be explained as an innovation.

It is clear that the passive aorist in -η- πλήγην, ἐπλήγην, Dor. πλᾱγείς, Aeol. πλάγεις and the reduplicated πέπληγον, ἐπέπληγον can regularly be derived from IE **(e-)pl̥h₂g-eh₁-* and **(e-)pe-pl̥h₂g-e/o-* respectively. In spite of Brugmann (1897–1916 III/1: 172), Schwyzer (1939: 760) and Chantraine (1948: 400), there is no reason to assume that the radical vocalism of these aorists is introduced from the full-grade (present and *s*-aorist) forms.

Gk. -πληκτος (only with prefixes, cf. ἀπόπληκτος 'struck dumb, astounded; paralysed, crippled', ἔκπληκτος 'terrifying, amazed', etc.) and πλῆξις, Doric πλᾶξις 'stroke, percussion' can continue **pl̥h₂g-to-* and **pl̥h₂g-ti-* respectively; the zero grade radical vocalism of these forms is regular as in the cases of Gk. βατός 'passable', Skt. *gatáḥ* 'gone' (< IE **gʷm̥-tó-*), Gk. βλητός 'stricken' (< IE **gʷl̥₁-tó-*), ἄκρᾱτος 'unmixed, neat, pure', Skt. *śīrtáḥ* 'cooked, boiled' (< IE **(n̥-)kʷr̥h₂-tó-*). Gk. βρωτός 'to be eaten', Lith. *girtas* 'drunk' (< IE **gʷr̥h₃-tó-*) etc. and (nouns in **-ti-*) Gk. βάσις 'stepping, step', Skt. *gátiḥ* 'gait, course, motion' (< IE **gʷm̥-ti-*), Gk. βρῶσις 'meat' (< IE **gʷr̥h₃-ti-*). etc.

(3) Forms with morphological zero grade:

The Greek passive aorist -πλάγην (only with prefixes), which occurs alongside with the zero-grade ἐπλήγην, πλήγην, must be explained as an inner-Greek innovation; its radical vocalism is introduced along the lines of the passive aorists ἐπάγην (<**e-ph₂g-eh₁-*), ἐτάκην (<**e-th₂k-eh₁-*) etc., which are regularly formed with zero grade of the root; cf. Kuryłowicz (1956: 203–204).

If Olr. *lén* 'defeat, hurt, injury, misfortune, sorrow' is related to Gk. πλήσσω etc., it can continue PCelt. **plakno-* which is formed with morphological zero grade of the root as other Celtic *no*-stems, cf. Olr. *mlén* 'groin' (< PCelt. **mlakno-* vs. Gk. μαλακός 'soft, gentle' <IE **ml̥h₂eko-*; cf. Joseph 1982: 54).

The Germanic languages attest a set of forms which point either to PGmc. **flak-* or to PGmc. **flag-* (with IE **-k-* according to Verner's law); cf. PGmc. **flak-* in Olcel. *flǫkra* (**flakurōn*) 'to roam about', MLG *vlackern* 'to flicker', OE *flacor* 'flickering' and Olcel. *flǫkta* (**flakutōn*) 'to tramp about, flutter', and PGmc. **flag-* in Olcel. *flaga* 'flake', MLG *vlage*, E. *flaw* (with original meaning 'stroke') and Olcel. *flǫgra* (**flagurōn*) 'to flutter', OHG *flagerōn* 'to fly about'.

In Baltic, Lith. *plàkti, plakù* 'schlagen, peitschen, geißeln; prügeln, klopfen, branden, wogen' is also formed with radical short vowel. It is clear that this Lithuanian verb cannot continue IE **pl̥h₂k-*, as it was assumed by Stang (1942: 107) and Chantraine (1968–1980: 917).

In fact, PGmc. **flak-/flag-* and Lith. *plàkti, plakù* are formed with morphological zero grade of the root and relate to PGmc. **flokan* and OBg. *plakati sę* as OHG *glat* 'glänzend' to Lith. *glódus* 'glatt anliegend, sanft' and OBg. *gladъkъ*; cf. Kuryłowicz (1956: 209).

(4) Lengthened grade:

If the radical *-e-* of Lat. *plectō* 'buffet, beat, punish' is long, this Latin verb would continue, according to Eichner's law, IE **plēh₂g-*;[10] in view of Lat. *plangō* and *plāga*, the *-ct-* of *plectō* reflects rather **-g-t-* than **-k-t-*.

5. The spelling *pal-ku-* in Hittite *pal-ku-i-ya-an-ta* and *pal-ku-uš-ta* eliminates the possibility of Indo-European full grade **pleh₂g/k-*; morphological zero grade is also impossible in this case. In view of the comparative data, there is also no reason for assuming a secondary full grade **pelh₂g/k-*, which might be created on the basis of the zero grade.

It is clear that Hitt. *palkuiyanta* and *palkušta* would represent Indo-European zero grade **pl̥h₂g/k-*; then, the denominative **palkue-* (< **palkuye-*) is derived by the suffix **-ye-/*-yo-* from a zero-grade *u*-stem **pl̥h₂g/k-u-*.

[10] Lith. *plékti* 'schlagen' is written instead of *pliekti* (see Fraenkel 1962–1965:614) and must be separated from the forms, given by Pokorny (1959:832–833) under **plāk-, plāg-*, etc.

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Addendum: On *LIV*, pp. 436–437

Kümmel et al., *LIV* p. 436, rightly derive Gk. ἐπλήγην from a preform with zero grade radical vocalism; see also §4 above.

However, the explanation of OBg. *plačǫ sę* as an archaic *yod*-present **pl̥h₂k-yé-* (Kümmel et al., *loc. cit.*) is impossible; IE **pl̥h₂k-yé-* would yield PSlav. **pъlčǫ* (>OBg. **plъčǫ*).[1]

In fact, OBg. *plačǫ sę* etc. can be derived from the strong stem **pleh₂k-* of an athematic root present; cf. the parallel formation of OBg. *ližǫ* 'I lick' (: Skt. *rédhi* 'licks').[2]

PGmc. **floka-* (< **pleh₂g-e/o-*) can be explained as thematicization of a root present.

The Indo-European root present **pleh₂g-mi, *pleh₂k-si, *pleh₂k-ti, *pl̥h₂g-énti* (with inner-paradigmatic variation of **-g-* and **-k-*)[3] relates to the nasal presents Gk. πλάγχθη and Lat. *plangō* as the above mentioned Skt. *rédhi* to Lat. *lingō* 'I lick'.

[1] In view of the initial labial stop, rather PSlav. **-ъl-* than **-ьl-*.

[2] On Gk. πλήσσω see above § 3 w. refs.

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Georgi T. Rikov

On Cuneiform Luwian *dahušiya-*, Old Irish *tó* and Slavic **tušiti*

1. Oettinger (1979: 326) separates Hitt. *duške-* 'enjoy' and Skt. *túṣyati* 'is satisfied, is pleased' (< IE **tus-*) from Hitt. *tuhušiya-* 'keep quiet, keep silence' vel sim.[1] (as if from IE **tuh$_2$s-yé/ó-*, with anaptyctic *-u-* between *-h-* and *-š-*) and Skt. *tūṣnī́m* 'quietly, silently'. This explanation is slightly modified by Kimball (1999: 220), according to whom the plene spelling of *-u-* and the single *-h-* of Hitt. *tuhušiya-* indicate that this Hittite verb represents IE full-grade **téwh$_2$s-ye/o-*. However, the assumed Indo-European root **tewh$_2$s-* can hardly account for Cun. Luw. *dahušiya-*, which occurs alongside with *tuhušiya-* in the Hittite texts, and for the related Celtic and Balto-Slavic forms; for this reason Kümmel et al. (1999: 582–584), who elaborate Oettinger's interpretation, achieve unsatisfactory results.

Thus, OIr. *tó* 'silent' (< PCelt. **tauso-*), MW. *taw* 'keep silence!' (< PCelt. **tause*), W. *taw* 'silent; silence', *tawel* 'silent' and MBret. *tao* 'silence, quiet' cannot be derived from IE **tewh$_2$s-*; this difficulty is correctly mentioned by Kümmel et al. (1999: 582 fn.1). In fact, these Celtic forms can continue either IE **teh$_2$us-* (cf. Čop 1971: 44) or IE **th$_2$ews-*[2].

Cun. Luw. *dahušiya-* supports the reconstruction of IE **teh$_2$us-*. This Luwian verb points to PAnat. **tahus-yé/á-*, which is reshaped from the zero-grade IE **th$_2$us-yé/ó-* under the influence of a full-grade verb, probably the causative **toh$_2$us-éye/o-* (> PAnat. **tahus-eye/a-*)[3]. If so, Hitt. *tuhušiya-* can be derived, with assimilation of *a — u* into *u — u*, from PAnat. **tahus-yé/ó-*; similarly, Hitt. *huluganna/i-* 'coach' is assimilated from *haluganna/i-* 'id.', whereas the progressive assimilation of *u — a* into *u — u* is attested by Hitt. *hurpušta-* 'leaf, peal' (from *hurpašta-* 'id.').

2. Several forms can represent the zero grade IE **th$_2$us-*.

Skt. *tūṣnī́m* points to **tuh$_2$s-*, which is metathesized from **th$_2$us-*, see Melchert (1994: 108–109).

OSw. *thyster* 'silent, dumb', ODan. *thøst* 'id.', etc. can continue the Indo-European zero grade **th$_2$us-*.

In spite of Kümmel et al., l.c., there is no reason to separate the Old Prussian adjective *tusnan* (acc. sg.) 'quiet' (as if from an IE root **tewh$_2$s-*; but **tuh$_2$s-no-m* would yield OPruss. ***toūsnan* or ***tūsnan*) from OPruss. *tussīse* 'is silent', Lith. *tausýtis* 'sich legen (vom Wind)', Slav. **tušiti* (cf. Bg. *potušávam* 'extinguish, put out', Russ. *tušítь* 'id.', etc.) and **tuχnǫti* 'go out, become extinct' (as if from IE **tews-*, seen in Hitt. *duške-* and Skt. *tuṣyati*).

In fact, OPruss. *tusnan* and *tussīse* (< Balt. **tus-ē-*) can convincingly be derived from the zero grade **th$_2$us-* of IE **teh$_2$us-* 'ruhig sein, still sein, schweigen'; then, these Old Prussian forms continue **th$_2$us-no-* and **th$_2$us-eh$_1$-* respectively.

Another zero-grade Baltic form is continued by the Russian river name *Tsna*, which represents **tъsna*; the retained *s* after **u* suggests that *Tsna* commes from Balt. **tusnā* (cf. OPruss. *tusnan* and see Būga 1913: 527–528)[4], which would go back to IE **th$_2$us-neh$_2$-*.

It is attractive to interpret Russ. *zátchlyj* 'muffig, dampf' as a representative of the zero grade **tъχ-* < IE **th$_2$us-*. However, in view of Russ. *zádchlyj* 'muffig, dumpf' (: *dochnútь* 'aufatmen', etc.), this possibility is highly uncertain, cf. Vasmer (1953–1958 I: 438). Sławski (1947: 271–272) also separates Russ. *zátχlyj* from Slav. **tušiti*, but connects it with Pol. *stęchły* 'muffig', Cz. *stuchlý* 'id.', etc. (Slav. **tǫχ-*) which, as he points out, are related to Lith. *tviñkti*, *tvinkstù* 'anschwellen', etc. In any case, there is no reliable Slavic evidence for retained zero grade **tъχ-* from IE **th$_2$us-*.

3. We are left now with the problems of the full grade Lith. *tausýtis* and Slavic **tušiti*[5].

It is possible that Lith. *tausýtis* and Slav. **tušiti* are formed on the basis of a Balto-Slavic present with zero grade of the root (e. g. OPruss. *tussīse* < IE **th$_2$us-eh$_1$-*) like other Baltic and Slavic causatives and iteratives which occur along-

[1] On the meaning of this Hittite verb see Tischler (1994: 421) w. refs. and Kimball (1999: 220).

[2] The possibility of IE **th$_2$ews-* is less likely, cf. also 3 about Lith. *tausýtis* and Slav. *tušiti*.

[3] According to Čop, l.c., "au lieu de faire s'assimiler **tH-* en **tt- > *t-*, le verbe hittite a repris la «laryngale» **-H-* du causatif ou d'une autre forme de notre racine au degré plein, d'ou un nouvou thème *thus-*"; he assumes that *-a-* and *-u-* are different anaptyctic vowels. Similarly Melchert (1994: 108): "/*tHus-*/ with anaptyxis". For a survey of the explanations see Tischler (1994: 421–422), where the earlier hesitation of Oettinger about **th$_2$us-* and **tuh$_2$s-* is cited.

[4] On Balt. *s* and *š* as reflexes of IE **s* after **u* see Stang (1966: 97–99).

[5] Slav. **tuχnǫti* is probably a relatively recent innovation; cf. Kümmel et al. (1999: 204).

side presents with zero grade radical vocalism, cf. for instance Cz. *nořiti*, Sk. *norit'* 'untertauchen' : ChSl. *vъnьrǫ* (but cf. **ner-* in Lith. *neriù* and ChSl. inf. *vъnrěti*)[6], Lith. *kaišýti* : *kìšti* 'hineinstecken'[7].

If Lith. *tausýtis* and Slavic **tušiti* are archaisms, they can go back to IE **th$_2$ows-éye/o-*. This presupposes IE full grade **th$_2$ews-*, which can also account for the related Celtic forms (OIr. *tó*, W. *taw*, etc.); yet PAnat. **tahus-yé/á-* can hardly be explained as directly derived by anaptyxis from IE **th$_2$us-yé/ó-*. Then, we can assume alternation of two full grades, IE **th$_2$ews-* and (in view of the Anatolian forms) IE **teh$_2$us-*, which might be based on the zero grade IE **th$_2$us-*.

These possibities are in accord with the theory that the Indo-European sequences **Vhχi* and *Vhχu* give Balto-Slavic long diphthongs, the length of which is reflected by the acute intonation; cf. Lindeman (1987: 87 fn. 83) and Beekes (1988: 89). However, the evidence for this development in Balto-Slavic is limited and not compelling. Thus, the acute intonation of Lith. acc. sg. *píemenį* (: *piemuõ* 'shepherd') can be due to metatony, see Kuryłowicz (1958: 214) and Stang (1966: 159). The 2nd sg. ending Lith. *-ì*, derived from **-eh$_1$i*, can be explained in another way, cf. Stang (1966: 407–409). Lith. *sáulė* 'sun' (: Gk. Hom. ἠέλιος, etc.), adduced by Lindeman, l.c., can be juxtaposed with cases such as Lith. *kiáutis* (: *kẽvetas* 'Schale, Gehäuse'), etc., on which see Stang (1966: 157).

If so, the Balto-Slavic reflexes of IE **Vhχi* and **Vhχu* can represent the expected loss of the intervocalic laryngeals without vowel lengthening as everywhere else in Indo-European. Then, Lith. *gaidrùs* 'light, clear' and Gk. γαιδρός 'beaming, radiant' can reflect not only IE **g^{wh}h$_2$eyd-*[8], but also IE **g^{wh}eh$_2$id-*, and explanations such as that of Schrijver (1991: 203), who derives Gk. λαιός 'left', Lat. *laevus* 'id.', OBg. *lěvъ*, SCr. *lîjevi*, *lêvi* from IE **lh$_2$ey-wo-* are not necessary; IE **leh$_2$i-wo-* seems to me more convincing in this case. It is also possible that Lith. *tausýtis* and Slav. **tušiti* continue, as it was suggested by Čop, l.c., IE **toh$_2$us-éye/o-*.

4. The voiceless aspirates of Skt. 3nd sg. aor. *ásthāt* (: *sthitá-*), nom. sg. *pánthaḥ* (: gen. sg. *patháḥ*) etc. indicate that it is unlikely to derive, after Čop, l.c., Skt. *tuṣyati* 'is satisfied, is pleased' and *tuṣta-* from IE **th$_2$us-yé/ó-* and **th$_2$us-tó-*, with *t-* analogically carried over from the causative *toṣayati* (as if from **toh$_2$us--éye/o-*); in this case we can expect rather generalization of the aspirate *th-*.

Then, in accord with Oettinger, l.c., it is better to explain Skt. *tuṣyati*, *tuṣta-*, *toṣayati* and Hitt. *duške-* as derivatives of an Indo-European root **tews-* 'is satisfied, is pleased' vel sim.[9], and to separate them from Skt. *tūsnī́m*, Hitt. *tuhušiya-* and Cun. Luw. *dahušiya-*. As we have seen above, the latter forms, together with OIr. *tó*, W. *taw*, Lith. *tausýtis*, Slav. *tušiti*, OPruss. *tussīse*, etc. point to an Indo-European root **teh$_2$us-* (and **th$_2$ews-*?)/**th$_2$us-*, signifying 'ruhig sein, still sein, schweigen'[10].

[6] Cf. Vaillant (1966: 415).

[7] This seems to me the most convincing possibility.

[8] According to Ruijgh (1982: 204), Gk. γαιδρός comes from IE **g^{wh}h$_2$eyd-*.

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[9] Čop (1971: 45) derives Hitt. *duške-* from IE **d^{h}ew-* (cf. Gk. θῦμός, OBg. *dymъ*, etc.) and separates it from Skt. *tuṣyati* as well as from the rest of forms, given by Pokorny (1959: 1056–1057).

[10] There is no compelling evidence for the full grade **th$_2$ews-*.

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Hittite *walla-* and Old Irish *-follnathar*

Georgi T. Rikov[1]
Sofia University

1. Hittite *walla-* "to praise" is attested by 1st sg. pres act. *wa-al-la-aḫ-ḫi* (5x). Hitt. *walliya-* "id." (cf. 3rd pl. pres. act. *wa-li-ya-an-zi*, 2nd or 3rd sg. pret. act. *wa-ḷi-at*, iter. 3rd sg. pres. act. *wa-al-li-iš-ki-iz-zi*) is a verb in -ye/a-, which corresponds to Cun. Luw. *walliya-* "to lift, rise" (cf. 3rd sg. pret. *wa-al-li-it-ta*, 3rd pl. impv. *wa-al-li-in-du*, part. pl. nt. *wa-li-ya-am-ma[-ti]* and Hier. Luw. *wal-li-* "id.").

Besides these forms, Hittite attests the stem *wallu-* "to praise, boast" (cf. 2nd (?) sg. pret. middle *waluttat*, iter. 1st sg. pres. act. *wa-al-lu-uš-ki-mi*, 2nd sg. pres. act. *wa-al-lu-uš-ki-si*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *wa-al-lu-uš-ki-zi,* etc.)[2].

2. Oettinger (1979: 490-491) compares these Anatolian verbs to Lat. *valeō*, *valēre* 'to be strong, well", Toch. B *walo* "King", obl. *lānte*, etc., which point to an Indo-European *seṭ* root, and assumes that Hitt. *walla-/ walliya-* is a verb of the type of *mema-/memiya-* "to speak", *zai-/ziya-* "to cross over", etc.

Melchert (1994: 81-82) accepts this etymology, but derives Hitt. *walla-/ wallu-* from **wal-neh₂-/-n(e)u-* and mentions that "the nasal suffix could have a transitiving effect, hence "make strong" > "magnify, praise".

However, Melchert's assumption that Hitt. *walla-/wallu-* continues Indo-European preforms with radical *a*-vocalism (IE **wal-*) cannot be reconciled with the *e*-vocalism of the related Lith. *veldėti*, *veldù* "to take possession of". It is significant that the related Italic, Celtic and Tocharian forms can be derived convincingly from an Indo-European *seṭ* root, and cannot be used as evidence for a root **wal-*. Thus, as Schrijver (1991: 213-215) points out, Lat. *valeō*, *valēre* (with restored suffixal *-ē-* for regular *-ā-*) continues IE **wl̥h₂-eh₁-*, and W. *gwaladr* "ruler" which comes from IE **wl̥h₂etro-* suggests that the laryngeal of the underlying *seṭ* root must be identified as the *a*-colouring one. Forms such as Oir. *flaith* "rule", W. *gwlad* "country", etc. are convincingly explained by Rasmussen (1993: 188-189). Toch. *wäl*, obl. *lānt*, B *walo*, obl. *lānte* can go back to IE **wl̥h₂onts*, gen. sg. *wl̥h₂ntos* (see Schrijver 1991: 213 w. refs.).

2. The Indo-European *seṭ* root **welh₂-* which underlies Hitt. *walla-* suggests that the Hittite verb cannot be explained, as it is assumed by Melchert (l.c.). In fact, there are two possible explanations of Hitt. *walla-*:

(1) That it is remodelled nasal infix present in **-neh₂-*/ **nh₂-*. In this case *walla-* can be explained by thematization of an Indo-European nasal infix present 3rd sg. pres. act. * *wl̥neh₂ti*, 3rd pl. pres. act. *wl̥nh₂enti*.

(2) That it is a verb of the type of Hitt. *malla-* "to grind" (< **melh₂-e/o-*) and continues IE **welh₂-e/o-*. The form *wallu-* to *walla-* is comparable to *tarhu-* to *tarh-* "to overcome, to be capable", *sanhu-* "to roast" to *sanh-* "to approach, ask for, seek" and other *ew*-verbs.

The former possibility is supported by the Celtic evidence. As McCone (1991: 15-16 w. refs.) points out, the Old Irish medium tantum *-follnathar* "rules" can be explained as remodelling of a nasal infix present **-follathar* < **wallator* < **walnator* < IE **wl̥nh₂tor* . The hypercorrect *-n-* of *-follnathar* is probably due to the influence of *follán* "sound" (McCone, l.c.), and the transfer or **-follathar* into a weak *a*-inflection can be conditioned by the resegmentation of **-lla-* (< **-lna-*) as **-ll-a-* (Watkins 1962: 190; McCone, l.c.).

[1] This article is edited after G Rikov's death by Biliana Mihaylova.

[2] On the data see Kronasser (1966: 417), Oettinger (1979: 490-491).

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†Georgi T. Rikov

Hittite *haliya-* ‘to kneel, genuflect’, Gk. ὠλένη ‘elbow’ and Their Congeners

1. Hittite *haliya-* ‘to kneel, genuflect’ is attested by the 3rd sg. pres. act. *ha-li-en-zi*, 3rd pl. pret. act. *ha-a-li-ir* and the participle nom. pl. c. *ha-a-li-an-te-eš* in Old Hittite; the bulk of forms are found in Neo-Hittite, cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *ha-li-ya-zi*, 3rd pl. pres. act. *ha-li-ya-an-zi*, 3rd sg. pret. act. *ha-li-ya-at*, 3rd pl. pret. act. *ha-a-li-e-ir*,3rd sg. pres. middle *ha-a-li-ya*, *ha(-a)-li-ya-ri*, etc.

Hitt. *haliya* can be a primary verb in *-iya-* (see Kronasser 1966: 484; Oettinger 1979: 485), from which the ordinary causative in *-nu-halinu-* and the reduplicated *halihla*, *halihliya-* ‘to genuflect; to make obeisance to’ (cf. 2nd sg. pres. act. *halihlatti*, 3rd sg. pres. act. *halihlai*, 3rd pl. pres. middle *halihliyandari*, etc.)[1] are derived.

According to Polomé (1950: 566 fn. 2; 1952: 451), Hitt. *haliya-* can be connected with Arm. *olok'* ‘shinebone’, Skt. *āṇí-* ‘pin of the axle; the part of the leg just above the knee’, etc. This etymology is revived by Melchert (1983: 13; 1987: 21) who compares not only Hitt. *haliya-,* but also *halhaltumar(i)-* ‘corner’ (as if derived from a reduplicated form of the root, extended by *-t-*) with Gk. ὠλένη ‘elbow’, Lat. *ulna* ‘id.’, etc. Puhvel (1991: 29) considers the connection of Hitt. *haliya-* with Arm. *olok'*, Skt. *āṇí-* and related words for ‘elbow’ and ‘ell’ (see Pokorny 1959: 307–308) to be more plausible than the other etymologies of the Hittite verb.

In view of the initial *h-* of Hitt. *haliya-*, the reconstruction of an underlying Indo-European root **el-*, **elĕy-* (e. g. Walde and Pokorny 1927–1932: 156; Pokorny 1959: 307) is unacceptable. The radical *e-*vocalism of isolated Baltic forms as Lith. *elkū́nė* ‘elbow’ and Latv. *ẹ̀lkuonis* ‘id.’can be secondary[2]. In 1950, Polomé assumes that the Indo-European root, from which Arm. *olok'* and Hitt. *haliya-* are derived, is **h₃el-*. According to Melchert (1983: 13), “the root is probably **h₃el-*, less likely **h₂el-*”. In 1987, Melchert gives Hitt. *haliya-*, *halhaltumar(i)-*, Gk. ὠλένη, etc. which can represent either IE **h₃e-* or **h₂o-*, and cites the well known opinion that “the absence of non-Anatolian *a-* < **h₂e-* in these roots” might be “ascribed to chance”.

2. In the case of Hitt. *haliya-* and Gk. ὠλένη, the evidence for the reconstruction of *a*-colouring laryngeal is provided by Greek gloss ἄλαξ·πῆχυς. Ἀθαμάνων, which is written between ἀλμυρόν et ἀλξίας in Hesychius' Lexicon, cf. the editions of Alberti (vol. I, 1746), Moritz Schmidt (vol. I, 1867) and Latte (vol. I, 1953).

According to Johannes Schmidt (1871 – 1875 II: 144), Lith. *uolektìs* 'elbow', OPruss. *woaltis* 'ell', *woltis* 'forearm', Lith. *alkū́nė́* 'elbow', OPruss. *alkunis* 'id.' and OBg. *lakъtъ* 'elbow, ell', etc. are related to Hesychius' gloss ἄλαξ, "wofür M. Schmidt der buchstabenfolge wegen ἄλξ schreibt". J. Schmidt's etymological connection is accepted in the main investigations, handbooks and dictionaries in the field of the Indo-European linguistics, in most of which the Greek gloss is given either as ἄλαξ (e. g. de Saussure 1878: 276, Walde and Hofmann 1938 – 1956 II: 812; Fraenkel 1962 –1965: 8) or as ἄλξ (e. g. Schwyzer 1939: 424; Specht 1947: 207, 225). According to Bechtel (1911: 128; 1921–1924 II: 85), however, Hesychius' lemma is incomplete, and probably it was shortened from ἄλξ καὶ ἄλαξ vel sim.; Latte refers to Bechtel's emendation, and Hesychius' gloss is given as [ἄλξ καὶ] ἄλαξ in the dictionaries of Walde and Pokorny (1927 –1932 I: 157) and Pokorny (1959: 308).

However, if we accept that not only ἄλαξ, but also ἄλξ was spoken in Athamania, the explanation of the latter form offers difficulties. Bechtel derives ἄλαξ, ἄλξ and Lith. *uolaktis*, OPruss. *woaltis* from IE. **alakt-*, **alkt-* and **ōlakt-* and **ōlkt-* respectively. In view of the *-e-* of Lith. *uolektìs* and Latv. *uôlekts*, the interpretation of ἄλαξ and Lith. *uolaktis* as IE. **alakt-* and **ōlakt-* respectively is unacceptable. No better are the reconstructions of IE. **alәkt-* and * *ōlәkt-*, assumed by Walde and Pokorny, loc. cit., where **-ə-* is beyond proof. According to Beekes (1972: 130) Gk. can ἄλαξ go back to IE. **h₂lₑk-*, but the explanation of the second -α- of ἄλαξ as the reflex of a reduced vowel is also doubtful. It is also possible that ἄλξ and ἄλαξ are formed with an ablauting suffix **ek-*/ **-k-* as the related Lith. *uolektìs, úolektis*, Latv. *uôlekts* and OPruss. *woaltis*. Similarly, the ablauting **ek-*/ **-k-* can be seen in Gk. μαλακός 'soft, gentle, mild' (< **mlh₂ekos*) vs. βλᾰ́ξ, gen. sg. βλᾱκός 'lazy, inactive, sluggish' (< **mleh₂k-s*, or with generalized zero grade of the weak cases, **mlh₂k-s*, gen. sg. **mlh₂k-os*), βληχρός 'weak, feable, sluggish' (< **mlh₂ksro-*) and Lith. *mùlkis* (< **mlh₂k-i-*). If so, Gk. ἄλξ can continue **h₂elk-s* or **h₂lk-s*. Since Bechtel's assumption about an old dental stem cannot be excluded, **h₂elk-t-s* or **h₂lk-t-s* are also possible performs of ἄλξ. Gk. ἄλαξ, if it existed, can continue - either Northwestern -α- for -ε-, or by assimilation of α-ε into α-α as in the case of φαναρός (:φανερός 'visible,

manifest') - an older *αλεξ, which would go back to IE. **h₂lek-s* or * *h₂lek-t-s*.

However, the ambiguity of the word formation of ἄλαξ is evident. In fact, the assumption that the formation of ἄλαξ is similar to that of Lith. *uolektìs* etc. remains a guess. It is also possible that ἄλαξ belongs to the well known class of Greek nouns in -ακ- such as λεῖμαξ 'meadow, garden'(:λειμών 'any moist grassy place, meadow, mead') or μύλαξ 'millstone, any large round stone' (: μύλη 'mill, hand-mill', μύλος 'millstone'). If so, ἄλαξ may tentatively be derived from **h₂elnk-s*, and may be compared with the equally ambiguous Skt. *alaka-* 'curl, lock' (as if from **h₂elnko-*); this presupposes an underlying *n*-stem **h₂el-(e/o)n-* 'bend, bending' which might be derived directly from IE **h₂el-* 'to bend'[3].

There is no sound reason for assuming Pre-Greek origin of ἄλξ and ἄλαξ. True, IE **o* changes into *a* in Pre-Greek (see Georgiev 1981: 100). Hence Athamanian ἄλξ and ἄλαξ can be interpreted as Pre-Greek forms beginning with *a-* < IE **h₃e-*. As Georgiev (1981: 156 ff.) points out "typically Pre-Greek toponyms are lacking" in Epirus, including Athamania, which together with the West and North Thessaly, belongs to the Proto-Greek region. Therefore, Athamanian ἄλξ and ἄλαξ are genuine Greek words and their initial α- points to an *a*-colouring laryngeal.

3. In spite of the radical *o*-vocalism of numerous non-Anatolian (Greek, Armenian, Latin and Celtic) cognates of Hitt. *haliya-*, there are no forms which could require the reconstruction of an initial *o*-colouring laryngeal; an underlying Indo-European verb **h₂el-*would account well for the attested Anatolian and non-Anatolian forms. The interpretation of ἄλξ and ἄλαξ as genuine Greek words confirms the identification of the initial laryngeal as the *a*-colouring one.

3.1. The Indo-Iranian forms, which are useless for the identification of the initial laryngeal, furnish satisfactory evidence for the formation of the underlying Indo-European verb.

According to Benveniste (1935: 104–105), Skt. *aratní-* m. 'elbow', Av. *frārāθni-* 'elbow, cubit' and OPers. *arašni-* 'cubit' reflect Indo-Iranian **ăra-tna(-i)-*, which would point to a noun in **-tar-*/**-tn-* **ăra-tar-*, **ăra-tn-*. This noun would be formed from an Indo-European stem **ol(e)-*, from which IE **ŏl-en-*, attested by Skt. *āṇí-* , Gk. ὠλένη, Arm. *oln*, gen. sg. *oln* 'spine', etc., is also derived.

Nevertheless, as Szemerényi (1966: 199) points out, the suffix **-ter-*/**-tn-* cannot be added to a thematic verb stem, and this implies that *ara-* in

Skt. *aratní-*, Av. *frārāθni-* and OPers. *arašni-* cannot reflect IE **ole-*. In order to avoid this difficulty, Szemerényi, loc. cit., ingeniously derives the Indo-Iranian forms from a participle **arat-* which would reflect IE **ol-nt-*.

As we have seen above, Gk. ἄλξ and ἄλαξ point to an initial *a*-colouring laryngeal. Since the assumption for morphological *o*-grade in the assumed Indo-European verb **ol(e)-* and its participle **ol-nt-* (as if from **h₂ol(e)-* and **h₂ol-nt-* respectively) would be improbable, these reconstructions must be replaced by **h₂el(e)-* and **h₂ol-nt-*.

It is clear that Indo-Iranian **arat-* (< IE **h₂el-nt-*) is a participle of the type of Ved. *takṣat* (< IE **teks-nt-*; cf. Ved. *tákṣati* 'fashions, carpenters, cuts', *tāṣṭi* 'id.'), *śā́sat-* (< **k'eh₁s-nt-*; cf. Ved. *śā́sti* 'orders'), Av. *stauuat-* (< IE **stew-nt-*; cf. Av. *staomaide* 'we praise', Ved. *stáve* 'praises, celebrates'), etc. This implies an Indo-European "acrostatic" (*-eh₃*) verb 3rd sg. pres. act. **h₂el-ey*, 3rd pl. pres. act. **h₂el-nti-*.

The Sanskrit noun *ratní-* 'elbow', which occurs alongside with *aratní-*, can now be explained. According to M a y r h o f e r (1956 – 1980 III: 38), Skt. *ratní-* is "wohl verstümmelt" from *aratní-*. It is more likely to derive Skt. *ratní-* from the weak stem **rat-* of an Indo-Iranian participle **rant-*, **rat-* which would go back to IE **h₂l-ent-*, **h₂l-nt-*. This participle presupposes an Indo-European ablauting (*mi-*) verb 3rd sg. pres. act. **h₂el-ti*, 3rd pl. pres. act. **h₂l-enti*. The co-existence of *eh₃-* and *mi*-verbs in Indo-European is well known (see G e o r g i e v 1975: 10 – 11, R i k o v 1986 – 1987: §§ 20 ff.).

3.2. As I have already assumed (ibid. §§ 52 ff.; 1991: 2506 – 2509), the introduction of thematic vowel in Indo-European *eh₃*-conjugation leads to a split between the new thematic forms (e. g. Skt. *bhárati*, *bháratha*, Gk. φέρομεν, φέρετε, Ved. *stávate*, Goth. *-qimiþ*, etc.) and the residual athematic ones (e. g. Ved. *bhartám*, Gk. φέρτε, Ved. *stáve*, *stota*, Av. *staomaide*, *-staoite*, *stauuat-*, Ved. *gánta*, etc.). The latter were reinterpreted as members of the athematic *mi*-conjugation, and this entails the constitution of a new athematic paradigm, the weak forms of which are formed either with zero or with full grade of the root, cf. Ved. *stuvánti*, *stuvánt-* beside *stáve*, Av. *-stuiiat* beside *-staoite*, *stauuant-*, etc. The strong forms with lengthened radical vocalism such as Ved. *stáuti*, *staut*, *astaut* originated within this new athematic paradigm of composite character on the basis of the proportion:

weak forms *CC-́* : strong forms *CéC-* = weak forms *CéC-* : strong forms x (x = *CéC-*)

Cf. weak forms **stu-* (e.g. Ved. *stuvánti*, *stuvant-*, *stuté*, Av. *stuiiāt*) : strong forms **stew-(m)i*, *-s(i)*, *-t(i)* (e.g. Av. *staoiti*) = weak forms **stéw-* (e.g. Ved. *stáve*, Av. *staoite*, Gk. στεῦται) : strong forms **stéw-m(i)*, *-s(i)*, *-t(i)* (e.g. Ved. *stáuti*, *staut*, *astaut*); see R i k o v (1986 – 1987: §§ 72 ff.; 1991; 2506 – 2509).

In the case of **h₂el-* 'to bend', there are two deverbative nouns which imply the existence of lengthened-grade strong forms **h₂él-m(i)*, *h₂él-s(i)*, *h₂él-t(i)*.

Arm. *ił*, gen. sg. *iłoy* 'ἄτρακτος, spindle' would go back to IE **h₂ēlo-*. According to Eichner's law, the Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal does not change an adjacent long **ē*. The deverbative *o-* and *ā*-stems with lengthened *ē*-grade of the root follow the radical vocalism of underlying verbs, cf. Lith. *pasédas* 'das Zusammensitzen', *nusėdas* 'Bodensatz', OBg. *sąsědъ* 'neighbour'(: Lith. *sésti*, *sėdėti* 'to sit', OBg. *sěsti*, *sěděti* 'to sit (down)' < IE **sēd-* vs. **sed-* in Ved. 3rd sg. inj. act. *sadat*, etc.); Lith. *bėgas* 'flight', OBg. *běgъ* 'id.' (: Lith. *bė́gti*, Latv. *bêgt* 'to run', OBg. běžati 'to flee' vs. Gk. φέβομαι 'I am in flight'); Ved. *sāhá-* 'mighty'(: Ved. *sāh-* in partiple *sā́hant-* vs. 3rd sg. pres. middle *sáhate* 'overcomes, conquers, wins'), etc. Then Arm. *ił, iłoy*, which is an *o*-stem (IE **h₂ēlo-*), presupposes the existence of IE lengthened grade **h₂él-m(i)*, *h₂él-s(i)*, *h₂él-t(i)*.

Furthermore, there is also the isolated and ambiguous Sanskrit feminine *ā́rtnī* 'the end of a bow', compared by M a y r h o f e r (1956–1980 I: 78) without comments with *aratní-*. We are evidently dealing with a root connection. M e l c h e r t (1983: 13) assumes that both Hitt. *halhaltumar(i)-* 'corner' (with reduplication) and Skt. *ā́rtnī* are formed from roots, extended by **-t-*. It is also possible that Skt. *ā́rtnī* is derived from the weak stem of a deverbative noun in **-tar/ *-tn-* (IE **-ter/*-tn-*). This deverbative noun may be derived from the lengthened grade **h₂él-m(i)*, *h₂él-s(i)*, *h₂él-t(i)* rather than from a reduplicated stem **h₂e-h₂(e)l-t-*.

4. Gk. ὠλένη 'elbow' (Hom., H., Trag., Luc., E.) and the *o*-stem ὠλλόν·τὴν τοῦ βραχίονος καμπην Hesych. (< **ὠλνον*) are derived from *en*-stem, which is retained by ὠλήν (gen. sg. -ενος), given by Suidas with the meaning βραχίων. The compounds ὠλέκρᾱνον 'point of the elbow' and ὀλέκρᾱνον 'id.' (Hp. Epid. 7, 61), which attests an ablaut ω:o in the root, can be explained, after Brugmann[4], as dissimilated from **ὠλενοκρᾱνον* and ** ὀλενοκρᾱνον* respectively.

The difference in the radical vocalism between ὠλένη, ὠλλόν, ὠλέκρᾱνον and ὀλέκρᾱνον is parallel to that between the Armenian *n*-stems *uln* (gen. sg. *ulan*, nom. pl. *ulunkʻ*) 'Wirbelknochen des Rückgrats, Nacken, Genick, Hals' and *oł*n (gen. sg. *oł*in, nom. pl.*oł*unkʻ) 'Rückenwirbel, Rückgrat, Rücken, Schulter'.

The original quantity of the initial *ā-* in Sanskrit words remains unknown.

Skt. *āṇí-*, the formation of which is comparable to that of Gk. ὄρνις 'bird' (: Hitt. *haraš*, gen. sg. *haranaš* 'eagle'), can continue either **h₂oln-i-* or **h₂ōln-i-*; either full or lengthened o-grade of the root can be reconstructed in that case.

According to W a c k e r n a g e l [5], Skt. *kalyāṇa-* 'schön, lieblich, gut, glücklich' can be explained as a compound, signifying originally 'mit schönen Ellbogen, schönarmig', and consisting of *kaly-* (cf. Gk. καλός) and *-āṇa-*, which would correspond to Gk. ὠλλόν (< **h₂ōlno-*). Yet, **h₂ōlno-*, which is less likely, cannot be excluded. However, Wackernagel's interpretation of Skt. *kalyāṇa-* remains only a possibility, cf. Mayrhofer (1956 - 1980 I: 185).

There is also a number of ambiguous forms.

Toch. A. *āle*, B. (obl. sg.) *āl(y)i* 'palm of the hand' can be related to Gk. ὠλήν and its congeners, see V a n W i n d e k e n s (1941: 11) and H i l m a r s s o n (1987: 46-47). As for the semantics H i l m a r s s o n , loc. cit., mentions that "words denoting parts of the body often do not have a quite consistent meaning and tend to be transferred to other body parts in the vicinity", cf. OIcel. *ǫln* 'force-arm' and Arm. *ōł*n 'shoulder', etc.

The initial *ā-* of this Tocharian words can correspond to *ă̄-* and *ō-* elsewhere; from the point of view of the comparative data, the latter possibility is preferable. According to Hilmarsson, ibid., p. 46, if the non-attested Tocharian B nominative singular was **ālye*, it could correspond, together with Toch. A *ale*, to Gk. ὠλήν; if it was **ālyiye*, it could be analogous to Toch. B *salyiye* 'salt' which "originally had a stem-final *-i* extended by *n*-suffix". Thus, Toch. A *āle* and B (obl. sg.) *āl(y)e* can be derived either from IE **h₂ōlēn* or from IE **h₂ōli*.

Lat. *ulna* 'elbow, ell' can be syncopated rather from PIt. **olenā* (cf. S o m m e r 1914: 232, L e u m a n n 1977: 213, S c h r i j v e r 1991: 78) than from PIt. **olinā* (cf. Pokorny 1959: 307); if so, Lat. *ulna* can be derived from the *n*-stem, attested by Gk. **ὀλενο-* (in ὀλέκρᾱνον) and Arm. *ōł*n.

Radical short **-o-* is also attested by OIr. *uilen* 'elbow, fore-arm; corner, angle', W., Corn. *elin* 'elbow'and Bret. *elin*, *ilin* 'id.', the formation of which is ambiguous. According to T h u r n e y s e n (1980: 47) and P o k o r n y , loc. cit., these Celtic forms continue IE. *olīnā* (i.e., **h₂olīneh₂*). However, Schrijver, loc. cit., assumes an underlying *n*-stem **olēn-*. This assumption is also both phonetically and morphologically possible. If so, the underlying Indo-European *n*-stem can be reconstructed as **h₂olēn*.

Most of the Germanic forms, signifying 'fore-arm, ell' can also be derived from *n*-stem. Thus OIcel. *ǫln*, *aln*, OE *eln*, OFris. *elne* and OHG *elina* point to PGmc. **alinō* which can correspond to Lat. *ulna*, if it continues PIt. **olenā* (cf. K r a h e and M e i d 1967–1969 I: 65). Yet the alternative explanation as **h₂olineh₂* (cf. P o k o r n y 1959: 307–308, L e h m a n n 1986: 26) is also possible. However the Gothic hapax *aleina* 'ell' (only acc. sg., M. 6.27) points to PGmc. **alīnō* (cf. for instance K r a h e and M e i d 1967–1969 III: 107) which might correspond to OIr. *uilen* and W., OCorn. *elin*, Bret. *elin*, *ilin*, if these Celtic forms reflect **h₂olīneh₂*.

In fact, it is well known that a number of the stems in **-ĭno-, -ĭnā-* are derived from older stems in **-i-*, cf. Skt. *hariṇá-* 'yellowish, tawny', m. 'antelope, gazelle' (: *hari-* 'tawny, yellow'), Lat. *fascina* 'a bundle of sticks, fagot' (: *fascis* 'a bundle, fagot, fascine, packet, parcel'), Gk. ἐλεγξῖνος 'wrangler' (ἔλεγξις 'refuting, reproving'), etc. Hence Goth. *aleina* can be derived from an Indo-European *i*-stem **h₂oli-*, from which PCelt. **olīnā* and PGmc. **alīnō* might also be formed. As S p e c h t (1947: 157, 245) already pointed out, Goth. *aleina* and Gk. ὠλένη, Lat. *ulna* can be traced back to alternative *i-* and *n*-stems respectively; thus, IE. **h₂oli-* (and **h₂ōli-*, if Toch. A *āle*, B. obl. sg. *āl(y)e* are formed from an *i*-stem) relates to IE **h₂ŏ̄len-* as Ved. *ásthi* 'bone' to gen. sg. *asthnaḥ*, instr. pl. *asthabhiḥ*, etc.

5. The quantitive ablaut **ō : *o*, attested by Gk. ὠλήν, ὠλένη, ὠλλόν, ὠλέκρᾱνον, Arm. *uln* and Gk. ὀλέκρᾱνον, Arm. *ołn* indicates that these *n*-stems cannot be explained as deverbatives; moreover, such an ablaut is unusual in the case of the Indo-European *n*-stems. In fact, this implies that these forms are derived from an Indo-European deverbative root noun nom. sg. **h₂ōl-s*, gen, sg. **h₂ol-es* which would represent the ablaut pattern, seen in the deverbative root noun IE **wōkʷ-s*, gen. sg. **wokʷ-es*, cf. Av. *vāhš* 'speech, word', acc. sg. *vačəm*, *vačim*, gen. sg. *vačō*. The lengthened *ō*-grade **wōkʷ-* of the strong cases is generalized through the paradigm of Skt. *vā́k* 'speech, saying, call, sound', gen. sg. *vācaḥ* and Lat. *vōx* 'voice, speech, sound', gen. sg. *vōcis*, whereas the *o*-grade **wokʷ-* of the oblique cases is generalized by Gk. acc. sg. ὄπα, gen. sg. ὀπός 'voice, sound, word' and Toch. A *wak*, B *wek* 'voice'.

It is significant in this respect that there is a number of *n*-stems which are derived by suffixation from root nouns, cf. Ved. gen. sg. *asthnáḥ*, instr. pl. *asthábhiḥ*, Gk. ὀστακός 'lobster' (if from **h₂ostnko-*) and OIr. *asna* 'rib' vs.

Av. nom.-acc. sg. *as-ča* ‘bone’, gen. sg. *astō*, gen. pl. *astąm*, instr. pl. *azdəbiš* and Lat. *os* ‘id’; Ved. gen. sg. *doṣṇáḥ*, nom. du. *doṣáṇi* vs. *dóḥ* ‘arm, fore-arm’, etc. If so, the Indo-European deverbative root noun nom. sg. **h₂ōl-s*, gen, sg. **h₂ol-es* can be the derivational base of two Indo-European *n*-stem: IE **h₂ōl-(e)n-* which represents the radical vocalism of the strong cases **h₂ōl-s, -m* (cf. Gk. ὠλήν, ὠλένη, ὠλέκρᾱνον and Arm. *uln*), IE **h₂ol-(e)n-* which is built on the basis of the oblique cases (cf. Gk. ὀλέκρᾱνον and Arm. *oln*).

It is also clear that an Indo-European root noun **h₂ōl-s, *h₂ol-es* would underlie not only the *n*-stem **h₂ōl-(e)n-* and **h₂ol-(e)n-,* but also the *i*-stem **h₂ol-i-*, cf. Goth. *aleina* (and perhaps **h₂ōl-i-*, if the Tocharian forms are derived from an *i*-stem). The derivational pattern is well known, cf. Ved. *ásthi* beside the root nouns Av. *as-ča* and Lat. *os*.

Notes

1. Hitt. *halihla* is probably syncopated.
2. See S c h r i j v e r 1991: 78.
3. However, there is no evidence for deverbative *n*-stems in the case of IE **h₂el-*.
4. See Sächs. Ber. 1901, p. 31.
5. See KZ 61, pp. 191-197.

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IV. ГРЪЦКИ ЕЗИК

IV. GREEK LANGUAGE

Greek ῥώμη, ῥῶσις and Sanskrit *sā́ra-*

By Georgi T. Rikov, Sofia

The evidence of Sanskrit *sā́ra-* 'firmness, strength, power' for an aniṭ-root **ser-* is uncertain, cf. Skt. *cā́ra-, jā́na-, tārá-*. Then, in spite of Hamp's doubts (*Glotta* 64, 1986, 256), I would derive Greek *ῥώμη* 'bodily strength, strength, might, force' and *ῥῶσις* 'a strengthening; encouragement, confirmation' from **sṛh$_3$-meh$_2$* and **sṛh$_3$-ti-* respectively.

In vol. 64 (1986), 256 of this journal Eric P. Hamp interprets Sanskrit *sā́ra-* 'firmness, strength, power' as a noun of the type of Greek *τόμος* and derives it, according to Brugmann's law, from an aniṭ-formation **sóro-*.

Yet, as for the proposed underlying aniṭ-root **ser-* of *sā́ra-*, I would juxtapose this problem with that of Skt. *cā́ra-* 'motion, course' (: *cīrṇa-, iṣ-*aorist *acariṣam,* etc.), *jā́na-* 'origin, birth place' (: *janiman* 'birth, origin', 2nd sg. impv. middle *janiṣva,* etc.), *tārá-* 'penetrating, piercing' which is a noun of the type of Gk. *τόμος* (: *tīrṇá-, tiráti, turáti,* Hitt. *tarḫzi,* etc.), etc.

If we are to retain Brugmann's law,[1]) there are two possibilities which can be taken into consideration in the case of *cā́ra-, jā́na-, tārá-* and, of course, *sā́ra-*:

1. That *cā́ra-, jā́na, tārá-* point to Indo-European aniṭ-roots **k$^{\text{w}}$el-, *ǵen-, *ter-* beside the seṭ-ones **k$^{\text{w}}$elh$_1$-, *ǵenh$_1$-, *terh$_2$-* attested by the forms given above. Then, we would have *cā́ra-*[2]) < **k$^{\text{w}}$ólo-, jā́na-* < **ǵóno-, tārá-* < **toró-* beside *cīrṇa-, janiman, tīrṇá-,* etc. just as Hamp's *sā́ra-* < **sóro-* beside Greek *ῥώμη* 'bodily strength, strength, might, force' and *ῥῶσις* 'a strengthening; encouragement, confirmation'. I am not sure, however, that this is the best solution of our problem.

2. That *cā́ra-, jā́na-, tārá-* are built on secondary aniṭ- roots. Due to the regular loss of the laryngeals after consonants (and consonantal *r, l, m, n*) when before vowels, forms like Gk. Cretan *τέλομαι,* Skt. *cárati* < **k$^{\text{w}}$élh$_1$e/o-*; Skt. *jánati* < **ǵénh$_1$e/o-*; Skt. *tarati* < **térh$_2$e/o-* could be interpreted as representatives of aniṭ-roots;

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[1]) Yet see M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Pāli* (Heidelberg 1951), 35–38; A. Thumb and R. Hauschild, *Handbuch des Sanskrit* I. Teil (Heidelberg 1958), 220–222.

[2]) With analogical *c-*, as Prof. E. P. Hamp mentioned in our discussion on the problem.

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hence we have secondary aniṭ-forms such as Gk. Cyren. *τένται*, Skt. *s*-aorist *acārṣam*; the deverbative nouns *jánman* 'birth, origin, production', *jantú-* 'offspring, creature, being';[3]) Skt. *s*-aorist *atārṣma*, etc. If so, Skt. *cāra-, jána-, tārá-* can be explained as derivatives from the secondary aniṭ-roots seen in *cárati, jánati, tarati* along the lines of *mā́na-* 'opinion' (: *man-* 'think'), *vára-* 'choice' (: *vṛ-* 'choose'), etc.; similarly, Skt. *sā́ra-* can be formed to a thematic verb **sára-* < **serh₃e/o-*.

Then, the evidence of *sā́ra-* for an Indo-European aniṭ-root **ser-* is uncertain.

At this point the original initial of Greek *ῥώμη* and *ῥῶσις* is possibly **s-*; i.e., in spite of Hamp's doubts, I would derive Greek *ῥώμη* and *ῥῶσις* from *sr̥h₃-meh₂* and *sr̥h₃-ti-* respectively.

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[3]) On Greek *γένυο* cf. A. Bammesberger, *Glotta* 60 (1982), 27–31.

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Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

THE ELEAN 3RD PLURAL OPTATIVE FORMS γνοῖαν AND ἐπιθεῖαν

1. According to Osthoff (1881:295—296) and Bechtel (1923:855—856), the final -οιαν of the Elean 3rd plural thematic optatives ἀποτίνοιαν, ἐνπεθέοιαν, ἀποφελέοιαν, παρβαίνοιαν continues *-οια (< IE *-oyn̥t*), to which the -ν is added for the sake of clarity[1]. If so, since the Indo-European **y* in this phonetic environment should be regularly lost in Greek, the reconstruction of an intermediate stage is evidently necessary; in fact, IE *-oyh₁n̥t* (> *-oyn̥t*) would yield *-οα, hence *-οια is created after the 1st and 2nd plural thematic optative forms. According to this explanation, the Elean 3rd plural thematic optatives in -οιαν represent a remarcable archaism which is attested only in this Greek dialect; in most of the Greek dialects, the 3rd plural optative forms to the thematic verbs end in -οιεν along the line of εἶεν and sometimes in -οιν (e. g. Delph. θέλοιν) which is also an innovation.[2]

Since the original ε is frequently replaced by α in Elean, Brugmann hesitatingly mentions Osthoff's explanation and assumes as an alternative possibility that the -α- of El. -οιαν appears instead of an older -ε- (Brugmann and Thumb 1913:54, Brugmann 1916:630). According to Buck (1928:21; 1955:24), ε changes into α before final ν in Elean and this change, due to the very open pronunciation of ε in this Greek dialect, is exemplified by El. μάν as well as by the 3rd plural optatives ἀποτίνοιαν, συνέαν, ἐπιθεῖαν, etc.

It is significant in this respect, however, that the Elean change of ε into α, which occurs in various phonetic environments, is not consistently carried out.

Thus, ερ frequently changes into αρ in Elean and this change is also shared by Locrian and Phocian; yet we have not only El. Fάρρεν, φάρεν, Fάργον, παρ (= περί), etc. (cf. also Locr. φάρειν, Phoc. φάρεν), but also Fέρεν, ἀμέρας (see Bechtel 1923:836—837). One of the special characteristics of Elean is the development of ε into α after ρ, but beside μαστράαι, λατρα[ιόμενον, Elean has also λατρειόμενον (see Bechtel 1923:837). As for the appearance of α instead of ε before final ν, Elean μάν and γνόμαν are representatives of this change, but forms such as ἔμεν (Olympia, VIth century B. C.), etc., retain -ε- before -ν. In contrast, the α in the 3rd plural ending -αν, attested by the Elean optatives ἀποτίνοιαν, ἐνπεθέοιαν, etc. never interchanges with ε; then, the consistent α before -ν in the Elean thematic optatives in -αν is an argument in favour of Osthoff's and Bechtel's explanation of -οιαν as an outcome of IE *-oyn̥t*

(< IE *-oyh_{1i}-$\acute{g}t$) and Schwyzer (1939:663 fn. 9) rightly prefers this explanation.

2. The ending -αν of the Elean 3rd plural optative συνέαν, however, is evidently an innovation. The original 3rd plural optative form is continued by Gk. εἶεν which, as well as the Old Latin 3rd plural subjunctive *sient*, points to IE *h_1s-ih_1-*ent*. The inflectional pattern of this optative type, inherent to the ablauting (*mi*-) conjugation, is well represented by the correlation, 3rd sg. opt. Ved. *syā́t*, Gk. εἴη, OLat. (subj.) *sied*: 3rd pl. opt. Gk. εἶεν, OLat. (subj.) *sient* (< IE 3rd sg. opt. *h_1s-yeh_1-*t*: 3rd pl. opt. *h_1s-ih_1-*ent*), Then, the Elean 3rd pl. optative συνέαν can be explained by the assumption that its ending -αν was received from the thematic optatives in -οιαν[3].

3. There is no reason, however, for assuming a secondary origin of the ending -αν of the Elean aorist optatives ἐπιθεῖαν and γνοῖαν. These 3rd plural optative forms are representatives of an athematic optative type which is characterized by consistent full grade of the root[4] and zero grade of the optative formant (*-ih_1-) in the whole paradigm; as I have suggested in this journal (Rikov 1986—1987: §§ 36—51), this optative type, called „proterodynamic" or „acrostatic"[5], originally belongs to the Indo-European eh_3-conjugation.[6] Thus, we have Skt. 3rd sg. opt. middle *śayīta* RV. (*śi-* 'lie'), *ā-śāsīta* TBr. (*śās-* 'order'), Av. 3rd sg. opt. act. *sāhiṯ* Y. 50,6 (*sāh-* 'rule, order'), 1st pl. opt. act. *varəzimācā* 'and we would work' Y. 35, 8, *srəuuīmā* 'we would hear' Y. 28,7, etc. The Latin subjunctive 1st sg. *velim*, 2nd sg. *velis*, 3rd sg. *velit*, etc., the Avestan 1st pl. optative middle *vairimaidī* 'we would elect' Y. 28,7 and the presents Goth. 2nd sg. *wileis*, 3rd sg. *wili*, etc. (*wiljan* 'want, will'). OBg. *veliši*, *velitъ*, etc. (*velěti* 'want') also continue an old optative of this type and point to IE 1st sg. opt. act. *wel-ih_1-*m*, 2nd sg. opt. act. *wel-ih_1-*s*, 3rd sg. opt. act. *wel-ih_1-*t*, etc.[7] In view of Lat. 3rd pl. subj. *velint* and possibly OBg. 3rd pl. pres. *veletъ*, the Indo-European 3rd pl. opt. act. can be reconstructed as *wel-ih_1-*nt*, with the original 3rd plural secondary active ending *-*nt* of the Indo-European eh_3-conjugation.

The optatives of this type, derived from Indo-European *Ceh$_x$-* roots, are also well attested by forms such as Av. 1st pl. act. *zaēmā* 'we would gain' Y. 41,4<IE *$ǵ^heh_1$-ih_1-*me*, Gk. 1st pl. act. θεῖμεν < IE *d^heh_1-ih_1-*me-*, σταῖμεν < IE *steh$_2$-ih_1me-*, φαῖμεν < IE *b^heh_2-ih_1-*me-*, γνοῖμεν<IE *ǵneh$_3$-ih_1-*me-*, etc., 3rd sg. middle θεῖτο < IE *d^heh_1-ih_1-*to*, etc.[8] Thus, we should reconstruct IE 1st pl. opt. act. *Ceh$_x$-ih_1-me-*, 2nd pl. opt. act. *Ceh$_x$-ih_1-te-* and in view of Lat. *velint*, 3rd pl. opt. act. **Ceh$_x$-ih_1-nt*.[9]

In Greek, the Elean optatives ἐπιθεῖαν and γνοῖαν are the only representatives of the 3rd plural forms of the optative type which is inherent to the Indo-European eh_3-conjugation. Indo-European *d^heh_1-ih_1-*nt* and *ǵneh$_3$-ih_1-*nt* would yield Gk. *θεα and *γνοα respectively. Then, the ι in El. ἐπιθεῖαν and γνοῖαν is restored along the line of the 1st and 2nd pl. forms θεῖμεν, θεῖτε, etc., and the final -ν is added for the sake of clarity; this development is parallel to that of the thematic 3rd pl. optative forms such as ἀποτίνοιαν, παρβαίνοιαν, etc., discussed above, §1.

Now it is clear that the spread of the 3rd plural secondary ending -αν in Elean (cf. συνέαν, §2) is based not only on the Elean thematic optatives in -οιαν, but also on the „proterodynamic" optatives such as ἐπιθεῖαν and γνοῖαν.

It is also clear that the Greek 3rd plural optative forms such as θεῖεν, γνοῖεν, etc., well-attested outside the Elean dialect, are innovations[10]; their ending -εν < IE *-*ent* is received from the 3rd plural optatives such as εἶεν which belong to the optative type, inherent to the Indo-European *mi*-conjugation (cf. §2).

NOTES

[1] Cf. Bechtel (1923:856): „Seit bekannt ist, dass die 1. Sg. Optat. ebenfalls den Ausgang -οια gehabt hat (ark. ἐξελαύνοια . . .), sieht man ein, dass die Vermehrung der 3. Plur. um das Zeichen ν im Interesse der Deutlichkeit nötig gewesen ist".

[2] Forms such as φέροιν are formed on the basis of the proportion ἔφερο-μεν : ἔφερο-ν = φέροι-μεν : x (x = φέροι-ν), see Osthoff (1881:296).

[3] Yet cf. also El. ἐπιθεῖαν and γνοῖαν (§3).

[4] The reconstruction of Indo-European optative forms, formed with zero grade of the root (e. g. Gk. σταῖτε < IE *stə$_i$-te, cf. Brugmann 1916:542—543, Szemerényi 1980: 241) is phonologically unacceptable in this case; the Indo-European laryngeals before *i/*y are regularly lost in this position in Greek.

[5] See Narten (1968:13; 1984:96—108), Rikov (1986—1987: §§ 36—51).

[6] According to Georgiev (1975: 10—21), the so-called „thematic" conjugation was originally athematic; it is distinguished from the Indo-European *mi*-conjugation by a special series of endings (IE *-eh_3, *-eys, *-ey vs. IE *-m(i), *-s(i), *-t(i) of the *mi*-conjugation) at least in the indicative singular active. The 3rd sg. secondary active ending *-s, guaranteed by the Hittite and Indo-Iranian data, is the original 3rd sg. secondary active ending of the Indo-European -eh_3-conjugation, see Rikov (1986—1987: § 9). The weak forms of the Indo-European-eh_3-conjugation (indicative pl. and du. active, indicative middle, imperative, optative) were originally distinguished by their full-grade radical vocalism from the zero-grade weak forms of the *mi*-conjugation (see Rikov 1986—1987: §§ 16—51; 1989:37—39; 1991:2506—2507).

[7] See Rikov (1986—1987: §§ 36—41). On the Avestan optatives of this type see Narten (1984:96—108). Hoffmann (1968:8) derives Av. *vairimaidī* and its cognate forms from an Indo-European *set* root, but this is highly doubtful, see Rikov (1986—1987:§ 39).

[8] See Hoffmann (1968:4—8), Rikov (1986—1987: §§ 48—49). According to Hoffmann, loc. cit., the optatives of this type belong to the aorist system, but this asumption can be rejected in view of forms such as Gk. φαῖμεν < IE *b^heh_2-ih_1-*me-* which clearly belong to the present system (cf. Gk. φημί).

[9] On the formation of the active singular optative forms Gk. θείην, σταίην, γνοίην, etc., Ved. *deyām* (*dā-* 'give'), *dheyām* (*dhā-* 'place'), *jñeyās* (*jñā-* 'know'), etc. see Rikov (1986—1987:§ 49; 1992:4—5).

[10] Kuryłowicz (1964:141) derives Gk. θεῖεν from IE *$d^hē$-*iy*-*ent*, but this is unacceptable, see Rikov (1986—1987: § 49 with fn. 45).

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SANSKRIT *SANÓTI*, GREEK ἄνῡμι AND αὐθέντης

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

In view of Eichner's connection of Skt. *sanóti* and Gk. ἄνῡμι with Hitt. *šanhu-*, the evidence for an Indo-European *anit* root **sen-* is restricted to Gk. *ἔντης (in αὐθέντης, συνέντης), ἔντεα and *ἔντυ- (in ἔντυον, ἐντύνω). However, these isolated Greek nouns can be explained as secondary *anit* forms, derived from a thematic verb **sen-e/o-* which, with regular loss of the prevocalic laryngeal, goes back to IE **senh₂-e/o-*.

1. According to Brugmann (1879:271—279; 1916:327), Skt. *sanóti* 'gains, obtains; gains for another, procures' (RV., etc.) and Gk. ἄνῡμι 'to effect, achieve, complete' (Od. 5, 243, Theocr. 2, 91; 7, 10)[1], the thematized Homeric and Ionic ἀνύω 'id.', Attic ἀνύω 'id.'[2] continue an Indo-European *new*-present **sn̥new-/*sn̥nu-*. This explanation is accepted by Schwyzer (1939: 696), Cowgill (1963:255), Strunk (1967:70—73) and Chantraine (1968—1980:93—94).

There are also several Greek forms which can be explained as derivatives of the *anit* root **sen-*[3], seen in the assumed nasal infix present in **-new-/*-nu-*.

Thus, Gk. αὐθέντης 'one who does any thing with his own hand; perpetrator or real author of any act; absolute master, autocrat' (Hdt., Eur., Thuc., etc.), the non-contracted αὐτοέντης (Soph.) and συνέντης · συνεργός (Hsch.) point to a noun in -τησ- *ἔντης which can be derived from an *anit* root **sen-*[4].

Similarly, Gk. ἔντεα nom. pl. 'fighting gear, arms, armour; a coat of mail corslet' (Hom.) and nom. sg. ἔντος (Archil.) are forms of a noun in -τεσ- and presuppose an underlying form in **-to-* which can be formed from a root **sen-*[5].

We have also the denominative verbs lst sg. impf. act. ἔντυον Hom., 2nd sg. impv. act. ἔντυε Anth. P. 10, 118 and ἐντύνω 'to equip, deck out, get ready' which are possibly derived from a noun in **-tu-* *ἔντυ-[6].

2. However, the vast majority of the Sanskrit forms clearly point to an Indo-European *set* root, cf. the *iṣ*-aorist lst sg. act. *asaniṣam* 'gained' RV., the desiderative 3rd sg. act. *sísāsati* V. (< **si-sn̥hₓ-se-ti*), the past passive participle *sātá-* 'gained, obtained' RV, (< **sn̥hₓ-tó-*), the deverbative nouns *sanitu-* 'acquisition, gain' RV. I 8, 6 (< **senhₓ-tu-*), *sātí-* 'acquisition, gain, property; winning of spoil' RV, (< **sn̥hₓ-tí-*), etc. Then, the Sanskrit thematic aorist 3rd sg. act. *ásanat* 'gained, obtained' RV., inj. *sanat* and Av. *hana-* (cf. lst pl. opt. act. *hanaēmā* Y. 41, 4, lst sg. subj. act. *hanāni* Y. 44, 18) should be traced back to IE **senhₓ-e/o*.

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[1] Attested by ἤνυτο Od., ἄνυτο and ἄνυμες Theocr.

[2] This verb is also attested in Mycenaean, cf., *a₂numeno* and the proper name *Anuto*.

[3] On the Sanskrit perfect participle *sasavā́ṁs-* see Hoffmann (1974:76—79).

[4] See Frisk (1960—1972 I:185) and Chantraine (1968—1980:138—139). Gk. αὐθέντες 'murderer' Eur. Supp. 442 can be explained by haplology as *αὐτο-θέντης, where *-θέντης is derived from θείνω 'to strike', see Kretchmer (1912:291).

[5] Cf. Frisk (1960—1972 I:523—524) and Chantraine (1968—1980:351—352).

[6] See Frisk, *loc. cit.*, Chantraine, *loc. cit.*

The Hittite root verb *šanḫ-* 'to approach, ask for, seek' (cf. lst sg. pres. act. *ša-an-aḫ-mi,* 2nd sg. pres. act. *ša-an-aḫ-si,* 3rd sg. pres. act. *ša-an-ḫa-zi,* 3rd. pl. pres. act. *ša-an-ḫa-an-zi,* lst pl. pret. act. *ša-an-ḫu-un,* etc.[7]), confirms the reconstruction of an Indo-European *seṭ* root. Kuryłowicz (1927:102), who identified Hitt. *ḫ* as a regular reflex of IE $*h_2$, compared Hitt. *šanḫzi* with Skt. *sani-*; then, we have an Indo-European *seṭ* root $*senh_2$-[8] which is well attested by the Sanskrit and Hittite data[9].

According to Eichman (1973:269—271) and Lühr (1976:80), OHG *sinnan* 'streben nach' is related to Hitt. *šanḫ-* and Skt. *san-, sā-* and its double *-nn-* reflects IE $*-nh_x-$ when before vowels; then, Gmc. **senn-a-* as well as Skt. *sanat, ásanat,* etc. continue a thematized verb **senh₂-e/o-* (see Lühr, *loc. cit.).*

Since *aniṭ* and *seṭ* forms existed side by side in Indo-European, there is no doubt that the existence of an Indo-European root **sen-* along with **senh₂-* is possible; Cowgill, *loc. cit.,* notes: „To *sanóti* Greek cognates as *authéntēs* 'perpetrator' seem clearly *aniṭ,* and the verb *(h)anúō,* aor. *énusa* 'accomplish' has the habitus of a *new*-present to a root **sen-*. . . Skt. *sanóti* and *asaniṣam, sātá* may then be a conflation of **sen-* and **senH-*"[10].

3. It is significant in this respect, however, that the interpretation of Skt. *sanóti* and Gk. ἄνῡμι as outcomes of an Indo-European *new*-present **sn̥-new-/*sn̥-nu* is highly doubtful. Following the Indian grammarians, Delbrück (1873:155—156), Kuiper (1934:91), Thumb and Hauschild (1959:265) and Burrow (1955:324) analyzed Skt. *sanóti* as *san-ó-ti* and ascribed it to the Sanskrit eight class presents. True, Strunk (1967:73) rightly doubts the explanation of Skt. *sanóti* as **sen-ew-,* since the supposed two full grades of this preform are morphologically impossible and, from the point of view of the historical phonology, Gk. ἄνῡμι, ἀνύω, Attic ἀνύω cannot be derived from **sen-ew-/*sen-u-* or **sn-ew-/*sn-u-*[11].

According to Puhvel (1960:37; 1965:91)[12] and Lindeman (1970:44—45), however, Skt. *sanóti* and Gk. ἄνῡμι, ἀνύω are derived from the *seṭ* root, attested by Hitt. *šanḫzi* and Skt. *sātá-*. Now this assumption is supported by Eichner's connection of Skt. *sanóti* and Gk ἄνῡμι with Hitt. *šanḫu-* 'to roast' (cf. 3rd sg. pres. act. *šanḫuzzi* KBo XVIII 105 3, 3rd pl. pres. act. *šanḫuwanzi);* all these forms are regular outcomes of an Indo-European present in **-ew-/*-u- *sn̥h₂-ew/*-/*sn̥h₂-u-* which is derived from the disyllabic root **senh₂-/*sn̥h₂-,* seen in Hitt. *šanḫzi* (see Eichner 1979:55 fn. 42)[13]. If so, the formation of Hitt. *šanḫu-,* Skt. *sanóti* and Gk. ἄνῡμι, thematized ἀνύω, Attic ἀνύω (: Hitt. *šanḫ-,* Skt. *sani-/sā-,* thematized *sana-,* Av. *hana-*) parallels that of Hitt. *tarḫu-* 'to overcome, be capable', Skt. *tarute,* thematized *tūrvati* 'overcomes' (: Hitt. *tarḫ-* 'to overcome, be capable', thematized *tarra-* 'to be able').

4. Then, whereas the Indo-European *seṭ* root **senh₂-* is well attested, the evidence for an *aniṭ* root is restricted to Gk. αὐθέντης, συνέντης, ἔντεα and ἔντυον, ἐντύνω. These isolated Greek forms, however, are insufficient basis for the reconstruction of an Indo-European *aniṭ* root.

[7] On the data see Kronasser (1966:423).

[8] IE **senh₂-* (> Hitt. *šanḫ-,* Skt. *sani-/sā-)* is also possible.

[9] The Greek aorist ἤνεσα is possibly an innovation, cf. Beekes (1969:236).

[10] See also Cardona (1961:420) and Mayrhofer (1956—1980 III:428).

[11] Beekes, *loc. cit.,* assumes IE **sₑnew-,* but there is no reason for reconstruction of a reduced vowel *e* in this phonetic environment.

[12] Puhvel's explanation of Skt. *sanóti* and Gk. ἄνῡμι is based on the assumption that IE $*RA^WC$ (i. e., $*Rh_3C$) yields **R RuC;* I do no accept this. — Of course, the Indo-European laryngeal, attested by Hitt. *šanḫzi,* etc., can be the *o*-colouring one (cf. fn. 8).

[13] According to Lühr (1976:80), „das im ai. dazugehörige *nu-* Präsens *sanóti* 'erlangt' ist eine nach ai. *aśnóti* 'erreicht' analogische Bildung". It is clear that this explanation is unacceptable.

In fact, Gk. **ἔντης* (in αὐθέντης, συνέντης), ἔντεα and **ἔντυ-* (in ἔντυον, ἐντύνω) can be explained as secondary *aniṭ* forms, derived from a verb **sen-e/o-* which, with the regular loss of the prevocalic laryngeal, continues IE **senh₂-e/o-;* the thematized **senh₂-e/o-* is well attested by Skt. *ásanat, sanat,* Av. *hanaēmā,* etc. and OHG *sinnan.* Since IE $*h_2$ changed the neighbouring **e* into **a* (cf. Gk. κάματος 'fatigue' < IE **km̥h₂etos;* Gk. ταναός 'outstretched, tall, taper' < IE **tn̥h₂ewos,* etc)[14], the thematic vowel **-e-* in **sen-e/o-* (< IE **senh₂-e/o-)* should be analogically restored, as in cases such as Gk. πέτεται 'flyes, darts, rushes, speeds' (< **peth₂-e-,* cf. the athematic **peth₂-* in Gk. πέταται), ἔκαμε 'is tired' (< **é-km̥h₂-e-t),* etc.

The explanation of Gk. **ἔντης,* ἔντεα and ἔντυ- as deverbative nouns, derived from a thematic verb **sen-e/o-* (< **senh₂-e/o-)* indicates that these nouns in -τησ-, -τεσ- and -τυ- are formed without the stem vowel of underlying verb. In fact, we are dealing with a well known pattern in the word formation.

Thus, Gk. **ἔντης* can be formed from a thematic verb *(*sen-e/o < *senh₂-e/o-),* as δέκτης 'receiver, beggar' (: Ion. δέκομαι 'to take, accept, receive'), ψεύστης 'liar, cheat' (: ψεύδομαι 'to belie, cheat by lies, beguile; lie, speak false'), τρώκτης 'gnawer, lower of daintess' (: τρώγω 'to gnaw, chew, munch'), etc.

If Gk. ἔντεα is built on the basis of an earlier form in **-to-* (see above, § 1), we can assume again an underlying thematic verb, as in cases such as δεκτός 'received, acceptable' (: δέκομαι), πλεκτός 'plaited, twisted' (: πλέκω 'to plait, twine, twist, wave') πεμπτός 'sent' (: πέμπω 'to send'), τρωκτός 'eatable' (: τρώγω), etc.

Similarly, the formation of Gk. ἔντυ- (: **sen-e/o-*) is parallel to that of Gk. γράπτυς 'a scratching, tearing' Od. 2, 224 (: γράφω 'to scratch, scrape') etc.

Then, Gk. αὐθέντης, συνέντης, ἔντεα, ἔντυον, ἐντύνω are innovations and can be added to other secondary *aniṭ* forms such as Gk. γέντο, ἔγεντο 'he became' (beside ἐγένετο < IE **é-ǵenh₁-to),* see Bammesberger (1982:21—32); Skt. *jánman-* 'birth, origin, production' (beside *janiman-* < IE **ǵenh₁men-), jantú-* 'offspring, creature, being', etc., see Rikov (1988:124—125).

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[14] See Beekes (1976:9—12).

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Πᾱνός

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

Attic πᾱνός 'torch' (Aesch. Ag. 284 [codd. φᾱνός], Soph. Fr. 184, Eur. Fr. 90, Ion [codd. πτᾱνός], Diph. 6, Men. 62) is left unexplained by Frisk (1960—1972 II: 471), who rejects the previous etymologies of this Greek word and refers to φᾱνός 'light, bright; torch'; cf. also Chantraine (1968—1980: 855): "Existerait-t-il un rapport avec φᾱνός (cf. φαίνω) et lequel?". Frisk's connection of πᾱνός with φᾱνός is repeated by Furnée (1972: 318) who also mentions πτᾱνός (in codd. of Euripides) and assumes that πᾱνός can be a pre-Greek loan-word.

However, the similarity between πᾱνός and φᾱνός is accidental and misleading. In fact, πᾱνός can be connected with Gk. πῦρ 'fire' and its congeners. True, as Walde and Pokorny (1927—1932 II: 15) point out, Ehrlich's explanation of πᾱνός as **pawes-nó-s* is unlikely; although possible in theory, the isolated πᾱνός[1] is a very shake basis for the reconstruction of an *es*-stem, co-existing with the well-attested Indo-European *r/n*-neuter, signifying 'fire', cf. Hitt. nom.-acc. sg. *paḫḫur*, gen. sg. *paḫḫuenaš* as well as the remodelled Toch. A *por*, gen. sg. *poris*, B *puwar*, gen. sg. *pwārntse*, Gk. πῦρ, gen. sg. πυρός Arm. *hur*, Umbr. *pir*, OIcel. *fúrr* and Goth. *fon*, gen. sg. *funins*, OPruss. *panno*[2]. Yet πᾱνός can be explained as a substantivized adjective *παϝενό-ς > **ph₂wenó-s* 'fiery' which is formed by thematization of IE **ph₂wen-*; on this formation of adjectives in Greek see Risch (1974: 13) and cf. the substantivized Gk. ἐλλός 'young deer, fawn' < *ἐλνός '(: **h₁el-en-*, cf. OBg. *jelenъ* 'stag'), ὕδρος 'water-snake' (: ὕδωρ 'water'), πέλεκκον, πέλεκκος 'axe-handle' (: πέλεκυς 'axe'). Τροίζηνος (: Τροίζην), etc. IE **ph₂wen-*, seen in πᾱνός, is the old oblique stem of the 'proterokinetic' *r/n*-neuter IE nom.-acc. sg. **peh₂wr̥* (> Hitt. *paḫḫur*, Toch. A *por*), gen. sg. **ph₂wen-s*, loc. sg. **ph₂wen*, etc. (cf. Schindler 1975: 10); this oblique stem is reshaped in Hitt. gen. sg. *paḫḫuenaš*, dat.-loc. sg. *paḫḫueni* (with full-grade radical vocalism, taken over from the strong cases)[3] as well as in Goth. *fon* and OPruss. *panno*.

The phonetic development of **ph₂wenó-s* into *παϝενό-ς and, hence, into Attic πᾱνός (with loss of the digamma and contraction of *-αε- into Attic -ᾱ-) is regular; the Indo-European interconsonantal **-h₂-* yields -α- in Greek, cf. for instance the thematic aorist 3rd sg. φάε Od. 14.502 (φάε δέ χρυσόθρονος Ἠώς) which comes from IE **bʰh₂w-e-t.* It is significant in this respect that — outside the radical *ᾰ̈-vocalism, seen in πᾱνός (< *παϝενό-ς) — the available data do not furnish other unambiguous evidence for the colour of the laryngeal, continued by

[1] Cypriote παϝιω 'I burn' explained by Ehrlich as **pawes-yō*, does not exist, see Frisk (1960—1972 II: 464) and Chantraine (1968—1980: 850) w. refs.

[2] According to Fick (1869: 16), πᾱνός is related to Goth. *fon* and OPruss. *panno;* he assumed, however, that these forms are derived from an Indo-European root in long vowel. Johannes Schmidt (1883: 16), who accepts Fick's suggestion about Goth. *fon* and OPruss. *panno* (as if from IE **pō̆-* or **pā̆-*), separates πᾱνός from these forms sinse ᾱ changes into η in Attic.

[3] IE **ph₂wen-* would yield Hitt. **p(u)wen-*; in this position, the Indo-European *a*-colouring laryngeal would regularly be lost in Hittite, cf. Melchert (1994: 68—70).

the *-ḫḫ-* of Hitt. *paḫḫur, paḫḫuenaš*. True, K u r y ł o w i c z (1927: 102) already derived Hitt. *paḫḫur* from IE **peh$_2$wr̥*, but compared this Hittite noun with Cypr. παFιω 'I burn' which does not exist, and with Goth. *fon* which is unreliable as evidence for the identification of the laryngeal. L i n d e m a n (1970: 60; 1987: 64—65) and B e e k e s (1988: 84) are more cautious and assume that the *-ḫḫ-* of *paḫḫur, paḫḫuenaš* can reflect either IE **-h$_2$-* or IE **-h$_3$-*;[4] note Cun. Luw. *šalḫitti-* 'growth' (: Gk. ὄλοός, Lat. *salvus*) and Hitt. *šarḫiya-* 'losschlagen, überfallen' (: Gk. ῥώομαι 'move with speed or violence', ῥώμη 'bodily strength, might, force') which indicate that Hitt. and Luw. *ḫ* can reflect not only IE **h$_2$*, but also IE **h$_3$* in certain phonetic environments in the middle of the word.[5] In fact, Attic πᾱνός is now the only form which justifies the reconstruction of the *a*-colouring laryngeal in IE **peh$_2$wr̥, *ph$_2$wen-s.*

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[4] Hitt. *ḫ* cannot continue IE **h$_1$*, which is regularly lost in Anatolian, see K u r y ł o w i c z (1927: 104) and M e l c h e r t (1994: 65) w. refs. As W i n t e r (1965: 192—193, points out, OFris., OSax. and OHG *fiur* can be explained as innovations.

[5] See R i k o v (1995: 185—190; 2000 fthc.). For another viewpoint about the development of the non-initial **h$_3$* in Anatolian see M e l c h e r t (1994: 72—74).

V. MISCELLANEA

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Г. Т. Риков*

ЭТИМОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ЗАМЕТКИ

1. Др.-инд. *lā-* 'брать, схватывать', лув. *la-* 'брать'

Этимология др.-инд. *la-* (3 л. ед. ч. наст. вр. *lāti*) 'брать, схватывать' до сих пор остается неудовлетворительной. Рену предположил связь с др.-инд. *rā-* (3 л. ед. ч. наст. вр. *rāti*) 'давать', приведя в качестве семантической параллели др.-инд. *dā́-* 'давать': *ā́-dā* 'брать, взять' [1]. Эта параллель представляется ошибочной, так как семантическая оппозиция др.-инд. *dā-* 'давать': *ā́-dā-* 'брать, взять' обусловливается противопоставлением форм активного и среднего залога. Формы со значением 'брать, взять' всегда в среднем залоге; их первоначальное значение, как подчеркнул еще Грассман, было 'давать себе' (> 'брать, взять, получать' [2]). Единственным и, надо сказать, мнимым исключением являются активные формы древнеиндийского аориста *ā́-da-* (ед. ч. 1 л. *ā́dam*, 2 л. *ā́das*, 3 л. *ā́dat*), которые Вакернагель уже объяснил как возникшие на основе 3 л. ед. ч. *ā́-dat* < **ā́-dạ* (с нулевым вокализмом корня и с ведической вторичной флексией для 3 л. ед. ч. среднего залога *-a*) + *-t* (вторичная флексия 3 л. ед. ч. актива) [3].

Допущение, что *lāti* — форма, современная по отношению к древнеиндийскому *lábhate* 'берет' (Mayrhofer 19, 99), также не бесспорно. Так как *lā́ti* встречается впервые в *Dhātupāṭha*, Барроу с полным основанием сомневается в правильности этой гипотезы [4].

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Мне кажется, что возможность более предпочтительного объяснения др.-инд. *lāti* открывается при сравнении этого древнеиндийского глагола с лув. *la-* (ср. 3 л. ед. ч. прош. вр. *la-(a)-at-ta*, *la-a-ad-da*), с редупликацией *lala-* (ср. 3 л. мн. ч. наст. вр. *la-(a)-la-an-ti*, 3 л. ед. ч. прош. вр. *la-(a)-la-at-ta*) [5]. Возможно, др.-инд. *lā-* и лув. *la-* — формы с различным индоевропейским вокализмом. Если исходной формой является и.-е. $*leH_1$- [6], лув. *la-* имеет, как и хеттские глаголы *hi*-спряжения, *o*-вокализм корня.

Следует отметить, что лув. *la-* 'брать' до сих пор не имеет надежной этимологии. Сравнение с хетт. *da-*, иер. лув. *ta-* 'брать' и гипотеза о фонетическом чередовании *d* : *l* в этом случае [7] не представляются вполне убедительными. В хеттолувийских языках раннего периода чередование *d* : *l* встречается преимущественно в словах неиндоевропейского происхождения; единственным бесспорным исключением является хетт. *laman* 'имя': иер. лув. *atiman-* 'имя'. Кажется, Кронассер не ошибался, предполагая, что это чередование появилось под влиянием преданатолийского субстрата [8]. Поэтому поиск других путей объяснения лув. *la-* представляется оправданным.

2. Индоиранское *yātu-* 'колдовство, волшебство'

Вед. *yātu-* 'колдовство, волшебство; колдун, призрачное существо, привидение' и авест. *yātu-* 'колдовство, волшебство; колдун' позволяют реконструировать общую индоиранскую форму **yātu-* со значением 'колдовство, волшебство', которая, по-видимому, является отглагольным существительным на *-tu-* [9].

Этимология индоиранского слова *yātu-* до сих пор остается неясной. Связь с др.-ирл. *áth* 'брод' и предположение о первоначальном значении 'брод' [10] представляется мало убедительной. Шмид считает, что **yātu-* можно объяснить в связи с др.-инд. *yā-* 'молить' [11]; эта этимология тоже является неудовлетворительной, так как в понимании примитивных людей магия является средством у п р а в л е н и я системой природных законов [12]. Кюйпер, допуская возможность иных объяснений, думает, что *yātú-* можно объяснить как производное из др.-инд. *yā-* 'вредить, повредить' [13].

Уже не раз отмечалось, что если в области фонетики и морфологии мы имеем возможности требовать последовательное соблюдение установленных закономерностей, то в области семантики этимология не имеет вполне надежного критерия истинности. Все же соображения, основанные на существовании семантических параллелей, являются до сих пор наилучшим аргументом этимологии в области семантики; таким образом, как и во всех случаях типологического сравнения, можно гарантировать определенную степень вероятности и исключить субъективность авторских представлений. Поэтому, ввиду таких случаев, как, например, др.-инд. *kŕtya* 'дело, действие, волшебство': с.-хорв. *čara* 'чары, колдовство', словен. *čára* 'чары, колдовство; колдунья', др.-рус. *чара* 'колдовство', которые являются производными от и.-е. $*k^{w}er$- 'делать', (др.-инд. вед. наст. вр. *karóti*, *krnóti* 'он делает', аорист *ákar* 'он сделал'; ср. и лит. *kerėti* 'околдовывать, завораживать'), и ввиду большого числа сходных семантических параллелей в индоевропейских языках [14], представляется возможным объяснение индоиранского *yātu-* 'волшебство, колдовство' как производного на *-tu-* от того же индоевропейского глагола, который продолжается хетт. *iya-* (др.-хетт. 3 л. ед. ч. наст. вр. *i-e-iz-zi*, *i-e-zi*, мн. ч. *i-e-en-zi*, *ya-an-zi*, 3 л. ед. ч. прош. вр. *i-e-it*) 'делать' и тох. А *ya-* (2 л. ед. ч. наст. вр. *yat*, 3 л. ед. ч. наст. вр. *yas*) 'делать' [15].

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[1] *Wackernagel J., Debrunner A.* Altindische Grammatik. I: Introduction generale par Louis Renou. Göttingen, 1957, 121.

[2] *Grassmann H.* Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda. Leipzig, 1936, 587. Использование залоговых отношений для выражения семантических различий этого вида — известное явление в индоевропейских языках, ср. др.-гр. αἴνυναι 'беру, хватаю', тох. В мед. *ai-* (конъюнктив *aimar*, *aitär*, оптатив *ayiträ*) 'брать'; тох. В акт. *ai-* (наст. вр. *aiskau* и т. д., конъюнктив *āyu*, *aiymo*) 'давать'; др.-гр. δανείζομαι 'беру взаймы': δανείδω 'даю деньги в рост'; ἐγχερίζομαι 'принимаю на себя': ἐγχερίζω 'вручаю, передаю, отдаю'; см.: *Бенвенист Э.* Активный и средний залог в глаголе. — В кн.: *Бенвенист Э.* Общая лингвистика. М., 1974, 191; *Schmidt K. T.* Die Gebrauchaweisen des Medius im Tocharischen. Göttingen, 1969, 360.

[3] *Wackernagel J.* Kleine Beiträge zur indischen Wortkunde. — Festgabe Jacobi, Bonn, 1926, 15; *Debrunner A.* Vedisch *mā*. . .ísáta 'er soll nicht Macht haben'. — Die Sprache 1, 1949, 134; *Watkins C.* Indogermanische Grammatik. III, 1. Heidelberg, 1969, 99. Об этом способе образования активных форм см. также: *Wackernagel J.* Indisches und Italisches. — KZ 41 (1907), 305. и сл. Формы хеттского глагола *da-* 'брать' сложились, как и др.-инд. аорист *a-da-*, на основе форм медиального залога: 3 л. ед. ч. наст. вр. *dai* < **da*+**-ei* < $*dH_3$*-o*+**-ei*, где **-o* и **-ei* являются, следовательно, медиальной и активной флексией; 3 л. ед. ч. прош. вр. *das* < **da*+**-s* < $*dH_3$*-o-*+**-s* и т. д.; о вторичной флексии 3 л. ед. ч. *-s* см.: *Burrow T.* The Sanskrit Precative. — In: Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller. Leipzig. 1954; см. также: *Eichner H.* Die Vorgeschichte des hethitischen Verbalsystems. In: Flexion und Wortbildung. Akten der V. Fachtagung der indogermanischen Gessellschaft. Regensburg, 9—14 September 1973. Wiesbaden 1975, 94, где, однако, для объяснения хетт. *da-* предполагаются без оснований как существование приставки *ā* (=вед. *á*) и аугмента *a-*, так и деривация презентных форм из претеритальных в предыстории хеттского языка.

[4] *Burrow T.* Рец. на кн.: *Mayrhofer M.* Kurzefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, Lfg. 19—22. Heidelberg. — Kratylos 15, 1970 (1972), 55.

[5] О формах этого лувийского глагола см.: *Laroche E.* Dictionnaire de la langue louvite. Paris, 1969, 61. — 1 л. ед. ч. прош. вр. *la-a-ú-un* KUB VII 1 III 20′ и сл. является скорее всего лувийской формой в хеттском контексте (см.: *Oettinger N.* Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums. Nürnberg, 1979, 67). Словоформа 3 л. ед. ч. наст. вр. *la-i* может означать либо 'он берет', либо 'он оставляет' (ср. хетт. *la-* 'оставлять', алб. *lashë* (аорист к *lë* 'оставляю'); об этой хетто-албанской изоглоссе см.: *Иванов Вяч. Вс.* Архаизмы в глагольных флексиях древнебалканских и албанских языков. — В кн.: Balcanica. Лингвистические исследования. М., 1979, 64; *Oettinger N.* Op. cit., 501.

[6] И.-е. $*H_1$ исчезает в этой позиции в анатолийских языках; специально о хеттском см.: *Eichner H.* Die Etymologie von heth. *mehur*. — MSS XXXI, 1973, 54 и сл.

[7] *Laroche E.* Op. cit., 61; *Kronasser H.* Die Etymologie der Hethitischen Sprache I. Wiesbaden, 1966, 64.

[8] *Kronasser H.* Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre des Hethitischen. Heidelberg, 1956, 64.

[9] *Kuiper F. B. J.* Four Word Studies. — IIJ XV, 1973, 184; ср.: *Wackernagel J., Debrunner A.* Op. cit. II, 2. 665.

[10] *Havers W.* Zum Bedeutungsgehalt eines indogermanischen Suffixes. — Anthropos XLIX, 1954, 202.

[11] *Schmid W. P.* Vedisch imahe und Verwandtes. — IF LXII, 1956.

[12] *Фрэзер Дж. Дж.* Золотая ветвь. М., 1980, 20 и сл.

[13] *Kuiper F. B. J.* Op. cit., 184.

[14] См., например: Berneker I, 137; ЭССЯ 4, 22 (с литературой).

[15] Здесь, возможно, надо добавить фриг. αεζ (=*aes*) 'он делал' (?). См.: *Kronasser.* Op. cit., 181.

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Lithuanian *pažél* and Old Irish *galar*, Hittite *kallar*

GEORGI T. RIKOV

(Sofia)

Abstract

The Lithuanian adverb *pažél* 'vain, in vain, fruitless' points to an original *e*-vocalism of the Indo–European root. The double *ll* of the related Hittite *kallar* 'unfavourable' indicates that we are dealing with a *seṭ* root. Then, OIr. *galar* 'sickness, disease, physical pain' goes back to IE. *$ǵ^{h}l̥h_2ero$- and Hitt. *kallar* can continue either IE. *$ǵ^{h}olh_2$-r̥ or IE. *$ǵ^{h}elh_2$-r̥. The Germanic, Slavic and most of the Baltic forms can continue either a *seṭ* root or an *aniṭ* one.

Pedersen compared the Hittite neuter noun in *-r kallar* 'unfavourable'[1] ("trotz der Schwierigkeit des doppelten *l* ") with OIr. *galar* nt. 'sickness, disease, physical pain'[2] which is possibly related to OIcel. *galli* m. 'Schaden, Fehler', Lith. *žalà* 'Schaden, Leid, Verletzung', *žclingas* 'bösartig (von Wunden), schädlich' and Ukr. *zólok* 'die schmerzhafte Stelle einer Wunde', Russ. *nazóla* 'Gram, Kummer, Ärger'; all these forms are given by Pokorny under *$ǵ^{h}al$-[3].

Even if we restrict our analysis only to these forms, the reconstruction of a preform *$ǵ^{h}al$- offers a serious difficulty. Thus, if we assume that Indo–European had a phoneme **a* (beside **e* and **o*), the double *ll* of Hitt. *kallar* in this case remains unexplained; IE. *$ǵ^{h}al$-r̥ presupposes a single *l* in the expected Hittite word. Similarly, the supposed *$ǵ^{h}al$- cannot be justified by the laryngeal theory; the interpretation of the radical *a* either as a result of IE. *h_2 between consonants or as a result of IE. *h_2e does not solve the problem of the double *l* in Hitt. *kallar*.

At this point the evidence of the Lithuanian adverb *pažél* 'umsonst, vergeblich, fruchtlos' is decisive. As Fraenkel pointed out, this Lithuanian adverb is related to Lith. *žalà*, etc.[4]; it is clear that the radical *e*-vocalism of Lith. *pažél* cannot be reconciled with that of the supposed IE. *$ǵ^{h}al$-[5].

If so, the Old Irish noun *galar* (< Celtic **galaro*-), on the basis of which was assumed the *a*-vocalism of the Indo–European root, can be traced back to IE. *$ǵ^{h}l̥h_2ero$-. The development of the Indo-European sequence *$CR̥h_2e$*- into Celtic *CaRa*- is well known, cf. OIr. *talam* 'earth', which, according to Hamp, continues IE. *$tl̥h_2e$-mon-[6] as well as OIr. *tan(a)e* 'thin' (< IE. *$tn̥h_2ewyo$-) and Corn. *tanow* (which matches Gk. τανα(ός 'outstretched, tall, taper' < IE. *$tn̥h_2ewo$-)[7]. The formation of OIr. *galar* is paralleled by that of Gk. πτέρον 'feather, wing', which, in view of Skt. *pátram* 'wing, feather', Lat. *accipiter* 'hawk', etc., can be explained by the generalization of the stem of the weak cases throughout the paradigm; then, the Indo–European nom.–acc. sg. nt. of the original noun in **-r* can be reconstructed either as *$ǵ^{h}olh_2$-r̥ or *$ǵ^{h}elh_2$-r̥.

In fact, the original paradigm of this noun in **-r* can be continued by the Hittite nom.-acc. sg. nt. *gallar* (with gloss-wedge in ABoT 56 III 13; yet Laroche interprets it as a Hittite word[8]), nom. acc. pl. nt. *kallar* and instr. sg. *kallarit*[9]. Thus, the nom.-acc. sg. nt. *gal-la-ar* can reflect either IE. *$ǵ^{h}olh_2$-r̥ or IE. *$ǵ^{h}elh_2$-r̥ and the plural *kal–la–ar* points to

[1]The use of Hitt. *kallar* as an adjective is paralleled by that of Hitt. *kurur* nt. which signifies not only 'enmity', but also 'inimical' (and 'enemy'). Similarly, Greek also uses old neuter nouns in *-αρ* as adjectives, see Schwyzer (1939:519).

[2]Pedersen (1938:46).

[3]Pokorny (1959:411).

[4]Fraenkel (1962:560)

[5]If Latv. *zalba* and *zęlba* are, as Fraenkel (1962:560) gives them, genuine Latvian words, Latv. dial. *zęlba* 'Schaden, Körperverletzung' (Drusti) may represent an original *e*-vocalism of the root, whereas the Latgalian *zàlba* 'id.' (Saikava, Jaungulbene, Lizums, etc.), 'a wound' (Pilda), etc. can be explained by the dialectal development of *e* into *a*. The possibility that the Latvian noun in *-ba* can be borrowed from Russian is mentioned by Endzelin (1911:66).

[6]Hamp (1983:91).

[7]Beekes (1976:9-12).

[8]Laroche (1959:53).

[9]The Hittite acc. sg. c. *kallaran* represents a transfer into the Hittite *a*-stems; cf. as parallels Gk. πτέρον, OIr. *galar*, etc.

IE. **ǵelh₂-ōr*; the pair **ǵʰolh₂-r̥* : **ǵʰelh₂-ōr* would represent a well–known Indo–European apophonic pattern. Since the Hittite writing allows different interpretations, a definite solution to the case of the instrumental singular *kallarit* is difficult; yet it is possible that *kallarit* is formed from the weak stem **ǵʰl̥h₂er-*. Now the double *l* of Hitt. *kallar* can be explained as a regular result of the development of IE. *Rhₓ* before vocalic sounds into Hitt. *RR*; cf. for instance Hitt. *tarra-* 'be able' (e.g. 3rd sg. pres. middle *tarratta*) : Hitt. *tarḫ-* 'to overcome, be capable' (e.g. 3rd sg. pres. act. *tarḫzi-*), Skt. *tiráti-, turáti-* 'crosses over, passes over, overcomes' (< IE. *tr̥h₂e-ti*), verbal adjectives *tīrṇá-* (< IE. **tr̥h₂-nó-*) and *tūrtá-* (< IE. **tr̥h₂-tó-*), etc.; Hitt. *kalleš-* 'to call, invite' (e.g. 3rd sg. pret. act. *kallišta* < IE. *klḫ₁es-t*) : Gk. *καλέω* 'I call, summon, invite', etc.

The Germanic, Slavic and most of the Baltic forms can continue either a *seṭ* root or an *aniṭ* one.

OIcel. *galli* m. 'Schaden, Fehler' and ODan. *galle* m. 'Fehler, Schaden, Schmerz' are nominative singular forms of an abstract noun in *-an-*. The *ll* of Gmc. **gallan-* can reflect IE. **-ln-* as well as IE. **-lh₂n-*. In view of the *seṭ* root, represented by OIr. *galar* and Hitt. *kallar*, I would prefer the latter possibility; then, Gmc. **gallan-* is probably a derivative in *-an-* from Gmc. **galla-* < IE. **ǵʰolh₂-no-*.

Lith. *pažél* (the intonation of which is due to the loss of a final non-accented vowel), *žalà* (OLith. *žalá*), *žalingas* (OLith. *žalingas*, *žaliŋgas*, *žaliĵgas*), *žaliti* 'schaden', *žaloti'* 'beschädigen', Ukr. dial. *zólok*, Russ. dial. *nazóla*, etc. can represent the regular loss of the laryngeal after the consonantal *l* and before vowels. If Latv. *zalba* and *zęlba* are genuine Latvian words, the Latgalian *zàlba* is ambiguous because its *àl²* can continue either *àl* or *āl*, but the Middle Latvian *zęlba* suggests that we are dealing with an *aniṭ* root.

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Georgi T. Rikov

Sofia University "Kliment Ochridski"
Dept. of General & Indo-European Linguistics
Car Osvoboditel 15
BG-1000 S o f i a

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Miscellanea

The Vedic instrumental singular forms *dānā́* and *drāghmā́, raśmā́*

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

1. According to Wackernagel and Debrunner (1929—1930:268), the Sanskrit instrumental singular forms to the *man*-stems such as *áśmanā* (:*áśman-* 'stone') and *mahimnā́* (: *mahimán-* 'greatness') are innovations, whereas the forms in *-nā* and *-mā* represent different simplifications of the original sequence */mn/* (either into *n* or *m*) and continue the Indo-European preforms[1]: "Altertümlich scheinen einzelne v. Beispiele des ISg. von *-man-* zu sein, in denen zu *-mā* oder (durch dissimilatorischen Schwund des *-m-* gegen anlautenden Labial) zu *-nā* vereinfacht ist: *-m-* nur in *drāghmā́* RV. 10, 70, 4[b] von **drāghmán-*=VS. *drāghimán-* "Länge" und in *raśmā́* 6, 67, 1[c] von **raśmán-* "Zügel" (in v. *a-raśmán-* und *sthā-raśman-*); . . .*-n-* häufig in v. *mahinā́* von *mahimán-* 'Macht, Fülle' (das regelmässige *mahimnā* v. dreimal; AV. und später nur noch *mahimnā́*"[2].

This explanation is contradicted by Ved. *dānā́* 'generously'. In view of the absence of an initial labial in *dānā́*, we must expect that the original sequence */mn/* in this case would be simplified into *m*, as in *drāghmā́* and *raśmā́*. Therefore, although Oldenberg (1909:290—291) convincingly explains Ved. *dānā́* (RV. V 52, 14, 15; 87, 2; VIII 20, 14; 33, 8) as an instrumental singular form to *dāman-* 'act of giving, gift', Wackernagel and Debrunner (1929—1930:269) doubt the connection of *dānā́* and *dāman-* in view of the phonetics: "Ob auch v. *danā́* "freigebig" zu *dāman-* zu stellen ist. . . , bleibt wegen der Abwesenheit eines dissimilierenden Anlautslabials unsicher. . ."[3]

[1] There are four different formations of the Vedic instrumental singular to the *man*-stems (on the data see Macdonell 1910:208):

(1) *áśmanā (: áśman-* 'stone'*), bhásmanā (:bhásman-* 'chewing'), *kármanā (: kárman-* 'deed'); *jánmanā (: jánman-* 'birth' beside *janiman-* 'id.'), etc.;

(2) *mahimnā́* (: *mahimán-* 'greatness'), *dā́mnā* AV. (: *dāman-* 'tie'), *dhā́mnā* (: *dhāman-* 'abode'), *varimṇā́- (: variman-* 'width'), *lómnā (: lóman-* 'hair'), etc.;

(3) *prathinā́ (: prathimán-* 'breadth'), *prenā́ (: premán-* 'love', cf. also *premnā́* TS.), *bhūnā́ (: bhūman-* 'abundance', cf. also *bhūmánā), mahinā́ (: mahimán-* 'greatness', cf. also *mahimnā* above) and *varinā́ (: varimán-* 'width', cf. also *varimnā* above). Ved. *dānā́* 'generously' (: *dāman-* 'act of giving, gift') is often added to these forms;

(4) *drāghmā́* (cf. nom. sg. masc. *drāghimā* 'length' VS. XVIII, 4) and *raśmā́* (cf. *a-raśmán-* 'ohne Zügel' and *sthā-raśman-* 'mit festen Zügeln').

[2] This explanation is almost commonly accepted, cf. for instance Brugmann (1906:234 and fn. 1), according to whom the Sanskrit instrumental singular forms *bhūnā́* and *raśmā́* are simplified from **bhūmnā́* and **raśmnā́* respectively and can be explained by different treatments of **-mn-:" *m* schwand, wenn das Wort mit einem Labial anfang (Dissimilation), sonst schwand *n*. . .". A survey of the different theories is given by Wackernagel and Debrunner (1929—1930:269); see also fn. 5 and 6.

[3] Yet if we accept the convincing connection of Ved. *dānám* with Lat. *dōnum* 'present, gift', etc. (see Mayrhofer 1956—1980 II : 32—33), the Vedic instrumental singular *dānā́* must be separated from *dāman-* 'act of giving; gift' (see Mayrhofer, *ibidem*, p. 34). According to Burrow (1955:127), Ved. instr. sg. *dānā́* implies a nom. sg. **dār* 'gift', but this seems less probable, see Mayrhofer, *ibidem*, p. 34, — For a different explanation of *dānám* and *danā́* see below, §2.3.

1. Vedic *ádanam*, Greek ἐδανόν : Ved. *ádman-*

2.1. In fact, the explanation of the Vedic instrumental singular forms *prathinā́, preṇā́, bhūnā́, mahinā́, variṇā́* and *drāghmā́, raśmā́* as results of different simplifications is based on the opinion that **-m-* in the zero-grade **-mn-* of the Indo-European suffix **-men-* was always consonantal; cf. for instance Schindler (1977:57), who exemplifies the original consonantal nature of **-m-* in the suffix **-men-/*-mn-* by the Vedic gen. sg. *áśnas* (: *áśman-* 'stone'). According to Mayrhofer (1986:159), the development, represented by forms such as YAv. *zaēna* 'during the winter' (<**zaimnā*) is regular, whereas the appearance of the syllabic **m̥* in Ved. *hāyaná-* year' and YAv. *zaiiana-* 'winterly, winter-time' < IE **g^{h}ēym̥no* is conditioned by the "Struktur der Dehnstufe".

2.2. Hirt (1905:388—389) juxtaposes, however, a number of Sanskrit nouns in *-ana-* and Greek ones in -ανος with nouns in **-men-* and derives this group of Sanskrit nouns in *-ana-* and Greek in -ανος from Indo-European preforms in **-m̥no-*. The data are instructive and undoubtedly lead to the conclusion that the **-m-* of the suffixal **-mn-* in the Indo-European sequence */CmnV/* is represented by its syllabic allophone **-m̥-*;

Ved. *ádanam* 'act of eating, food' (RV. VI 59, 3), Gk. ἐδανόν 'food' (Aesch. Ag. 1407) : Ved. *ádman-* 'eating, meal' (RV. I 58, 2) < IE **h$_1$edm̥no- : *h$_1$edmen-*;

Ved. *áyanam* 'walking, road, path' (RV.) : *éman-* 'course, way' (RV.) < IE **h$_1$eym̥no- : *h$_1$eymen-*;

Ved. *káranam* 'act, deed' (RV.), 'act of making, doing, effecting' (ŚBr., etc.) : *kárman-* 'act, action, performance, business' (RV., etc.) < IE **k^{w}erm̥no- : *k^{w}ermen-*;

Ved. vásanam 'cloth, clothes, dress, garment', Gk. Hom. ἑανός 'fine robe, sail', Myc. *we-ha-no* 'garment' : Ved. *vásman-* 'cover, garment' (RV. IV 13, 4) < IE **wesm̥no- : *wesmen-*, cf. also Gk. εἷμα, -ατος (freguently in Hom. in pl.) 'garment', Lesb. ἕμμα 'id.', Cret. Fέμμα 'id.' with -ματ- < **-mn̥t-*;

Ved. *sádanam* 'seat, dwelling, residence, house, home' : *sádman-* 'seat, abode, dwelling, home, place (esp. of sacrifice), temple' < IE **sedm̥no- : *sedmen-*, etc.

2. Vedic *dānám : dāman-* and the instrumental singular *dānā́*

2.3. Chantraine (1933:196 ff.) and Schwyzer (1939:489—490) do not refer to Hirt's explanation of the Greek forms such as ἐδανόν and ἑανός. According to Debrunner (see Wackernagel and Debrunner 1954:260), however, there is a number of Sanskrit nouns in *-ana-* which can be derived from nouns in **-men-* (> Skt. *-man-*); moreover, he adduces not only *ádanam* (: *ádman-*), but also adds the pairs Ved. *dānā́-* 'act of giving' : *dāman-* 'act of giving, gift' and *yathāsthānám* 'je am gehörigen Platz' (SBr.) : *yathāsthāma-* 'id.' (AV. VII 67, 1). It is worthy of mention that he differs in this point from Hirt (1905:389), who notes: "Ging die Basis auf einen langen Vokal aus, so konnte das *m* natürlich nicht silbisch werden, und wir finden daher einfaches *n*, z. B. *dānam* 'das Geben' *dāman* „das Geben' . . .". Then, it seems that Rasmussen (1985:254; 1988:149—150), who also follows Hirt's interpretation of forms such as Ved. *vásanam*, Gk. ἑανός, Ved. *ádanam*, Gk. ἐδανόν, etc., rightly doubts Mayrhofer's analysis of Ved. *hāyaná-*, YAv. *zaiiana-* as a special case (cf. §2.1 above); moreover, he excellently derives Ved. *sthā́na-* from IE **steh$_2$m̥no-*.

Thus, we have a number of instances which guarrantee the syllabic **m̥* of the suffixal **-mn-* when it appears after laryngeals and before vowels (i.e., we are dealing with forms which represent the Indo-European sequence */h$_x$m̥nV/*:

Ved. *dhānam* „receptacle, case, seat' : *dhā́man-* 'dwelling- place, house, abode, domain' (RV., etc.) < IE **d^{h}eh$_1$m̥no- : *d^{h}eh$_1$men-*;

Ved. *sthā́nam* 'place of standung or staying, any place' (RV., etc.) : *sthāman-* 'station, seat, place' (AV.) < IE **steh$_2$m̥no- : *steh$_2$men-;*

Ved. *dā́nam* 'act of giving' (RV., etc.) : *dāman-* 'act of giving, gift' (RV.) < IE **deh$_3$m̥no- : *deh$_3$men-*.

Now we can return to the Vedic instrumental singular form *dāná́*.

In view of Ved. *dhānam, sthā́nam* and *dā́nam* which represent the regular development of the Indo-European sequence */h$_x$m̥nV/* in Sanskrit, Ved. *dāná́* can be derived from an Indo-European instrumental singular form **deh$_3$-m̥n-oh$_1$* (or **deh$_3$-m̥n-eh$_1$*)[4].

3. The Vedic instrumental singular forms of the type of *mahimná́* and *mahiná́*

3. In view of the above discussion, there is no reason for assuming that the Vedic instrumental singural forms *prathiná́* (; *prathimán-* 'breadth'), *preṇá́* (:*premáṇ- 'love'), bhūná́* (: *bhūman-* 'abundance'), *mahiná* (: *mahiman-* 'greatness') and *variṇá́* (: *varimán-* 'width') continue IE **pleth$_2$-m̥n-e/oh$_1$, *preh$_2$y-m̥n-e/oh$_1$, *b^{h}uh$_2$-m̥n-e/oh$_1$, *megh$_2$-m̥n-e/oh$_1$* and **werh$_x$-mn-e/oh$_1$* respectively; these Indo-European preforms would yield Indo-Iranian **prathanā, *prāyanā, *bhuvanā, *maźhanā* and **varanā*[5].

Such Indo-Iranian instrumental singular forms in **-anā* to the *man*-stems were completely ousted by analogical formations in *-man-ā* and *-mn-ā*, cf. e. g. the instrumental singular forms Ved. *áśmanā* and *mahimná́*, Av. *maēsmana* (: *maēsman-* 'urine') and *aomna* (: *aoman-* 'creature').

The relative chronology of the formation of the instrumental singular forms of the type of Vedic *mahimnā́, varimṇā́, dhā́mna* (: *dhā́man-* 'abode'), etc. is clear; formed along the line of other case forms to the *man*-stems, the forms of this type are posterior to the sound change of Indo-European **m* into Indo-Iranian **a*.

Then, if the Vedic instrumental singular forms *prathiná́, preṇá́, bhūná́, mahiná́* and *variṇá́* originally belong to the *man*-stems[6], they represent a simplification of earlier analogical forms in *-mn-ā* such as *mahimnā, varimnā*, etc., i.e., we are dealing with a simplification of *-mn-* into *-n-* which is inner-Indian and which is possibly conditioned by the initial labial of these forms. Yet the *-mn-* can be analogically restored at any time of the language; hence we have again *premṇá́* TS., *mahimnā́* (AV. and later), etc.

4. The Vedic instrumental singular forms *drāghmá́* and *raśmá́*

4. Similarly, Ved. *drāghmá́* (cf. *drāghiman-* 'length') and *raśmá́* (cf. *a-raśman-*'ohne Zügel' and *sthāraśman-* 'mit festen Zügeln') are hardly explanable from IE instr. sg. **dleh$_1$g^h-m̥n-e/oh$_1$* and **(h$_x$)reḱ-m̥n-e/oh$_1$* which, of course, would yield Ved. **drāghanā* and **raśanā* respectively. Moreover, if one accepts the hypothesis that the **-m-* in the Indo-European preforms was consonantal, the phonological conditions of the supposed simplification of IE **-mn-* into Ved. *-m-* in *drāghmá́* and *raśmá́* (cf. §1) remain unknoun.

In fact, Ved. *drāghmá́* and *raśmá́* can be directly derived from archaic Indo-European instrumental singular forms.

It is well known that the original ending of the Indo-European instrumental singular forms should be reconstructed as **-h$_1$*[7]. The final **-eh$_1$/-*oh$_1$* is originally inherent to the *o*-stems and it is secondarily spread to instrumental singular forms of the Indo-European consonant stems; at this point Ved. *dāná́*, if it is an instrumental singular to Ved. *dāman-* and continues IE **deh$_3$-m̥n-e/oh$_1$*, is undoubtedly an innovation.

Then, Ved. *drāghmá́* and *raśmá́* can be traced back to the Indo-European instrumental singular forms **dleh$_1$g^h-m̥-h$_1$* and **(h$_x$)reḱ-m̥-h$_1$* respectively.

The development of the Indo-European sequence */Cm̥h$_x$#/* into Vedic */Cmā#/* is regular; thus, IE */Cm̥h$_1$/* > Ved. */Cmā#/*, attested by Ved. *drāghmá́* and *rāśmá́*, is paralleled by IE */Cm̥h$_2$#/* > Ved. */Cmā#/*, attested by the nominative-accusative plural neuter forms to the *man*-stems Ved. *jánimā* and *janima* < IE **ǵenh$_1$-m̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *jániman-* 'generation, birth, origin'), Ved. *dhármā* and *dhárma* < IE **d^{h}er-m̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *dhárman-* 'support, prop'), Ved. *sádmā* and *sádma* < IE **sed-m̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *sádman-* 'seat, abode'), Ved. *mánma* < IE **men-m̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *manman-* 'thought'), Ved. *dhā́ma* < IE **d^{h}eh$_1$-m̥-h$_2$* (: Ved. *dhā́man-* 'abode'), etc.

If so, Ved. *drāghmá́* < IE **dleh$_1$g^{h}m̥-h$_1$* and Ved. *raśmá́* < IE **(h$_x$)reḱ-m̥-h$_1$* are residual instrumental forms in *-mā* < IE **-m̥-h$_1$*, retained in Vedic.

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[4] The final *-eh$_1$/ -oh$_1$* which is originally inherent to the instrumental singular forms to the Indo-European *o*-stems can be reconstructed on the basis of forms such as Skt. *paścā* 'behind', Av. *pasčā* 'id.' < IE *poskeh$_1$* (with palatalized *k* before a front vowel, see Brugmann 1911: 188), Goth. *þē* 'all the more', etc. vs. Skt. *vrka*, Av. *vəhrka*, Lith. *vilku* < IE *wlkoh$_1$* (: IE **wlko-* 'wolf'), etc.; this points to IE **-e-h$_1$/*-o-h$_1$* and implies that the Indo-European instrumental singular ending must be reconstructed as **-h$_1$*, cf. fn. 7 and see Kuryłowicz (1935: 136 fn. 2, 145), Beekes (1969:146—147). Then, in the case of Ved. *dāná́* < IE **deh$_3$m̥n-oh$_1$* (or *deh$_3$mn-eh$_1$*), the final **-eh$_1$/ -oh$_1$* is received from the instrumental singular forms to the Indo-European *o*-stems (cf. §4 and fn. 7).

In view of the syllabic *m* in cases such as IE **h$_1$edmno-* > Ved. *ádanam*, Gk. ἐδανόν; IE **wesmno-* > Ved. *vásanam*, Gk. ἑανός; IE **ǵ^{h}eymno-* > Ved. *hayaná-*, YAv. *zaiiana-*, etc. (see § 2.2), Rasmussen (1988:150) modifies the traditional explanation of cases such as Ved. *prathiná́, mahiná́*, etc. and *drāghmá́, raśma*. According to Rasmussen, *loc. cit.*, (1) IE **m* is syllabic only in the sequence */V̆CmnV/*, (2) IE **mn* is reduced into **n* in the sequence */CCmnV/* and (3) IE **mn* in the sequence */CCCmnV/* is reduced either into *n* or *m* "depending on the presence or absence of rounding somewhere in the root". Thus, according to Rasmussen, *loc. cit.*, we have */CCCmnV/* > */CCCnV/* in Ved. *prathiná́, mahiná́*, etc., but */CCCmnV/* > */CCCmV/* in Ved. *drāghmá́*. As for Ved. *raśma*, it is reconciled with this rule by the doubtful assumption that the Indo-European root was **(h$_x$)ryeḱ-*, hence full grade **(h$_x$)reḱ-*, zero grade **(h$_x$)riḱ* (Rasmussen, *loc. cit.)*. — The rules (2) and (3) are juxtaposed with the assumption that the Indo-European instrumental singular forms to the *men*-stems were formed with zero grade of both the root and the suffix; thus, Rasmussen, *ibidem*, p. 144, reconstructs IE nom. sg. **dleh$_1$g^h-mōn*, instr. sg. **dl̥h$_1$g^h-m-oh$_1$*, "in Vedic levelled to *drāghimā, . . .*instr. *drāghmá́*". In view of the available data, however, these is no reason for assumunig such an ablauting paradigm of the Indo-European nouns in **-men-*.

[6] According to Burrow (1955:127, 130), Ved. *prená́* represents a neuter *n*-stem, Ved. *bhūná́*, when taken together with *bhúvar* 'abundance', points to a neuter *r/n*-stem, whereas *prathiná́, mahiná* and *variná́* are interpreted as old neuter *in*-stems; these instrumental singular forms are secondarily attracted to the paradigm of the *man*-stems. This explanation can be refined by the interpretation of Ved. *prathiná* and *varinā́* as instrumental singular forms to old neuter *n*-stems; thus, we have Ved. *prathiná́* < IE instr. sg. **pleth$_2$-n-e/oh$_1$* and Ved. *varina* <IE instr. sg. **werh$_x$-n-e/oh$_1$*. Similarly, Ved. *mahiná* can be derived from IE **megh$_2$-n-e/oh$_1$*; in view of Ved. *máhar* 'greatness' (to which the instrumental singular form *mahnā́* is analogically built), we are dealing in this case with an old *r/n*-stem.

[7] The ending **-h$_1$* is well attested by instrumental singular forms to the *i-, u-* and *ā*-stems in the Indo-European languages. Thus, we have **-ī* < **-i-h$_1$* in the instrumental singular forms to the Indo-European feminine *i*-stems, cf. e. g. Ved. instr. sg. *cittī* (: *citti-* 'understanding'), *matī (: matí-* 'thought'), *vītī- (vītí-* 'enjoyment'), *śaktī (: śakti-* 'power'). Av. *čisti* (= Ved. *cittī*), etc., in OE *gieste* and OS *gasti* (: OE *giest,* OS *gast* masc. 'enemy, guest'), etc., in the Old Irish dative singular forms to the *i*-stems *fáith (: fáith* masc. 'prophet'), *súil* (: *súil* fem. 'eye'), *muir (: muir* nt. 'sea'), etc., cf. Thurneysen (1980:193). — Similarly, we have **-u* < **-u-h$_1$* in the Avestan instrumental singular forms to the *u*-stems, cf. e. g. Av. instr. sg. *vohū* and *vohu* <IE **h$_1$wesu-h$_1$* (see Hoffmann 1976:598—599 and fn. 13), *xratū (: xratu-* 'intention'), etc. as well as in the Old Irish dative singular forms to the *u*-stems, cf. e. g. Olr. dat. *mug (:mug* masc. 'servant'), *rind (: rind* nt. 'star'), etc., and cf. Thurneysen (1980:198). — The acute intonation of the Baltic final **-ắn* of the instrumental singular forms to the *ā*-stems (cf. instr. sg. West Lith. *rankà,* East Lith *runkù,* Latv. *rùoku :* nom. sg. Lith. *rankà* 'hand', etc. and see Stang (1966:199) requires the explanation of this final as IE **-eh$_2$-h$_1$ + *-m*. Since the final *-ā* of the Vedic instrumental singular forms to the *ā*-stems (cf. Ved. instr. sg. *jihvā́* 'with the tongue'' etc.) is never disyllabic, it can be derived from IE **-eh$_2$-h$_1$* (cf. Beekes 1969:146).

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On Lithuanian *galėti, galiù* and its congeners

GEORGI T. RIKOV

Sofia University

OIr. *gal* 'warlike ardour, fury, valour' can be derived from IE $*g^{(h)}lh_x$-eh_2 and W., Corn., MBr. *gallaf* 'I am able, can' continues a nasal infix present $*g^{(h)}lnh_x$-*e/o-*. Then, Lith. *galėti, galiù* 'to be able, can' is formed with **o*-vocalism of the root and can be derived from an active perfect. ORuss. *golomę* 'very, much' points to an underlying Slavic verb **golěti, *goljǫ* 'to be able, can'. OBg. *golěmъ* 'big' is formed by the suffix **-mъ* from an adverb **golě* (loc. sg. of an *ā*-stem **gola* < $*g^{(h)}olh_x$-eh_2). The *e*-vocalism of Lith. *gélbėti* 'to help' is in accord with the reconstruction of the Indo-European root as $*g^{(h)}elh_x$-.

1. The etymology of Lith. *galėti, galiù* 'können, imstande sein, vermögen' is well known. This Lithuanian stative verb is related to Slav. **golěmъ* 'groß, hoch, weit, breit' (cf. OBg. *golěmъ*, Bg. *goljám*, etc.), OIr. *gal* 'warlike ardour, fury, valour', W. *gallaf* 'I am able, have power, can', Corn. *gallaf* 'id.', MBr. *gallaf* 'id.', etc.[1]

According to Walde and Pokorny, these forms point to an Indo-European root **gal-* or $*g^hal$-.[2] Kuryłowicz (1956, 194) also adduced Lith. *galėti*, OBg. *golěmъ* and OIr. *gal* in his list of forms with *a*-vocalism of the root. Therefore, it is not surprising that Lith. *galėti, galiù* is lacking in Kuryłowicz' list, consisting of Baltic and Slavic stative verbs with **e-*, **o-*, zero and lengthened grade of the root.[3]

2. Since IE **o* and **a* merged in Slavic and Baltic,[4] the evidence for the *a*-vocalism of the underlying Indo-European root is restricted to the Celtic data. However, the Celtic evidence is ambiguous.

[1] See for instance Matzenauer (1880, 186), Berneker (1908–1913, 320), Walde and Pokorny (1927–1932, I, 539), Pokorny (1959, 155), Fraenkel (1962–1965, 131).

[2] Walde and Pokorny, *l.c.*, Pokorny, *l.c.* In view of the assumed *a*-vocalism of the Indo-European root, the connection of Lith. *gélbėti* 'to help' with *galėti*, etc. (see Fraenkel 1962–1965, 144) would be phonetically impossible (there is no ablaut *e* : *a* in Indo-European). Hirt (1900, 87) assumed that Lith. *gélbėti* is related to *glė́bti* 'to embrace', etc. (thus also Pokorny 1959, 359–60). From the point of view of the semantics, Hirt's etymology is less convincing. Moreover, Lith. *glė́bti* is formed with lengthened grade of the root (cf. Pol. *głobić* 'to fit together') as Lith. *-sė́kti* 'to cut, carve', *bė́gti* 'to run', etc.; then, Lith. *glė́bti* does not support Hirt's reconstruction of the Indo-European root as $*g^wel\bar{e}b$-. See also § 4.

[3] Kuryłowicz (1964, 82–83).

[4] The root vocalism of Lith. *gõlė* 'Macht, Kraft' is an innovation, cf. *mõlė* (: *málti* 'to grind'), etc.

In fact, the Old Irish *ā*-stem *gal* can be derived from IE *$*g^{(h)}\underset{\circ}{l}h_x$-$eh_2$-* which is formed with zero grade of the root, as other deverbative *ā*-stems (cf. Skt. *druhấ* 'injury' : *druh-* 'to hurt, seek to injure', etc.). The development of IE *$\underset{\circ}{R}h_xV$* into Celt. *aRV* is well known, cf. OIr. *tanae* 'thin' (< IE *$*t\underset{\circ}{n}h_2ewyo$-*), Corn. *tanow* 'id.' (< IE *$*t\underset{\circ}{n}h_2ewo$-*),[5] OIr. *gallar* 'sickness, disease' (< IE *$*g^h\underset{\circ}{l}h_2ero$-*), etc.

According to the traditional opinion, IE *$*\underset{\circ}{r}$* and *$*\underset{\circ}{l}$* before consonants changed into Celt. *ri* and *li* respectively. However, Hamp (1965, 226) points out that 'IE *$*\underset{\circ}{r}\ \underset{\circ}{l}\ \underset{\circ}{n}\ \underset{\circ}{m}$* seem to have developed *a* vocalism before old resonants and spirants (*s*)' and his theory has recently been elaborated by Bernardo Stempel (1987) and McCone (1991, 16–23). Although Bernardo Stempel (1987, 154) rewrites the Indo-European root as *$*g^{(h)}al$-*, she explains W., Corn. and MBr. *gallaf* as a nasal verb and derives this verb from *$*g^{(h)}\underset{\circ}{l}$-n-*. Then, we are dealing with a thematized nasal infix present *$*g^{(h)}\underset{\circ}{l}nh_x$-e/o-* (> W. *gallaf*, etc.) which is formed from the *set* root, seen in OIr. *gal*.

3. Now it is clear that Lith. *galėti*, *galiù* and Slav. **golěmъ* can be formed with **o*-vocalism of the root.

Thus, Lith. *galėti*, *galiù* is evidently a verb of the type of Lith. *garėti*, *gariù* 'to burn', OBg. *gorěti*, *gorjǫ* 'id.', *polěti*, *poljǫ* 'id.', *bolěti*, *boljǫ* 'to be ill', *bojati sę*, *bojǫ sę* 'to fear'. The stative verbs of this group are formed with **o*-vocalism of the root and this suggests that they represent remodelled active perfects.[6]

If ORuss. *golomę* 'very, much', Russ. dial. *gólomja*, *golómja* 'very, much', 'long ago' are deverbatives, they point to an underlying Slavic verb with **o*-vocalism of the root; in view of Lith. *galėti*, *galiù*, this Slavic verb can be reconstructed as **golěti*, **goljǫ* 'to be able'. Whereas Russ. dial. *golómja* continues Slav. **gȍl-mę* (< *$*g^{(h)}olh_x$-men*), *gólomja* is a secondary *anit* form, like Russ. *žereló* 'Öffnung, Schlund' (: Russ. *górlo* 'Kehle, Hals' < Slav. **gȍrdlo*), Skt. *jánman-* 'birth, origin' (: *janiman-* 'id.'), etc.[7]

Since the Baltic and Slavic passive participles in **-mo-* are formed from present stems,[8] the explanation of the Slavic adjective **golěmъ* (> OBg. *golěmъ*), etc. as an original passive participle in **-mъ*[9] is unacceptable. In fact, Slav. **golěmъ* is derived by the suffix **-mъ* (< **-mo-*) from an adverb **golě* which is originally the loc. sg. of an *ā*-stem **gola* (< *$*g^{(h)}olh_x$-eh_2*).[10] Similarly, as Kuiper (1933, 280) points out, Osc. *valaemom* 'optimum' continues an adjective in **-mo-* which is formed from an adverb **valai* (dat.-loc. sg. of an *ā*-stem *valā*).

4. The radical *e*-vocalism of Lith. *gélbėti*, *gélbu*, *gélbiu* (also 2nd sg. pres. *gélbsi*, 3rd sg. pres. *gélbti* and *gélbsti*) 'to help' is in accord with the reconstruction of the Indo-European root as *$*g^{(h)}elh_x$-*. The initial *g-* of Lith. *gélbėti* appears instead of the expected *ž-* along the line of **o*-grade forms such as Lith. *galėti* and *pagálba* 'help' (cf. also OPruss. *galbimai* 'we help', etc.). Lith. *gélbėti*, *pagálba*, etc. are formed with the suffix *-b-*, as Lith. *(pa)skélbti* 'verkündigen', *paskálba* 'Gerücht, Gerede, Gemunkel' (: OHG *skellan* 'erschallen, ertönen'), etc., see Fraenkel (1954, 384). The semantic development of 'be able' into 'help', seen in the case of Lith. *galėti* and *gélbėti*, is attested by OBg. *mošti*, *mogǫ* 'can' : *pomošti* 'to help', *pomoštь* 'help' (Fraenkel, *l.c.*).

[5] See Beekes (1976, 9–12).

[6] See Kuryłowicz (1964, 82) with references, Stang (1966, 321).

[7] The formation of secondary *anit* forms such as Skt. *jantu-* 'offspring, creature, being', *janman-*, etc., Slav. **golmę* (> Russ. *gólomja*), etc. can be explained by the fact that the underlying verbs Skt. *jánati* (< *$*ǵenh_1$-e/o-*), Slav. **golěti*, **goljǫ* (< *$*g^{(h)}olh_x$-*), etc. can be reinterpreted as representatives of *anit* roots. Cf. Rikov (1988, 124–25).

[8] Cf. Lith. *vẽdamas* (: *vedù* 'I lead'), OBg. *vedomъ* (: *vedǫ* 'lead'), Lith. *mýlimas* (: *mýliu* 'I love'), OBg. *ljubimъ* (: *ljubljǫ* 'I love'), *dvignomъ* (: *dvignǫ* 'I move'), etc.

[9] Cf. Brückner (1974, 149), Georgiev and others (1971, 262–63), Hamp (1973, 45).

[10] Similarly, the Slavic adjective in **-mъ* **prěmъ* (cf. OBg. *prěmo* ἐναντίον, εἰς, πρός, *prěmь* ὀρθῶς etc.) is formed from an adverb **prě* (< IE loc. sg. *$*preh_2$-i*). — It is significant in this respect that already Matzenauer (1880, 186), who connected OBg. *golěmъ*, etc. with Lith. *galėti*, *galiù* and the Celtic forms, compared the formation of the Slavic adjective not only with that of the Lithuanian pres. pass. participle *gãlimas* (: *galiù*), but also with the formation of Lith. *tólimas* 'distant'. True, his attempt to derive the finals Lith. *-imas* and OBg. *-ěmъ* from a single source is wrong.

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Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski
Dept. of General and Indo-European Linguistics
Tsar Osvoboditel 15
BG–1000 Sofia

Georgi T. Rikov

ACADEMIE DES SCIENCES DE BULGARIE
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Georgi T. Rikov (Sofia)

LATIN *CARINŌ, CARINĀRE* AND LATVIAN *KARINÂT*, OLD BULGARIAN *KORITI, UKORЪ*

According to O s t e n-S a c k e n (1907/1908:316–317), Lat. *carinàre* 'to use abortive language' corresponds to Latv. *karinât* 'necken, reizen' and points to an Indo-European root **kar-*, to which OBg. *ukorъ* 'boldness, daring', OIr. *caire* 'crime, fault, sin, blame' and Gk. *κάρνη ζημία* (Hsch.) can be traced back. Osten-Sacken's reconstruction is almost generally accepted, see for instance W a l d e and P o k o r n y (1927–1932 I:353), P o k o r n y (1959:530), V a i l l a n t (1974:83–84), etc., who also give the Indo-European root as **kar-*.

Yet S c h r i j v e r (1991:429), who rightly doubts the reconstruction of an Indo-European vowel **a*, derives OHG *harawen* 'verspotten', Latv. *karinât* and OBg. *ukorъ* from IE **kor-* and explains, with the exception of Lat. *carinō, carināre*, the rest of forms as zero-grade derivatives of this root. As for the Latin verb, Schrijver, loc. cit., assumes that it reflects IE **(s)ker-* and represents a change of IE **e* into Lat. *a* after pure velars.

However, Schrijver's **(s)ker-* seems also doubtful.

In fact, if Gk. *κάραννος*, glossed by Hesychius as *ζημία*, is related to the forms, given above[1], it should continue IE **kr̥h₂-es-no-* and clearly indicates that we are dealing with an underlying *seṭ* root, the laryngeal of which is the *a*-colouring one.

Now the formation of Gk. *κάρνη· ζημία* (Hsch.) can be clarified. Gk. *κάρνη* can be explained as a noun of the type of Gk. *κλίνη* 'couch, bed' and *πόρνη* 'harlot, prostitute' which are derived from the nasal infix presents *κλίνω* 'I make to bend, incline'[2] and *πορνα-* (cf. *πορνάμεν· πωλεῖν* and *πορνάμεναι· πωλούμεναι* Hsch.)[3] respectively. Then, Gk. *κάρνη* points to a nasal infix present **κάρνημι, *κάρναμεν*, the antiquity of which is assured by Toch. AB *kärn-* 'qualen, schlagen'. We can reconstruct an Indo-European nasal infix present 3rd sg. pres. act. **kr̥neh₁ti*, 3rd pl. pres. act. **kr̥nh₁enti* which is derived from the *seṭ* root **kerh₂-*, seen in Gk. *κάραννος* (< **kr̥h₂-es-no-*).

It is not difficult to explain the related forms in the other Indo-European languages as derivatives of this *seṭ* root.

According to L e u m a n n (1977:551), Lat. *carinō, carināre* is a denominative verb which, in view of the long *-ī-* in the participle *carīnant-* (Enn. ann. 563), is derived from a noun in *-iōn-/-īn-*. It is clear that this noun in *-iōn-/-īn-* can be formed from a primary verb **carō*, as Lat. *legiō, -ōnis* 'legion' (: *legō, legere* 'to collect, gather together'), *regiō, -ōnis* 'direction, line, boundary; region' (: *regō, regere* 'to guide, direct'), etc.[4] If so, the non-attested verb **carō* can continue **kr̥h₂-e/o-*.

The acute intonation of Lith. *įkìrti* 'anwidern, zum Überdruß werden' confirms the reconstruction of an Indo-European *seṭ* root **kerh₂-*. Whereas the present *įkyrù*, like the other Lithuanian nasal presents of this type[5], is a relatively recent formation, the *a*-preterite *įkiraũ* can be formed from an earlier thematic aorist **kr̥h₂-e/o-*; cf. Lith. *budó* (: pres.

buñda) and see Stang (1966:378–379). As Kuryłowicz (1964:118) points out, the thematic aorists of this type are „discarded imperfects"; then, Lat. **carō* and Lith. *įkiraũ* can be derived from a single preform.

Now it is clear that Lith. *ãtkaras* 'widerstreben, widerwillig', OBg, *ukorъ* and the denominative verbs OHG *harawen* 'verspotten', OE *hierwan* 'verachten', Latv. *karinât*, OBg. *koriti* are formed with *o*-grade of the root and represent IE **korh$_2$-*.

NOTES

[1] Cf. Frisk (1960–1972 I:790), Chantraine (1968–1980:499).
[2] See Chantraine (1933:192).
[3] Cf. Persson (1912:688). In fact, Persson's explanation is evidently better than the assumption that we are dealing with an unmotivated loss of the laryngeal after the radical *o*-grade.
[4] On the formation of the Latin nouns in *-iōn-/-i̯ōn-* see Leumann (1977:365–366).
[5] Cf. Stang (1966:338).

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Georgi T. Rikov

Lithuanian ráuti, *Old Bulgarian* ryti, *Latin* rūta caesa *and* rutus, -ūs, rutrum, rutellum

1. The intonations of Lith. *ráuti, ráuju* (*ráunu*) "to pull up, tear up" and Latv. *raût, raûju* (dial. *raûnu*) "to tear (out), pull out" as well as the long **-ū-* of OBg. *ryti, ryję* "to dig" (Euch.)[1], *rylo* "tool for digging, hoe" (Supr.)[2], OIcel. *rýja* "to pluck (wool of sheep)"[3] point to an Indo-European *seṭ* root **h$_x$rewh$_x$-/*h$_x$ruh$_x$-*[4], to which Lat. *rūtus* in *rūta caesa* "minerals and timber already quarried and felled" (Varro, etc.) is also traced back.

The related Tocharian AB *rwā-* "to pull up" (A inf. *rwātsi*, B verb. adj. I fem. pl. *ruwāllona*)[5] confirms the reconstruction of this Indo-European *seṭ* root. This Tocharian verb can be derived from PToch. **ruwā-* < **räwā-* which, together with Lith. *ráuti*, Latv. *raût*, must go back to IE **h$_x$rewh$_x$-*. For instance, Toch. AB *śwā-* "to eat" represents a similar development; as Lindeman (1987: 300) points out, it comes from PToch. **śuwā-* < **śāwā-* which continues IE **ǵyewh$_x$-*[6].

It is almost generally accepted that these *seṭ* forms are related to Skt. *rutá-* "smashed, broken, hurt" (RV., AV.), Lat. *ruō, ruere* "to churn or plough up, disturb violently (earth, etc.)" (Varro, etc.)[7], etc.; see for instance Walde and Hofmann (1938-1956 II: 453-454), Vasmer (1953-1958 II: 558), Pokorny (1959: 868), Fraenkel (1962-1965: 708-709) and Mayrhofer (1956-1980 III: 63). This implies a coexistence of *aniṭ* and *seṭ* forms in Indo-European, as it is already

[1] PSlav. **ryti, *ryję* which is well attested (also by derivatives) in the Slavic languages; cf. Vasmer (1953-1958 II: 558).
[2] PSlav. **rydlo*, cf. Vasmer (1953-1958 II: 555-556).
[3] OIcel. *rý* "rough wool coat", OS *rūwi* "rough hide", etc. are also derived from the Indo-European *seṭ* root, seen in Lith. *ráuti*, OBg. *ryti*; similarly, OIcel. *rǫgg, rǫggr* "long coarse wool" comes from PGmc. **rawwō*, the double **-ww-* of which continues IE **-wh$_x$-* (see Lehmann 1952: 42; 1986: 286).
[4] I accept that there are no Indo-European roots beginning with **r-*. For a possible identification of **h$_x$-* as **h$_3$-* in this case see below, fn. 20.
[5] For the etymology see van Windekens (1976: 408), who gives this Tocharian verb as AB *ru-* and derives it from **reu-* or **ru-*.
[6] Cf. also Toch. B *śwā-* "to rain", *kwā-* "to call", etc. which go back to Indo-European *seṭ* roots; see Lindeman (1987: 297-392).
[7] Cf. also Lat. *dīruō, dīruere, dīrutus* "to cause (a building, or sim.), to fall in ruin, demolish, pull down, wreck", *ēruō, ēruere* "to dig up, pluck out, to uproot, to tear out, to disturb (the ground) by digging", etc.

suggested by Pokorny, l.c., who gives these forms (with the exception of Toch. AB *rwā-*) under *reu-, reu̯-, rī̆-*[8].

2.1. According to Schrijver (1991: 24, 234), however, Lat. *rūtus*, OBg. *ryti*, Latv. *raũt*, etc. continue IE **h₁ruh₁-* which, signifying "to dig", must be distinguished from the *aniṭ* root, seen in Skt. *rutá-*, Lat. *ruō, ruere* "to churn, plough up", etc.; as Schrijver, l.c.c., assumes, the later forms are related to Gk. ὀρούω "to rush violently on or forward, to hasten, dart", Lat. *ruō, ruere* "to rush down, tumble, go to ruin, hasten" (cf. Pokorny 1959: 331-332) which go back to IE **h₃rew-/*h₃ru-*[9].

This hypothesis is evidently unconvincing; it is clear that *aniṭ* forms such as Lat. *rutus, -ūs* "digging" (Varro), *rutrum* "shovel" (Cato, Varro, etc.), *rutrāmen* "a portion of earth thrown up by the shovel (in mining)", *rutellum* "small shovel, scoop" (Lucil.), *rutābulum* "a long implement with a flattened end" (Cato, etc.) can hardly be separated from the *seṭ* forms Lat. *rūtus* (in *rūta caesa*), OBg. *ryti* "to dig", *rylo* "hoe", etc.

2.2. In order to explain forms such as Skt. *rutá-*, Lat. *rutus, -ūs*, etc., the reconstruction of an Indo-European *aniṭ* root **h₁rew-/*h₁ru-* beside the *seṭ* one **h₁rewh₁-/*h₁ruh₁-* is a possibility, which is in accord with the statement that all disyllabic roots are expanded from monosyllabic roots.

However, this is not the only possibility which can be taken into consideration. In fact, the reconstruction of the Indo-European disyllabic root **h₁rewh₁-/*h₁ruh₁-*, signifying "to tear, break; to dig"[10], is guaranteed by the Balto-Slavic, Germanic and Tocharian data; lat. *rūtus* confirms this. Although the loss of **-h₁-* in the second members of compounds (e.g. Lat. *dīrutus* and see Hirt 1900: 172) cannot account for all the attested *aniṭ* forms, a re-examination of the data would lead to the conclusion that these *aniṭ* forms can be explained as innovations, and cannot be used as evidence for an Indo-European monosyllabic root.

3. It is significant in this respect that the Sanskrit evidence for an *aniṭ* root *ru-* is scarce and uncertain.

In fact, the 2nd sg. impv. act. *rudhí* AV. XIX 29,3 stands instead of *rundhi* (: *runáddhi* "checks, restrains"), and the participle *róruvat-* RV. I 54,1.5 is

[8] Gk. ἐρυσι- (in the personal name Ἐρυσί-χθων), given by Pokorny, l.c., as a cognate to OBg. *ryti*, etc., is of different origin, see Frisk (1960-1972 I: 570-571), Chantraine (1968-1980: 376).

[9] On the identification of the initial laryngeal as **h₃-* see Beekes (1969: 38).

[10] As Persson (1912: 288) already pointed out, the meanings "reissen, raffen" and "graben" are closely connected: "Das Graben ist ein Aufreissen der Erde".

probably formed from *rī̆-* "to roar"; see Narten (1964: 224-225 w. refs.) and Mayrhofer (1956-1980 III: 63)[11].

Among the remaining Sanskrit forms, the past passive participle *rutá-* is the only form, which is clearly *aniṭ*. In spite of Narten (1964: 226), the 3rd sg. subj. act. *ravat* MS. KS. and *-rāvin-* (in *vaha-rāvin-* (vom Zugtier) "an der Tragstelle zerschunden" AB V 9,4.6[12]) can be explained (by the regular loss of IE **-h₁-* after consonantal **-w-* and before vowel) as representatives of an original *seṭ* root; if so, there is no reason for assuming a secondary *iṭ* in the agent noun *rávitar-* KS. MS.

The Indo-European disyllabic root, attested by Lith. *ráuti*. OBg. *ryti*, OIcel. *rýja* and Toch. AB *rwā-*, can now be seen in the *iṣ*-aorists 1st sg. inj. act. *rāviṣam* RV. X 86,5 and 3rd sg. inj. middle *rāviṣṭa* MS. KS. as well; these two injunctive forms represent the regular type of *iṣ*-aorists, formed from *seṭ* roots, cf. Ved. *akārīṣam* (: *kiráti* "pours out, spreads, throws", ppp. *kīrṇa-* B.), *acārīṣam* (: *cárati* "moves", ppp. *cīrṇa-* U.), *átārīt* (*atārīṣam* ŚB.: *tárati, tiráti* "crosses over, passes over, overcomes", ppp. *tīrṇa-*), *asāniṣam* (: *sanóti* "gains, obtains", ppp. *sātá-*), *asāviṣur* (: *suvāti* "sets in motion", ppp. *sutá-*)[13].

The isolated Sanskrit ppp. *rutá-* RV. AV. can now be explained as an inner-Indic innovation. In fact, the regular loss of **-h₁-* in **h₁rewh₁-e/o-* would lead to the reinterpretation of the resulting Skt. *rava-* as a representative of an *aniṭ* root; then Ved. *rutá-* can be formed to *rava-* (cf. Ved. *ravat*) as Ved. *srutá-* to *srava-* (cf. Ved. *srávati* "flows"), etc.[14]

Similar secondary *aniṭ* forms are well attested in Sanskrit. Thus, Ved. *vantar-* "Erlanger, Erwerber, Besitzer" appears beside the *seṭ* forms Ved. *vanitar-* "id." (cf. nom. sg. *vánitā* RV. III 13,3), *iṣ*-aor. subj. *vaniṣat* (: *van*[i]- "to demand, strive for, like", ppp. *-vāta-* "desired" (in *deva-vāta-*, etc.), which are derived from an Indo-European disyllabic root. Then *vantar-* can be formed from Ved. *vána-* (cf. 3rd sg. pres. middle *vánate*) which, reinterpreted as an *aniṭ* form, in fact represents the regular loss of **-h₁-* after the consonantal **-n-*

[11] Skt. *rudhí* and *róruvat-* are wrongly given as forms of *ru-* "to smash, break" in most of the etymological dictionaries, cf. for instance Walde and Hofmann (1938-1956 II: 453), Pokorny (1959: 868).

[12] On the interpretation of this compound see Hoffmann (1960: 33 fn. 24); cf. also Narten (1964: 225-226).

[13] On the formation of the Sanskrit *iṣ*-aorist see Narten (1964: 50 ff.). However, the explanation of Ved. *rāviṣam* as an analogical innovation (Narten (1964: 56) is beyond proof.

[14] Skt. *róman-* "hair", *lóman-* "id." can also be explained as secondary *aniṭ* forms of IE **h₁rewh₁-*. However, the related PSlav. **runo* "fleece" (> Russ. *runó*, etc.) and OIr. *rón* "horsehair" suggest that we are dealing with an old formation (cf. Vasmer 1953-1958 II: 548 w. refs.); then the loss of **-h₁-* in this formation can be explained by Saussure-Hirt's law, cf. the *o*-vocalism of the Slavic and Old Irish forms. The cognate Germanic forms, adduced above (fn. 3), clearly point to a disyllabic root. Cf. also fn. 17.

and before a vowel; cf. Beekes (1988: 63)[15]. Secondary *anit* forms are also the Vedic deverbative nouns *jánman-* "birth, origin" and *jantú-* "offspring, creature, being" which are derived from *jana-* "to give birth, be born" (< **ǵenh₁-e/o-*, cf. Ved. *janiman-* "birth, origin" < **ǵenh₁men-*), the *s*-aorists *atārṣma* (: *tárati*, cf. *átarīt*, *tīrṇá-*), *acārṣma* (*cárati*, cf. *acārīṣam*, *cīrṇa-*), etc. (see Rikov 1988: 124-125); probably *sūta-* B. (beside *sūtá-*, *suváti*) can also be added to these forms.

Since Skt. *rutá-* can be explained as an innovation, we are left with a root *rī-* (cf. *rāviṣam*, *ravitar-*, *ravat*) which confirms the Balto-Slavic, Germanic and Tocharian evidence for an Indo-European *set* root **h₁rewh₁-/*h₁ruh₁-*.

4. Trautmann (1923: 247) convincingly compares PSlav. **rъvǫ* (cf. ORuss. *rъvati*, *rъvu*, Russ. *rvat'*, *rvu* "to tear, pull out", etc., and the deverbative noun OBg. *rъvatva* Supr.) with Lat. *ruō*, *ruere* "to churn, plough up" (cf. *ruit* Lucr., *ruam* Hor., *ruebant* Lucr.). If so, PSlav. **rъvǫ* and Lat. *ruō*, *ruere* can directly continue an old *tud*-present **h₁ruh₁-e/o-* which is formed from the Indo-European *set* root **h₁rewh₁-/*h₁ruh₁-*, seen in OBg. *ryti* (<**h₁ruh₁-*), Lat. *rūtus* (<**h₁ruh₁-to-*), etc.[16]

There is no doubt that the Latin abstract noun in **-tu- rutus*, *-ūs* and the noun in **-tro- rutrum*, from which the diminutive *rutellum* (< **ruter-elo-* with syncope of **-e-* and subsequent assimilation of **-rl-* into *-ll-*) is formed, can be explained as regular derivatives of PIt. **ru-e/o-* (> Lat. *ruō*, *ruere*) which, with the loss of the intervocalic **-h₁-*, comes from **h₁ruh₁-e/o-*. Similarly, Lat. *rutābulum* can be formed from a denominative verb in *-āre* which presupposes an underlying participle **rutos*; this participle is also a secondary *anit* form, derived from PIt. **ru-e/o-* and corresponding to the independently formed Skt. *rutá-*. MIr. *rúam* "spade", *rúamar* "effossio" can also be explained as secondary *anit* forms[17].

In fact, such secondary *anit* forms may have been created independently and at different dates either in the dialectal period of Indo-European or in the history of Indo-European languages.

Thus, Latin attested forms such as *futūrus*, *futāre*, etc. which, in spite of Schrijver (1991: 240), can hardly be explained by laryngeal metathesis; as Bammesberger (1984: 133) points out, IE **-ə-* (= **-h₁-*) is regularly lost in the outcome of IE **bʰuh₁-e/o-* (seen, for instance, in 3rd pl. aor. act. **bʰuh₁-ent*), from which the participle **futos*, underlying *futūrus* and *futāre*, is formed.

[15] Beekes, l.c., also mentions the possibility that "the laryngeal was not vocalized in some forms of the paradigm"; this seems less possible.

[16] The possibility that Lat. *ruō*, *rucre* corresponds to PSlav. **rъvo* is already mentioned by Persson (1912: 292); Lat. *-ruō*, *-ruere* (in *dīruō*, *dīrucre*, *ēruō*, *ēruere*) can also continue IE **h₁rewh₁-e/o-*. However, the possibility that Lat. *ruō*, *ruere* is a decompounded verb is uncertain.

[17] Olr. *ron* "horsehair" and PSlav. **runo* "fleece" (: PSlav. **rъvati*, *rъvǫ*) can be added to these secondary *anit* forms; cf. however fn. 14.

Similarly, Gk. φυτός "grown, growing", φυτόν "plant, tree, fruit-tree", φύσις "nature, inborn quality, property" can be explained as derivatives of **pʰu-e/o-* which comes from IE **bʰuh₁-e/o-*. Lith. *būtas* "Wohnung", which can be explained in a similar way, must be added to these forms[18].

Lat. *carmen* "song" (dissimilated from **canmen*), *cantus*, *-ūs* "song, melody, poetry", iter. *cantāre*, ppp. *cantus* and OIr. *cétal* "song", W. *cathl* "id." are evidently based on Italic and Celtic **kan-e/o-* (cf. Lat. *canō*, *canere* "to sing", OIr. *canaid* "sings", W. *canu* "to sing"), which continue IE **kŋh₁-e/o-* (Rikov, forthcoming).

According to Schrijver (1991: 196, 219), Lat. *pars*, *partis* "part, lot, portion" is "modelled on the root **par-* of the present *pariō* < **prh₃-i-*".

Lat. *gēns*, *gentis* "clan, family, progeny, race, nation, people" continues **gen-ti-* which is derived from **gen-e/o-* (< IE **ǵenh₁-e/o-*, cf. Skt. *jánati*, *-te*), cf. Schrijver (1991: 330)[19]; cf. also Skt. *jánman-*, *jantú-* above. Similarly, Gk. γέντο, ἔγεντο "he became" is formed on the basis of a 3rd sg. middle **gen-o* which, by the regular loss of the laryngeal after a consonant and before a vowel, comes from IE **ǵenh₁-o* (beside **e-ǵenh₁-to* > Gk. ἐγένετο); see Bammesberger (1982: 27-31).

It seems that these examples are enough. They support the possibility that *anit* forms such as Skt. *rutá-*, Lat. *rutus*, *rutrum*, *rutellum*, *rutābulum*, OIr. *rúam* are of secondary origin. If so, we are dealing with an Indo-European *set* root **h₁rewh₁-/*h₁ruh₁-* "to tear, break; to dig".

In theory, this *set* root presupposes the existence of non-extended variants **h₁rew-/*h₁ru-* and **h₁er-/*h₁r-* in Proto-Indo-European. However, there is no reason to assume that the meanings of the three variants were identical[20].

[18] According to Bammesberger (1984: 133), "gelegentlich mag der analogisch bedingte Schwund von wurzelauslautendem *-ə-* bereits in voreinzelsprachlicher Zeit erfolgt sein".

[19] Cf. also Bammesberger, l.c.

[20] Reviving Persson's (1912: 284-292) hypothesis that Lith. *ráuti* "to pull up, tear up", OBg. *ryti* "to dig", Lat. *ruō*, *ruere* "to churn, plough up", etc. are related to Gk. ὀρούω "to rush on or forward, to dart", Lat. *ruō*, *ruere* "to rush down, tumble, go to ruin", etc. (cf. Pokorny 1959: 331-332), we can rewrite IE **h₁rewh₁-/*h₁ruh₁-* as **h₃rewh₁-/*h₃ruh₁-*; this *set* root, signifying "to tear, break; to dig", can be derived by a suffix **-h₁-* from IE **h₃rew-/*h₃ru-* "to move, stir" (cf. Gk. ὀρούω etc., the *new*-presents Skt. *ṛṇóti* "arises, moves", Gk. ὄρνῡμι "to stir (up)", etc.), which is formed by the suffix **-ew-/*-u-* from IE **h₃er-/*h₃r-* (cf. the aorists Skt. *ārta*, Gk. ὦρτο < IE **é-h₃r-to*).

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G. T. Rikov
(Sofia)

The Development of Indo-European **CN̥h$_x$V* in Latin

1. The normal reflex of the Indo-European sequence **CRh$_x$C*[1] is *CRāC* in Italic and Celtic, cf. Lat. *grānum* 'grain', OIr. *grán* 'id.' (< IE **gr̥h$_x$no-*, cf. also the acute intonation of SCr. *zȓno* 'grain' and Lith. *žìrnis* 'pea')[2].

It is also well known that IE **CR̥h$_x$V* yields *CaRV* in Celtic, cf. OIr. *ceiliog* 'cock' (< IE **k̑l̥h$_1$-i-*), W. *gwaladr* 'ruler' (< IE **wl̥h$_2$-etro-*) and OIr. *tanae* 'thin' (< IE **tn̥h$_2$-ew-yo-*), Corn. *tanow* 'id.' (< IE **tn̥h$_2$-ew-o-*, *seen* in Gk. ταναός 'tall, tapfer' as well).

The development of IE **CL̥h$_x$V* in Latin (and Italic) is identical with that in Celtic, cf. Lat. *carō* 'meat', Umbr. *karu* 'piece' (< IE **(s)krh$_2$-ōn*), Lat. *valēre* 'to be strong, well' (< IE **wl̥h$_2$-eh$_1$-*, cf. also W. *gwaladr*)[3].

As for the development of IE **CN̥h$_x$V* in Latin, however, there are two possibilities which can be taken into consideration[4].

According to Hirt (1900:18), IE **C$_e$mV* and **C$_e$nV* change into Lat. *CamV* and *CanV* respectively (e. g. Lat. *manēre* 'to stay'); this opinion is shared by Meillet (1908:34–35)[5], Güntert (1916:34–35), Kieckers (1930:39–41), and by Peters (1980:188 fn. 143), who assumes (in the terms of the laryngeal theory) that IE **Cm̥h$_x$V* and **Cn̥h$_x$V* give Lat. *CamV* and *CanV*.

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[1] The symbols, used in this paper, are as follows: *V* = vowel; *R* = resonant (*L* = *r*, *l*; *N* = *m*, *n*); C = consonant (*T* = stop); *h$_x$* = laryngeal (*h$_1$* = non-colouring laryngeal; *h$_2$* and *h$_3$* = *a*- and *o*-colouring laryngeal respectively).

[2] According to Kurylowicz (1956:174ff.), the *Ra* (instead of the expected *Rā*) in cases such as Lat. *glaber* 'sooth', etc. can be explained as morphological zero grade. According to Schrijver (1991:191), IE **R̥h$_x$* before *TC* regularly yields Lat. *Ra*.

[3] On these laryngeal developments see Schrijver (1991:172–222) w. refs.

[4] Cf. also Schrijver's (1991:203–205) survey of the history of the research.

[5] Meillet, l. c., also assumed that IE **°n* before **i* yields Lat. *-in-*, but this is unacceptable, see Beekes (1982/83:228f.).

According to Brugmann (1904:128) and Sommer (1914:45), IE *$C\text{m̥}mV$ and *$C\text{n̥}nV$ yield Lat. *CemV* and *CenV* (e. g. Lat. *tenuis* 'thin'); similarly, Beekes (1982/83:228–229), Schrijver (1991:218–222) and Rasmussen (1993:189, 198) claim that IE *CNh_xV gives Lat. *CeNV*.

It seems that a re-examination of the data would not be superfluous.

2. The evidence for IE *CNh_xV > Lat. *CenV* is uncertain. In fact, Lat. *gener* 'son in law' and *lemurēs* 'ghosts' are not reliable (cf. Schrijver 1991:218). The remaining three instances are also ambiguous.

2.1. Beekes, l. c., mentions that Lat. *similis* 'like, resembling, similar' (< **semilis* < **semalis*) can continue IE **semh₂li-*, **semh₂eli-* or **sm̥h₂eli-*. In view of «the close relation between Italic and Celtic», Beekes prefers to derive Lat. *similis* from IE **sm̥h₂eli-*, to which OIr. *samail* 'likeness' and W. *hafal* 'similar, like' can also be traced back; thus also Schrijver, l.c. Since phonological and morphological criteria are lacking, the assumed zero grade radical vocalism of Lat. *similis* remains a guess. The Latin form may represent full grade of the root (IE **semh₂li-* or **semh₂eli-*) as well, and the zero grade of the Celtic forms cannot be a strong objection to this possibility.

2.2. Schrijver (1991:218–218), following Beekes (1982/83:206), convincingly derives Lat. *sine* 'without' (< **sini* < **seni*) from IE **sn̥h₁-i* (cf. also OIr. *sain* 'separate', OW *han* 'alium', etc.). However, from the point of view of the morphology, Lat. *sine* can be formed with *e*-grade of the root as well; this implies IE **senh₁-i*, the development of which into **seni* > (**sini*>) *sine* is also phonologically perfect (see Rikov 1995:332–333 with fn. 6).

2.3. Lat. *tenuis* 'thin, fine, slight' continues an old adjective in **-u-*, which is remodelled into an *i*-stem as *brevis* 'short', *gravis* 'heavy, weight', *svāvis* 'sweet'. In spite of Beekes and Schrijver, who derive Lat. *tenuis* from IE **tn̥h₂u-* (Beekes, l. c.) or directly from **tn̥h₂ew-i-* (Schrijver, l. c.), this Latin adjective can be formed with full grade radical vocalism as the related Lith. *tę́vas* 'thin, slim' and Latv. *tiẽvs* 'id.' which represent a thematization (**tenh₂w-o-*) of IE **tenh₂u-*[6]. The radical vocalism of Lat. *brevis* and *gravis*, which point to IE **mreg^{h}u-* and **g^{w}reh₂u-* respectively (see Fischer 1982:33–34), supports this interpretation of *tenuis*; in fact, Lat. *tenuis* relates to Gk. ταν- (< *tnh₂u-*), ταναός, Corn. *tanow* (< **tn̥h₂ewo-*, § 1), etc. like Lat. *brevis* to Gk. βραχύς 'short', OHG *murg(i)* 'id.', and like Lat. *gravis* to Skt. *gurú-* 'heavy', Gk. βαρύς 'id.', Goth. *kaúrs* 'id.' (< **gwr̥h₂u-*).

[6] Cf. Meillet (1908:34), who already compared the radical vocalism of Lat. *tenuis* with that of the Baltic forms.

3. There are a few instances which suggest that IE *CNh_xV* changes into Latin (and Sabellian) *CaNV*[7].

3.1. Lat. *canō*, *canere* 'to sing' and Umbr. *kanetu* 'caneto' can be interpreted as representatives of this change, cf. already Meillet (1908:34). However, in order to prove the development of IE *CNh_xV* into Lat. *CeNV*, Schrijver (1991:219) prefers to derive these Italic forms either from an Indo-European root **kh₂n-*, the shape of which is rare and unusual, or from an etymon, containing «European *a*». Then he concludes that «*canere* cannot be used as evidence for the development of antevocalic *CNH*» (Schrijver, l. c.).

Schrijver's analysis is incompatible with the radical *o*-vocalism of the related Greek forms[8] κόμβησαν ποιὸν ἦχον ἀπετέλεσαν (Hsch.), κομβίζων φυσῶν (Hsch.), κόμβα κορώνη. Πολλυρρήνοι (Hsch.), which can represent the loss of **-h₂-* after an *o*-grade (de Saussure's law); the *-α-* is analogically restored in κοναβέω (aor. κονάβησα, -σαν) 'I resound, clash, ring', κοναβίζω 'id.' and κόναβος 'ringing, clashing, din'. These Greek forms, neglected by Schrijver, l. c., point to a disyllabic root and confirm the explanation of Gk. καναχή 'sharp sound' and καναχέω 'I ring, clash' as **kn̥h₂-eg^{h}-*; for instance, the suffix **-eg^{h}-* is also attested by ταραχή 'trouble, disorder', ταράσσω 'I stir (up), trouble' which, as Ruijgh (1980:91) points out, reflect IE **d^{h}r̥h₂-eg^{h}-*.

If so, Goth. *hana* 'cock, rooster', OE *hana* 'cock', OS, OHG *hano* 'id.' (< PGmc. **hanen-*) and OE *henn* 'hen', OHG *henin* 'id.' (< PGmc. **hanjō* or **haneni*) are formed with *o*-grade of the root (IE **konh₂-*). Ever since Leumann (1952:9) it is almost generally accepted that Olcel. *hœna* 'hen', OS *hōn* 'id.', OHG *huon* 'id.' are *vrddhi*-derivatives (see Darms 1978:133 w. refs.). Similarly, MW. *g(w)o-gawn* 'famous' can be formed with lengthened grade radical vocalism (IE **kōnh₂-*); cf. Pokorny (1959:526).

OIr. *canaid* 'sings', *forchain* 'teaches', etc. (with alternating *e/o-* and *ā*-stem in the paradigm) and W. *canu* 'to sing' can apparently

[7] Lat. *ianitricēs* is not reliable; it is transformed after *genitricēs* from *ianiter* < **ianater*, with **iana-* by assimilation from **iena-* (Szemerényi 1977:92); this implies IE **yenh₂ter-*, which is continued by OLith. *jenté* as well.

[8] On the etymology of these Greek forms see Pokorny (1959:525) and Chantraine (1968–1980: 491, 559, 561).

be derived from IE *knh_2-e/o-, to which Lat. *canō* and Umbr. *kanetu* must also be traced back.

Lat. *carmen* 'song' (dissimilated from **canmen*), *cantus*, *-ūs* 'song, melody, poetry', ppp. *cantus*, iter. *cantāre*, OIr. *cétal* 'song', W. *cathl* 'id.' can be explained as secondary *aniṭ* forms, derived from Italic and Celtic **kan-e/o-* which, with regular loss of the laryngeal, reflect IE *knh_2-e/o-. Similarly, as Schrijver (1991:196, 219) points out, Lat. *pars*, *partis* 'part, lot, portion' and *partus*, *-ūs* 'young, offspring' are »modelled on the root **par-* of the present *pariō* < **prh₃-i-*«.

3.2. Lat. *canicae*, *-ārum* 'bran' (<**canacae*), omitted by Beekes (1982/83) and Schrijver (1991), points to IE *knh_2ekeh_2. The related OIcel. *hunang* 'honey', OE, OFris. *hunig* 'id.', OS *honig* 'id.' and OHG *honag*, *honang* 'id.' go back to PGmc. **hunaga-*; it is generally accepted that the *n* before *g* »beruht auf Nasalierung des Vokals durch das vorhergehende *n* und unterstützendem Einflusse des germ. Suffixes *-ung*, *-ing*« (Pokorny 1959:564). In view of the regular development of IE *CRh_xV into PGmc. **CuRV*, PGmc. **hunaga-* must be derived from IE *knh_2eko-. If Skt. *kánakam* 'gold' is of Indo-European origin[9], it must continue IE *knh_2eko- as well.

The related Gk. κνηκός 'pale yellow, whitish yellow', κνῆκος 'Carthamus tinctorius', etc. and OPruss. nom.-acc. sg. nt. *cucan* (**cuncan*) 'brown'[10] continue IE *knh_2ko-. The Doric form κνᾶκός, with its -νᾱ- (< IE *$-nh_2$-), guarantees the identification of the laryngeal as the *a*-colouring one. Since IE *CNh_xC regularly changes into Skt. *CāC* (cf. Skt. *jātá-* 'born' < IE *$ǵnh_1$-to-), Skt. *kāñcanám* 'gold, money, wealth' cannot directly reflect IE *knh_2keno-; cf. Mayrhofer (1956–1980 I:195) who, reconstructing IE **qñqeno-*, correctly doubts that IE *$-ñ$- yields Skt. *-ān-* before palatals. However, the expected Skt. **kācanam* would be reshaped into *kāñcanám* under the influence of *kánakam* which, even if non-related, is equal in meaning; similarly, there are well known instances such as Skt. *śrānta-* 'weared, tired', *dhvānta-* 'dark', the *-n-* of which is analogically introduced, cf. *śram^i-* 'to become weary or tired', *dhvan^i-* 'to smoke'.

3.3. Schrijver (1991:457–458), who assumes that IE **mo* changes into Lat. *ma*, derives Lat. *manēō*, *manēre* 'to stay, remain, wait' from a stative **moneh₁-*, and compares OBg. *gorěti* 'to burn' which is formed with *o*-grade of the root (as if from *g^woreh_1-). However, the verbs of the type of Lith. *garėti*, *gariù*, OBg. *gorěti*, *gorjǫ* are remodelled non-reduplicated perfects with *o*-grade in the strong forms and represent an inner-Balto-Slavic innovation. On the other hand, the original stative verbs in *$-eh_1$- are formed with zero grade of the root, cf. Lat. *calēre* 'to be warm' (< IE *$k̑lh_1$-eh$_1$-), *valēre* (< IE *$wl̥h_2$-eh$_1$-, § 1), etc.; this implies that Lat. *manēre* continues IE *$mn̥h_1$-eh$_1$- (cf. Peters 1980:188 fn. 143). If so, we are dealing with an Indo-European *seṭ* root *$menh_1$-*.

If the Homeric and Ionic future μενέω 'I shall stay, remain' is not analogical, it confirms the reconstruction of IE *$menh_1$-*; cf. Gk. βαλέω 'I shall throw', ὀλεῖται 'he will perish', etc., which are formed from disyllabic roots in *$-h_1$-*.

The other cognates of Lat. *manēre* can be derived either from an *aniṭ* or from a *seṭ* root.

Thus, the isolated Rig-Vedic 2nd sg. impv. *mamandhi* 'wait' X 31, 2, 3rd sg. opt. *mamanyāt* 'may remain (alive)' X 27, 20 and 3rd sg. plupf. *amaman* 'waited' X 31, 4 can represent either an *aniṭ* root or (by loss of the laryngeal after reduplication) a *seṭ* one; cf. Rig-Vedic *cākandhi*, *rārandhí*, *vāvandhí*, *cākán*, *rārán*, *cākanyāt* which are formed from the *seṭ* roots *kan^i-* 'to be happy' (cf. *akānişam* RV.), *ran^i-* 'to delight in' (cf. *arāniṣur* RV.), *van^i-* 'to win, desire' (cf. *-vāta-* 'desired' in *devavāta-* RV.). Similarly, Gk. μίμνω 'I stay, remain' and probably Hitt. *mimma-* 'to refuse' (with *-mm-* < **-mn-*) can reflect either IE **mi-mn-e/o-* or IE **mi-mnh₁-e/o-*; cf. Gk. γίγνομαι 'I become, am born' < IE *$ǵi$-$ǵnh_1$-e/o-, etc.

An *aniṭ* root or a *seṭ* one (with loss of *$-h_1$- after consonantal **-n-* and before a vowel or **-y-*) can also be seen in Gk. μένω 'I stay, remain' (< **men-e/o-* or **menh₁-e/o-*), μενετός 'steadfast, patient', Toch. AB *mñe* 'certitude, sûreté' [derived by van Windekens 1976:301 from **menē(n)* or **mₑnē(n)*], etc., and Av. *maniia-* 'to stay, remain', OIr. *ainmne* 'patience' (< IE **-men-yeh₂* or **-menh₁-yeh₂*), etc.

It seems that a few forms point to an underlying *aniṭ* root. Thus, the Greek aorist ἔμεινα can directly be derived from **e-mens-m*. However, *s*-aorists of this shape can also analogically be formed from disyllabic roots, cf. Gk. ἐγεινάμην (beside the root aorist ἐγένετο < **e-genh₁-to*, etc.). As for Lat. *mantāre*, it can also be analogical, cf. *carmen*, *cantus*, *cantāre* (§ 3.1)[11].

4. To sum up: There is no reliable evidence to show that Lat. *CeNV* can be developed from IE *CNh_xV*. Lat. *similis* and *sine* may

[9] According to Mayrhofer (1956–1980 I:151), Skt. *kánakam* is non-Indo-European (probably »austroasiatisch«).

[10] On Opruss. *cucan* see Toporov (1984: 249–251) w. refs.

[11] The long *-ā-* of Av. *mānaiia-* 'to hold up', OPers. *mānaya-* 'to wait' can also be analogical, cf. Skt. *vānaya-* (: *van^i-* 'to win, desire'), etc.

be formed with zero grade of the root as it is suggested by the related Celtic words; however, formal criteria are lacking and full grade roots are also possible. Similarly, Lat. *tenuis* can be derived either from IE *$*tn̥h_2u$-* or *$*tenh_2u$-*, but the radical vocalism of *brevis* and *gravis* is in favour of the latter possibility.

On the other hand, Lat. *cano, canere*, together with Umbr. *kanetu* and OIr. *canaid*, must continue IE *$*kn̥h_2$-e/o-*, and Lat. *canicae* points to IE *$*kn̥h_2ek$-eh$_2$*.

The cognates of Lat. *manēre* do not indicate whether the underlying root is *set* or *anit*. However, this Latin verb continues a stative in *$*$-eh$_1$-* and can be formed with zero grade of the root; hence an IE preform *$*mn̥h_1$-eh$_1$-* is possible.

These instances show that IE *$*Cn̥h_xV$* changes into *CanV* in both Latin and Sabellian (cf. Umbr. *kanetu*). This change, together with that of IE *$*CL̥h_xV$* into Latin and Sabellian *CaLV* (cf. Lat. *carō*, Umbr. *karu*, § 1), indicate that Italic shares with Celtic the development of IE *$*CRh_xV$* into *CaRV*.

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Georgi T. RIKOV
(Sofia, Bulgaria)

SANSKRIT *dūrśám*, IRANIAN **darsa-* AND SLAVIC **dòlka*

According to Burrow (1970, 48–51), Skt. *dūrśám*, which occurs in Atharvaveda (4.7.6; 8.6.11) and Kauśikasūtra (11, 28 and 85), signifies either 'goatskin' or 'rough garment made of goat's hair'. He convincingly compared Skt. *dūrśám* with Iranian **darsa-* 'goat's hair' which is attested by Wakhi *δirs*, *δürs*, Yidga *lirs*, Sarikoli *δors* and Shughni *δōšc*[1], and assumed that Skt. *-ūr-* and Iran. **-ar-* continue IE. **-r̥-* (**-r̥h$_x$-*). Since IE. **-r̥h$_x$-* "become *-īr-* in Sanskrit except after labials", Burrow (1970, 51) mentioned occasional exceptions to this rule, as Skt. *tustūrṣate* beside *tistīrṣate* (: *tirati* 'crosses over, passes over, overcomes'), and dialect variations, as Pkt. *juṇṇa-* 'old' beside Skt. *jīrṇa-* 'id.'

As far as I know, there is no convincing etymology of Skt. *dūrśám* and its Iranian congeners so far[2].

[1] Morgenstierne (1974, 32) adds Khwar. *δš*, Yazgulami *δuš*, Khuṣī *δāwš*, Roshani *δāwš*, and also derives the Iranian words form **darsă-* 'goat's wool, hair' (K. T. Witczak, personal communication); Morgenstierne's dictionary is unaccessible in Sofia.

[2] Burrow (1970, 51) rightly separated Skt. *dūrśá-* from Buddh. *dūṣya-* 'a kind of cloth, apparently of cotton, but of fine quality', Pali *dussa-* 'woven material, cloth, garment, clothes' and Pkt. *dūsa-* 'cloth, garment'. In view of the meanings 'goatskin' of Skt. *dūrśá-* and 'goat's hair' of Iran. **darsa-*, Charpentier's comparison of Skt. *dūrśá-* with Cz. *drasta* 'Fetzen, Splitter, Gewand, Kleid', Swed. *trasa* 'Fetzen', etc. (cf. Mayrhofer 1956–1980, II, 58) is evidently doubtful. Moreover, Swed. *trasa*, Norw. *trase* 'Lappen, Lumpen', Lith. *draskýti* 'to scratch', etc. point to **dros-*, the connection of which with Skt. *dūrśá-* is phonetically impossible, cf. **-ro-* and **-s-* beside Skt. *-ūr-* and *-ś-* (< IE. **-k̂-*) respectively. As for OCz. *drasta* 'fever, vessel', Cz. *drasta* 'vessel', dial. *drast'* 'fever, garment', Sk. *drást'* 'fever', *drast'* 'garment', USorb. *drasta* 'garment, clothes', LSorb. *drasta* 'id.', these Slavic words are derived from **drastiti* 'to scratch' (> Cz. *drastiti*, etc.), see Trubačev (1978, 104) with references. Slav. **drastiti* and **draskati* 'to scratch' represent an inner-Slavic lengthening of the root vowel, which is well attested by the Slavic iteratives in **-iti*, **-jǫ* and **-ati*, **-ajǫ*; cf. the **o*-grade of the related Lith. *draskýti*.

In order to clarify the origin of these isolated Indo-Iranian words, it should be taken into consideration that, as is known, IE. **r* and **l* fall together into Indo-Iranian **r*, and that Skt. *-īr-/-ūr-* and Iran. **-ar-* can continue not only IE. **-r̥h$_x$-*, but also IE. **-l̥h$_x$-*.

Then, Skt. *dūrśám* and Iran. **darsa-* can be connected with MBg. *dlaka* 'cutis, color', Bg. *dlàka* 'hair, skin, fell, bristle', 'human or animal body', SCr. *dlâka* 'hair' and Sn. *dláka* 'hair, bristle', the etymology of which also remains unknown so far[3]. These Slavic words have been derived either from Common Slavic **dolka* (see Berneker 1908–1913, 208, Trubačev 1978, 63)[4] or from Common Slavic **dlaka* (see Brückner 1914, 207, Toporov 1984, 70), and it is clear that each of these possibilities is compatible with the evidence of Indo-Iranian. However, as Trubačev (1978, 63) rightly points out, since Common Slavic **dl-* yields South Slavic *l-*, the reconstruction of Common Slavic **dlaka* is unacceptable. Then, MBg. *dlaka*, Bg. *dlâka*, SCr. *dlâka* and Sn. *dláka* should continue Common Slavic **dolka*, and the intonation of this Slavic word (cf. SCr. *dlâka*) indicates that **-òl-* comes from IE. **-olh$_x$-*. If so, Bg. dial. *vukòdlak* (Trъn), SCr. *vukòdlak*, Sn. *volkodlák*, Cz. dial. *vyl'kolak* and Sk. *vlkodlak* '*λυκάνθρωπος*' (originally 'wolfshaarig'[5]) go back to Common Slavic **vьlkodolkъ*[6], whereas the scarcely attested Russian *volkodlák* (Dal'), with its *-la-* instead of the expected *-olo-*, should be explained as a loan word.

Then, we have Common Slavic **dòlka* which continues IE. **dolh$_x$keh$_2$*, whereas Skt. *dūrśám* and Iran. **darsa-* (> Wakhi *δirs*, *δürs*, Yidgha *lirs*, Sarikoli *δors*, Shughni *δōšc*) imply IE. **dl̥h$_x$k̂o-m*[7].

[3] Cf. Trubačev (1978, 63) as well as Toporov's excellent survey of the previous etymological explanations (Toporov 1984, 68–78); cf. also fn. 6.

[4] Trubačev, *loc. cit.*, assumes not only Common Slavic **dolka*, but also **dьlaka*; in view of the related Indo-Iranian words, the latter possibility is unacceptable.

[5] Cf. also SCr. *malodlak* 'wer wenig Haare hat' (Dukova 1984, 13–14).

[6] It is clear that the second member of this compound should be separated from Slav. **-tlakъ* which is attested by the compounds Bg. *vălkolàk*, Russ. *volkolák*, Ukr. *vovkulák*, WRuss. *voŭkolak* '*λυκάνθρωπος*' (originally 'Wolfbär', cf. OIcel. *Ulfbiorn*, OHG *Wulfbero* and see Ivanov and Toporov 1963, 139); Pol. *wilkołak*, with *-l-* instead of the expected *-tl-*, can be explained as a loan word. Slav. **-tlak* is related to OPruss. *clokis* 'bear' and Lith. *lokýs* 'id.', Latv. *lâcis* 'id.', see Toporov (1984, 68–78) with references. Lith. *lokýs* and Latv. *lâcis* are dissimilated from **klākis* < Balt. **tlākya-*, see Fraenkel (1962–1965, 384–385); Toporov (1984, 69). Since the Balto-Slavic word for 'bear' is retained in Slavic only by the second part of the compound **vьlkotlakъ*, this compound becomes opaque; hence it can be replaced by new formations as **vьlkodolkъ*, or completely reshaped, cf. for instance Bg. dial. *fərkuljàk*, *vrakalàk* and *vrakalòk*.

[7] Although IE **-l̥h$_x$-* and **-olh$_x$-/*-elh$_x$-* between consonants fall together into Iran. **-ar-*, the zero-grade radical vocalism of Skt. *dūrśám* implies that Iran. **darsa-* continues rather IE. **dl̥h$_x$k̂o-* than IE. **dolh$_x$k̂o-*.

The apperance of *k in Slavic beside *ś in Indo-Iranian is not surprising, cf. OBg. *kosa* 'scythe' : Skt. *śásanti* 'they cut'; OBg. *krotъkъ* 'quiet': Skt. *śrathnā́ti* 'is loosened, becomes slack'; OBg. *ukropъ* 'soup' : Skt. *śrapáyati* 'cooks';*OBg. *brěgъ* 'cliff, bank' : Av. *barəzah-* 'height', etc. and see Georgiev (1981, 43–44; 50–51).

It is possible that Slavic **dòlka* and Skt. *dūrśám*, Iran. **darsa-* are old collectiva.

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* Cf. also Slav. **g* : IIrn. **źh in*

Gothic *airkniþa*, Old High German *erchan* and Hittite *arkuwā(i)-*, Latin *arguō*

Georgi T. Rikov
Sofia University

Melchert (1998: 45—51) demonstrates that the basic meaning of Hitt. *arkuwā(i)-*, defined already by Laroche as 'make a plea, state one's case', supports Duchesne-Guillemin's (1946: 85—86) comparison of this Hittite verb with Lat. *arguō* 'declare, prove'. As for *kattan arkuwanzi* and *katta(n) arkutta*, usually given as forms of *arkuwā(i)-*, Melchert interprets them as evidence for an independent verb *arku-*, signifying 'chant, intone' and related to Skt. *árcati* 'praises', Arm. *erg* 'song', etc. (< IE $*h_1erk^w$-).[1]

Melchert (1998: 50) is also obviously right to separate Hitt. *arkuwā(i)-* and Lat. *arguō* from IE $*h_2erg̑$- 'shining, white', attested by Hitt. *ḫarki-* 'bright, white', Gk. ἀργός 'shining, glistening, white' (dissimilated from *ἀργρός), Lat. *argentum*, etc.;[2] *arkuwā(i)-*, in contrast to *ḫarki-*, has no initial ḫ-[3], and "nothing in the semantics of *arguō* or *argūtus* demands a derivation from $*h_2erg̑$-."

However, Melchert's own explanation of *arkuwā(i)-* and *arguō* is also unsatisfactory; he assumes that Hitt. *arkuwā(i)-* replaces an earlier **arkuwe/a-* which, together with Lat. *arguō*, can go back to "a preform **argu-yé/ó-*, a denominative stem from an adjective or noun **argŭ-*" (Melchert, *loc. cit.*). But *arguō* is not a sufficient reason for assuming Indo-European initial **a-*.

According to Schrijver (1991: 65—73, IE $*h_x\underset{\circ}{L}C$- yields *aLC-* in Latin;[4] in particular, the evidence for the development of IE $*h_1\underset{\circ}{L}C$- into Lat. *aLC-* is limited to Lat. *ardea* 'heron' (: Gk. ἐρωδιός 'id.'). If so, an additional instance of IE $*h_1\underset{\circ}{L}C$- in Latin can now be seen in *arguō* which, together with Hitt. *arkuwā(i)-* (← **arkuwe/a-*), can go back to IE $*h_1\underset{\circ}{r}gu$-*yé/ó-*; this denominative verb can be derived from the weak stem $*h_1\underset{\circ}{r}g$-*u-* of an adjective in *-*u-* IE $*h_1erg$-*u-* / $*h_1\underset{\circ}{r}g$-*ew-* / $*h_1\underset{\circ}{r}g$-*u-*.[5]

The evidence of the Germanic languages confirms the reconstruction of an Indo-European root $*h_1erg$- / $*h_1\underset{\circ}{r}g$- which can be assumed on the basis of Hitt. **arkuwā(i)-* and Lat. *arguō*.

Thus, Goth. *unairkns* 'unholy' and *airkniþa* 'genuineness', which is formed with the suffix *-iþa* from **airkns*, point to a Proto-Germanic adjective **erknaz*.

[1] For a brief survey of the previous interpretations of Hitt. *arkuwā(i)-*, see Melchert (1998: 45) w. refs.

[2] On the explanation of Hitt. *arkuwā(i)-* and Lat. *arguō* as derivatives of IE $*h_2erg̑$- / $*h_2\underset{\circ}{r}g̑$- 'shining, white', cf. (on Lat. *arguō*) Walde and Hofmann (1938—1956 I: 66—67), Ernout and Meillet (1932: 68), etc.; (on *arkuwā(i)-* and *arguō*) Duchesne-Guillemin (1946: 85—86).

[3] The assumption that Hitt. *arkuwā(i)-* represents the development of initial 'vocalic' $*h_2$- of a preform $*h_2\underset{\circ}{r}gu$- (Duchesne-Guillemin, *loc. cit.*) is unlikely.

[4] *L* signifies *r* and *l*.

[5] Hitt. **arkuwā(i)-* can also be derived from the full-grade $*h_1ergu$-; in view of the original zero grade in Lat. *arguō*, this is less likely.

Old Icelandic attests the compounds *jarknasteinn* 'Edelstein' and *jarteikn (*also *jartegn, jarteign)* 'Wahrzeichen'[6] which, after Lidén, is explained as **iarkn-tegn*[7]; the first member of these compounds also points to PGmc. **erknaz.*

In the West Germanic subgroup, we find OE *eorc(n)anstán,* which corresponds to OIcel. *jarknasteinn,* and OHG *erchan* 'genuine, right' which directly continues PGmc. **erknaz.*

Most of the handbooks of Germanic linguistics agree that these Germanic forms, in spite of their radical **e-* vocalism, are related to Hitt. *ḫarki-,* Gk. ἀργός, etc. (IE **$h_2$erĝ-*).[8] However, there is no ablaut **e* : **a* in Indo-European,[9] and this implies that PGmc. **erknaz* 'genuine, right' vel sim., together with Hitt. *arkuwā(i)-* and Lat. *arguō, argumentum, argūtus,* must be separated from IE **$h_2$erĝ-* 'shining, white'. In fact, PGmc. **erknaz* would go back to an adjective in **-no- *$h_1$erg-no-*, related to the *u*-stem adjective **$h_1$erg-u- / *$h_1$rg-ew- /*$h_1$rg-u-*, the weak stem **$h_1$rg-u-* of which underlies the denominative verb **$h_1$rgu-yé/ó-* (cf. Hitt. *arkuwā(i)-*, Lat. *arguō*).

The existence of adjectives in **-no-* alongside with adjectives in **-u-* is well known, cf. e. g. OIr. *slán* 'whole, sound, healthy' vs. the thematicized Lat. *salvus* 'complete, intact', etc.

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[6] Cf. Jóhanesson (1956: 35): 'sichtbares Zeichen als Beweis für die Wahrheit einer Aussage, Legitimationszeichen, Vorbedeutung, Mirakel'.

[7] See Feist (1939: 25), Jóhanesson, *loc. cit.,* Pokorny (1959: 65) and Leumann (1986: 18).

[8] Cf. e. g. Feist, *loc. cit.,*; Jóhanesson, *loc. cit.,* who unlikely assumes an *e*-grade **erĝ-* of IE **arĝ-, *areĝ-*, Leumann, *loc. cit.* ("PIE *ar(e)ĝ-* 'shining, white', though Gmc *er-...*").

[9] Pokorny's (1959: 65) assumption of a contamination of PGmc. **arg-* (< IE **$h_2$erĝ-* 'shining, white') and the (non-attested) Proto-Germanic outcome of IE **$h_1$erk^w-* (cf. Skt. *árcati* 'praises', etc.) is uncertain.

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Germano-Slavica

Георги Т. Риков (София)

The affinity between Germanic and Slavic, pointed out by Kaspar Zeuss in 1837, and extended over the Baltic by Jakob Grimm (1848) and August Schleicher (1852), is assured by a series of grammatical and numerous lexical isoglosses. Thus, Johannes Schmidt, presenting his *Wellentheorie* in 1872, not only discussed some important morphological correspondences between Germanic and Balto-Slavic[1], but also adduced 139 lexical isoglosses, 50 of which, more or less convincing, are limited to Germanic and Slavic[2]; accordingly, he concluded that "das slawolettische keiner der europäischen sprachen so nahe verwant ist wie dem deutschen"[3]. In our century, the close relationship between Germanic and Balto-Slavic was investigated and re-affirmed by many linguists; it was also emphasized by Vladimir Georgiev (1981: 270-280)[4]. Yet, although numerous Germano-Balto-Slavic lexical isoglosses are already proposed and discussed (extensive surveys of these isoglosses are presented by Emil Georgiev in 1941, and by Christian Stang in 1971)[5], the possibilities of new comparisons and solutions are still not exhausted.

1. Old Bulgarian *unii, uniti* and Old Icelandic *Aunmundr,* Old English *Eánmund,* etc.

There are two etymologies of OBg. *unii* (Supr.), *uněje* (Ev. Sav.), *unje* (Mar. Zogr. Sav. Supr.) βελτίων and *uniti, unją* θέλειν (cf. 3rd pl. *unętъ* Supr. 435,12), which can be taken into consideration.

According to Meillet (1902-1905: 435), OBg. *unii, uněje, unje* can represent the comparative of an adjective, which is "un dérivé en **-no-* d'un mot tel que scr. *ávaḥ* 'secours, faveur'.

Persson (1912: 515) connects OBg. *unii, uněje, unje* and *uniti* with Skt. *vanóti* 'demands, strives for, likes', OIcel. *una* 'to enjoy' etc., and unconvincingly reconstructs an underlying Indo-European root **ewen-*. Vaillant (1929: 6; 1958: 580), who accepts this etymology, juxtaposes OBg. *unii* with full-grade comparatives such as Skt. *garīyaḥ* (: Skt. *gurú-* 'heavy'), and ingeniously assumes that the Old Bulgarian comparative represents a secondary full grade **aun-* which, created on the basis of the zero grade **un-* (cf. Goth. *unwunands* 'distressed', OIcel. *una,* etc.), appears instead of the ordinary full grade **wen-*.

[1] Schmidt (1872: 4-8).

[2] Schmidt (1872: 36-45).

[3] Schmidt (1872: 9).

[4] For a survey of the investigations and the different opinions see Georgiev (1981: 270-272).

[5] The most plausible lexical isoglosses between Germanic and Balto-Slavic are listed by Georgiev (1981: 278-279).

Both etymologies seem possible[6]. Moreover, the family of Skt. *vánati* 'nimmt an, schafft hin', *vanóti*, Lat. *venus* 'love, pleasure', zero grade Skt. *-vāta-* 'desired' (e.g. *devá-vāta-* 'von den Göttern begehrt' RV.), Goth. *unwunands*, etc. (IE $*h_2wenh_x$-/$*h_2wn̥h_x$-) is probably related to that of Skt. *ávati* 'is pleased, strives, promotes, protects', *ávaḥ* 'favour, protection, gratification', Av. *auuaiti* 'helps', Gk. *ἀΐτης* 'friend, beloved', Goth. *awi-* (in *awi-liuþ* 'thanks'), zero grade Skt. *ūti-* 'protection, help', etc. (IE $*h_2ewh_x$-/$*h_2uh_x$-); then, IE $*h_2wenh_x$- can be explained as a nasal infix present, derived from the *seṭ* root $*h_2ewh_x$-[7]. If so, the etymological problems of OBg. *unii* and *uniti* can be reduced to the problem of their formation.

Meillet's explanation is now confirmed by the Germanic evidence.

The Germanic personal names OIcel. *Aunmundr*, OE *Eánmund*, OS and OHG *Ōnmund* and late Gothic *Onemunds*[8] represent a compound, the second member of which is well attested by personal names as OIcel. *Ásmundr*, *Sigmundr*, OE *Eádmund*, *Sigemund*, OHG *Sigimund*, etc. As Holthausen (1953: 49) points out, the first member of this compound goes back to PGmc. **auna-* and can be related to Goth. *awi-* (in *awi-liuþ*), Skt. *ávati*, *ávaḥ*, etc.

If so, PGmc. **auna-* continues an adjective in **-no-* $*h_2ewh_xno$- 'desired, beloved, favoured' which would yield PSlav. **unъ*.[9] The regular comparative of this Proto-Slavic adjective is attested by OBg. *unii* 'better' which points to an inner-Slavic change of the meaning 'desired' into 'good'; for instance, a similar semantic development is attested by Cretan *δέλτον· ἀγαθόν* Phot. (: Attic-Ionic *βούλομαι*, Doric *δήλομαι* 'I will, wish, desire'). However, the original meaning of PSlav. **unъ* is still reflected in the denominative verb OBg. *uniti* 'to wish', which is derived from the Proto-Slavic adjective before its semantic change into 'good'.

The adjective in **-no-* $*h_2ewh_xno$-, continued by PGmc. **auna-* and PSlav. **unъ* and unattested in any other branch of the Indo-European language family, is either a denominative (as it was assumed by Meillet, loc. cit., for the Slavic adjective) or a deverbative. The latter possibility implies that this full-grade adjective, which is a dialectal innovation, can stand instead of an older zero-grade verbal adjective IE $*h_2uh_xno$-.

2. Bulgarian *strъk*, Serbo-Croatian *strûk*, Slovenian *strȍk*, etc. and Old West Nordic *strangaviðr*, Norwegian dial. *strange*.

Bg. *strъk* 'twig, spray, sprig', dial. 'stem, trunk' (Gerov), *strȍk* 'id.' (in the dialects of Smoljan and Arda), *struk* 'id.' (NW; also 'stick' in the dialect of Trъn), *strak* 'stem' (in the dialects of Ihtiman, Sofia, Samokov and Prilep), SCr. *strûk* 'stem, twig, spray, sprig', Sn. *strȍk* 'stem; pod, cob' and their East and West Slavic correspondences, signifying 'pod' (Russ. Ukr. *struk*, Pol. *strąk*, Cz. Sk. *struk*, US *truk*, LS *tšuk*) point to PSlav. **strąkъ*. Stefan Mladenov (1941: 614), following Gorjaev, derives these Slavic words from **stronk-*, relates them to MHG *strunk*, NHG *Strunk*, etc. (< **stru-n-g-*, cf. the related MHG *strūch*, NHG *Strauch*, etc.),[10] and explains the Slavic and Germanic forms as different extensions of IE **ster-* 'stiff'. This root etymology can be refined, if we accept the alternative explanation of MHG *strunk*, NHG *Strunk*, etc. as outcomes of IE **strn̥g-* (cf. IE **str̥g-* in Goth. *gastaurknan* 'to wither', etc.)[11]; then, the difference between NHG *Strunk* and PSlav. **strąkъ* can be reduced to the well known alternation of stem-final **-g-* and **-k-* in Indo-European. However, this solution also remains an uncertain possibility.

In fact, Old West Nordic *stranga-*, attested as the first member of the compound *strangaviðr* 'Baumstrunk, abgeästeter Stamm', and Norw. dial. *strange* 'entzweigter Stock' present a more reliable comparandum to PSlav. **strąkъ*.

From the point of view of the historical phonetics, the *-g-* of OWN *stranga-* and Norw. dial. *strange* is phonetically ambiguous. However, IE **-k-* and **-g-* are the only gutturals, found as extensions of IE **ster-*; then, it is unlikely to derive these West Nordic words from a stem in $*-g^h$- which is unattested in any other Indo-European language. On the other hand, the Germanic *-g-* can also regularly reflect, according to Verner's law, IE **-k-*, cf. for instance OWN *fang* 'Nehmen, Ergreifen', OE *fang* 'plunder, booty' < PGmc. **fanʒa-z* (: PGmc. **fanha-* 'to take, grasp seize, catch' in OWN *fá*, OE *fón*, etc.). Then, OWN *stranga-* and Norw. dial. *strange* would be traced back, together with PSlav. **strąkъ*, to an Indo-European stem, ending in **-k-*.

The problems of the word formation call now for explanation.

In view of the productivity of the *an*-stems in the Germanic languages, Norw. dial. *strange* can represent the extension in **-an-* of a Germanic **a*-stem, whereas OWN *stranga-*, as the first member of the compound *strangaviðr*, can point either to this extended **an*-stem or to the non-extended **a*-stem. Accordingly, we can reconstruct PGmc. **stranʒa-* which would correspond to PSlav. **strąkъ*. Thus, the West Nordic and Slavic nouns continue an **o*-stem **stronko-* which can be derived from a nasal infix verb **strenk-*, signifying 'to be stiff' or the like, and probably underlying also Latv. *streñkals* 'ein Stück verhärteten Auswurfs' (< **'steif, starr').

The nasal infix verb **strenk-*, indirectly attested by the Germano-Slavic isogloss **stronko-* and Latv. *streñkals*, is probably derived from IE *(*(s)terk-/) *(s)tr̥k-*, seen in the isolated Ukr. *storčáty*, *storčíty* 'ragen, starren', *torčáty*, *torčíty* 'id.', Cz. *strčeti*, *trčeti* 'id.'.

3. Old Icelandic *strengr*, Old English *streng*, Old High German *strang*, etc. and Bulgarian dial. *strakà*, Serbo-Croatian *strûka*.

There is no doubt that OIcel. *strengr* 'string, rope, cord, stripe', OE *streng* 'cord, rope; bow-string', E. *string*, MLG *strank* 'string' and OHG *strang*, NHG *Strang* are related to MIr. *sreng* 'string, cord; bow-string', *srengaid* 'pulls, drags, draws, tears' (weak *ā*-verb, cf. 3rd sg. pres. conj. *dosrenga*), *srincne* 'navel-string, umbilicated string' and Latv. *stringt* 'stramm werden, verdorren' (< **'sich zusammenziehen').

[6] For instance, Vasmer (1953-1958 III: 184) refers to both possibilities, whereas Holthausen (in 1948, cf. Vasmer, loc. cit.) and Pokorny (1959: 1147) prefer Persson's etymology.

[7] See Rikov (1999: 24-28).

[8] Cf. also the late Gothic *Onila*.

[9] Then, Vaillant's assumption that OBg. *unii* is secondarily built on the basis of the zero-grade "**un-*" is unnecessary.

[10] On the connection of NHG *Strunk*, etc. with *Strauch* see now Kluge and Seebold (1989: 710).

[11] Cf. for instance Pokorny (1959: 1037).

Greek also attests a group of related forms, cf. *στράγξ* 'trickle, drop' (Arist., Thphr., etc.), *στραγγός* 'flowing drop by drop' (written with *-γ-* in Phot., Suid.), *στραγγεύομαι* 'I loiter, delay' (written with *-γ-* in Ar., Hsch., etc.), *στραγγάλη* 'halter', *στρογγύλος* 'round, spherical', etc.; for the specific semantic developments, attested by the Greek forms, see Frisk (1960-1972 II: 805).

These forms can be derived from an Indo-European nasal infix verb, signifying 'zusammenbinden, -ziehen', and probably continued by Lat. *stringō, stringere* 'to bind, draw tight', if the *-i-* of this Latin verb is from **-e-* before **-ng-* (as in the case of Lat. *tinguō*); then, the *-i-* of the Latin ppp. *strictus* can be analogical (cf. Walde and Hoffmann 1938-1956 II: 605; otherwise Pokorny 1959: 1036).

From the point of view of the semantics, the connection of this group of forms with the family of NHG *Strunk* and, subsequently, with the great root **ster-* 'stiff; to be stiff' (see for instance Pokorny 1959: 1036-7) is doubtful; this possibility is correctly ignored by Frisk, loc. cit., and Chantraine (1968-1980: 1061).

In fact, the problem is with the stem-final gutturals of this set of forms. The Irish and Latvian *-g-* can reflect either IE **-g-* or **-g^h-*; the stem-final of the Greek congeners (and Lat. *stringō*, if it is related to these forms) points to IE **-g-*. However, the Germanic **-ʒ-* can continue either IE **-g^h-* or, according to Verner's law, IE **-k-*, and this complicates the matter. In view of the discussed data, both IE **streng-/*strenk-*[12] and the assumed by Frisk, loc. cit., IE **streng$^{(h)}$-* are possible solutions to the problem; in 1989, Seebold briefly mentions: "Auslaut unklar" (Kluge and Seebold 1989: 706), and this is a reasonable conclusion.

However, the possibility of IE **strenk-* is now confirmed by Bg. dial. *strakà* 'string' (Botevgrad), *strukà* 'rag-carpet' (Trъn) and SCr. *strȕka* 'thread, stripe, line'; the *-k-* of these Slavic nouns, which point to PSlav. **strąkā*, indicates that the PGmc. **-ʒ-* in OIcel. *strengr*, OE *streng*, etc. continues rather IE **-k-* than IE **-g^h-*.

The Proto-Slavic *a*-stem **strąkā* (as if from IE **stronkeh$_2$*) can be convincingly explained as a deverbative noun of the type of Gk. *τομή*. The Proto-Germanic *i*-stem **stranʒi-z*, attested by OIcel. *strengr*, etc., is also a deverbative noun like, for instance, OIcel. *fengr* 'catch, returns', OE *feng* 'grip, grasp, embrace', OHG *ant-fang* 'reception, greating' < PGmc. **fanʒi-z* (: PGmc. **fanha-* 'to take, grasp, seize, catch'). Then, both PSlav. **strąkā* and PGmc. **stranʒi-z* presuppose the existence of an underlying verb IE **strenk-* beside IE **streng-* which, as we have seen above, can be reconstructed on the basis of the Irish, Latvian, Greek and probably Latin evidence.

Although the problems of Greek are outside the scope of our Symposium, a brief note on the alternating *-γ-* and *-γγ-* in the Greek forms seems necessary.

Gk. *στραγ-* and Latv. *stringt* point to IE **str̥ng-*,[13] which represents the expected distribution of syllabic and non-syllabic sonants.

Gk. *στραγγ-*, unconvincingly explained by Frisk, loc. cit., and Chantraine, loc. cit., would continue IE **str̥ng-* which attests the irregular distribution of syllabic and non-syllabic sonants, inherent to the weak forms of the nasal infix presents of the type *CR̥néC-ti, CR̥nC-énti*; in this case, as Eichner (1982: 20 fn. 18) points out, the redistribution of the syllabic and non-syllabic sonants in the weak stem *CR̥nC-* is carried out along the line of the strong stem *CR̥neC-*. If so, Gk. *στραγγ-* presupposes the existence of a nasal infix present **str̥neg-ti, *str̥ng-enti*, which would be reshaped into Gk. **στραγγάνω*. In fact, the pair **στραγγάνω* : *στράγξ* is parallel to the pair *λυγγανόμενον· λύζοντα ἐν τῷ κλαίειν* (Hsch.) : *λύγξ* 'hiccough, hiccup'; cf. also Ved. *yuñj-* 'yoked together', m. 'yoke-fellow, comrade, associate' (: *yunákti* 'harnesses, yokes joins', *yuñjánti*).

Thus, in view of Gk. *στραγγ-*, an ablauting nasal infix present IE **str̥né-ti, *str̥ng-énti* can be reconstructed beside the non-ablauting nasal infix presents IE **stréng-ey, *stréng-nti* (cf. the full-grade derivative MIr. *sreng*, zero-grade Gk. *στραγ-* etc.) as well as **strénk-ey, *strénk-n̥ti* (attested by the deverbative nouns PGmc. **stranʒi-z* and PSlav. **strąkā*).[14]

[12] See for instance Pokorny (1959: 1036-1037), who assumes, however, either IE **-k-* or IE **-g^h-* in OIcel. *strengr*, etc.

[13] See Frisk (1960-1972 II: 805) and Chantraine (1968-1980: 1061).

[14] On the nasal infix presents of the types IE *CRenh$_x$-ey, CRenh$_x$-n̥ti* and *CRenC-ey, CRenC-n̥ti* see Rikov (1999: 9-36).

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Indo-European language family, cf. for instance Lat. *gens*, *gentis* 'clan, family, progeny, race, nation, people' (: *genō*, *genere* 'to bring forth'[4]) or Ved. *jánman-* (n.) 'birth, origin', *jantu-* 'offspring, creature, being' (: *jánati* 'gives birth, is born') besides the archaic Ved. *janiman-* < IE. **ĝenh$_1$-men-* (: IE. **ĝenh$_1$-e/o-*)[5].

If so, the connection of Toch. A *kaṃ*, B *kene* with Lat. *canō* and its congeners is both phonetically and morphologically possible. The Tocharian forms can be derived not only from IE. **ĝhwono-* (cf. OBulg. *zvonъ*, etc.), but also – in view of the alternative connection with Lat. *canō*, etc. – from a deverbative noun IE. **konh$_2$o-*.

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[4] Cf. P. Schrijver (1991, 330).

[5] G. T. Rikov (1988, 124–125).

Съставители: Биляна Михайлова, Петя Асенова, Екатерина Търпоманова,
Димитър Илиев, Елина Боева

Editors: Bilyana Mihaylova, Petya Assenova, Ekaterina Tarpomanova,
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