[Text version of database, created 14/10/2011].

# Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Hittite (Old Hittite) language (Anatolian group, Indo-European family).

<u>Languages included</u>: Hittite (Old) [ana-oht].

# Data sources.

# General:

CHD = The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago, 1980-. // Extensive synchronic dictionary of the Hittite language. Ongoing edition.

HED = J. Puhvel. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. 1-. Berlin - NY - Amsterdam, 1984-. // Etymological dictionary of the Hittite language with extensive treatment of synchronic textual data. Ongoing edition.

HEG = J. Tischler. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Innsbruck, 1977-. // Etymological dictionary of the Hittite language with analysis of synchronic textual data. Ongoing edition.

Hoffner & Melchert 2008 = H. A. Hoffner, Jr., H. C. Melchert. *A grammar of the Hittite language*. Part 1: Reference grammar. Eisenbrauns, 2008. // *Up-to-date descriptive grammar of the Hittite language*.

HW<sup>2</sup> = J. Friedrich & A. Kammenhuber. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Heidelberg, 1975-. // *Extensive synchronic dictionary of the Hittite language*. *Ongoing edition*.

Kloekhorst 2008 = A. Kloekhorst. Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon. Brill, 2008. // Etymological dictionary of the Hittite inherited vocabulary with analysis of synchronic textological data.

Melchert 1993 = H. C. Melchert. *Cuneiform Luvian lexicon*. Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993. // Dictionary of the Cuneiform Luvian corpus.

Weeks 1985 = D. M. Weeks. *Hittite Vocabulary: An Anatolian Appendix to Buck's Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*. PhD dissertation, University of California, 1985. // A thematic glossary of the basic terms of the Hittite language.

### Additional:

Catsanicos 1996 = Catsanicos, J., 1996: L'apport de la bilingue de Hattusa à la lexicologie hourrite. In: *Amurru 1: Mari, Ébla et les hourrites*. Paris. P. 197-296. // *Lexicographic treatment of the data from the Hurrian-Hittite bilingua*.

Cohen 2010 = Cohen, Y. *Rara avis*: A study of the HU section of the S<sup>a</sup> vocabulary. In: H. D. Baker et al. (eds). *Your praise is sweet. A memorial volume for Jeremy Black from students, colleagues and friends*. London, 2010. P. 29-40.

Eichner 2010 = H. Eichner. Laudatio hostiae und laudatio victimae im Palaischen. In: *Hethitica* 16. Peeters, 2010. P. 39-58.

Melchert 2009 = H. C. Melchert. Deictic pronouns in Anatolian. In: K. Yoshida & B. Vine (ed.). *East and West. Papers in Indo-European Studies*. Bremen, 2009. P. 151-161.

Pecchioli Daddi 2010 = F. Pecchioli Daddi. The Hittite word talla-. In: J. Klinger et al. (eds). *Investigationes Anatolicae. Gedenkschrift für Erich Neu (StBoT 52)*. Wiesbaden, 2010.

Ünal, A. Zum Status der "Augures" bei den Hethitern. In: Revue hittite et asiatique, tome 31, 1973. P. 27-56.

Van den Hout 2010 = Th. van den Hout. The Hieroglyphic Luwian signs L. 255 and 256 and once again Karatepe XI. In: I. Singer (ed.). *Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*. Tel Aviv, 2010. P. 234-243.

Николаев 1985 = С. Л. Николаев. Северокавказские заимствования в хеттском и древнегреческом [North Caucasian loanwords in Hittite and Ancient Greek]. In: Древняя Анатолия. Москва, 1985. С. 60-73.

# Notes.

The present 110-item wordlist is generally based on Old Hittite data, although it also includes a very small number of terms that are exclusively attested in Middle or New Hittite sources. The list is provisionally dated to 1500 BC.

It does not seem reasonable to attempt to convert traditional cuneiform transliteration into IPA notation. In the present work we transliterate the standard Hittitological alphabet as follows:

Non-intervocalic stops are given as p, t, k

In the intervocalic position two series are opposed: geminated and non-geminated, which we transliterate as follows:

pp, bb	pp
p, b	b
tt, dd	tt
t, d	d
kk, gg	kk
k, g	g

Fricatives and sonorants in the intervocalic position are opposed in a similar way:

mm	mm
m	m
nn	nn
n	n
11	11
1	1
rr	rr
r	r
šš	SS
š	S
ZZ	zz [note that Hitt. transliterational $z$ and $zz$ are dorsal affricates]
Z	z
ђђ	hh [note that Hitt. transliterational $h$ and $hh$ are velar fricatives]
þ	h
ŭ	W
į	у

We proceed from the four vowel system:

a	a
e	e
i	i
u, ú	u

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Vowel length (*plene* writing) is not generally noted.

Note on datings: OH means Old Hittite sources, MH - Middle Hittite, NH - New Hittite. The plus sign "+" means that the form is attested from the mentioned period and onwards.

<u>Database compiled and annotated by</u>: A. Kassian, May 2011 (with the participation of I. Yakubovich, who has contributed a number of valuable remarks on Luwian data).

# 1. ALL

Hittite (Old) *xumant-* {*humant-*} (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED H: 373; Weeks 1985: 169-170; Kloekhorst 2008: 361. Polysemy: 'omnis / totus'. OH+. The most probable morphological analysis is *hum-ant-*, but *hu-mant-* with the adjectival suffix *-want-/-mant-* is also possible. The root (*hu-* or *hum-*) seems isolated within Anatolian and IE. The Luwian term for 'all' is an etymologically unclear *punada/i-* (C) [Melchert 1993: 178] (polysemy: 'omnis / totus'). A second Luwian candidate is an etymologically unclear *tanim(m)a/i-* 'all, every' (C&H) [Melchert 1993: 205].

# 2. ASHES

Hittite (Old)  $xass- xassa- \{hass- hassa- \}$  (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HW<sup>2</sup> H: 388; HED H: 210; Kloekhorst 2008: 318. Polysemy: 'ashes / dust / soda ash / soap'. Common gender. OH+. The consonantal stem *hass*- is apparently more archaic. No cognates within Anatolian. Represents the basic Indo-Hittite term for 'ashes'.

# 3. BARK

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unattested.

# 4. BELLY

Hittite (Old) *sarxuwant-* {*sarhuwant-*} (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD S: 253; HEG S: 893; Kloekhorst 2008: 733. Polysemy: 'belly / innards / foetus' (both of humans and animals). Common gender. OH+. The most probable morphological analysis is sarhu-ant-, but theoretically sarh-want- with the adjectival suffix -want- / -mant- is also possible. The root sarh(u) seems isolated within Anatolian and IE (connection with Armenian argand 'womb' is phonetically problematic, according to Martirosyan, whereas Ancient Greek ὀψά [name of a play of Epicharmus], ὀψόά [Hsch.] 'sausage' could hardly be inherited). The Hittite word pantuha- (NH) probably does not mean 'belly', cf. the translation 'bladder (?)' in [CHD P: 95] with discussion ('belly (?)' or 'bladder (?)' in [HEG P: 418]).

### 5. BIG

Hittite (Old) *salli-* (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD S: 92; HEG S: 767; Weeks 1985: 164; Kloekhorst 2008: 709. Widely applicable. OH+. Double *ll* points to an old cluster (\**ln* vel sim., but hardly \**lH*, although discussion of speculative laryngealistic theories is irrelevant in this context). Without Anatolian cognates, but with some weak IE *comparanda* (Lat. *salvus* 'complete, intact', Ancient Greek ὅλος 'whole, complete', etc.). The Luwian (C&H) term for 'big' could be an etymologically unclear word *ura/i*- [Melchert 1993: 243], but it is not certain whether *ura/i*- denotes the generic term 'big' or only a more specific 'great'.

# 6. BIRD

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): The exact Hittite reading of the well-attested ideogram MUŠEN 'bird' is still unclear. The traditional Hittite reading of MUŠEN is a hapax: *suwai*-, common gender (see [HEG S: 1215] w. lit.), although in [Cohen 2010] it is demonstrated that the translation 'rejection (vel sim.)' for *suwais* fits the known context equally well (cf. more categorically in [Kloekhorst 2008: 795]). It should be noted that phonetically Hitt. *suwai*- is a very nice match for the basic IE term for 'bird' (with the rare, but secure correspondence Hitt. *s*- ~ Luw. *t*- ~ IE 0-). The second possible candidate is Hitt. *wattai*-, which is also a hapax, see [Kloekhorst 2008: 987] for detail. Hitt. *wattai*- seems to lack any etymological cognates. The third candidate for 'bird (in general)', Hitt. *peri*-, is less probable, see [CHD P: 312] and cf. [HEG P: 575].

### 7. BITE

Hittite (Old) wag- ~ wakk- (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Weeks 1985: 61; Kloekhorst 2008: 939. OH+. A *hi*-conjugation verb. The nature of the consonantal alternation *g* (sg.) ~ *kk* (pl.) is not entirely clear. A possible Anatolian cognate is Palaic *wakk*- 'to bite (?)'. Further to Tocharian and Ancient Greek roots meaning 'to break, split'.

### 8. BLACK

Hittite (Old) tankui- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): tankui- HEG T: 107; Weeks 1985: 188; Kloekhorst 2008: 829. OH+. Polysemy: 'black / dark', as it is standardly glossed. Except for the thematic vowel, regularly corresponds to Germanic \*dankwa-z ~ \*denkwa-z 'dark'. Cf. Luwian (C) takkui- 'black(?), dark(?)'.

### 9. BLOOD

Hittite (Old) esx-ar  $\{esh$ -ar $\}$  (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HED E-I: 305; Weeks 1985: 48; Kloekhorst 2008: 256. Neutral gender, heteroclitic paradigm: *esh-ar / ish-an-*. OH+. Cognate with Luwian (C) *ashar* 'blood' and the basic IE term for 'blood'.

# 10. BONE

Hittite (Old) *xastai* {*hastai*} (1).

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HW<sup>2</sup> H: 425; Weeks 1985: 49; HED H: 233; Kloekhorst 2008: 325. Neutral gender; paradigm: hastai / hasti-. OH+. Cognate with Luwian (C) has 'bone' (although st > s is unclear) and the basic IE term for 'bone'.

# 11. BREAST

Hittite (Old) takkani- (1).

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HEG T: 34. OH+. The same root \*takk- 'breast' is contained in Hitt. takkaliya- 'to embrace' (OH+) with a different suffix. In [Николаев 1985: 64] Hitt. takkani- 'breast' is treated as a North Caucasian loan: Proto-Nakh \*dok' 'heart' (< Proto-North Caucasian \*yĕrk'wĭ 'heart'). This solution is phonetically attractive, but not very probable for general reasons. There is, indeed, a small number of Proto-Nakh loans in the Hittite lexicon, but it seems that all of them belong to the cultural vocabulary. We are not aware of any Hittite-Nakh contacts that would be intense enough to cause borrowing of items on the Swadesh wordlist. Cf. also an expression for 'female breast': teda-n [HEG T: 343], [Kloekhorst 2008: 875], which can be a nursery word or a reduplicated formation from the IE root 'to suck'.

# 12. BURN TR.

Hittite (Old) war-nu- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Kloekhorst 2008: 924. Incorrectly glossed by Kloekhorst as 'to kindle, to set fire to'. OH+. A causative formation from *ur-/war-* 'to burn (intr.)'. Probably cognate with Balto-Slav. \*wir- 'to boil, cook', Slav. \*war- 'heat'. A second candidate is Hitt. *samenu-, samesiya-*, but these verbs have a technical ritual meaning: 'to burn smth. for fumigation, etc.', see [CHD S: 122 ff.]. Apparently the Luwian term for 'to burn (tr.)' is the causative stem *ki-nu-* (used with the fire-like logogram FLAMMAE(?)), probably a cognate of Ancient Greek καίω 'to burn (tr.)'.

# 13. NAIL (CLAW)

Hittite (Old) sankuwai- (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** CHD S: 180; HEG S: 837; Kloekhorst 2008: 723. Common gender. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (C) *tammuga*- 'nail (refers both to fingernails and toenails)' [Melchert 1993: 204] and the basic IE term for 'nail' with the rare, but secure correspondence Hitt. *s*- ~ Luw. *t*- ~ IE 0-. The Luw. word is indeed known from the ritual context, where nail clippings are mentioned, but Melchert's supposition that Luwian possessed two separate terms for 'nail' and 'nail clippings' looks typologically odd.

# 14. CLOUD

Hittite (Old) alpa- (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HW<sup>2</sup> A: 60; HED A: 37; Kloekhorst 2008: 169. Common gender. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian and probably IE as well. The connection to Latin *albus* 'white', Germanic \**alb-* 'something white' seems semantically dubious, although possible.

### 15. COLD

Hittite (Old) eg-u-na- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED E-I: 258; Kloekhorst 2008: 234. OH+. Derived from the noun *ega-* 'cold, frost, ice'. A cognate of Germanic, Celtic and Baltic words for 'icicle' and 'ice'.

### 16. COME

Hittite (Old) uw=a-(1).

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HEG U: 156; Kloekhorst 2008: 992. OH+. A *mi*-conjugation verb; paradigm: uw=a-/u=e-. Corresponds to Luwian (C&H) *awi*- 'to come'. Apparently consists of the preverb \**aw*- and the common IE root \**ey*- 'to go' (cf. the similar structure of the verb 'to go' q.v.). Another candidate is the frequent Hitt. *hi*-conjugation verb *ar*- [HW<sup>2</sup> A: 208], [HED A: 108], [Kloekhorst 2008: 196], but its basic meaning is rather 'to arrive (at)', not the more specific 'to come'.

# 17. DIE

Hittite (Old)  $ag \sim akk$ - (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HW<sup>2</sup> A: 51; HED A: 17; Kloekhorst 2008: 167. A hi-conjugation verb. OH+. The nature of the consonant alternation g (sg.) ~ kk (pl.) is not entirely clear. Seems isolated within Anatolian and IE. Figuratively the verb hark- 'to get lost, lose oneself, disappear, perish' [HED H: 157], [Kloekhorst 2008: 306] can also be used in the meaning 'to die', but it is not the default word for this meaning. The same concerns the verb mer- /mar- 'to disappear, to vanish' [HED M: 148], [Kloekhorst 2008: 577]. In the other Anatolian branch 'to die' is expressed by the root \*wal-: Luwian (H) wala/i-  $\sim wara/i$ - 'to die' [Melchert 1993: 250]. It is therefore probable that \*wel- was the basic Indo-Hittite root for 'to die', superseded by \*mer- after the split of Tocharian. Hitt. ag-  $\sim akk$ - is an unclear innovation in this case.

# 18. DOG

#### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Unknown, normally written by the ideograms UR, UR.GI<sub>7</sub>. The common IE root is known from Hitt. Lúkuwan- ~ kun-hound-man' and Luwian (H) zwani-'dog'.

# 19. DRINK

Hittite (Old) egu- (1).

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HED E-I: 261; Kloekhorst 2008: 236. OH+. A *mi*-conjugation verb; paradigm: *egu- / agu-*. Anatolian cognates are Palaic *ahu-* 'to drink' and maybe Luwian (C) *u-* 'to drink(?)'. An IE cognate is Tocharian A & B *yok-* 'to drink'. After the split of Tocharian the root was lost (a possible retention may be seen in Lat. *ēb-rius* 'drunk').

# 20. DRY

Hittite (Old) *xad-ant-* {*had-ant-*} (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HW<sup>2</sup> H: 478; HED H: 247; Kloekhorst 2008: 328. OH+. A regular participial formation from the verb *had-* 'to dry'. An IE cognate is Ancient Greek  $\check{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  'to dry up'. Another candidate is Hitt. *tars-ant-* (a participle from the rare verb *tars-* 'to become dry, make dry') [HEG T: 219], [Kloekhorst 2008: 848], but *tars-ant-* is apparently applicable exclusively to food stuff.

### 21. EAR

Hittite (Old) *istam-an-~istam-in-* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HED E-I: 458; Kloekhorst 2008: 411. Common gender. OH+. Apparently the onset is phonetically /st.../ with a graphical epenthesis. An Anatolian cognate is Luwian (C) *tumm-ant-* 'ear' [Melchert 1993: 232] (with the frequent Luwian simplification of the initial cluster *st-*). The root was lost in IE (connections with Ancient Greek and Avestan forms with the invariant meaning 'an organ of perception' or 'a hole in the head' are semantically unsatisfactory). The Hitt. verb *istamass-* 'to hear; to listen to' q.v. is derived from the same root.

### 22. EARTH

Hittite (Old) tegan (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HEG T: 292; Kloekhorst 2008: 858. Neutral gender; paradigm: tegan / takn-. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (C) tiyamm(i)- 'earth', (H) takam- 'earth'. A Common IE term.

# 23. EAT

Hittite (Old) *ed-* (1).

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED E-I: 315; Kloekhorst 2008: 261. A *mi*-conjugation verb; paradigm: *ed- / ad-*. OH+. Cognate with Palaic *ad-* 'to eat', Luwian (C&H) *ad-* 'to eat'. A Common IE term. Cf. the Hitt. verb *karap-* 'to eat (of animals), devour' [HED K: 72], [Kloekhorst 2008: 442].

### 24. EGG

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Apparently unattested.

# 25. EYE

Hittite (Old) *saguwa-* (1).

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD S: 65; HEG S: 731; Kloekhorst 2008: 704. Neutral gender. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (C&H) tawa/i- 'eye' and the basic IE term for 'eye' with the rare, but secure correspondence Hitt. s-  $\sim$  Luw. t-  $\sim$  IE 0- (although the Anatolian so-called "lenition"  $/g^w/$  for  $*k^w$  requires additional investigation). The Hitt. verb saguwa-ye- 'to see, look' is derived from this term, however, it

is not the main Hitt. word for 'to see' q.v.

### 26. FAT N.

Hittite (Old) sagan (1) / app-ucci {app-uzzi} (2).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD S: 35; HEG S: 717; Kloekhorst 2008: 698. Polysemy: 'oil / fat'. Neutral gender; paradigm: sagan / sakn-. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (C) tain 'oil', but lacks reliable IE cognates. Two Hitt. words for 'fat' compete with each other: 1) sagan; 2) app-uzzi (see below). It seems impossible to make the choice proceeding from known contexts (note that normally 'fat' is denoted by the ideogram i), so we treat both words as synonyms. Cf. also the Hitt. root \*wark-, retained in wark-ant- 'fat (adj.)', wark-ess- 'to get fat', causative wark-nu- 'to make fat' [Kloekhorst 2008: 963] (corresponds to Palaic graphical waqqak-ant- 'fat (adj.)').HW<sup>2</sup> A: 193; HED A: 103; Kloekhorst 2008: 195. Glossed as 'animal fat, tallow'. Neutral gender. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian and IE.

# 27. FEATHER

Hittite (Old) *patt-ar* ~ *pitt-ar* (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD P: 240; Kloekhorst 2008: 658. Polysemy: 'wing / feather'. Neutral gender; heteroclitic paradigm: pVttar / pVttan-MH. The reading of the first vowel is unclear: a or i. The meaning 'feather' is scantily attested, but it is the best Hitt. candidate (although in [HEG P: 538] it is not glossed as 'feather' at all). The second candidate is part-awar ~ part-awar ~ part-awar [CHD P: 198], [HEG P: 508], [Kloekhorst 2008: 646], whose primary meaning is 'wing', but for one MH ritual context the semantics 'feather' is sometimes suspected; in fact, however, the normal translation 'wing' also fits the discussed hišuwa-passage. The word pattar ~ pittar is isolated within Anatolian, but may correspond to the main IE term for 'feather'.

### **28. FIRE**

Hittite (Old) paxxur {pahhur} (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** CHD P: 12; HEG P: 366; Kloekhorst 2008: 613. Polysemy: 'fire / campfire / embers / fever'. Neutral gender; heteroclitic paradigm: *pahhur / pahhuen-*. OH+. May be cognate with Luwian (C) *pahur* 'fire(?)'. Corresponds to the main IE term for 'fire'.

# 29. FISH

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Unknown, normally written with the ideogram KU<sub>6</sub>. Concerning a sometimes proposed equation between KU<sub>6</sub> and the hapax *parhuwaya*- ~ *mashuwaya*- see [CHD P: 148], [HEG P: 458], [Kloekhorst 2008: 635].

30. FLY V.

Hittite (Old)  $pa=i-\sim uw=a-(1)$ .

#### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Ünal 1973: 34; CHD P: 19, 35, 355. In Hittite the idea of flying is normally expressed with various verbs of movement: *pai*- 'to go, go away' q.v., *uwa*- 'to come' q.v., *ar*- 'to arrive', etc., see [Ünal 1973: 34], [CHD P: 19, 35, 355]. We fill the slot with *pa=i*- and *uw=a*-, both of which contain the IE root \**ey*- 'to go' with different prefixes. Cf. also the verb *pittai*- ~ *pattai*- 'to run; to flee', which is once attested in the meaning 'to fly' (said of the goddess Ištar) [CHD P: 354], [Kloekhorst 2008: 655]; *pittai*- ~ *pattai*- is cognate with the main IE candidate for 'to fly'.

### 31. FOOT

Hittite (Old) pada- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD P: 231; HEG P: 531; Kloekhorst 2008: 653. Common gender. OH+. [CHD P: 234] suspects that *pada-* can also denote 'leg', but note that in all cited examples the Hitt. word is concealed under the ideogram GÌR. Corresponds to Luwian (C&H) *pada/i-* 'foot', Lycian *pede/i-* 'foot' and to the basic IE term for 'foot'. Cf. Hitt. *ektu* 'leg' [HED E-I: 260], but in known contexts this term is exclusively applied to animals. Another candidate for 'human leg' can be the Hittite (and apparently Luwian) word *talla-*, for which see [Pecchioli Daddi 2010].

# 32. FULL

Hittite (Old) suwu- (1).

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HEG S: 1125; Kloekhorst 2008: 794. OH+. The same root is contained in Hitt. *suw-a-* 'to fill', Luwian (H) *suw-a-* 'to fill' and Palaic *suw-a-ru-* 'full' [Kloekhorst 2008: 796]. No reliable IE etymology.

# 33. GIVE

Hittite (Old) pai- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD P: 40; HEG P: 376; Kloekhorst 2008: 614. Polysemy: 'to give / to pay / to grant / to hand over'. A *hi*-conjugation verb; paradigm: *pai-* / *pi-*. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (C) *pai-* 'to give', (H) *pia-* 'to give', Lycian *piye-* 'to give', Palaic iterative *pi-sa-* 'to give'. The IE etymology is unclear, cf. the discussion in [Kloekhorst 2008: 615].

### **34. GOOD**

Hittite (Old) assu- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HW<sup>2</sup> A: 492; HED A: 196; Kloekhorst 2008: 223. Polysemy: 'good / dear / favourable'. OH+. Apparently the same root is contained in the Hitt. medial verb *ass-* ~ *ass-iya-* 'to be good / loved' (corresponds to Luwian (H) *aza-* 'to love'). Cognate with Ancient Greek ἐύς 'good', Old Indian sú 'good'. The Palaic and Luwian (C) word for 'good' is *wasu-* [Melchert 1993: 266].

# 35. GREEN

Hittite (Old) xaxxal-uwant- ~ xaxli-want- ~ xaxla-want- {hahla-uwant- ~ hahla-want-} (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HW² H: 12; HED H: 4; Kloekhorst 2008: 268. Apparently with polysemy: 'green / yellow'. A difficult case. First, it is not clear whether Hittite distinguishes 'green' and 'yellow' or if both color tones were denoted by one word (in accordance with the Sumerian and Akkadian strategy). Second, in almost all cases where the semantics of 'green' or 'yellow' can be suspected, the Hittite word is concealed under the Sumerograms SI<sub>12</sub> or SI<sub>12</sub>.SI<sub>12</sub> (= SIG<sub>7</sub>, SIG<sub>7</sub>.SIG<sub>7</sub>) '(to be) green-yellow, pale' or under the Akkadogram haṣartu '(yellow-)green wool'. The most probable reading of SI<sub>12</sub> / SI<sub>12</sub>.SI<sub>12</sub> and haṣartu is Hittite \*hahhala/i-, see [HW² H: 4], although some other paronymous adjectival formations are attested in phonetic writing with the meaning 'green / yellow': hahhal-uwant-, hahli-want-, hahla-want- [HED H: 4], [HW² H: 12], [Kloekhorst 2008: 268]. Hence also various verbs such as hahhal-e-ske- 'to become yellow/green', hahl-ahh- 'to make yellow/green', etc. All these stems are derived from the noun hahhal / hahhall- 'greenery, verdure, (wild) vegetation' [HW² H: 3], [HED H: 3], [Kloekhorst 2008: 267], which in its turn is treated in [Huĸoлaeв 1985: 60] as a North Caucasian loanword (NCauc. \*qĕleqĭ 'a k. of tree or bush'). Indeed, Hitt. hahhall looks like a Fremdwort, but the proposed NCauc. source seems dubious because of the different meaning and the assumed metathesis of *l*, which is unattested in known NCauc. ancestral forms.

# **36. HAIR**

Hittite (Old) teda-na- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HEG T: 345. Polysemy: 'head hair [pl.] / a single head hair [sg.]'. Common gender. MH+. Unclear if applied to head hair only. Isolated within Anatolian and IE. Cf. ishiya-ni- ~ ishie-ni- 'body hair' [HED E-I: 400], [Kloekhorst 2008: 392], OH+, which is traditionally treated as a deverbative from ishiya- 'to bind; to wrap'. The Luwian term for 'head hair' is apparently tapp-ani- (C) [Melchert 1993: 206], which also lacks IE cognates.

### 37. HAND

Hittite (Old) kessar (1).

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HED K: 160; Kloekhorst 2008: 471. Polysemy: 'hand / paw'. Common gender. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (C) is(sa)ra/i- 'hand', (H) istra/i- 'hand', Lycian izre/i- 'hand'. Cognate with the basic IE term for 'hand'. Reliable candidates for Hitt. 'arm' seem to be unknown. Cf. ishunau-, which can denote 'arm' or at least 'upper arm' ([Kloekhorst 2008: 395] w. lit.), but I believe that

the traditional translation 'sinew' is more acceptable, especially if we suppose the polysemy 'sinew / biceps' (thus [HED E-I: 403], [HED K: 321]) and further an optional shift 'biceps' > 'upper arm' as a *pars pro toto* construction (thus [Catsanicos 1996: 201] with typological parallels).

# 38. HEAD

Hittite (Old) *xars-ar* {*hars-ar*} (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HW<sup>2</sup> H: 344; HED H: 187; Kloekhorst 2008: 314. Polysemy: 'head / person / front / beginning'. Neutral gender; heteroclitic paradigm: harsar / harsn-. OH+. Cannot be separated from the main IE term for 'head', although the fricativization \*k > h is quite irregular for Hittite. Other designations of 'head' in Hittite are etymologically obscure hala- and maybe huballas, but these word are very rare and certainly cannot be considered the default terms. The Luwian term for 'head' is harmaha/i- (C) [Melchert 1993: 58], which may contain the same ancient root, if we suppose consonant cluster simplification after the addition of the harmaha/i- harmaha

# 39. HEAR

Hittite (Old) istam-ass- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED E-I: 452; Kloekhorst 2008: 412. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen to / to perceive'. A *mi*-conjugation verb. OH+. The same root is contained in the Hitt. noun *istam-ana*- 'ear' q.v., although morphological details are not so clear. Theoretically both *istam-ass*- and *istam-ana*- can be independently derived from the root \**stam*- with different suffixes. An alternative and more tenable solution is to treat *istam-ass*- as a denominal formation < *istam-an-s*- (thus [Kloekhorst 2008: 413]), but it should be noted that, cross-linguistically, the semantic derivation 'ear' > 'to hear' is, surprisingly, very rare. Nevertheless, the Luwian (C) verb for 'to hear', *tummant-iya*-, represents the morphologically unquestionable derivation from the term for 'ear' q.v.

# 40. HEART

Hittite (Old)  $kir \sim kart$ - (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HED K: 189; Kloekhorst 2008: 469. Polysemy: 'heart / center'. Neutral gender; paradigm: *kir | kart- | kart-i-*. OH+. Cognate with Palaic *kart-* 'heart', Luwian (C&H) *zart-* 'heart'. Corresponds to the basic IE term for 'heart'.

### 41. HORN

Hittite (Old) karaw-ar (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HED K: 77; Kloekhorst 2008: 446. Neutral gender; heteroclitic paradigm: *karawar / karaun-*. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian *zuran-* 'horn' (H), Luwian adj. *zarwani*(ya)- 'of a horn' (C) and to the basic IE term for 'horn'. Cf. a *terminus technicus* 'hunting

horn; drinking horn': sawitra-, sawadar [CHD S: 317], [HEG S: 961], [Kloekhorst 2008: 740] (without etymology).

# 42. I<sub>1</sub>

Hittite (Old) uk (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 134; HEG U: 21; Kloekhorst 2008: 112, 912. Direct stem. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian, but corresponds to the IE 1<sup>st</sup> p. sg. pronoun. The u-vocalism in Hitt. is probably under the influence of the oblique stem of the 2<sup>nd</sup> p. sg. pronoun tu- 'thee' (q.v.), although paradigmatically it is somewhat problematic. The Hitt. suppletive paradigm of the 2<sup>nd</sup> p. sg. pronoun is nom. zik (< \*tik), acc.-dat. tuk, thus, u may initially have penetrated into acc.-dat. ammuk 'me' and from there spread onto the direct stem uk.

# 42. I<sub>2</sub>

Hittite (Old) amm- (2).

#### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 134; Kloekhorst 2008: 112, 912. Oblique stem. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (H) *amu* 'I, me', Lydian *amu* 'I, me', Lydian *ēmu* 'I', *em-* / *ēm-* 'me', where the old direct stem was superseded by the oblique one. A cognate of the IE oblique stem in *m-*, although the Anatolian prothetic vowel is unclear. The double *-mm-* is not entirely clear either (< \**mn*?).

# 43. KILL

Hittite (Old) kuen- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED K: 206; Kloekhorst 2008: 485. Polysemy: 'to kill / to slay / to ruin'. A *mi*-conjugation verb; paradigm: *kuen-* / *kun*-. OH+. Its Luwian (H) correspondence can be seen in the scribe title *kwananala-*, literally 'engraver'. Apparently the basic Indo-Hittite root for 'to kill'.

# 44. KNEE

Hittite (Old) kenu ~ kanu (1).

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HED K: 146; Kloekhorst 2008: 467. Polysemy: 'knee / penis, loins'. Neutral gender. OH+. Cognate with Palaic *kinu* 'penis' [Eichner 2010: 52]. Represents the basic IE term for 'knee'.

# 45. KNOW

Hittite (Old) sakk- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD S: 21; HEG S: 709; Kloekhorst 2008: 695. Polysemy: 'to know (about) / to experience / to pay attention to / to recognize / to remember / to be expert in / to be acquainted with'. A hi-conjugation verb; paradigm: sakk- / sekk-. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian. An IE comparandum may be seen in Lat. sciō 'to know', but semantic shifts between various verbs of knowing in IE languages require additional investigation. Cf. also Hitt. kan-ess- 'to know, recognize, acknowledge; to honor' [HED K: 42], [Kloekhorst 2008: 434], likewise isolated within Anatolian, but with secure IE cognates. In Luwian the verb 'to know' is an etymologically obscure stem uni- (H and maybe C) [Melchert 1993: 241].

### 46. LEAF

Hittite (Old) parstu- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD P: 190; Kloekhorst 2008: 645. Polysemy: 'leaf / foliage'. Common gender. OH+. [HEG P: 446] incorrectly glosses it as 'bud, shoot'. Isolated within Anatolian and apparently IE. Luwian (H) *tarsa*- means rather 'shoots', not 'leaf'.

# 47. LIE

Hittite (Old) *ki*- (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HED K: 169; Kloekhorst 2008: 473. A medial verb. OH+. Applied both to humans and things. Corresponds to Palaic *ki*-'to lie', Luwian (C) *zi*- 'to lie'. Cognate with the main IE candidate for 'to lie'.

### 48. LIVER

Hittite (Old) lessi (1).

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** CHD L-N: 72; HED L: 97; HEG L-M: 54; Kloekhorst 2008: 525. Neutral gender. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian and, apparently, IE. The Palaic term for 'liver' is etymologically unclear *pannu*- [Eichner 2010: 52].

# 49. LONG

Hittite (Old) *talugi-* (1).

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HEG T: 61; Kloekhorst 2008: 819. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal)'. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian, but corresponds to the basic IE term for 'long'. In Luwian 'long (spatial/temporal)' is expressed by an etymologically obscure stem array(a)- (C) [Melchert 1993: 26], a+ra/i- ~ ara/i (H).

# 50. LOUSE

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unattested.

# 51. MAN

Hittite (Old) pesan- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD P: 324; HEG P: 585; Kloekhorst 2008: 670. Common gender; paradigm: pesan-/pisen-/pesn-. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian, but corresponds to Lat. pēnis 'penis' and other terms for male genitalia. In Luwian the word for 'man' is an etymologically obscure stem zida/i- (C) [Melchert 1993: 284].

# 52. MANY

Hittite (Old) *mekk-i* (1).

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD L-M: 245; HED M: 119; HEG L-M: 181; Kloekhorst 2008: 572. Glossed as 'much, many, numerous'. OH+. The main word mekk-  $\sim mekki$ - is an adjective, but nom.-acc. sg. n. mekki can also be used adverbially. The Luwian word for 'many, much' is ma (H), which may etymologically correspond to the Hitt. stem, see [van den Hout 2010: 239]. Cognate with Ancient Greek  $\mu$ έγ $\alpha$ ς 'big', Old Indian máhi 'big', etc., but the correspondence Hittite voiceless velar -kk-  $\sim$  Ancient Greek  $-\gamma$ -  $\sim$  Old Indian h is irregular.

# 53. MEAT

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unknown, normally written with the ideogram UZU.

### 54. MOON

Hittite (Old) arma- (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HW<sup>2</sup> A: 313; HED A: 151; Kloekhorst 2008: 206. Polysemy: 'moon / Moon-deity / month'. Common gender. OH+. The Hitt. word *arma*- is always concealed under ideograms, but can be safely revealed with the help of phonetical complements, rebus

writings and various derivatives. A Common Anatolian term (Lycian arīmma- 'moon', etc.), but further etymology is uncertain.

# 55. MOUNTAIN

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Unknown, normally written with the ideogram HUR.SAG. The Luwian term for 'mountain' is probably \*ariyatt(i)-(literally 'elevation'), see [Melchert 1993: 27].

# 56. MOUTH

Hittite (Old) ayis (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HW<sup>2</sup> A: 48; HED A: 15; Kloekhorst 2008: 166. Neutral gender; paradigm: *ayis / iss-*. OH+. A cognate of Luwian (C) *aas*-mouth'. Corresponds to Indo-Iranian, Latin, etc. words for 'mouth', therefore represents the basic Indo-Hittite term for 'mouth'.

# 57. NAME

Hittite (Old) laman (1).

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD L-N: 31; HED L: 51; HEG L-M: 27; Kloekhorst 2008: 517. Polysemy: 'name / reputation'. Neutral gender; paradigm: laman / lamn-. OH+. Cognate with Luwian (H) alaman- 'name', Lyc. alaman- 'name'. One of the most stable IE words with secure Nostratic cognates.

# 58. NECK

Hittite (Old) *kuwatt-ar* (1).

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED K: 313. Polysemy: 'neck / nape of the neck, scruff / top of shoulders / mainstay, support'. Neutral gender; heteroclitic paradigm: kuwattar ~ kuttar / kuttan-. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian and IE. Cf. the Palaic word kassu- or kassud-'neck(??)' [Eichner 2010: 52-53].

### 59. NEW

Hittite (Old) newa- (1).

**Hittite (Old):** CHD L-N: 455; HED N: 95; HEG N: 320; Kloekhorst 2008: 605. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (C) *natvali-* 'new'. One of the most stable IE words.

# 60. NIGHT

Hittite (Old) ispant- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED E-I: 431; Kloekhorst 2008: 404. Common gender. OH+. Apparently the onset is phonetically /sp.../ with a graphical epenthesis. Should be analyzed as *sp-ant-* with the common suffix *-ant-*. The Hitt. root is cognate with the Indo-Iranian term for 'night': Old Indian *kṣâp-* 'night', Avestan *xšapan-* / *xšafn-* 'night' < IE \**ksep-* / \**ksp-* with cluster simplification in Hittite. The Common IE term for 'night', \**neg*<sup>hw</sup>-*t-* > \**nek*<sup>w</sup>-*t-*, corresponds to Hitt. *negut-* 'evening, nightfall', derived from the Hitt. verb *negu-* 'to become evening' [CHD L-N: 432], [HED N: 79], [HEG N: 302], [Kloekhorst 2008: 602]; it should be noted that the plain root without the *t-*suffix is also retained in some Ancient Greek forms, but with the semantics of 'night' rather than 'evening, dusk'.

### 61. NOSE

Hittite (Old) *tidida- ~ tittida-* (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HEG T: 393. Polysemy: 'nose / muzzle'. Probably common gender. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian, etymologically obscure.

# 62. NOT

Hittite (Old) na-tta (1).

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 341; CHD L-N: 409; HED N: 68; HEG N: 284; Kloekhorst 2008: 597. OH+. Negation of assertion. Corresponds to the main negations in the rest of Anatolian: Palaic *ni*, *nit*, Luwian *nawa* (C&H), *na* (H), Lydian *ni*, *nit*, Lycian *ne*. Apparently contains the basic IE negative morpheme \**ne*, although Hitt. *na*- for the expected \*\**ne*-/*ni*- is unclear. For the prohibitive negation the particle *le* is used (OH+) [Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 344]; the latter lacks IE cognates (a sometimes proposed connection to the same IE \**ne* is unjustified). The Luwian prohibitive negation is *ni*-s, latter *ni* (H).

### 63. ONE

Hittite (Old)  $si \sim sia$ - (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 154; Kloekhorst 2008: 750. OH+. Apparently corresponds to the IE pronominal demonstrative stem \*so-, fem. \*sā/sī, cf. especially the Old Indian variant syá, fem. sy á'jener, der'. This numerical meaning for sia- can be paralleled by some forms of the Tocharian paradigm '1' (as per G.-J. Pinault); cf. also unclear Ancient Greek ἴα fem. 'one'. Note

that the semantic shift 'this' > '1' is quite common cross-linguistically, but apparently not *vice versa*. The IE root *oy-* '1' is retained in Hitt. *anki* 'once', *ant-* 'equal', Luwian *ayawala* 'equal'.

# 64. PERSON

Hittite (Old) antuwaxxas {antuwahhas} (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HW<sup>2</sup> A: 109; HED A: 79; Kloekhorst 2008: 188. Common gender; original paradigm is probably *antuwahhas / antuhs-*. Isolated within Anatolian. It is likely that this stem should be analyzed as an archaic formation *an-tuwahh-* '(having) breath inside'. Anatomical terms *harsar* 'head' q.v. and *twekk-* 'body' can also be used in the meaning 'person'.

### 65. RAIN

Hittite (Old) heyu- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED H: 301; Kloekhorst 2008: 340. Common gender. OH+. This stem looks archaic, but it is isolated within Anatolian and IE

66. RED

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unknown, normally written with the ideogram SA<sub>5</sub>. The main candidate for the phonetical reading of SA<sub>5</sub> is Hitt. *mida-midi-mitta-* [CHD L-N: 301], [HED M: 165], [HEG L-M: 218], [Kloekhorst 2008: 583], but in all known examples *mida-* refers only to wool, but not to other objects, so it may be suspected that *mida-* represents some *terminus technicus* and not a generic word for 'red'.

### 67. ROAD

Hittite (Old) palsa- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD P: 69; HEG P: 398; Kloekhorst 2008: 621. Polysemy: 'road / path / trail / campaign, military expedition / journey / caravan / time (occasion, occurrence)'. Common gender. OH+. Cognate with Luwian *pars*- (H) 'time (occasion, occurrence)', if the translation is correct. Isolated within IE. The Luwian word for 'road' is *haruwa*- (C) [Kloekhorst 2008: 317] (occasionally borrowed into Hittite), which is likewise isolated within Anatolian and IE (note that Luwian *haruwa*- resembles the Hurro-Urartian term for 'road': *hari*, as well as Akkadian *harrānu* 'road; journey').

### 68. ROOT

Hittite (Old) *surki-~ surka-* (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HEG S: 1209; Kloekhorst 2008: 792. Common gender. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian and IE.

# 69. ROUND

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unattested.

70. SAND

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unattested. May be written by the ideogram SAHAR.HI.A.

# 71. SAY

Hittite (Old) *mema-* (1) / *te-* (2).

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): CHD L-N: 254; HED M: 126; HEG L-M: 186; Kloekhorst 2008: 573.

There are two closely synonymous verbs 'to say' in archaic Hittite:

1) mema-. A hi-conjugation verb. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian and IE.

2) te- / tar-. A mi-conjugation verb with a suppletive paradigm: te- (sg.) ~ tar (pl.). OH+. The first root te- is a cognate of Slavic \*dē- 'to say' (apparently to be separated from the Common IE root for 'to put, lay'); the second root tar- must be compared with Baltic \*tar- 'to pronounce' and other IE forms of expressive saying (including Palaic tar-ta- 'curse', Luwian (H) ta-tar-iya 'to curse' etc.).

In latter compositions *te- / tar-* is beeing superseded by *mema-*, which becomes the only default *verbum dicendi* in New Hittite [CHD L-N: 263].

The Luwian verb for 'to say' is *asaza*- (H) [Kloekhorst 2008: 166], probably derived from \**as*- 'mouth' q.v., but it should be noted that the semantic derivation 'mouth' > 'to say' is surprisingly rare, cross-linguistically.HED T: 140, 291; Kloekhorst 2008: 857, 870.

# 72. SEE

Hittite (Old) au ~ au-s- (1).

**73. SEED** 

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unknown, normally written by the ideogram NUMUN.

74. SIT

Hittite (Old) *es*- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED E-I: 291; Kloekhorst 2008: 252. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to reside / to settle, inhabit [trans.]'. Normally a medial verb; paradigm: es- / as-. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (H) as- 'to be seated, to dwell', etc. Cognate with Ancient Greek ήσ- 'to sit; to stay' (the aspiration remains unclear), Indo-Iranian \* $\bar{a}s$ - 'to sit; to dwell'.

**75. SKIN** 

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Unknown. One possible candidate is an etymologically obscure stem *miluli- ~ maluli-* [CHD L-N: 253], [HED M: 124], [HEG L-M: 210], but its exact translation is uncertain. Cf. a word for 'hide': *kursa-* [HED K: 270].

76. SLEEP

Hittite (Old) supp- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HEG S: 1175; Kloekhorst 2008: 787. A medial or *mi*-conjugation verb. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian, but apparently represent the basic Indo-Hittite term. The second candidate is *ses- | sas- [HEG S: 1005]*, [Kloekhorst 2008: 746] (*mi*-conjugation verb, OH+), but its underlying meaning is rather 'to rest' than 'to sleep' proper. Hitt. *ses-* is also isolated within Anatolian, but corresponds to Indo-Iranic \**sas-* 'to sleep'.

77. SMALL

Hittite (Old) kappi- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED K: 61; Kloekhorst 2008: 439. OH+. A difficult case, because normally 'small, little' is written with the ideogram TUR. We know three Hittite adjectives that can aspire to the status of this generic term. Out of these, kappi- seems to be the main candidate. Hitt. kappi- is probably the default reading of the ideogram TUR; in phonetic writing it is applicable both to inanimate and animate objects. A possible Anatolian cognate is Lydian καμβειν 'grandchild', but it is not obligatory. Seems to lack reliable IE etymology.

The second candidate is Hitt. *amiy-ant-* ~ *ammiy-ant-* [HED A: 47], [HW<sup>2</sup> A: 66], [Kloekhorst 2008: 171], OH+, but it seems that originally this adjective may have referred to animate objects only, although in NH *am(m)iy-ant-* is also applicable to inanimate objects. Traditionally *am(m)iy-ant-* is regarded as IE negative \**n* plus the participle of the Hittite verb *mai-* / *miya-* 'to grow' (lit. 'non-grown'), despite the fact that there are some morphological and phonetical difficulties.

The third adjective is *tebu-* 'little, few', adv. *tebu* 'a few' [HEG T: 311], [Kloekhorst 2008: 869], OH+, but its meaning is more likely to be closer to Eng. 'few, a few'. Apparently a cognate of Old Indian *dabh-rá-* 'little, small, deficient'.

### 78. SMOKE

Hittite (Old) *tuxxui-~ taxxui {tuhhui-~ tahhui}* (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HEG T: 417; Kloekhorst 2008: 895. Common gender; paradigmatically: *tVhhui*- and *tVhhuwai*-. OH+. The reading of the first vowel is unclear: *a* or *u*. Isolated within Anatolian (Kloekhorst [2008: 886] claims that the Hitt. verb *tuhhai*- means 'to produce smoke', but it still seems uncertain). The basic Indo-Hittite root for 'to smoke (vb.); smoke (n.)'.

79. STAND

Hittite (Old) ar- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HW<sup>2</sup> A: 194; HED A: 104; Kloekhorst 2008: 195. Polysemy: 'to stand / to be present, occur'. A medial verb. OH+. Applicable to both animate and inanimate subjects. Isolated within Anatolian and IE (IE \*er- 'to move' corresponds to Hitt. ar- 'to arrive'). Cf. the Hitt. verb *tiya-* 'to step, go stand, place oneself' [HEG T: 357], [Kloekhorst 2008: 879] (apparently corresponds to Luwian (C&H) *ta-* 'to come to stand').

80. STAR

Hittite (Old) *xaster-* {*haster-*} (1).

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HW<sup>2</sup> H: 434; HED H: 238; Kloekhorst 2008: 326. A hapax (the word is normally written by the ideogram MUL). Isolated within Anatolian, but reflects the basic Indo-Hittite term for 'star'.

### 81. STONE

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unknown, normally written by the ideogram NA<sub>4</sub>. Hitt. *agu*- is traditionally translated as 'stone' [HW<sup>2</sup> A: 53], [HED A: 24], but, in fact, the meaning 'seashell' seems more probable [CHD P: 73, 207], [Kloekhorst 2008: 168]. Cf. also *passi-la*-, whose basic meaning is 'small stone, pebble' [CHD P: 206], [HEG P: 520], [Kloekhorst 2008: 650].

### 82. SUN

Hittite (Old) *istanu-~astanu-(-1)*.

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED E-I: 465. In Anatolian and Mesopotamian traditions the word for 'sun' is syncretized with names of the Sun deity. In the case of Hittite it is the Hattian loan *istanu- | astanu-* 'sun; Sun-god(dess); majesty' < Hatt. *estan | astan* 'sun; Sun-goddess'. In other Anatolian languages we observe stems that correspond to Hitt. *siwatt-* 'day': Palaic *tiyatt-* (or *tiyad-*) 'Sun deity', Luwian *tiwad-* (C), *tiwad(i)-* (H) 'Sun deity' [Kloekhorst 2008: 766], derived from the IE root \*dyew- 'day-lit sky, sky-god'.

### 83. SWIM

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Unattested. As noted in [Ünal 1973: 34], the verbs applied to water-snakes are *pai*- 'to go, go away' q.v. and *uwa*- 'to come' q.v., identical to the situation with expressions for 'to fly' q.v. Cf. also *pai*- in the meaning 'to go across the sea (said of persons)' [CHD P: 33].

# **84. TAIL**

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Unknown, normally written by the ideogram KUN. A very probable candidate for the reading of KUN in Hittite is the etymologically obscure *sisai* [HEG S: 1008], [Kloekhorst 2008: 757], but we prefer to leave the slot empty.

# 85. THAT

Hittite (Old) aba- (1).

Hittite (Old): HW<sup>2</sup> A: 130; HED A: 86; Kloekhorst 2008: 191; Melchert 2009. Polysemy: 'that; he, she, it'. OH+. As noted in [Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 142 ff.], the Hittite deictic system is ternary. It can be summarized as follows: *ka*- 'this' ~ *aba*- 'that (concerning the addressee)' ~ suppletive *asi* / *uni* / *ini* / *ed*- 'that (far or concerning the 3<sup>rd</sup> p.)'. The basic Hittite opposition is, however, binary: *ka*- 'this' ~ *aba*- 'that' and this situation goes back to Proto-Anatolian, as is proven by the binary system of Luwian: (C&H) *za*- 'this' ~ (H, prob. C) *aba*- 'that; he, she, it'.

Various historical scenarios of the development of the deictic system in Anatolian languages are discussed in Melchert 2009. I suppose that the binary system is the most probable solution for Proto-Anatolian (\* $k^ya^2$ - vs. \* $aba^2$ -). Hittite is the only language, for which a ternary system is attested. The third member of the Hittite system (suppletive  $asi / uni / ini / ed^2$  'that (far or concerning the 3<sup>rd</sup> p.)') looks like a historical compound of some deictic morpheme  $a^2$  + pronominal endings + some deictic clitic -i [Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 145], [Kloekhorst 2008: 191: 220]. It seems that this paradigm is an inner Hittite innovation, whose structure was clear to the Proto-Hittite speakers and underwent some levellings after the paradigms of the basic deictic pronouns  $ka^2$  and  $aba^2$ .

Data of other Anatolian languages is summed up in [Melchert 2009]. In Palaic the pronoun ka- retains its original meaning 'this'; far deixis 'that' can be expressed by morphologically unclear anni-, although it is not certain; Palaic aba- is attested in the function 'that (anaphoric)' only. Lydian introduces  $es/e\check{s}$  'this' for near deixis (apparently es is the nominative form of the common gender,  $e\check{s}$ - - the oblique stem), which resembles Hittite nom. asi 'that (far)', although if the nominative is indeed es, not  $e\check{s}$ , it should go back to something like es, not es-i. [Melchert 2009] also proposes that Lydian es can mean 'that', but it is not certain. It is interesting (although typologically normal) that in Lycian es-shifted into near deixis (Lycian es-ithis'); far deictic pronouns are unattested in Lycian.

Anatolian \*aba- 'that' remains without an unequivocal IE etymology, although some monophonemic connections are possible.

86. THIS

Hittite (Old) ka- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED K: 3; Kloekhorst 2008: 425. OH+. See notes on 'that'. A reliable Proto-Anatolian cognate for the IE proximal demonstrative.

87. THOU<sub>1</sub>

Hittite (Old)  $cik \{zik\}$  (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 134; Kloekhorst 2008: 112, 1035. Direct stem. OH+. Regularly originates from \*tik and corresponds to the direct stems of the 2<sup>nd</sup> p. sg. pronoun in the rest of Anatolian: Palaic ti, Luwian (C&H) ti. The final -k in Hittite is probably under the influence of the 1<sup>st</sup> sg. pronoun uk T q.v. The Indo-Hittite direct stem \*ti was totally superseded by the oblique \*tu after the split of Anatolian.

87. THOU<sub>2</sub>

Hittite (Old) tu- (2).

**Hittite (Old):** Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 134; Kloekhorst 2008: 112, 1035. Oblique stem. OH+. Corresponds to the oblique stems of the 2<sup>nd</sup> p. sg. pronoun in the rest of Anatolian: Palaic *tu*, Luwian (H) *tu*. A cognate of IE \**tu*- 'thou, thee'.

# 88. TONGUE

Hittite (Old) lala- (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** CHD L-N: 21; HEG L-M: 19; HED L: 40; Kloekhorst 2008: 515. Polysemy: 'tongue / speech / blade'. Common gender. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (C) *lala/i-* 'tongue; gossip'. Without IE etymology. Apparently onomatopoeic.

# 89. TOOTH

Hittite (Old) kaga- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED K: 14; Kloekhorst 2008: 427. Common gender. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian and, apparently, IE.

# **90. TREE**

Hittite (Old) taru (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HEG T: 230; Kloekhorst 2008: 849. Polysemy: 'tree / wood' (in [Kloekhorst 2008: 849] incorrectly glossed as 'wood' only). Neutral gender. OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (C) *taru* 'wood'. Apparently the basic Indo-Hittite term for 'tree', although the meaning shift to 'wood' occurred in many languages.

### 91. TWO

Hittite (Old) *ta*- (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HEG T: 5, 89; Kloekhorst 2008: 826. Normally written with an ideogram; nevertheless, the Hittite reading ta- can be securely revealed. Cognate with Luwian (H) twa/i- '2', Lycian kbi '2', Milian tbi-su 'twice'. Corresponds to the basic IE root for '2' (although the Hittite development \*dw > T is surprising).

# 92. GO (WALK)

Hittite (Old)  $iya \sim pa = i - (1)$ .

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**Hittite (Old):** HED E-I: 330; CHD P: 18; HEG P: 371; Kloekhorst 2008: 380, 616. A medial verb (*iya*-) as well as a *mi*-conjugation verb (*pa=i*-). Both OH+. Corresponds to Luwian (H) *pa*- 'to go'. The plain stem *iya*- is cognate with IE \**ey*- 'to go', whereas *pa=i*- contains the preverb \**pV*- and the same IE \**ey*- (cf. the similar structure of the verb 'to come' q.v.). Apparently the original meaning of *pa=i*-was 'to go away', but in attested Hittite sources both verbs are close synonyms with the basic meaning 'to go, walk'.

93. WARM (HOT)

Hittite (Old) a-ant- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HW<sup>2</sup> A: 44; HED A: 10; Kloekhorst 2008: 164. OH+. A regular participle from the verb *ay*- 'to be hot / warm'. It is unclear whether *a-ant*- denotes 'warm' only, or both 'warm' and 'hot' (other reliable candidates for Hitt. 'hot' are, however, unknown). Isolated within Anatolian and IE. Cf. Palaic *ha*- 'to be warm'.

94. WATER

Hittite (Old) wad-ar (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Kloekhorst 2008: 987. Neutral gender; heteroclitic paradigm: wadar / widen-. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian, but corresponds to the basic Narrow IE term for 'water'. An important fact is that the Luwian word for 'water' is war (C) [Melchert 1993: 257], which cannot phonetically correspond to the Hittite stem. Luwian war seems to be cognate with Tocharian \*war 'water'. Therefore, two scenarios are equivalent. First, the Indo-Hittite root for 'water' was \*wer-, which was retained in Luwian and Tocharian, but superseded by wod-r in Narrow IE after the split of Anatolian and Tocharian. In this case, Hitt. watar in the meaning 'water' is an independent semantic innovation from the same source. Second, the Indo-Hittite term for 'water' was wod-r, which was independently superseded by \*wer- in Luwian and Tocharian. External comparison clearly speaks in favour of the latter scenario.

95. WE<sub>1</sub>

Hittite (Old) wes (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 134; Kloekhorst 2008: 115, 1004. Direct stem. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian, but corresponds to the IE direct stem 'we'.

95. WE<sub>2</sub>

Hittite (Old) anc- {anz-} (2).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 134; Kloekhorst 2008: 115, 1004. Oblique stem. OH+. Corresponds to the Luwian oblique

stem anz- (C&H). Originates from the Indo-Hittite oblique stem \*ns- 'us'.

# 96. WHAT

Hittite (Old) kui- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 149; HED K: 218; Kloekhorst 2008: 488. OH+. See notes on 'who'.

### 97. WHITE

Hittite (Old) *xarki-* {harki-} (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HW<sup>2</sup> H: 307; HED H: 169; Kloekhorst 2008: 307. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian, but represents the main Indo-Hittite term for 'white'.

# 98. WHO

Hittite (Old) *kui*- (1).

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 149; HED K: 218; Kloekhorst 2008: 488. Polysemy: 'who? / what?' (interrogative) / 'who / what' (relative). OH+. Cognate with Palaic & Luwian (C) *kui-* 'who; what' (interrog. and rel. pronouns). Corresponds to the basic IE interrogative-relative root.

# 99. WOMAN

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unknown, normally written with the ideogram MUNUS. On the widely discussed possibility of *kuin-* and *kuwan-* as a reading of MUNUS see [HED K: 306], [Kloekhorst 2008: 501] w. lit. However, this Indo-Hittite term is securely attested in Luwian *wana-* (C&H) 'woman' and Lydian *kana-* 'wife'.

# 100. YELLOW

Hittite (Old) xaxxal-uwant- ~ xaxli-want- ~ xaxla-want- {hahla-uwant- ~ hahla-want-} (1).

Hittite (Old): HED H: 4; HW2 H: 12; Kloekhorst 2008: 268. Apparently, with polysemy: 'green / yellow'. See notes on 'green'.

101. FAR

Hittite (Old) tuwa (1).

### References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** HEG T: 486; Kloekhorst 2008: 904. The adverb *tuwa* seems to be attested exclusively in NH texts, but various derivatives known from more archaic compositions prove its antiquity. Isolated within Anatolian, but corresponds to Old Indian *dūrám* 'far away', *dūrát* 'from afar', etc.

102. HEAVY

Hittite (Old) tassu- (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HEG T: 259; Kloekhorst 2008: 853. Polysemy: 'strong, powerful / heavy / well-fed / difficult / important'. In the specific meaning 'heavy' MH+. Isolated within Anatolian, but may be a cognate of Ancient Greek δασύς 'thickly wooded', Latin  $d\bar{e}nsus$  'dense' despite semantic difficulties.

103. NEAR

Hittite (Old) maninkuwan (1).

# References and notes:

**Hittite (Old):** CHD L-N: 171; HED M: 52; Kloekhorst 2008: 554. OH+. The same stem as 'short' q.v. Morphologically unclear. Without IE etymology.

104. SALT

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unknown, normally written by the ideogram MUN.

**105. SHORT** 

Hittite (Old) maninkuwant- (1).

Hittite (Old): CHD L-N: 173; HED M: 52; HEG L-M: 123; Kloekhorst 2008: 554. Polysemy: 'short (spatial) / short (temporal) / low / close'. OH+. The same stem as 'near' q.v. Corresponds to Luwian (C) *mannakuna/i-* 'short'. Morphologically unclear. Without IE etymology.

**106. SNAKE** 

Hittite (Old) illuyanka- ~ illiyanku- (1).

#### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED E-I: 358; Kloekhorst 2008: 384. We tentatively fill the slot by the word *illuyanka*- (with various variants [HED E-I: 358], [Kloekhorst 2008: 384]), although it is not quite certain. 'Snake' is normally written by the ideogram MUŠ in Hittite texts; in its turn the phonetical writing *illuyanka*- seems occur exclusively in mythological compositions, where it normally denotes a chthonic monster ('Serpent' and '(Sea-)dragon'). However, at least in the myth about the Sun god, the Cow and the Fisherman the plural form *elliyankus* is apparently used for snakes in general.

J. Katz's etymology, analyzing illuyanka- as a composite of Germanic \* $\bar{e}la$ -z 'eel' + IE  $ang^{wh}i$ - 'snake' (may be a basic term for 'snake' in Narrow IE), is formally possible, but seems factitious. In all likelihood illuyanka- ~ illiyanku- represents a substrate term, although the exact source is unknown (Hattic?).

107. THIN

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unknown, normally written by the ideogram SIG. Cf. makl-ant- 'thin, emaciated (of animals)' [CHD L-N: 121], [HEG L-M: 98], [Kloekhorst 2008: 544].

108. WIND

Hittite (Old) *xuw-ant-* {*huw-ant-*} (1).

### References and notes:

Hittite (Old): HED H: 428; Kloekhorst 2008: 368. Common gender. OH+. Isolated within Anatolian, but goes back to the Common Indo-Hittite deverbal term for 'wind'.

109. WORM

References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Unattested.

110. YEAR

# Hittite (Old) witt- (1).

# References and notes:

Hittite (Old): Kloekhorst 2008: 1014. Common gender. OH+. Theoretically may correspond to Luwian *ussa/i-* (C&H) 'year', although details are not entirely clear. Cognate with Ancient Greek Fέτος 'year', etc.