

# **A LINGUISTIC HAPPENING IN MEMORY OF BEN SCHWARTZ**

STUDIES IN ANATOLIAN, ITALIC,  
AND OTHER INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

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EXTRAIT



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ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF HITTITE *tuqqāri* 'BE VISIBLE'

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The etymology of Hittite *tuqqāri* 'be visible' (1) has never been firmly established to all scholars' satisfaction. There have been two main proposals: Schindler (1972: 37) has posited a Proto-Indo-European root \*twek- 'be visible' (2) as the source for *tuqqāri*, while Oettinger (1976: 113; 1979: 555), on the other hand, has denied this etymology, deriving the verb instead from \*dheugh- 'extract; milk' (the source of Sanskrit /duh- 'milk', Greek τυχαῖνω 'happen by chance; concern; meet with', etc.).

Schindler's etymology has an added dimension to it, one not part of Oettinger's proposal. He suggests that within Hittite there is a connection between the verb *tuqqāri* and the noun *twekka-* 'body; self'. From a phonological standpoint, under standard assumptions about the relation of the Hittite spelling system to Hittite phonology, such a connection is possible, for it is generally held that the spelling of an initial stop is not a reliable indicator of its phonetic value (3).

The semantic motivation for this connection also is quite strong (though denied by Oettinger (1976: 144 n.17)) - Schindler (loc. cit., though in a different context) notes the various derivatives of a root \*kwrep- 'appear, show oneself' (4), among which are the Greek verbal form πρέπει 'appear' (5) and nouns meaning 'body' (e.g. Vedic *kṛp-* 'form, beauty', Avestan *kəhrpəm* 'form, body', Latin *corpus* 'body', etc.) that give a parallel to the *tuqqāri* / *twekka-* connection. Moreover, other semantic parallels can be adduced: if the (relatively safe) assumption is made that the verb in this pair shows the more basic meaning, then the starting point for the connection is

the link in meaning often found in forms for 'face' and ones for 'see, sight', as in the German pair *Gesicht* and *sehen* or the English (via Romance) words *visage* and *vision*. The step from 'visage' to 'person' (in the abstract) is a fairly natural one, given the identificatory nature of a person's face (6), and moving from there to 'self' (also an abstraction) and ultimately to 'body' (a more concretized, physical meaning) involves no difficult assumptions.

In addition, Schindler's proposal is all the more attractive because of formal problems with Oettinger's etymology. In particular, on the phonological side, *tuqqāri* shows a consistent double spelling of its medial stop. Under the assumption, accepted by most Hittitologists, that this spelling practice reflects a Hittite voiceless stop and consequently a derivation from a Proto-Indo-European voiceless stop, a preform *\*dhugh-* (zero-grade of *\*dheugh-*) for the root in *tuqqāri* is counterindicated (7). Oettinger's explanation for the apparent voiceless stop, namely that it is the result of influence from the rhyme-word (!) *wakkāri* 'lacks', is far from compelling (note, for instance, the lack of a full word rhyme between *wakkāri* and *tuqqāri*).

Thus, it seems that Schindler's proposal concerning a connection between *tuqqāri* and *twekka-* internally within Hittite is to be adopted (8). The question then arises as to what outside connections are available for this Hittite word-family. It is here, though, that an additional problem crops up.

In particular, the standard assumption about *twekka-* is that it belongs with the reconstructed noun required by the comparison of Sanskrit *tvác-* 'skin, hide' and Ancient Greek *σάκος* 'shield' (so Mayrhofer s.v., Chantraine s.v., Pokorny 1099, for example). The Greek-Sanskrit connection seems to be a good one, for both the form (cf. the double sigma in Greek *φερε-σακής* 'shield-bearing' giving evidence of a pre-Greek initial cluster in the simplex form and Sanskrit *s-*stem formations such as in *sú:rya-tvacas-* 'having skin shining like the sun' or *tvacas-yā-* 'found in the skin') and the meaning ('shield' explained as the stretching of skin over a frame) make this an excellent equation. The Hittite form apparently fits right in, and moreover would seem to negate the force of the remark of

Burrow (1943-6: 347-8), in taking *tvac-* to be a Dravidian loan-word, that "the total absence of the word in any other IE. languages is sufficient to confirm the doubts raised by the etymology itself".

However, adding the Hittite form to the apparent cognate set of *tvac-* and *σάκος* presents a problem for the Greek form. Working just from the Greek and the Sanskrit, one might reconstruct a pre-form *\*twak-* (9), the *\*a* being motivated by the correspondence of Greek *α* to Sanskrit *a* (10). The Hittite form, though, makes it likely that the *e*-vocalism is original, given the predominance and basic nature of *\*e* in Proto-Indo-European roots (as recognized by Chantraine (loc. cit.)) (11). Thus, more recently, scholars have instead reconstructed a pre-form *\*twek-* for this cognate set (so Schindler (loc. cit.) and Melchert (1984: 53), for example). Once this step is taken, however, the Greek vocalism becomes problematic, though this fact has been ignored in the handbooks (12), for there is no straightforward way of deriving a Greek *α* from PIE *\*e* in that phonetic context (13).

Thus the *tuqqāri* / *twekka-* connection seems compelling, as does the *twekka-* / *tvac-* / *σάκος* connection, but taking all these forms as interrelated and therefore deriving the whole set from a root *\*twek-* raises the aforementioned problem for the Greek cognate. Accepting Oettinger's etymology, on the other hand, makes it difficult to maintain the attractive *tuqqāri* / *twekka-* connection, because of the problems with deriving a meaning 'body' from a meaning 'derive, extract'. Assuming then that the *tuqqāri* / *twekka-* connection is to be maintained, it seems that the only solution to this problem lies in separating *tvac-* / *σάκος* from *tuqqāri* / *twekka-*. In that case, *tvac-* / *σάκος* could be from *\*twak-* (as noted above), thereby accounting for the Greek *α* in a natural and non-ad hoc fashion (14). This is only possible, however, if an etymology is found for *tuqqāri* and *twekka-* in which the connection between these two Hittite words can still be made via reasonably well motivated semantic shifts.

Fortunately, such an etymology is available. In Albanian there is a verb *duk-em* '(I) appear, seem'. This provides a satisfactory root etymon for Hittite *duqq-ari* on several grounds. Phonologically, the connection is unimpeachable, for the consonants match up as

expected: Albanian initial *d-* to Hittite [d], Albanian medial *-k-* to Hittite [k] (medially spelled <-qq-/-kk-/-gg->), as does the root vocalism (Albanian *u* from PIE \**u*, as in *gjumë* 'sleep' <--\*sup-no-, cf. Huld (1984: 156)), and the semantic connection is clear as well. Moreover, the two are parallel from a morphological standpoint, in that they are both zero-grade middle voice formations (15). The Indo-European root that *tuqqāri/dukem* derive from can be thus reconstructed as \**dwek-*, an apparently hitherto unrecognized root (e.g. not in Pokorny's listing) (16). The connection of *tuqqāri* with *twekka-* can be semantically motivated along the same lines as noted above (i.e. *corpus/πρέπει*, *Gesicht/sehen*, etc.), because the meaning of \**dwek-* is roughly parallel to that of \**kwerp-* discussed by Schindler.

Thus, a solution to the problem of the vocalism in the Greek *σάκος* is possible as is a satisfactory etymology for *tuqqāri* that allows for a connection with *twekka-*. However, even if it should turn out that the internal Hittite connection between *twekka-* and *tuqqāri* needs to be abandoned and/or that the outside connection of *twekka-* with *tvac-* is compelling enough on other grounds to be maintained (17), the root etymology proposed here by which *tuqqāri* enters into the family of Albanian *dukem* (etc.) can remain as valid. At the very least, then, an investigation of the consequences of recognizing the difficulties involved in these connections has helped to clarify the origins of the Hittite verb.

## FOOTNOTES

- (1) This verb also means 'be important', a meaning which Oettinger (1976: 113; 1979: passim) takes as primary; Melchert (1984: 103), on the other hand, takes 'be visible' to be the primary meaning, a view which is adopted here. The transliteration *tuqqāri* used here also follows Melchert's formula for this verb, with *-qq-* standing for the variety of medial spellings (<-qq-/-kk-/-gg->) and *tu-* for the different initial spellings (see footnote 3, though perhaps the transliteration *du-* should be used if the suggestion made here concerning the etymology of the verb is to be

adopted), and *ā* for the *scriptio plena* writing of the vowel (without intending that this be taken to signal vowel length, stress, and the like (see Melchert, 1984: 9 n.\*).

- (2) This is indeed a positing, for the root \**twek-* was not recognized prior to Schindler's proposal (e.g. it is not among those listed in Pokorny (1959)).
- (3) Regarding the spelling of the two, the following is noteworthy: even though *twekka-* is spelled only with the <tu> sign, *tuqqāri* is also spelled with the <tu> sign (though with the <du> sign as well) initially, so that a connection between the two seems not to be counterindicated. The medial stop in both forms is spelled variously: <-qq->, <-kk->, <-gg-> (always doubled!) and the difference in the signs used seems not to reflect a phonetic difference of any sort (see, for example, Oettinger, 1976: 144).
- (4) For the connection between 'appearance' (as in \**kwerp-*) and 'vision' (i.e. 'be visible' and related meanings, as in *tuqqāri*), cf. Latin *videō* 'see' and its deponent form *videor* 'appear, seem'.
- (5) Pokorny (op. cit.) does not include *πρέπει* under his entry \**krep-* (his root for *corpus*, *kyp-*, etc., and note that he recognizes the possibility of a variant \**kwerp-* as the form of the root), choosing to include it instead with Armenian *erewim* 'be visible, appear' under a root \**prep-* (so also Chantraine s.v.). Even if that etymology for *πρέπει* is adopted, however, there is still a parallel for the semantic connection Schindler posits, since Old Irish *richt* 'form, figure' seems to be related to *erewim*, deriving from \**prp-tu-*. It seems that there is still quite a bit of sifting necessary for the interrelations among these forms and putative roots (and others that may be connected as well, e.g. Gothic *fairhvus* 'world', if from a tabu metathesis \**perkw-* of the variant root form \**kwerp-*), all of which must await further research.
- (6) One can compare also the colloquial English expression *what's his face* for 'what's his name, whoever he is?!'.
- (7) There are admittedly instances in which Hittite sound changes have led to pronunciations (and thus spellings) that are at odds with the generalizations - often referred to as Sturtevant's Law (see, e.g., Melchert (1984: 11 n.9) - concerning the spelling of Hittite stops in relation to their Indo-European origin, but there is

no clear indication that *tuqqāri* presents the relevant phonetic environments for any such developments.

- (8) Melchert (1984) accepts this connection via his reconstructions of \*tuk- for the verb and \*twek-/tuk- for the noun.
- (9) Pokorny (1959: 1099) reconstructs \*twakos for these forms and curiously he includes Hittite *twekka-* without comment on the vocalism (see also footnote 11).
- (10) The reconstruction of the rare (for Proto-Indo-European) vowel \*a here is not problematic because of the following velar; \*a shows a skewed distribution in the proto-language, occurring primarily adjacent to gutturals.
- (11) One could of course maintain the reconstruction with \*a (i.e. \*twak-) and force the Hittite noun into this mold via an ad hoc sound change of \*a - > e in Anatolian. That is unsatisfying for the same reasons as with requiring an ad hoc sound change in Greek historical phonology through a reconstruction \*twek-. Similarly, one might suppose that Hittite inherited a zero-grade (cf. \*yag'- 'sacrifice' for a root with a-vocalism that has a zero-grade, as shown by Sanskrit *yaj(-ati)/j(-ya-)* of this root (and cf. the occasional oblique forms with a stem *tukka-* mentioned in footnote 17) and remade a full-grade, but then it becomes problematic why this was remade as *twek-* and not, following the more usual pattern of ablaut, as *tewk-*. Thus it would seem best at this point to accept e-vocalism in the reconstruction and deal with the problem of the unexpected Greek α.
- (12) Surprisingly, no mention of this problem is made in either Schwyzler (1939) or in Chantraine (s.v.).
- (13) There are some word in which it seems that \*e may have become Grk. α in the context *tw*\_\_, however all such cases involve either words with a medial liquid (which in a zero-grade could by itself have been responsible for the α), e.g. the words for 'four' (especially in the combining form *τῑα-* as in *τῑάπεζα* 'table' (<--\*kwtwṛ-pedyə, see Schindler (op. cit., 34)) and *σῑρξ* 'body' (which Schindler (op. cit.) takes from a remodeled zero-grade), or else words with doubtful etymologies, e.g. *σῑίνω* 'move the tail' and *σῑίρω* 'sweep' (see Chantraine s.v.). See Joseph (1988) for detailed discussion.
- (14) In that case, it is entirely possible also that Burrow is correct in seeing a non-Indo-European origin for *tvac-* (though it need not

be ultimately derived from Dravidian, as he suggests). If a loan word, though, it would have to have been a very early loan (perhaps of the same age as *paraçú-/πέλεκυς* 'axe', in a similar semantic sphere), because of the valid sound correspondences that hold between *tvac-* and *σῑίος*.

- (15) Although the occurrence of middle voice inflectional morphology with a verb with this meaning is not surprising, the combination of zero-grade root ablaut and middle inflection is significant. To be sure, zero-grade middle voice formations are not uncommon in Indo-European: in Sanskrit, for example, zero-grade is the norm in middle voice formations of ablauting verbs, and in Hittite, there is the Old Hittite intransitive middle form *urāni* 'burns' from zero-grade \*ur-ō-ri, derived from a Hittite root *war-* 'set fire to' (the later form *warāni* being an analogical introduction of the full-grade stem from the transitive verb - see Melchert (1984: 11 n.13)). However, full-grade middles did exist in Proto-Indo-European, to judge from the evidence of Sanskrit *ṛáy-e* (later *ṛé-te*) 'lies' ≈ Greek *κεῖ-ται* 'lies' ≈ Hittite *<ki-i-ta>* 'lies', all from \*k'ei-(t)o-; thus, zero-grade was not an automatic concomitant of middle inflection and its occurrence in *tuqqāri/dukem* becomes a noteworthy feature that can be probative in a comparison. Moreover, Hittite does have some full-grade middles, e.g. *nēari* 'leads' (from \*néiH-o-ri), but those apparently had root-accent while *tuqqāri/urāni* did not (see Melchert, 1984: 103).
- (16) It is possible that the Greek verb *δεύω* 'sees' (≈ *βλέπω* (*Et. M.* 260, 54) and items apparently related to it (e.g. *ἐνδυέω* 'carefully', the Homeric adjective *ἄδευκής*, etc. - see Chantraine (s.v. *ἄδευκής*)) also belong with *dukem / tuqqāri*. The schwebe-ablaut form (\*dewk-) in Greek could be explained straightforwardly by assuming that Greek inherited only a zero-grade for this root (maybe in an original middle voice formation, and cf. also *ἐνδυέω*) and then formed a new full-grade as needed after the usual ablaut pattern giving \*dewk- (see also footnote 11). There are, perhaps though, other possibilities for the source of the Greek forms, which thus remain problematic.
- (17) Without trying to vitiate the conclusions drawn in this paper, it is important to point out the type of compelling "other"

considerations one might have in mind. For example, the occurrence of apparent ablaut in the Hittite noun, shown by the occasional oblique forms with stem *tukka-* (Melchert (1984: 53), Schindler (loc. cit.) is consistent with the assumption that the noun originated in a root noun, the morphological type of *tvac-*, and thus could be given more weight than the avoidance of a problem with the putative Greek cognate. In that case, it may be that Greek *σάκος* simply is to be divorced from *twekka-* and *tvac-*; similarly, a careful reexamination of the relevant Greek forms may reveal that \*e → α in the particular phonetic context in question is regular (or even somehow shows the effects of influence from *σάρεξ* - see also footnote 13).

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