

CHAPTER XI

CHAPTER XI

THE PROBLEM OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF COMMON WEST CAUCASIAN

1. THE RELATION TO EAST CAUCASIAN LANGUAGES

Since the appearance of the pioneering publications by N. Trubetzkoy (1922; 1930; cf. also 1987) and G. Dumézil (1932; 1933), devoted to the establishment of the genetic relationship between the East Caucasian and West Caucasian linguistic groups, much has been achieved in this field, especially during the last two decades. This was mainly due to the works of a few Circassian and Russian scholars, namely, Balkarov (1964; 1966), Shagirov (ES I, II), Abdokov (1976; 1981; ZS) and Starostin (1982; 1985; 1987; 1988; NS). The most important from this point of view are the works by Abdokov and especially by Starostin. Both authors established the existence of patterns of regular sound correspondences between the East and the West Caucasian languages and created etymological dictionaries of the North Caucasian linguistic family. These works provided a final proof for the existence of a compact North Caucasian linguistic family with two branches, a Western, or Abkhazo-Adyghean, and an Eastern, or Nakh-Daghestanian. At the same time it became absolutely clear that the North Caucasian family has no immediate relation to the other autochthonous linguistic family of the Caucasus, Kartvelian.

Below I present a selection of the lexical material that demonstrates the relationship between the two branches of the North Caucasian family. For Common West Caucasian I use my own reconstructions (which not always/sometimes coincide with the reconstructions in NS), and for East Caucasian I use the reconstructions made by Nikolayev and Starostin (cf. NS). The North Caucasian forms are accompanied by their semantic counterparts in Kartvelian (cited from EK). The lexical items are chosen from the 200-basic wordlist proposed by Swadesh. Divergent meanings are placed between brackets.

1. leg/foot CWC *λa; PNakh *lar, PAvar-Andi *λoli, PTsez *λolə, PLez *λäl; cf. PK *bark'-(-al)-, *berg-, *k'warc *j*äl-;

2. walk/go CWC **k*ʷ́á 'to walk, go'; PNakx *=*ik*- ('to lead, drive'), PAvar-Andi **k'Vb-*//*=*ik*ʷ́(*Vn*)- ('to drive, urge, direct, (re)turn'), PTsez *?*ek*'-, PDarg *=*irk*- ('to drive, urge'), PLez *?*a(r)k*' (also 'to drive, urge'); cf. PK **gwal*-, **wid*- 'to walk, go';
3. road, path CWC **məs*ʷ́á; PNakh **nīq*', PAvar-Andi **miq*'i, PDarg **dāq*', PLez **räq*'; cf. PK **gza*-;
4. to swim CWC **s*ʷ́/*a*/ə 'to swim'; PAvar-Andi *=*VzVn*- ('to soak, become wet'), PTsez *=*is*- ('to wash'), Lak *huzu*-, PDarg *=*ač*-//=*ič*- ('to bathe'), PLez *?*eča*- ('to pour as rain, liquid'); cf. PK **cjur*-;
5. wing CWC **tama*; PNakh **t'äm*, Lak **t'imu* ('feather'); cf. PK **swe*-;
6. know CWC **č'a*; PNakh *=*abc*- (also 'to get to know'), PAvar-Andi **c'in*-//*=*ac'Vn*- (also 'to look'), PTsez *=*āc*- ('to see, look'), PDarg *=*umc*- ('to search'), PLez *?*ac'a*- (also 'to be able, can'); cf. PK **k(a)b*-, **cjn*-;
7. tooth CWC **ca*; PNakh **ca*, PAvar-Andi **colu*, PTsez **śil*, PDarg **cula*, PLez **sil*, Xin *culo*; cf. PK **k'b-il*-;
8. tongue CWC **b(ə)z*/žá; PNakh **mot't*, PAvar-Andi **mič'i*, PTsez **mic*, Lak *maz*, PDarg **meč*, PLez **melč*; cf. PK **nena*-;
9. cry (v) CWC **č'a*; PNakh **t-ēbč*'-, PAvar-Andi *=*Vč*-; cf. Geo *t'irili*, *kwitini*, Meg *gara*;
10. chew CWC **q'a-q'a*; PNakh *=*aq*'- ('to eat'), PAvar-Andi **q'am/n*- ('to bite', 'to eat'), PTsez *=*ūq*- ('to eat'), PLez *?*eq'č*'- ('to bite'), Xin *q'iñ*- ('to eat'); cf. PK **yeč*'- 'to chew', **mčar*-, **č'am*- 'to eat';
11. ear CWC **Ła*-; PNakh **la*, PDarg **lehi*; cf. PK **q'ur*-;
12. eye CWC **(b-)la*; PNakh **bča*, PAvar-Andi **harHi*, PTsez **ħore*, Lak *ja*, PDarg **ħuli*, PLez *?*il*, Xin *pil*; cf. PK **twal*-;
13. sleep CWC **ħ'a*; PAvar-Andi **ħ'in*-, PTsez *=*ħ-*//**ħV*-, Lak *mak*', PLez **näwħ*'; cf. PK **ʒiñ*-;
14. mother CWC **(a)nə*; PTsez *?*inVju*, PDarg **ne-š*, PLez *?*anaj*; cf. PK **deda*-;
15. father CWC **(a)t'ə*//**(a)bə*; PTsez *?*əbu*, Lak *pu*, PDarg *?*aba*, PLez *?*aþaj*, Xin *aba* ('grandfather'); cf. PK **mama*- 'father', **baba*- '(grand)father';
16. house CWC **č'əna*; PNakh **pħē* ('village'), PTsez **q'iñ* ('farmstead'), PTsez-Xvar **q'ən* ('village'), PHunz-Bezh **qun* ('village'), PLez **muq'(a)* ('village, farmstead'). Another root: CWC > Ub *č'aja*, PNakx **c'ā* (also 'room'), PAvar-Andi *c'a(?V)* (also 'household'), Lak *c'ija-lu* ('earthen roof'), PLez **jic'V* ('sty, cattle-shed'), Xin

17. name CWC *(*p*)*c'a*; PNakh **c'e*, PAvar-Andi **c'iri*, PTsez **c'ə̄*, Lak *c'a*, PDarg **z'e*, PLez **c'er*, Xin *c'u*; cf. PK **ʒlaxe-*
18. kill CWC **λ'ə* (also 'to die'); PNakh *=*aL-* ('to die'), PTsez *=*iλ-*, PHun-Bezh *-*λ'-*, Lak =*ič'a-* (also 'to die'), PDarg *=*ibk-* ('to die'), PLez **?iλ'e* (also 'to kill'), Xin *k'-* ('to die'); cf. Geo -*k'(a)l-*
19. to cut, hack CWC *-*q'ə*; PAvar-Andi *=*uq'*-; Lak *q'u=q'i-*, Khosreh Lak =*u-q'a-n*, PDarg *=*alyVn-*, PLez **?iqlā(l)* ('to butt, stick into, clip, shear'), Xin *ī-äq'*-; cf. PK **k'we(s₁)t-*, **c'eč'k-* (in EK 255 **c'eč'k-*, i.e. with *-k*, which is probably a misprint)
20. work (v) CWC **xa*; Lak =*uqa-n* ('to plough'), PDarg **luqVn-*, PLez **?ilxan*; cf. Geo *mušaoba*
21. fly (v) CWC **pərə*; PAvar-Andi **par-pV-//par-čV-* (also 'to flutter'), PTsez **par-*, PLez **pVr*; cf. PK **p'er-*, **prin-* (sound symbolic, cp. IE **per-* 'to fly', cf. EK 152-153)
22. rat, mouse CWC **q'ənə//H'ənə*; PAvar-Andi **hink'ə* (Avar *funk*), PTsez **?āq"V*, Lak *uk'u-lu*, PLez **nVq"e-l*, Xin *nuk'ur*; cf. PK *(*s₁*)*tagw-* 'mouse', Geo *vir-tagwa*, *vir-txā* 'rat'
23. meat, flesh CWC **Lə*; PNakh **dilxu*, PAvar-Andi **rič'i*, PTsez **rič*, Lak *dik'*, PDarg **dič*, PLez **jač'i*, Xin *lčka*; cf. PK **qorc-*
24. louse CWC **č'a*; PNakh **mac'e*, PAvar-Andi **noč'i*, PTsez **nčə*, Lak *nac'*, PDarg **nez*, PLez **näč'*, Xin *nimc'*; cf. PK **t'izj-*
25. fish CWC **pša*; PTsez **bis"ə*; cf. Geo *tewz-i*, Meg-Laz *čxomi*
26. grass CWC **wəca*; PNakh **būč*, PAvar-Andi **bici*, PLez **wVCvN* ('burdock'); cf. PK **tib-*
27. soil, clay CWC **nəs"ə*; PAvar-Andi **?onš'i*, Lak *arši*, PDarg **heš/š*; cf. PK **tiqa-*
28. sea CWC **λə*; PAvar-Andi **riλo*, Lak *χiri*, PDarg **?urχ'i*; cf. PK **zywa-*
29. salt CWC **čə* ('salty'); PAvar-Andi **c'on'i*, PTsez **cč*, Lak *č'u*, PDarg **če*; cf. PK **ʒləm-*
30. sky CWC **zə(-fə)*; PAvar-Andi **zibu* (also 'day'), Lak *śaw*, PDarg **čab* (also 'rain'), PLez **čaw*, Xin **č'a*; cf. PK **ca-*
31. moon CWC **məža*; PNakh **butt*, PAvar-Andi **birč'i* (Avar *moč'*), PTsez **bocV*, Lak *barz*, PDarg **bač*, PLez **wač*, Xin *wac'*; cf. PK **du(s₁)te-*
32. star CWC **čə*; PNakh **t'hari*, PAvar-Andi **č'arhi*, PTsez **c'ə*, Lak *c'u-ku*, PDarg *zuri*; cf. Geo *warsk'wlaw-i*

33. cold CWC *č'ə; PTsez *=č'V, PTsez-Xvar *-oč'-, PHun-Bezh *-oč'-, PLez *ruč'(a) ('hoarfrost, dew'); cf. PK *c₁čro-;
34. ice CWC *məLə; Lak mik' (also 'hail'); PDarg *miš, PLez *merl̥' (also 'icy water'), Xin mik'; cf. Geo q'inul-i;
35. dry CWC *f'ə; PNakh *=aq'-, PAvar-Andi *=ič'V-, PTsez *qoqV-, Lak q'a-q'-, PDarg *=erγ'V-, PLez *?ič'ar-, Xin q'i; cf. PK *qmel-;
36. fire CWC *məč'ə; PNakh *c'e, PAvar-Andi *c'a?i, PTsez *c'ə, Lak c'u, PDarg *c'a, PLez *c'aj, Xin č'ü; cf. PK *zec₁čl̥-;
37. smoke CWC *č'ə; PAvar-Andi *k'inhı, PTsez *q'i//qo, Lak kuw ('soot'), PDarg *kaw, PLez *kun; cf. PK *k'waml̥-;
38. ash CWC *tq'ə (also 'grey'); PAvar-Andi *rVqV, Lak lač (also 'dust'), PLez *lač ('grain peelings'); cf. PK *t'ut'a;
39. black CWC *č'ə; PNakh *čärč'i- (Chech, Ing čärža), PAvar-Andi *-ič'V(r)-, PLez *č'ulV; cf. Geo šaw-i (< Oss);
40. yellow CWC *č'ə; PAvar-Andi *qo?i- ('white, blue'), Lak qaqi-, PDarg *=uqu-, PLez *qäqV-; cf. Geo q'witel-i;
41. small CWC *k'ac'ə ('short'); PAvar-Andi *č'ik'V-, PLez *či/k'JV-; cf. Geo p'at'ara;
42. wide CWC *b'č'ə; PAvar-Andi *q'a-b- (Avar ŋe-b-, Andi Ga-b-, Botl ya-bi, Bagv ŋa-bu-), PTsez *q'eq'-, PDarg *-ašu- (Ak b-ač'šu-si), PLezg *harq'i-; cf. PK *wrc₁e-l-;
43. old CWC *č'ə; PNakh *šir-i(n), PAvar-Andi *-asara- (also 'worn out'), PLez *jišV- (also 'year'); cf. PK *čiwel-;
44. new CWC *č'ə (also 'young'); PNakh *c'in-, PAvar-Andi *c'inhV-, PTsez *-ic'Vn-, Lak c'u-, PDarg c'i-, PLez *c'enjä-; cf. Geo ačal-i;
45. day CWC *məλ'č'ə; PNakh *mälč ('sun'), PAvar-Andi *miλi (also 'sun'); cf. PK *dye-;
46. year CWC *s'č'ə; PAvar-Andi *rišin, Lak šin, PLez *šän; cf. PK *za-, *č'el-;
47. I CWC *sa; PNakh *sō, PLez *zo-n, Xin zč; cf. PK *me(n)-;
48. you (sg.) CWC *wa; PNakh *waj, PAvar-Andi *mi-n (< *wi-n), PTsez *mə (< *wə-n), PLez *uo-n, Xin wč; cf. PK *sen-;
49. you (pl.) CWC *s'č'ə; PNakh *šu, PAvar-Andi *b-ič'//*?uš-, PTsez *mič̥, Lak zu, PDarg *nu-ša, PLez *č[e]-n, Xin zu-r (oblique base sur-); cf. PK *(s₁)tkwen-;
50. not CWC *mə; PNakh *ma, PTsez *-m, Lak ma, PLez *mV; cf. PK

- **wer, *mad;*
 51. one CWC *za; PNakh *čha, PAvar *ci-, PTsez *həs̥, Lak ca, PDarg
 *ca, PLez *sa, Xin sa; cf. PK *ert-;
 52. two CWC *dG°ə; PAvar-Andi *k'i-, PTsez *q"i-nV, Lak k'i=a, PDarg
 *k'i, PLez *q"ä, Xin k'u; cf. PK *jor-;
 53. three CWC *λə; PAvar-Andi *λob-, PTsez *λ₂-, PDarg *hab-, PLez
 *λep̥i-; cf. PK *sam-;
 54. four CWC *p'λ'ə, corresponds to East Caucasian 'eight': PNakh
 *barλ, PAvar-Andi *bič'i-, PTsez beλ-(nɔ), PLez *menčä-; cf. PK
 *o(s₁)tx(w)- 'four', *arwa- 'eight'.

As can be seen from the given comparisons, Common West Caucasian shows a remarkable closeness to East Caucasian in all sections of its basic vocabulary: personal and demonstrative pronouns, body parts, relationship terms, natural phenomena, verbs, adjectives, numerals. On the contrary, the corresponding Kartvelian items demonstrate far-reaching differences on all lexical levels. Though some Kartvelian forms do resemble the North Caucasian ones, these occasional resemblances are better explained by borrowing, sound symbolic nature of the items, or simply by fortuitous coincidence, than by a common origin, as they do not form a system, and cannot be used for establishing regular sound correspondences.

2. THE RELATION TO HATTIC

Already the first explorer of Hattic, E. Forrer (1919: 1033, 1034), established its non-Indo-European character and suggested its relationship with Abkhazo-Adyghean languages. The same idea was proposed nearly at the same time by R. Bleichsteiner (1923). The main reasons for such a hypothesis were striking structural similarities between this ancient language of Asia Minor, extinct since the early second millennium B.C., and the languages of the West Caucasian group. These structural affinities were later discussed by I.M. Dunaevskaja (1960), I.M. Diakonov (1967) and V.G. Ardzinba (1979). The two latter authors also noted some material correspondences (in affixes) between Hattic and West Caucasian. V.V. Ivanov (1983; Ivanov) proposed many Hattic-West Caucasian material parallels, both in root and affixal morphemes. Though the persuasive force of these comparisons is not always equal, mainly due to the poor preservation of Hattic, in general Ivanov, in my view, effectively demonstrated the existence of such a relationship.

Among the specific difficulties connected with the etymological analysis of Hattic, is that one can often deal with homophonic forms or morphemes, while there is not enough material to trace their semantic and functional differences. This is even more complicated by the fact that we may often simply have to do with homographs, rather than with true homonyms, which appear so only due to the inability of the Hittite graphic system to express all phonemic contrasts which existed in Hattic. One Hittite grapheme may actually represent different Hattic consonants.

2.1. STRUCTURAL PARALLELS

The main grammatical features of Hattic (cf. Kammenhuber; Dunaevskaja 1960; 1961; 1980) which can be summed up here, strikingly resemble West Caucasian. It was probably an ergative language and, like Abkhaz, did not have a formal opposition between nominative and ergative case (cf. Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 82; Braun 353; but cf. Girbal 139). Like West Caucasian, Hattic had a rudimentary case system (cf. below). It was a predominantly prefixation-type language, with weakly developed suffixation, just like the Abkhazo-Adyghean languages as opposed to the reverse situation in East Caucasian and Hurrito-Urartian. The Hattic verbal form contained a string of prefixes, expressing different grammatical relations (subject, object, location, mood, etc.). The order of these prefixes was fixed, the number of prefical positions ranging from 7 to 10, cf. 7-13 fixed prefical positions in the West Caucasian languages. As in West Caucasian, verbal and nominal roots were predominantly one- or two-syllabic.

The Hattic verbal form could express at least two grammatical persons by means of personal prefixes, while polypersonalism is very characteristic for West Caucasian as well. It was noticed that in some Hattic verbal stems the alternation of vowels served to distinguish between centrifugal and centripetal meanings, the vowel *a* bearing the meaning 'inside', and the vowel *u* expressing the opposite meaning 'outside' (cf. Ardzinba 1979: 29-31). A similar alternation *a* ~ *ə* plays a major role in the opposition of centrifugal and centripetal forms of the West Caucasian verb. Note that Hattic *u* can be phonetically interpreted as *ə* (cf. Girbal 164).

As in West Caucasian, in Hattic word formation compounding played an important role. According to Kammenhuber, among the languages of ancient Asia Minor of the 2nd millennium B.C. it was Hattic which had the largest number of compound words (Kammenhuber 495).

In phonetics, a characteristic feature of Hattic was a simple system of resonants (as in Abkhazo-Adyghean), and the absence of anlaut *r-* (as in Ubykh

and Circassian). Though the character of the writing system by which Hattic was recorded does not allow us so far to make a judgement about the phonological contrasts which existed in this language, there are some indications that it had, for example, labialised consonants, which make up quite a developed system in West Caucasian. This can be shown as follows. The Hattic personal prefix *an-* (or *-n-*) regularly changed into *am-* before labial consonants. In the form *am-huru-pa* with the unknown (verbal or nominal ?) root *huru* (Kammenhuber 523), this prefix changes into *m*, as it would before the labials, which can probably indicate that the stem-initial consonant (i.e. *h*) was in fact labialised (*h°*), which can thus testify to the presence of labialised consonants in Hattic. It is also possible to trace some phonotactic conventions of Hattic, resembling those of West Caucasian. Thus, the change of the final vowel *-e* into *-a* before *h*, as, for example, in Hat *katte* 'king' vs. *katta-h* 'queen', *tette* 'great' vs. *tetta-h* 'id.' (feminine form, cf. Girbal 164-165), resembles the same "lowering" effect of the pharyngal *h* in the West Caucasian languages, cf. for example Abkhaz, where the vowel *a* usually changes into *ə* before or after *h* (e.g. *jə-sə-z-dər-wa-m* "it-I-potential pref.-know-pres.suf.-neg." vs. *jə-ħa(< *ħə)-z-dər-wa-m* 'we do not know it' (cf. also Kammenhuber 459-460).

A peculiarity of Hattic was that in possessive constructions multiple objects of possession are expressed by a singular form (Kammenhuber 451). Cf. Hat *Eštan URULahzan le-we_l a-an-te-eh* 'The Sun-god (in) Lahzan his houses (lit. 'his house') for himself he built' (Kammenhuber 471-472), *tabarna[-n katti/e] le-we_l* 'tabarna-king his houses (lit. 'his house')' (Kammenhuber 454), *le-pinu* 'his children', lit. 'his child' (Kammenhuber 465). This is characteristic for West Caucasian as well, cf. Abx *wə-nap'ə ʃʃ'a* 'wash your hands (lit. 'your hand')!'

Like West Caucasian, Hattic was characterised by polysynthetism: a complex Hattic verbal form could incorporate independent words, cf. *ka-ur-a-n-ti-u* "local pref.-well-pref.(?)subj.pref-stand-suf" = 'stands over the well' (cf. Dunaevskaja 1960: 76-77). Cf. with such Abkhaz polysynthetic form as *də-č'k"əna-bzəja-wə+p'* "he-boy-good-stat./fin." = 'he is a good boy'.

Some syntactic parallels between Hattic and West Caucasian (like the similarity in the structure of simple sentence, the relative position of the adjective in respect to the noun, etc.) were discussed in Ardzinba 1979: 35-37.

The mentioned typological affinities between Hattic and West Caucasian are too numerous to be ignored, and they in fact symbolise the existence of a common Hattic-West Caucasian structural type (which is in contradiction with the opinion about Hattic expressed by Kammenhuber 451: "What we so far have, differs from any of the presently known language types"). What is more

significant, the structural affinities between Hattic and West Caucasian are supported by quite a substantial number of material correspondences, both in grammatical elements and in the lexicon.

Comments:

2.2. PARALLELS IN AFFIXES

Exactly in the same way as the earlier explorers of Indo-European languages established parallels in inflectional elements, the Hattic grammatical and lexical affixes (first of all prefixes) can be used to demonstrate the relationship with West Caucasian. I shall not give here West Caucasian examples in full scale, as they can easily be found in the sections on Common West Caucasian affixes.

Personal prefixes

(1) Hat *a* 3d p.sg. object and subject prefix : CABx **a-* 3d p.sg., nonhum subject and object prefix, Ub *a-* 3d p.sg. and pl. subject and object prefix, CCirc **a-* 3d p.pl. subject and indirect object prefix. Hattic examples: (a) As an object: *a-ta-niwa_{aš}* (itr.) "he-inside-is sitting" = Hit *-šan anda eži* 'he there inside is sitting' (Kammenhuber 510); *antiu* = Hit *arta(ri)* 'he stands' (Kammenhuber 526) : *a-ntiu* ?; (b) As a subject: *ā-n-teh* = Hit *wetet* (Dunaevskaja 1961: 127) "it-he-has built"; *ā-h-kun(n)-u-wa* = Hit *auštan* '(he) saw him' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 127); *ā-n-tuh* = Hit *dāš-ma-za* '(he) took for himself' (Kammenhuber 513); Hat: "it-he-took"; *a-n-neš* (Kammenhuber 481) "it-he-has put (on the throne)"; *a-n-tah-a* (Dunaevskaja 1961: 133) "it-he-has put (under the lock)"; *a-ašš-ija* "it-they-gave" = Hit *pier* 'they (the gods) gave' (Kammenhuber 515).

Comments:

(a) The meaning of this Hattic prefix is usually interpreted, in accordance with the Hittite reflexive suffix *-za*, as reflexive (Kammenhuber 514; cf. Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 82). But the examples given above show that *a-* in fact does not necessarily have a reflexive meaning, and is better interpreted as a 3d p. object (cf. Ivanov 29) and subject marker in bi-personal verbal forms. It is not quite clear, however, why there is no subject marker in expressions like *tabarna katti ta-niwa_{aš}* 'ruler, king, inside is sitting' (cf. Kammenhuber 510). Can this be compared with the situation in Abkhaz, where the subject or object marker *jə-* of the 3d p. nonhum sg. and 3d p.pl. is regularly dropped if it immediately follows its referent (cf. LABx *sa-ra s-cwajt'* 'I am going' vs. *da-ra ø-cwajt'* 'they are going', *as^øq^øa jaca jə-lə-s-tajt'* "the book yesterday it-to her-I-gave" vs. *as^øq^øa ø-lə-s-tajt'* "the book (it-)to her-I-gave") ? (b) It is possible that, as in West Caucasian, the arrangement of personal prefixes in Hattic depended on the

transitivity of the verb, with the same prefix serving as an object marker in transitive and as a subject marker in intransitive verbs. Cf. LAbx *d-cwajt'* 'he goes' vs. *də-j-bawajt'* 'him he sees'.

(2) Hat *n-* 3d p.sg. subject prefix : Ub *n-* (sg.), *na-* (pl.) 3d p. subject prefix, CABx **na* 3d p.sg. subject prefix. Hattic examples: *a-am-pu* "it(a)-he(n)-make" = Hit *iet* 'he makes/does' (Kammenhuber 513); *a-n-taḥa* (Dunaevskaja 1961: 75) "it-he-inside-put"; *a-n-neš* = Hit *dāiš* '(he) has put' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 127); *ānteh* = Hit *wetet* 'he has built' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 126); *ā-n-tuḥ* = Hit *dāšmaza* '(he) took for himself' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 127); *ka-ur-(a)n-ti-u* 'stands over the well' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 132-3).

Comments:

(a) Cf. Ivanov 33. The Hattic prefix is regarded by specialists as a subject marker; according to Kammenhuber, it expresses a singular subject only in transitive verbs and corresponds to the prefix *aš-* in plural (Kammenhuber 505; cf. also Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 82). The last of the examples given above, however, probably represents an intransitive verb. (b) Before a following labial, the subject marker *(a)n-* changes into *(a)m-* (Kammenhuber 513), i.e. *n* => *m* p. Thus Hat *a-am-pu* = Hit *-za-kan ... iet* (?) '(he) made, did' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 67) is in fact **a-an-pu* "it(a)-he(n)-made", Hat *a-am-miš* = Hit *-za dāš* 'himself he took' (Kammenhuber 514) is **a-an-miš* 'it-he-took', etc. (c) It is possible to analyse the verbs *a-n-taḥa* and *ā-n-tuḥ* in the examples given above as *a-n-ta-ha* and *ā-n-tu-h*, respectively, regarding the elements *ta-* and *tu-* (phonetically *tə-* ?) as ablaut forms of the local preverb **t-*, expressing opposite directions: 'inside' (*t+a*) and 'to outside' (*t+u*) by alternating vowels (*a ~ u*). This finds its direct parallel in West Caucasian, cf. Abx *a-ta-xa-ra* 'to remain inside' vs. *a-tə-ẍ-ra* 'to take off from inside', *a-ta-č'a-ra* 'to put inside' vs. *a-tə-č'-ra* 'to emerge from inside' (cf. Ardzinba 1979: 29-31; cf. also the chapter on West Caucasian morphophonology). (d) As I said above, it is better to analyse the prefix *a-* as 'it', rather than as the reflexive 'self', as it is usually considered in the literature. In the constructions of the type *a-n-taḥa* "it-he-put" we can actually deal with a bi-personal verb with object occupying the first place to the left from the root, the subject occupying the second place, which is a usual rank order of personal prefixes in the West Caucasian (bi-personal) transitive verb (i.e. in the ergative construction). Cf. Abx *sə-j-bawajt'*, Ub *sə-ø-bjan*, Circ *s-j-ă-lay'ə* "me-he-sees".

(3) Hat *wa-* personal prefix of 2d p.sg. (?; cf. Dunaevskaja 1964: 102) : CWC

**wə-* 'id.'. Hattic example: *wa-aḥ-zı-i-hé-ir* '(you-pl.) destroy' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 69).

Comment:

According to E. Forrer, Hat *wa-* was a prefixal personal pronoun (cf. Dunaevskaja 1961: 95-96). The given example can testify to its meaning as of 2d p.sg. (cf. Ivanov 26). Cf. also probably Hat *wa-aḥ-kun*, which corresponds to Hit *austa-at* 'she saw it' (Kammenhuber 526), but can be analysed as "thou-she-saw". The Hattic prefix *ut-*, regarded by some authors as the marker of 2d p.sg. (cf. Dunaevskaja 1961: 96), can represent the same morpheme.

(4) Hat *eš-/aš-/uš-* personal prefix of 1st p.pl. : Ub *šə-* 'id.' (e.g. *šə-k'ān* 'we go', *šə-a-bəjān* 'us-they-see'). Hattic examples: *eš-kā-her-pi* = Hit *taparijawenima* 'we shall appoint' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 126); *uš-ša* = Hit *nan SIG₃-aḥwén* 'we predicted for him favourably' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 130; Kammenhuber 515); *uš-ħa-aš* = Hit *weš-pat* 'we ourselves' (Kammenhuber 515); *uš-še-ša-lil* '?' = Hit *[...Jeni* '(we) + present tense' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 129).

(5) Hat *i-* a proclitic pronominal marker of 3d p.sg. (cf. Dunaevskaja 1964: 102) : CWC **jə-* personal prefix of 3d p.sg. (in Abkhaz also pl.). Hattic examples: *i-malhip* 'good(ness)' (Kammenhuber 453); *i-tu-ú-e* 'we (?) eat' (Ivanov 29); cf. also *i-zziptipil* '?', *i-ma-ħu* '?', *izz(i)-* 'favourable' (Kammenhuber 452), *i-ħtarazzil* '(dark ?) earth' (Kammenhuber 472), etc.

Comment:

Cf. Ivanov 29. The presence of the prefixal *i-* in Hattic adjectives can parallel the presence of the 3d p.sg. in the Abkhaz non-finite verbal forms, cf. Abx *jə-bzəja-wə* 'good', lit. "it-good-being", *jə-č'gá-w* 'bad', lit. "it-bad-being", etc.

Possessive prefixes

(1) Hat *le-* 'his' (one or several objects of possession) : CABx **lə-* 'her' (fem/hum). Hattic examples: *le-pinu* 'his child(ren)' (Kammenhuber 465); *li-kut*, *li-kuddu* 'his soul' (Kammenhuber 466); *le-ašah* 'his-evil(s)' (Kammenhuber 467); *le-estan* 'his day(s)' (Kammenhuber 472).

Comment:

The Hattic prefix did not distinguish between the feminine and masculine, which can be seen from such example as *Taru-n le-zuh* "Storm-god-of his-clothes"

(Kammenhuber 481): the god Taru was regarded as male. This fact would support the idea that gender distinctions in modern Abkhaz pronominal elements are secondary (cf. Ivanov 29).

(2) Hat *še-* possessive prefix (several possessors or several objects of possession) : Ub *šə-* possessive prefix of 1st p.pl. ('ours'). Hattic examples: *še-alep* (Kammenhuber 466): *alep* 'language'; *še-wu_{ur}(u)*: *wu_{ur}* 'land, country' (Kammenhuber 467); *še-munamuna* 'their stone(s)' (Kammenhuber 475).

Comment:

Kammenhuber 535 attributes to this Hattic prefix the meaning 'theirs', but it can be alternatively interpreted as referring to the 1st p.pl. ('ours'), connected with the Hattic subject/object prefix of 1st p.pl. (see above) and the well-attested personal pronoun *uš-* 'we' (see below). Ivanov 28-29 alternatively analyses the Hattic affix as belonging to the 1st p.sg. Can the grapheme *še-* hide in fact two different first person prefixes, one singular and another plural ?

(3) *te-* 'his', 'her' (one possessor and one object of possession) : CCirc **t^hə-* 'our'. Hattic examples: *te-alep* (Kammenhuber 466); *te-karam-un* 'his-vessel for libation', or 'his drink' (Kammenhuber 467); *te-wu_{ur}(i)*: *wu_{ur}* 'land, country' (Kammenhuber 467).

Comment:

This Hattic affix (cf. Kammenhuber 535) is analysed by Ivanov 26-27 as being of 1st p.pl.

Directional prefixes

(1) Hat *ka-* directional prefix : CWC **Ga-* ? or CABx **k'a-* ? or CWC **q'a-* ? Hattic examples: *ka-az-za* = Hit *iš-ħar-ú-i-eš-ki-iz-zi* '(she) bleeds' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 67); *ka-a-wa_a-a-ah* = Hit *wa-a-tar-na-ah-ħi* '(I) trust' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 67); *ka_a-a-wa_a-ah-pí* = Hit *ħa-at-tal-wa_a-aš* '(he) trusts' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 69); *ka-ur-(a)n-ħi-u* 'stands over the well' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 132-3); *ka-ijah-du* '(hither) from the sky' (Kammenhuber 492); **taš-te-ħ-ka-(z)zija* "not-let-ħ-there (?)-lie" = Hit *anda le (kittari)* 'inside should he/she not (lie)' (Kammenhuber 524); *ka-hanwa_ašuidd-un* "on (?)-throne-of" (Kammenhuber 491).

Comment:

It is not quite clear what kind of consonant(s) can be hidden behind the

grapheme *k*. Thus we can envisage the possibility that Hattic *ka-* can either correspond to CWC **Ga-* 'hither', or to CABx **k'a-* 'on the (vertical or horizontal) flat surface', CCirc **k'a-ra-* 'on the vertical surface', or to CWC **q'a-* local prefix '(on/to the) place' or, in different instances, to each of these prefixes.

(2) Hat *a-kka-* 'upwards': CABx **a-qa-* 'id.' (Bz *a-č-a-la-ra* 'to climb': "article-above/head-directive-go-masdar suf."). Hattic example: *a-kka-tuh* = Hit *šarā dāš* 'he took upward' (Kammenhuber 524).

Comment:

An alternative etymology is yielded by the comparison of this Hattic prefix with the first elements in CCirc **q'a-ta*, Ub *q'a-sa* 'to lift'.

Locational prefixes

(1) Hat *ta-/tu-* prev. 'in', 'inside' = Hit *anda* 'inside' : CABx **ta-* prev. 'in', 'inside', **tə-* 'from inside'. Hattic examples: *ta-niw-aš* = Hit *anda ēšzi* '(he) is (inside)' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 128); *antaha* = Hit *anda dāiš* 'he has put' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 75, 81) : *a-n-ta-ha*; *tē-ta-h-šūl* = Hit *anda tarneškiddu* 'let them allow them in' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 126); *ašahpi taš-tu-ta-šūl-a* = Hit *idalumakān anda lē tarnai* 'let (him) not allow the evil in(side)' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 127).

Comment:

The meaning of the Hattic prefix *ta-* as 'inside' is well established (cf. Dunaevskaja 1961: 128; Kammenhuber 522-523; Ardzinba 1979: 28-29). The corresponding Abkhaz prefix (cf. *a-ta-la-ra* 'to go inside') is connected with the stative verb *a-ta-z+aa-ra* 'to be inside' and with CABx noun **ta* 'place, stand' (with further Ubykh and Circassian correspondences).

(2) Hat *ha-* 'among, between', 'in' = Hit *ištarna*, *anda* (Kammenhuber 490, 491) : CCirc **xa-* 'in the mass' (e.g. **xa-sa* 'to be sitting amongst sth/smb'). Hattic examples: *ha-an-wa_a-aš* = Hit *ú-it* 'he came' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 67); *ha-wa_a-š̥ap* = Hit *DINGIRMEŠ-naš=a ištarna* 'and amongst the gods' (Kammenhuber 473); *ha-wu_ur/i* 'in/to the land' (Kammenhuber 490); *ištazzil ha-nuwa-pa* (Kammenhuber 472) "ground in-go-though"; *ha-nuwa-pa* 'herein-go-though' = Hit *anda-ma-aš-kan pait* "herein-though-he (+ local particle -kan) went ..." (Kammenhuber 511).

Comment:

Cf. Ivanov 33. The Hattic example *ha-wa_a-š̥ap* demonstrates also the meaning 'in'

the mass, amidst', just as in Circassian.

(3) *li-* locative prefix like German 'bei', 'in', 'aus', 'auf' before the enclitical pronoun (cf. Dunaevskaja 1961: 93) : CWC **la-* > Ub *La-* local preverb with an abstract location, CABx prev. **la-* 'down' or, alternatively, **la-* 'in(to) the mass', **lə-* 'from the mass'.

(4) *zi-* local prefix of the type of German 'bei', 'in', 'aus', 'auf' before the enclitic pronouns (Dunaevskaja 1963: 94) : CABx preverbs **c'a-* 'under' ~ **c'ə-* 'from under'. Hattic examples: *zi-jah-du* 'from the sky thither' (Kammenhuber 492); *wa-zi-niwa_č* "?-? sit/be seated" (Kammenhuber 525); *wa-h-zi-herta* (Kammenhuber 525) "collective pref.-*(s)he*-hide".

Comment:

The same or a similar morpheme can be represented by the Hattic locative prefix *za-*, found in *tu-h-za-šul* (Kammenhuber 518) "herein-he-down(?)-let" (*šul(a)* 'to let (free)'). The correspondence between *za-* and *zi-* can parallel that between *ta-ha* 'to put into' and *tu-h* 'to take out'.

(5) Hat *pe-//pi-//wa-* locative prefix : Ub *wa-* prev. 'in(to) the mass, amidst sth or smb' (e.g. *wa-wa* 'to go into (the mass/amidst)'). Hattic examples: *taš-te-nuwa pe-wei_č* "not-let-go into-house" (Kammenhuber 511); *wa-nup-pa d_Habantali* = Hit *paitt(a)-as d_Hapantalija_č* 'she went, (the goddess) *H*.' (Kammenhuber 511-2)

Comment:

Hat *wa-nup-pa* < **wa-nuw-pa*, cf. the variant *pi-nnuwa-t d_Hapantali* 'id.'

(6) *ha-* 'on' (Kammenhuber 432) : CABx **qa-* prev. 'above, over the head/top' (< **qa* 'head'). Hattic examples: *ha-nwa_č(u)-it* 'throne', 'the throne goddess' = 'on-is sitting-fem. suf.' (Kammenhuber 432), cf. CABx **qa-t'a-* 'to sit over, preside', LABx *a-č-a-n-t'a-jə* 'the chairman' = "its-head-to-adv.suf-sit-agent suf.", *a-č-a-nə* 'at the head', 'at the beginning'.

(7) Hat *išta-* in *ištarazzil* 'earth, ground' : CABx prev. **š't'a-* 'on the ground'.

Comment:

Cf. Braun 356. The Abkhaz preverb can be analysed as **š'-t'a-*, with the first element going back to CWC **λ'a* 'foot'. But even in this case one can imagine the

rendering of the sequence $*\lambda\text{-}t'a$ by means of (*i*) $\check{š}ta$. Cf. also Hat *šterah* 'coverlet' (Ivanov 46), which can contain the same preverb. An alternative etymology of Hat *ištarazzil*, which I find somewhat less convincing, can be found in Ivanov 46.

Number affixes

(1) Hat *wa-* collective or indefinite plural prefix (variants: *wi-*, *pi-*) (Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 81) : CABx **wa-* in **wa-čə* 'man', **wa-ča* 'men, people', **wa-* "ethnic suffix" < **wa* 'relative, friend, 'belonging to sth, related to', 'example'. Hattic examples: *wa-a-zari* 'people, mankind' (Kammenhuber 465); *wa-zar* 'sheep' (pl.) (Kammenhuber 462); *wa-šhap/w* 'gods, deities' (Kammenhuber 465); *wa-a-šah* 'evil' (Kammenhuber 467).

Comment:

It is not excluded that this prefix is etymologically connected with the items in (5) in the preceding section. Ivanov 35-6 regards this prefix as a grammatical class marker.

Suffixes

(1) Hat *-h* adjective-forming suffix (Schuster 1974: 126) : CWC **-čə* > Ub *-č(ə)* attributive/possessive suffix (e.g. *kʷanč-č* 'relating to tomorrow's days'; *kʷanč* 'tomorrow', *də-č-č* 'master', lit. 'the one (relative pref. *də-*) who possesses'), CABx **-čə* suffix forming deverbal nouns (e.g. SABx *a-γ əč'-ra-č* 'the stolen (thing)', from *a-γ əč'-ra* 'to steal'). Hattic examples: *tittah* 'big, great' (Schuster 1974: 126), *šah* (Schuster, ibid.) or *ašah* (Kammenhuber 451, 458) 'evil', *ijah* 'shining' (Schuster, ibid.).

Comment:

Girbal 158 regards the suffix *-h* in *tittah* as the feminine suffix, connecting it with *-h* in *katta-h* 'queen' (see the following comparison).

(2) Hat *-ah* (or *-h*, cf. Girbal 157) feminine suffix : CWC **H^oč'a/ə* morpheme meaning 'feminine'. Hattic examples: *katte* 'king' vs. *katta-h* 'queen'; **zintuh(i)* prob. 'granddaughter', 'young woman' (Kammenhuber 435, 460). Cf. also Ub *ča-* feminine 3d p.sg. pronoun.

Comments:

(a) Cf. Inal-ipa 1976: 138, Ivanov 37, Girbal 157-8, Braun 355. The West Caucasian morpheme is found in CWC **pH^oč'a/ə* 'daughter' (cf. CABx **pa* 'son',

thus **p-H'ā/a?*), **pH'ā/a-s°ə* 'woman' (*-s°ə diminutive suf.), CABx **ja-H'-š'a* 'sister', as opposed to **ja-š'a* 'brother'. (b) The Hattic word **zintuh(i)* (**zintu-h(i)*) is reconstructed on the basis of Hittite loan in the name of the goddess *Zintuhi*, granddaughter of the Hattic Thunder-god *Taru/Šaru* and the Sun-goddess from Arinna, *Wu_urunšemu*. The presence of this suffix in **zintuh(i)* was supposed by Laroche on the basis of comparison with *p/wa_azi-zintu* [*fazi-zintu*] 'grandson', thus *zintu* 'grandson' vs. *zintu-h* 'granddaughter', which parallels the opposition *katte* 'king' vs. *katta-h* 'queen' (cf. Kammenhuber 460).

(3) Hat -*ma* definite suffix : CCirc *-*m-a* ergative plural suffix (e.g. **c'əx°ə-ma* 'people (erg.)'). Hattic examples: *wa_a-šhap=ma* *eš-wu_ur aš-kahhir* = Hit *DINGIRMEŠ KURMEŠ manijahhir* "gods (the-)lands they-ruled" (Kammenhuber 473-4); *šāwatma ka-ur-(a)n-ti-u* 'apple stands over the well' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 132-3) : *šāwat-ma* 'apple'.

Comment:

Though the first Hattic example (*wa_a-šhap=ma* 'gods') can indicate something like an ergative plural suffix (cf. Ivanov 1983: 128, Ivanov 35), equal to Common Circassian *-*m-a*, the second example (*šāwat-ma* 'apple') makes one think that it could be rather something like a definite article. In this function it could have served as a basis for the later ergative marker in Circassian (cf. CCirc demonstrative pronoun **mə* 'this'). See also below, in 2.6.2. (4). It is noteworthy that in Circassian the suffix *-*m* (sg.), *-*m-a* (pl.) serves not only as an ergative case marker, but can also bear an obvious definite function, cf. such a Kabardian example as *s'aLă-r txəλə-m jăwžă* 'boy (nom.) reads (itr.) the book (*txəλə-m*)' (cf. Urusov 295; Kumaxov 1971: 121).

(4) Hat -*an* past tense suffix ? : CABx *-*nə* imperfect finite tense suffix (e.g. *jə-s-fa-wa-n* 'I was eating'). Hattic example: *a-an-ta(?)-ha-an* 'he has put' (cf. Dunaevskaja 1961: 81): "it-he-inside-put-past (?)".

Comment:

Ivanov 38 sees in the given Hattic form *-ha-an* = *-han* the perfective suffix, comparing it with the Abkhaz perfective suffix *-x'a-n*, but the Hattic form *a-an-ta(?)-ha-an* obviously contains the verb *ta-ha* 'to put'.

(5) Hat -*t* past tense suffix ? : CABx *-*t'* past tense dynamic finite suffix, Ub -*t'* past tense suffix (cf. Ivanov 38). Hattic examples: *ta-h-kuwa-t*, *še-h-kuwa-t* = Hit *weritemaš* 'caught' (Kammenhuber 519); *pi-nuwa_a-t* = Hit *pait(ta)-aš* 'she went'

(Kammenhuber 527).

(6) Hat *-e/-ja* "dative case" suffix; the oblique case marker 'him', 'her' (Kammenhuber 470; Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 80) : CCirc **ja-* (sg.), **ja-a-* (pl.) 3d p. indirect object prefix, CABx **jə-* 3d p.sg. subject and object prefix. Hattic examples: *aja tabarna katte-ja* = Hit *piandu* 'they will give to the ruler, the king' (Kammenhuber 487, 526); *ja-e* 'to give-him' (Kammenhuber 487); *ta-ja-ja* 'let-give-to him' (Kammenhuber 526).

Comment:

Dunaevskaja 1964: 102 analyses Hat *-a* as a locative suffix 'in'. The alternative West Caucasian comparison can be with such preverbs as Ub *ja-* 'towards', CCirc **ja-* 'upward', CABx **ja-* 'over sth', or with CWC **-a* postpositional directional particle.

Comment:

(7) Hat *-Vn* "genitive case" suffix (Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 80), according to Dunaevskaja 1964: 102, this suffix, besides the genitive meaning, expresses also locative and dative meanings : CABx **-nə* locative suffix (e.g. Abx *a-mj'a-nə* 'on the road', *a-mj'a-n+t'* 'from the road'), Ub *-n* suffix of oblique case, including the functions of the ergative and locative cases (e.g. *za-šabLa-n* 'in one country'). Hattic examples: *wu_r-un* 'of lands, countries' (Kammenhuber 447); *te-karam-un* 'of his vessel for libation', or 'of his drink' (Kammenhuber 467); *zari-un* 'of man, mortal' (Kammenhuber 468); *hapalki(j)-an* 'of/from iron' (Kammenhuber 467); *takeha-un* 'of lion' (Kammenhuber 467).

(8) Hat *-tu/-du* "ablative case" suffix (answers the question 'from where?'; Kammenhuber 492) : CABx **t'*^{a/ə} attributive/possessive suffix, having also the meaning 'from', **t'*^ə 'to belong, possess', Ub *t'*^a 'to exit, get/come out'. Hattic examples: *zar-du* 'sheep' (abl.) (Kammenhuber 462); *wu_r-tu* 'from the land, country ?' (Kammenhuber 472); *ašah-du* (*ašah* 'evil') (Kammenhuber 467); *zari-ddu* (*zari* 'man, mortal') (Kammenhuber 468).

Comment:

cf. SAbx *a-j'ada-n+t'*^(ə) 'from above', *w-aba-t'*^ə*-jə-w* 'where are you from?', Bz *a-šča-t'*^(ə) 'from the mountain', Ub *a-ž'a-sə-w-t'*^ə*-n* 'I come down', *mā-w-La-t'*^ə*-nə-j* 'where do you come from?'. The alternative comparison with Hattic may be Ub *-d'*^a attributive suffix (e.g. *ʒ'a-d'*^a 'drink', 'designed for drinking', *ʒ'a* 'to drink').

(9) Hat *-l* agent suffix ? : CABx *-la comitative suffix (e.g. *g^oə-la 'neighbour', from *g^oə 'heart'). Hattic examples: *takkehal* 'hero' (Kammenhuber 447), obviously derived from *takeha* 'lion' (Kammenhubert 447); the same suffix can probably be found also in *šahtaril* "?" (Kammenhuber 447), *duddušhijal* 'ritual functionaries' (Kammenhuber 447), *luizzil* 'messenger' (Kammenhuber 452), *haggazuel* = Hit *e/akuttara-* "Tränker" (though cf. Kammenhuber 460).

Comment:

Does Hat *-el*, *-il*, suffix of possession or origin (> Hit *-el* 'id.'; Kammenhuber 460), also belong here ? Cf. Hat *haniku-il* 'the Haniku-dweller' (Kammenhuber 449); *Nerik-il* 'the Nerik-dweller' (Kammenhuber 461). The Hittite suffix *-li*, borrowed from Hattic, which was used in the forms like *hatti-li* 'in the Hattic language', i.e. with instrumental meaning, can also belong here, cf. Tap *t'ap'anta-la* 'in Tapanta (Abaza)', SABx *apsə-š^oa-la* 'in Abkhaz' (cf. Ivanov 39).

(10) Hat *-et* toponymic suffix (Kammenhuber 461) : CABx *-ta 'id.' < *ta 'place of'. Cf. also items in (1) in *Locational prefixes* above.

(11) Hat *-š* locative suffix in *URUHattuš* (cf. Hit *Hatti* 'Hattic') : CCirc *-š^hə, Ub *-š* locative suffix (< CWC *-šə) 'place of'.

Comment:

The alternative comparison with Ub *-š^oa* locative suffix ('the place of', e.g. *Lak^oa-š^oa* 'the village (of the family of) *Lak^oa*') seems phonetically (because of the lack of any trace of labialisation in the Hattic form) somewhat less plausible.

(12) *-ma-* suffix of place (Kammenhuber 539) : Ub *ma-* verbal prefix designating the place of the action, cf. also Ub *mā-k'a* 'where?', *ma-ža-j* 'where?'

(13) Hat *-šu/-uš/-š* "accusative case" suffix (Kammenhuber 470) : CABx *-sa adverbial/transformative suffix (e.g. CABx **laba-sa* 'by a log', **qac'a-sa* 'as a man'), Ub *-sa* gerundial suffix (e.g. *a-j-k'a-sa* '(the one) who is coming').

Comment:

It is clear that Kammenhuber's term "accusative case" can be used here only as purely conditional. Cf. Ivanov 38-9.

(14) Hat *-u* present tense suffix : CWC **wa* present tense affix (>

present/dynamic prefix in CCirc, present tense suffix in CABx).

Comment:

The present tense meaning for this Hattic verbal suffix was tentatively proposed by Girbal 124-126. He sees the presence of this suffix in such Hattic forms as *an-ka-ti-i-u-ma*, *ha-zu-ú-wa-hé-en-tu*, *ti-i-u* ('stands'), *untuhkantiu* 'cleaned (or cleans ?) himself', etc.

2.3. VERBS

(1) Hat *pu/bu* 'to do, make' = Hit *ija-* 'to make' (Kammenhuber 513, 528) : CWC **wə* 'to do, make'. Hattic examples: *ni-i-pu* = Hit *ijaweni* 'we shall do', *nipupe* = Hit *ijaweni-ma-aš* 'wir machen-aber-sie' (Kammenhuber 528), *a-am-pu* = Hit *i-e-it*(?) '(he) made, did' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 67).

Comments:

Ivanov 40 tentatively analyses the Hattic verb as the combination of the grammatical class prefix *b-* with the verb *u*, connected with the corresponding Abkhaz and East Caucasian verbs. Though such an approach is possible, the peculiarities of the Hittite graphic system, where *p* can render *p*, *b*, *w* and *f*, allow us to reconstruct Hat **wə* 'to do', reflected in Hittite graphics as *pu* or *bu*.

(2) Hat *tuh* 'to take' = Hit *dā-* (Dunaevskaja 1961: 67; Kammenhuber 447) : CABx **tə-χə* 'to take from inside' (the local preverb **tə-* 'from inside' and the verb **χə* 'to take'). Hattic examples: *a-an-tuh dŠu-li-in-kat-ti kat-te-e li-e-wa₄-e-li-e [...]* = Hit *da-a-aš-ma-za dŠu-li-in-kat-te-eš LUGAL-uš Ú.NU.TEMeš* 'S., king, took the things' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 77); *pa-la a-an-da-ḥa ak-ka-tu-uh pa-la a-an-ta-ḥa* = Hit *na-at ša-ra-a da-a-aš na-at-kan an-da da-a-iš* 'and them has taken, and them has put' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 77); *a-an-tu-uh li-e-zu-u-uh li-e-š-te-ra-ah ba-la l[i-e-še-ip-še-ip]* = Hit *da-a-aš-ma-za TUGhi.a KUŠGAR.TAGhi.a KUŠE.SIR hi.a=ja* 'he took clothes, bed-spreads and s[hoes] (Dunaevskaja 1961: 77).

(3) Hat *tah//taha* 'to put, sit, make sit' = Hit *dai-* (Dunaevskaja 1961: 75) : CABx **ta-χa* 'to remain/stay inside' (**ta-* prev. 'inside', **χa* 'to remain, stay'). Hattic examples: *pa-la a-an-da-ḥa ak-ka-tu-uh pa-la a-an-ta-ḥa* = Hit *na-at ša-ra-a da-a-aš na-at-kan an-da da-a-iš* 'and them has taken, and them has put' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 77). Hat *guz* with CABx 'c/a' 'to put, lay'.

Comment: *pu* 'to look, see' = Hit *uit-* 'to look into' : CWC **ba₄s* 'top, tip' allropic

While Dunaevskaja 1961: 82 regards *tuh* and *tah(a)* as different verbs, Ardzinba 1979: 30 suggests to analyse *taha* as a combination of the well-attested Hattic local prefix *ta-* 'inside' and the root *h(+a)*. The form *tuh*, according to him (*ibid.*: 31), is the same stem formed by alternation *a/u*, *a/ø*. The stem *taha* thus indicates the action directed towards the speaker, and *tuh* - the action directed to outside.

- (4) Hat *neš* = Hit *dai-* 'to put' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 90) : CABx **nə-žə* 'to put, leave'. Hattic example: *anneš* = Hit *daiš* '(he) put' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 81 fn).

Comment:

The Hattic form can be analysed as *a-n-neš* "it-he-put". There can also be an alternative comparison of the Hattic verb with CWC **sə* 'to sit' (?), which means that *ne* can be analysed as a local prefix.

- (5) Hat *waₖu//pu* (according to Kammehuber and Ivanov, phonetically probably [*f(a)u*]) = Hit *ed-/ad-* 'to eat' (Kammehuber 528) : CWC **fa/a* 'to eat' (cf. Ivanov 48). Hattic example: *teš-pu//teš-waₖu* 'let-them-eat', variant: *te-eš-pu-ú* [= *te-(a)š-f(a)u* (or *fu*) = Hit *adandu* 'they shall eat' (Kammehuber 505, 528).

- (6) Hat *tī* or *tij* = Hit *ar-* 'to stand, rise, climb' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 87, 91) : CWC **tə/a* > CCirc **tʰə* 'to stand', **tʰa-gə* 'to stand up, rise', Ub *t°ə* 'to be, exist, be present somewhere', CABx **ta* 'to be inside'. Hattic example: *antiu* = Hit *arta(r)i* 'he stands' (Kammehuber 509).

Comment:

It is possible that Hat *put* = Hit *eš-/aš-* 'to be, exist' (Kammehuber 528) also contains this root. Cf. Hat *te-(a)š-put* "let-them-be" = Hit *ašandu* 'they will be' (Kammehuber 528). It can be analysed as *pu-t*, where one can see the preverb *pu-* = CWC **pa-* 'at, beside', and the root *t*, same as in (6).

The final *-u* in Hat *antiu* can either point to the labialised character of *t* (thus **a-n-t°ə*, cf. Ub *t°ə*, given in (6)), or can be interpreted as a separate verbal morpheme, probably the marker of present tense (thus **a-n-tə-w*; cf. Girbal 124-5), which can be compared with the similar West Caucasian affix (cf. above, in Chapter X, 3, no. 31).

- (7) Hat *herta*, or *ziherta* = Hit *mun[nāi-J]* 'to hide' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 91) : Ub *qarda* 'id.'

Comment:

The comparison with Ubykh was proposed by Ivanov 41. The alternative comparison could be with CABx *č^oaχə 'to hide' (thus Hat ziher-ta).

- (8) Hat *kuwa* = Hit *ep(p)-/ap(p)-* 'to take, catch, grab' (Kammenhuber 519) : Ub q^oa 'id.' (cf. Ivanov 44). Hattic examples: *ta-h-kuwa-t, še-h-kuwa-t* = Hit *epta-an* 'caught' (Kammenhuber 522, 527).

- (9) Hat *niwaš* = Hit *eš-/aš-* 'to sit/be seated' (Kammenhuber 510) : CWC *sə 'to sit'. Hattic examples: *dŠulinkatti katti a-ta-niwaš* "Š., king, he-inside-sits" = Hit -san anda ešzi 'he is sitting there inside' (Kammenhuber 510).

Comment:

It is quite probable that only the last consonant in Hattic (i.e. š) is an actual root, the part *niwa*_a probably representing a local preverb, or a combination of two preverbs (*ni+wa* ?; cf. Ivanov 45), cf. CWC *t^oa-sə 'to sit', with the preverb *t^oa-.

- (10) Hat *nuwa* = Hit *pāi-* 'to go, come' (Kammenhuber 447), *uwa-* 'to enter' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 90) : CABx *nəq^oa 'to walk' (?)

Comment:

Cf. also Braun 357. There can be an alternative comparison of the Hattic verb with Ub *wa* 'to enter' (the element *nu-* can be analysed then as a local or directional prefix).

- (11) Hat *zija* = Hit *ki-* 'to lie' (Kammenhuber 529) : CCirc *čə-ja 'to sleep'. Hattic example: *taš-teh-ka-z(z)ija* "not-let-h-there inside(?)-lie" = Hit *anda le kittari* 'shall not lie there inside' (Kammenhuber 504).

Comment:

The first part of the Circassian word is supposedly connected with CABx *č^oa, Ub č^oa 'to sleep', while the second one with CABx *ja 'to lie' (cf. NS 409), Ub ja-prev. 'under'. Another possibility is to analyse the Hattic form as consisting of the locative preverb *zi-* 'beneath' and the root *ja* 'to lie', connected with *ja* in Circassian, Abkhaz and Ubykh forms given above. Braun 357 alternatively connects Hat *zija* with CABx *c^oa 'to put, lay'.

- (12) Hat *pu* 'to look, see' = Hit *ušk-* 'to look into' : CWC *ba/a 'to see'. Hattic

example: *pa-la a-an-da-ap-pu pí-iz-zi-e wa_a-aš-ḥa-ap* = Hit *na-aš-ta DINGIRMEŠ* *an-da ú-uš-k[i]-e-ir...* (Ardzinba 1979: 33) 'and then the gods looked into'.

Comment:

The Hattic *andappu*, as a parallel to Hit *an-da ú-uš-k[i]-e-ir* 'inside were looking' (cf. Ardzinba 1979: 33; cf. also Ivanov 45), can be analysed as *a-n-ta-pu* 'it-he(they?)-inside-look'. Cf. the discussion of the irregular correlation of the subject singular marker *n-* in *a-n-ta-pu* with its referent in the form of the (collective) plural *wa_a-aš-ḥa-ap* 'gods' in Ardzinba, ibid., 34.

(13) Hat *hu* 'to speak' : CWC **H^oa* 'to speak'. Hattic examples: *pala ita uk-hu-ma(//-ba)* = Hit *me[?mai?] kiniššan* 'Sie sp[rach(?)] folgendermassen' (Kammenhuber 520); *un-hu-pi* = Hit *ziga-wa-kan* 'you + the particle of direct speech *wa(r)* + local particle *kan*' (Kammenhuber 536); *ud-hu ga-uri antuna-hu ga-ur[?]* (Kammenhuber 536).

Comments:

cf. Ivanov 41, Braun 357. Kammenhuber 520 translates the first Hattic example given above as 'Und so wie(?)+Redepartikel -*hu* + -*ma/ba* so', commenting on it 'Empty phrase, which introduces the speech' (ibid., 521), though the Hittite translation indicates that we should rather analyse the Hattic sentence as 'and so thus-(she) said-though'. It means that *hu* here must be interpreted as the verbal root 'to say, speak', not just the particle. The second Hattic example can be analysed as *u-n-hu-pi* "to you-(s)he-say-though".

The verbal stem *hu* in Hattic was used also as a particle of the direct speech, e.g. *malhip-[h]u* 'good(ness)-*hu*'; *Eštan-hu* "The Sun-god-*hu*" (Kammenhuber 471); *kap-hu* 'from the sky-*hu*' (Kammenhuber 517) = Hit *-wa(r)* (cf. Kammenhuber 471), which functionally and materially corresponds to the Abkhaz particle *-h^oa*, cf. *s-aa-jt'-h^oa* 'I came-*h^oa*', *h^oa* being an archaic form of the past absolute of the verb *a-h^oa-ra* 'to speak', meaning literally 'having said' (= Rus мол.).

(14) Hat *zaraš* (*za-ar-aš*) 'to call' (Girbal 138) : CABx **c'arə//c'ərə* 'to shout, yell, howl', CWC **c'ərə* 'to chirp, squeak, cheep, peep'.

(15) Hat *ša* = Hit SIG₅-*ahh-* 'to favour, make healthy' (Kammenhuber 528) : CABx **ša* 'to divide, distribute'. Hattic examples: *u-uš-š[a(-.)]* = **uš-ša* "they-favour (?)"; *taš-te-ša(?)* 'not-allow-to favour (?)' (Kammenhuber 528).

Comment:

Cf. also *ša* in SAbx *a-g°ə-r-γ'a-č'-h°a-ša*, Tap *a-g°ə-r-γ'a-ša* 'present for smb who brought good news' (*g°ə-r-γ'a* 'happy', Tap *č'-h°a* 'to announce'), *n-xa-ša* 'salary' (*n-xa* 'to work'), *qa-x̥ha-ša* 'farming' (arch.) (*qa* 'head', *x̥ha* 'to buy'), *h°a-ša* 'for free' (*h°a* 'to speak') (Tabulova 1976: 63); cf. perhaps also the Abkhaz suffix of second future *-ša*: *jə-s-fa-ša* 'sth which I am going/supposed to eat'.

2.4. NOUNS

- (1) Hat *hamuruwa* 'beam' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 88) : CABx **q°ə(m)bələ-ra* 'beam over the hearth', 'cross-beam'.

Comment:

The meaning of the first syllable of the Abkhaz word is not quite clear, though the second part (**bla/ə*) is related to **bLa* in CCirc **qʰa-bLa* 'stretcher for carrying the dead to the cemetery' (**qʰa* 'dead'), **p̥xa-bLa* 'id.'. Ivanov 40 compares the first part of the Hattic word with CCirc **p̥xa* 'wood(en)', used in **p̥xa-bLa* and in other Circassian compounds.

- (2) Hat *z̥iħar//ziħer* 'wood' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 89) : CCirc **čə-ğə* 'tree', in nom. case **čə-ğə-r* (cf. Ivanov 49), cf. also **čə-ğ-ajə* 'oak-tree'.

- (3) Hat *uš-ħa-aš* = Hit *weš-pat* 'we-ourselves' (Kammenhuber 515) contains *uš-* 'we' (Kammenhuber 515) and *ħa-aš* = *ħaš*, which can be compared either with CCirc **ħha*, or with CABx **qa* both meaning 'head', cf. Ad *ə-ħħa-č'-č'* ("its/his/her-head-instr."), LABx *-x-a-la* 'himself' (< **qa-a-la* "head-dir.-instr."), CCirc **ħħa-x'a-wa* ("head-for-participial suf."), LABx *-x-a-zə* '-self', 'separately' (< **qa-a-žə* "head-dir.-for").

- (4) Hat *šahīš* 'kind of tree' > Hit *šahī-* 'tree, wood (as material)' (Kammenhuber 437, 447) : Ub *səxə* 'wooden bolt, latch', 'pole, perch' or, alternatively, CCirc **saxə* '(wooden) bar, gate'.

Comment:

The Ubykh word is analysed as *sə* 'wood' plus relative-possessive suffix *-xə*, i.e. 'the wooden (thing)' (cf. ES II: 60). CCirc **saxə* can be related to the Ubykh word only by its first part, *sa-* < CWC **sə* 'tree, wood (as material)'. As for the composition of the Hattic word, cf. the attributive suffix *-ħ*, probably related to Ub *-xə* (see above). The final *-iš* in Hattic remains unclear.

Comment:

(5) *katte* 'king', *kat(t)a-h* 'queen' (Kammenhuber 447) : CABx **qada* 'chief' (adj.).

Comment: The etymology of the Abkhaz word is not quite clear. It can be derived from the unattested verb **qa-da* 'to lead' (?), with preverb **qa* 'head' and the root **da* 'to lead, carry'. The antiquity of the Abkhaz word can be supported by the fact that it can probably be seen in the Apsilian (Old Abkhazian) masculine name of the VIII century A.D., rendered in Greek as Χάδος (cf. Agathias). The reflection of the uvular stop *q* by a cuneiform sign for a velar stop (*k*) is quite natural (cf. the ethnic name š*qara-wa* 'Ashkharywa', rendered in Russian transcription as шкарава, i.e. by means of *k*). The presence of the uvular stop *q* as the initial consonant in Hattic can be confirmed by the variant Hittite rendering of the Hattic *katta-ha* 'queen' (with the feminine suffix *-ha*) in the name of goddess *Kattahha*, in later Hittite texts rendered as *Hatahha* (Kammenhuber 449).

(6) Hat *pinu* 'son' (Kammenhuber 447; *pi-nu* ?) : CABx **pa* 'son, child'.

Comment: Cf. Braun 357. Kammenhuber 920 translates the first Hattic example

Cf. Braun 355. For a possible explanations of the final *-nu* in Hattic cf. the comment to the following comparison. **pa* is likely to be present also in CWC **pH^a* 'daughter' < **pa-H^a*, with the feminine suffix *H^a* discussed above, in 2.2.6. (2).

Ivanov 45 alternatively compares the Hattic word with CCirc **bənə* 'descendants', '(children of) family'. Though this comparison matches the Hattic word better, the unclear etymology of the Circassian word renders it less likely. Thus, Shagirov (ES I: 103) and Ivanov 45 himself suggest the possibility of a Semitic borrowing in Circassian (cf. Arab *ibn* 'son', 'descendent'). On the other hand, the Circassian word is being also connected with Oss *bən/nun* 'beneath, basis, bottom, heritage' (cf. Chapter IV, in 8.1.).

(7) *psun* 'soul', 'breathing', also as a verbal root in *a-am-pu-ša-an* = Hit *pa-ra-iš* '(he) breathed, blew' (Girbal 100) : CWC **psə* 'soul', cf. also CABx **psə-pə* 'breathing'.

Comment: The meaning of the Hattic word was established by Girbal 100. The final *-n* in Hattic is either a suffix, or a part of the root, which, in this case, can indicate its loss in Common West Caucasian.

- (8) (a) *š̥ap/w* = Hit *DINGIR* 'god', pl. *wa_a-š̥ap/w* = Hit *DINGIRMEŠ* (Kammenhuber 447, 453) : CCirc **wašx'a* 'oh, skies', 'vow' (used in archaic formulas), Ub *wašx'a* 'thunder and lightning', CABx **wašx'a* 'vow, oath' (in archaic formulas).

Comments:

This comparison, in fact the first one to be proposed as proof of a Hattic-West Caucasian relationship, remains controversial. The Circassian word is analysed as **wa* 'sky' and **šx'a* 'blue', which is supported, according to Shagirov (ES II: 89), by such Kabardian oath formulas as *wāšx'ā, məvāšx'ā c'ana* 'blue sky, a piece of blue stone'. The Common Abkhaz word, given above, is regarded as a Circassian loan (cf. ES II: 90), while the borrowed nature of the Ubykh word is not certain (ES, ibid.; ZL 30). The most serious argument against this otherwise quite tempting comparison with Hattic is that the bearer of the main lexical meaning (i.e. 'god') in Hattic is obviously the part *š̥ap/w*, the element *wa-* being regarded as a collective plural prefix (cf. Kammenhuber 441). However, in West Caucasian it is certainly the first part (*wa*) which means 'sky', or 'god', cf., apart from CCirc **wa-šx'a*, also Ub *wa//wa-ba//wa-ba* 'God', which etymology can be 'sky/god-grey' (cf. MS 69). The only possible explanation for this controversy, if we still persist in connecting the Hattic and West Caucasian words, can be that in Common Circassian **wašx'a* was folk-etymologically reinterpreted, while in Ubykh and Abkhaz it was preserved in its fossilised form (cf. Ivanov 1983: 128). Just to show that the etymology of the Circassian word as "blue sky" cannot be the only one possible, one can in principle analyse the pair CCirc **wašx'a* and Ub *wašx'a* as consisting of **wa* 'sky/god' and the adjective **šx'a* 'strong, mighty', i.e. 'the mighty sky/god', cf. CCirc **ya-šx'a/a* 'to temper, harden' (**ya-* causative prefix), i.e. 'to strengthen', related to Ub *šx'a* 'strong'. Yet still another possibility is to see in Hat (a) *š̥ap/w* 'god' the word related to CCirc **šx'a* 'sorcery, poison', borrowed into Ubykh (cf. Ivanov 1983: 128), present also in CCirc **x°a-šx'a* 'medicine, curative', and probably in **q°a/a-šx'a* 'to be delirious'.

Cf. also in Braun 356 the attempt to connect the Hattic word with CABx **š̥qa* 'mountain'.

- (9) -*anna* 'woman', cf. *tabarna* 'ruler (masc.)', *tawann-anna* 'ruler (fem.)', the title of the ruling queen (Kammenhuber 459) : CWC *(a)*nə* 'mother', used also to designate females (as the second part of the compounds).

Comment:

Cf. CCirc **təyə+ž-anə* 'she-wolf', **qaz-anə* 'female goose', CABx **č-anə* 'mare' (**čə* 'horse'), **h^o-anə* 'sow' (**h^oa* 'swine'), etc.

(10) *ur(a/i)* 'well; spring' (Kammenhuber 462) : CWC **ʕarə* 'stream, torrent' (> CCirc **wara* 'wave, stream', 'turbulent water', CABx **fi^harə* 'torrent, stream (after rain)').

Comment:

Braun 356 alternatively compares the Hattic word with CABx **k^hara* 'little river, creek'.

(11) *ureš* 'smith' (Kammenhuber 462), *wae* 'working tools' (Kammenhuber 494) : CCirc **wərə* 'big hammer', 'sledge-hammer', **wa* 'to beat, strike', Ad *watā* 'hammer'.

Comment:

Cf. Ivanov 48. CCirc **wərə* is regarded as a derivate from **wa* 'to beat' (Rogava 1956: 109), which can be true for Ad *watā* as well.

(12) *kut, kud(u)* 'soul' (Kammenhuber 59) : CWC **g^hə* 'heart'.

Comment:

Ivanov 44, who proposed this comparison, suggests that we analyse the element *-du* (//*-tu*) in Hattic as a suffix, probably "ablative", though cf. CABx **g^hə-ta* 'centre, core' (**g^hə* 'heart', **-ta* 'place of'), also cited by Ivanov. As Girbal 101 remarks, Hat *kut, kud(u)* 'soul' and *psun* 'soul', both rendered in Hittite translations by the Shumerogramme ZI, were probably not completely synonomous, as ZI covers a broader semantic field.

(13) *zar* 'sheep' (sg.), *wa_a-zar* (pl.) (Kammenhuber 468) : CWC **wasa* 'sheep', 'price'.

Comment:

If the CWC word is really connected with Hattic, it can represent a fossilised "collective plural" form (cf. Ivanov 36). In this case the usual connection of the Common West Caucasian word with the Iranian word for 'sheep' (cf. ES II: 88-9) must be rejected. Braun 356 compares the Hattic word with CABx **ʒə-šə* 'goatling, kid', pl. **ʒ-ara*, which seems to be a rather good alternative to the

comparison in (13).

(14) Hat *wi:n* 'wine' (?) : CABx **h²o* 'wine'.

Comment:

The Hattic word can be extracted from the compound *LÜwi:ndu-qqaram* 'wine-scooper', containing *karam* 'libation vessel or a drink' (Kammenhuber 496). *wi:ndu* can be analysed as *wi:n-du*, the form with the "ablative" suffix *-du(/-tu)*, while *wi:n* is logical to be regarded as 'wine'. If the Abkhaz word is really connected with the Hattic, then it must have lost the final *-n*. The word represents a migrational cultural term, cf. IE **w(e/o)ino-* 'wine' (> Hit *wijana-*, Myc. Gr *wo-no-*, Lat *vinum*, Gothic *wein*, Arm *gini*, etc.), Semitic **wajn-*, Egyptian *wnš* 'edible fruit; grape; wine', PK *γwino-* (GI 647-649). Structurally, and by its second part probably materially, Hat *wi:n-du* resembles Ub *ʒ'a-d'a* 'beverage' (*ʒ'a* 'to drink', *-d'a* deverbal suffix), cf. also Ub *ʒ'a-ta*, CCirc **s'a-ža* 'beverage'.

Ivanov 43 (cf. also GI 649) compares Hat *karam* 'libation vessel or a beverage' (Kammenhuber 474) with Akkadian *karānu* 'grapevine; wine', regarding the Hattic word as being borrowed from Akkadian, which has such parallels in other Semitic languages, as Arab *karm*, pl. *kurūm* 'wine', 'grape', 'wineyard', Old Hebrew *kerem* 'wineyard', *karmel* 'place covered with thick vegetation'. If this connection is possible, it can perhaps somehow include also SAbx *a-q'arma* 'hop', 'bindweed', phonetically irregular corresponding to Tap *k'arma* *'hop', 'snowball-tree'.

Adverbs

(15) Hat *zinar* 'music', 'musical instrument' (Kammenhuber 437) : CCirc **pčh'əna* 'accordeon', **čhə-k'ā-pčh'əna* 'native violin', lit. 'horse-tail violin' (PC 34).

Comment:

Ivanov 49, who proposed the comparison, translates Hat *zinar* as 'harp', 'lyre'. The Hattic word was borrowed into Hittite (*hunzinar(a)* 'big Ištar-instrument') and probably into Akkadian (*zannaru*, cf. Kammenhuber 437-8) and somehow into Old Armenian (*ʒnar* 'lyre', 'harp', cf. Ivanov 49). Ivanov 41, 42 also supposes a relation between Hat *ippi-zinar* 'Klein-Musik' (Kammenhuber 437) and Ad *?ăpă-pš'ənă* 'the hand-lyre/harp' (?ăpă < CCirc **q'a-pħa*, lit. 'hand-front') and between Hat *hun-zinar* 'Großes Ištar-Instrument' (Kammenhuber 437) and Ad *pš'ənă-šx'ă* 'big (šx'ă) harp', with different order of components.

(16) Hat *kaita* 'grain' (Kammenhuber 460-1) : CCirc **ķacə* 'wheat' (?).

2.5. ADJECTIVES

- (1) *titte* (masc.), *tittah* (fem.) 'big, great' (Girbal 158) : CCirc **dada* emphatic particle, CABx **də-wə* 'big, great' (*-wə adverbial suffix).
- (2) *malhip* = Hit *aššu-* 'good', 'favourable', 'goodness' (Kammenhuber 451) : CWC **məλʷ'a* 'happy, lucky' (> CCirc **max°a*, Ub *məš°a*, CABx **məša*), homophonic and quite likely etymologically identical to CWC **məλʷ'a* 'day'.

Comment:

The combination *lhip* can render the labialised-palatalised lateral fricative λ̥; while -p can well be a suffix. Ivanov 44 analyses the Hattic form *i-malhip* as *i-ma-lhi-b* "it-do not-put-b!", but the meaning 'good', 'favourable' for *malhip* is well-established, cf., for instance, the juxtaposition of the parallel texts *wa_a-ašah> zehar / wa_a-ašah ḥamuruwa ...* 'evil tree / evil beam' vs. *i-malhip-pi zihar / i-malhip ḥamuruwa ...* 'good tree / good beam ...' (Kammenhuber 455; cf. also Ardzinba 1979: 33) and by the corresponding Hittite translations, containing the opposition *idalu* 'evil' vs. *aššu* 'good'.

2.6. PRONOUNS, ADVERBS, PARTICLES, CONJUNCTIONS

Personal pronouns

- (1) *par-//war-* 'to you (sg.)' (cf. Dunaevskaja 1961: 93, 94) : CABx **wa-ra*, CCirc **wa-rə* 'you'.

Comment:

Cf. also Hat *ud-* 'to you' (Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 82; Kammenhuber 490, 501, 536), *un-* 'you' (Kammenhuber 536; Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 82).

- (2) Hat *uš-* 'we' (cf. Kammenhuber 515) : Ub *šə-* 'we'.

Demonstrative pronouns

- (1) *wa-* demonstrative element (Dunaevskaja 1961: 94) : CWC **wə/a* 'this'. Hattic examples: *wa_a-ah-ku-un* = Hit *auštat* '(goddess) saw it' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 140); *wa_a-ka-a-pu-ud!-du* = Hit *adanzi* '(they) will eat (his body)' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 138). Cf. also Hat *u-*? *wi-*? prefix with a weak deictic meaning (cf. Kammenhuber 494) in such examples as *u-pulašne* (*pulašne* 'bread'; Kammenhuber 466); *wi_i-wu_ur-un* (*wu_ur* 'land, country': Kammenhuber 467); *u-zuh* (*zuh* 'clothes': Kammenhuber 481).

(2) Hat *anna*, *ana* 'this' (Kammenhuber 481, 535; Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 81) : CCirc *na/ə, CABx *a-na, Ub *ana-n* 'there' (-n locative suffix), CABx *a-nə-jə 'that one'. Hattic example: *katte//kattah ana* 'König//Königin dies(e(r))' (Kammenhuber 535).

(4) Hat *ima/e-* demonstrative pronoun (Kammenhuber 535; Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 81) : CCirc *mə 'this', cf. also SAbx *a-m-nə-j* 'that one', *a-ma-n-t* 'those'. Hattic examples: *i-ma-(a)al-li-en* '?', *ima-hu*, *ime* (Kammenhuber 535).

Comment:

The variant of Hat *ima/e-* is probably *-ma*, cf. *ana-ma* 'this...' (Kammenhuber 541); *ida-ma/inta-ma* 'so...' (Kammenhuber 541); *pala-ma* 'and...' (Kammenhuber 541). This can be probably the same (demonstrative) element as (3) in 2.2., *Suffixes* above.

(5) Hat *-šu* 'his', regarded also as an accusative sg. suffix (Kammenhuber 535; Dunaevskaja-Diakonov 81) : Ad ergative suf. *-šə*.

Comment:

The Adyge ergative suffix is found in demonstrative and personal pronouns, cf. *mə-š'* 'this', *măw-š'* 'that', *a-š'* 'he', *să-š'* 'I', *wă-š'* 'you (sg.)', *ś°ă-š'* 'you (pl.)', etc. (cf. Urusov 296-7).

Adverbs

(1) *anna* = Hit *mān* 'when' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 130; cf. Kammenhuber 535) : CABx *anə 'when', cf. also CABx *an-k'a, Ub *an-č'* 'earlier, before' (cf. Ivanov 40). Hattic example: *anna eš-kā-ħer-pi* = Hit *mānat taparijawenima* 'and when we shall designate this' (Dunaevskaja 1961: 130).

Particles, conjunctions

(1) *pala//bala* 'and', 'and then', used also as coordination particle (Kammenhuber 447) *pala ... pala* 'and ... and' : Ub *-la ... -la*, CABx **la ... la* coordination suffix, Ub *-la*, CABx **-la* instrumental suffix, CABx **-la* comitative suffix.

Comment:

The Hattic word can be perhaps a compound *p/ba-la* (a combination of the enclitical *-pa* 'but, though' and the suffix *-la* ?). Ivanov 45 proposes an alternative connection with CCirc **pʰaλa* 'like, as', which is somewhat less plausible

semantically.

(2) *inta, ita, ida* 'so' (Kammenhuber 536) : CCirc **nt'a*, **t'a* 'yes'.

(3) *-pi/-pa* (Kammenhuber 504)/*-ba* = Hit *-ma* 'but, though' : CWC *(-)ba verbal and nominal particle of hypothesis, condition, doubt. Hattic examples: *ašah-pi taš-tu-ta-šula* "evil-though not-let-inside-let" = 'evil, though, does not allow in!' (Kammenhuber 504); *ha-nuwa-pa* "hither-go/come'+*pa*" = Hit *anda-ma-aš-kan pait* "herein-but/though-he(+ locative particle -kan) went..." (Kammenhuber 511); *wa-nup-pa dHabantali* = Hit *paitt(a)-aš dHapantalijaš* 'went she, (the goddess) H.' (Kammenhuber 511-2); *ištarazzil ha-nuwa-pa* (Kammenhuber 472) 'ground into-go-though'; *a-an-hawet-pa* meaning unknown (Kammenhuber 514); *uk-hu-ba* (Kammenhuber 541); *ita-ba//ita-pa* 'so...' (Kammenhuber 541).

Comment:

The fact that the Hattic particle *-pi* had variants *-pa/-ba* (pace Kammenhuber 540-541), which are phonetically closer to the CWC particle, is supported, in particular, by the second example, where Hat *-pa* clearly corresponds to Hit *-ma* 'but/though'.

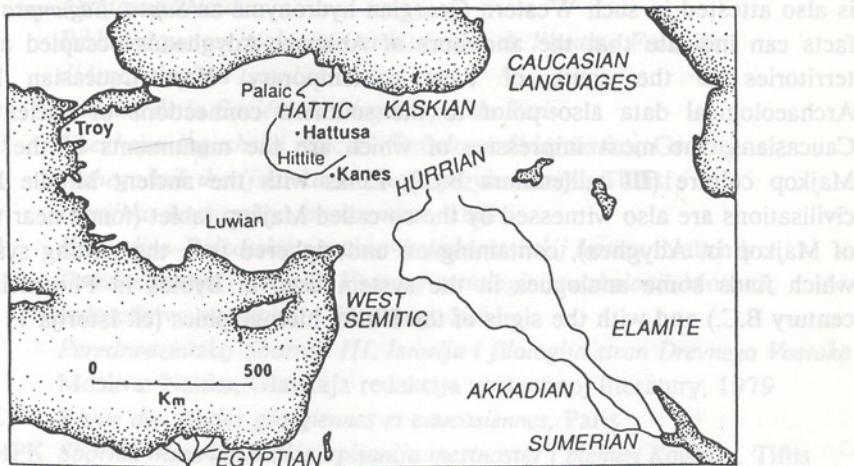
2.7. CONCLUSIONS

Even the scarce Hattic material which is currently at our disposal, together with the obvious structural similarity of Hattic and West Caucasian, allows us to suppose with a rather high degree of certainty a genetic relationship between this long extinct language and the modern Abkhazo-Adyghean languages. Further progress in this field will depend on the discovery of new Hattic texts, and on the publication of those texts which still remain inaccessible to a broader scientific circle.

It has been suggested that Hattic was related to the language of the Kaskians, the warlike mountainous tribes situated on the vast territories to the north of the Hattians, on the Black Sea coastal area. The analysis of Kaskian personal and place-names allowed Giorgadze 1961: 209-210 to suppose their linguistic relationship to Hattic (cf. also Melikishvili 1960: 9; Diakonov 1968: 12). One of the tribes known to be in the Kaskian tribal union were the Abešla, whose name in some contemporary sources (e.g. in Assyrian sources of XII century B.C.) was given as a synonym for Kaskians (cf. Inal-ipa 1976: 129). It has been suggested that the name Kaški (Hit *kaš-kaš*) can be connected with the later designation of Circassians, cf. Arab *kšk*, ORus *kasogi*, Oss *kæsæg*, cf. also

Byzantine Gr *χασσαχία* 'Circassia', etc. At the same time, the name Abešla resembles the later designations of Abkhazians, cf. OGeo *apšil-*, OArm *apšel-k* (pl.) 'Abkhazian(s)', OGr *apsilai*, Lat (*gens*) *Apsilae*. These facts formed the basis for the hypothesis according to which Kaški represented the ancient ancestors of Circassians, while Abešla - ancestors of Abkhazians (cf. Melikishvili 1960: 9; Diakonov 1968: 12; Inal-ipa 1976: 122-135; Istorija 10-11).

Map 4. *The ancient languages of Asia Minor (after Mallory 1989: 25)*



With Hattic and probably Kaskian likely to represent the most ancient specimens of Abkhazo-Adyghean, two important issues arise. First, must Hattic be regarded as the oldest attested West Caucasian dialect, or should we speak rather in terms of Hattic-West Caucasian unity, much in the way as some linguists place Hittite in relation to the rest of the Indo-European languages? The second important issue is, whether the appearance of Hattic (and Kaskian) in central and northeastern Asia Minor was due to migration from the Caucasus or whether, on the contrary, the ancestors of the present-day speakers of Abkhazo-Adyghean languages have once come to inhabit the West Caucasus area as a result of a migration from their ancient Anatolian homeland? There is yet a third possibility, viz. that the whole area including northeastern Anatolia and the Western Caucasus was occupied by ethnically and linguistically related tribes, who became extinct in Anatolia quite early, but who managed to preserve themselves in the mountains of the West Caucasus (cf. Diakonov 1968: 13; Inal-ipa 1976: 117; Istorija 10-11)? This hypothesis finds some justification in the toponymics of

ancient Anatolia, which might contain traces of ancient Abkhazo-Adyghean population. Thus, the typical West Caucasian toponymic element **-psə* 'water, river' is probably attested in such ancient Anatolian place-name as *Aripsa* (city and fortress in northern Anatolia) (cf. Diakonov 1968: 84). Cf. also the oldest name of the river Chorokh in Adjaria (Southern Georgia) and northeastern Turkey, *apsara*, earlier called *akampsis*, and the name of the city Αψαροῦς in Byzantine Lazica (somewhere on the border between the modern Adjaria and Turkey), which are likely to contain the same element. Note that the element *-psa* is also attested in such Western Georgian hydronyms as *Supsa*, *Lagumpsa*. These facts can indicate that the ancestors of Abkhazo-Adygheans occupied also the territories to the south of their contemporary West Caucasian habitat. Archaeological data also point to the southern connections of ancient West Caucasians, the most impressive of which are the monuments of the famous Majkop culture (III millennium B.C.). Links with the ancient Middle Eastern civilisations are also witnessed by the so-called Majkop tablet (found near the city of Majkop in Adyghea), containing an undeciphered text, the writing system of which finds some analogues in the system used in Byblos in Phoenicia (XIII century B.C.) and with the signs of the Hittite hieroglyphics (cf. Istorija 11).

2.7. CONCLUSION

Even the limited material which is currently available together with the obvious structural similarity of Hattic and West Caucasian, allows us to draw the conclusion that the high degree of certainty of common descent of the Hattic and West Caucasian languages, and the modern Abkhazo-Adyghean languages. Further researches will bring more data and the probability of finding analogies between the Hattic and West Caucasian languages will increase. This will open up new fields of research, and the discovery of the language of the Hattic people will be the first step towards the reconstruction of the history of the Hattic people.

The comparison of the Hattic and West Caucasian languages shows that the Hattic language is closer to the Indo-European languages than to the Ural-Altaic languages. The second important conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the third is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The fourth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the fifth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The sixth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the seventh is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The eighth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the ninth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The tenth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the eleventh is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The twelfth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the thirteenth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The fourteenth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the fifteenth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The sixteenth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the seventeenth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The eighteenth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the nineteenth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The twentieth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the twenty-first is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The twenty-second conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the twenty-third is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The twenty-fourth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the twenty-fifth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The twenty-sixth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the twenty-seventh is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The twenty-eighth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the twenty-ninth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. 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The seventy-fifth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the seventy-sixth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The seventy-seventh conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the seventy-eighth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The seventy-ninth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the eighty-first is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The eighty-second conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the eighty-third is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The eighty-fourth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the eighty-fifth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The eighty-sixth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the eighty-seventh is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The eighty-eighth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the eighty-ninth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The ninety-first conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the ninety-second is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The ninety-third conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the ninety-fourth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The ninety-fifth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the ninety-sixth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The ninety-seventh conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the ninety-eighth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages. The ninety-ninth conclusion is that the Hattic language is related to the Indo-European languages, and the one-hundredth is that the Hattic language is related to the Ural-Altaic languages.

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B I B L I O G R A P H Y

ABBREVIATIONS:

- AbIJLI *Abxazskij Institut Jazyka, Literatury i Istorii im. D.I. Gulia* (Sukhum)
 AN *Akademija Nauk*
 BAH *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul*
 BSLP *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*
 ChINII *Checheno-Ingushskij nauchno-issledovatel'skij institut*, Grozny
 JIKJ *Jezhegodnik iberijsko-kavkazskogo jazykoznanija*, Tbilisi
 IKJ *Iberijsko-kavkazskoe jazykoznanie*, Tbilisi
 KBNII *Kabardino-Balkarskij nauchno-issledovatel'skij institut*, Nal'chik
 PS I *Peredneaziatskij Sbornik. Voprosy xettologii i xurritologii*. Moskva, Izdatel'stvo vostochnoj literatury, 1961
 PS III *Peredneaziatskij Sbornik. III. Istorija i filologija stran Drevnego Vostoka*. Moskva: Nauka, Glavnaja redakcija vostochnoj literatury, 1979
 REGC *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes*, Paris
 SMOMPK *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestnostej i plemen Kavkaza*, Tiflis
 TABIJLI *Trudy Abxazskogo Instituta Jazyka, Literatury i Istorii im. D.I. Gulia* (Sukhum)
 TMIE *Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, Paris, Musée de l'Homme
 UZ *Uchenye zapiski*
 VDI *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, Moskva
 VJ *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, Moskva
 AB I Shakryl, K.S., Kondzharia, V.H. Apsua bəzš'a až'ar [A Dictionary of the Abkhaz language]. Akt'i at'om (A-O). Aq'a: Alašara, 1986
 AB II Shakryl, K.S., Kondzharia, V.H., Chkadua, L.P. Apsua bəzš'a až'ar [A Dictionary of the Abkhaz language]. Aj'bat'i at'om (P'-ş'). Aq'a: Alašara, 1987
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- Atlas Atlas narodov mira. Moskva, 1964
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- EK Klimov, G.A. Etimologicheskij slovar' kartvel'skix jazykov. Moskva: *Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR*, 1964
- ES I, II Shagirov, A.K. Etimologicheskij slovar' adygskix (cherkesskix) jazykov. Moskva: *Nauka*, 1977, v. I, II
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- MS Shagirov A.K. Material'nye i strukturnye obshchnosti leksički abzazo-adygskix jazykov. Moskva: Nauka, 1982
- NS Nikolayev, S.L., Starostin, S.A. A North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary. Moscow: Asterisk Publishers, 1994
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