

# Notes on Anatolian loanwords in Armenian

Hrach Martirosyan<sup>1</sup>

1. Armenian and Anatolian: general remarks
    - 1.1 Common heritage
    - 1.2 Loanwords: historico-geographical background
    - 1.3 Historico-cultural context: “Dragon stones”
    - 1.4 Scope of this paper
  2. Revision of some rejected etymologies
  3. Overlooked etymologies
  4. My etymological suggestions
  5. Conclusion
- References

## 1. Armenian and Anatolian: general remarks

Two circumstances unite the Armenian and Anatolian languages: (1) a common Indo-European origin, and (2) geographical proximity of their historical homelands, namely the central and western parts of the modern-day Turkey for Anatolian, and the Armenian Highlands (the Armenian plateau) for Armenian. The former circumstance raises the question of linguistic relationship between these two branches within the Indo-European language family, whereas the latter is concerned with the issue of loanwords which would have been transferred mainly in the 2nd millennium BCE and possibly also in the early 1st millennium BCE.

### 1.1 Common heritage

On the basis of the (alleged) identification of *hay* ‘Armenian’ / *Hay-k* ‘(-o-c)’ ‘Armenia’ with *Hatti*<sup>2</sup> and a number of linguistic features<sup>3</sup> it has been assumed that Armenian and the Anatolian languages were intimately related. Scholars have addressed several phonological and morphological correspondences between Armenian and the Anatolian languages, such as the preservation of the Indo-European laryngeals (cf. Arm. *han* ‘grandmother’ and Hitt. *ḫanna-* ‘grandmother’ vs. Gr. *ἀννίς* ‘mother-in-law’, etc.; Arm. *haw* ‘grandfather’ and Hitt. *ḫuḫḫaš* ‘grandfather’ vs. Lat. *avus* ‘id.’, Lith. *avýnas* ‘maternal uncle’, etc.; Arm. *hovi-* ‘sheep’ in *hoviw* ‘shepherd’ and CLuw. *hāy(i)-* ‘sheep’ vs. Lat. *ovis* ‘sheep’, etc.), the Armenian subjunctive in *-ic ē* and the Hittite iterative in *-eške-*, as well as a considerable number of lexical correspondences. However, some of these correspondences (such as Arm. *getin* ‘earth, ground’ and Hitt. *utnē* ‘land’, Arm. *barju* gen. ‘high’ and Hitt. *parku-* ‘high’) are likely to be archaisms rather than shared innovations, others proved wrong, and a few of the lexical comparisons may

---

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Kate Bellamy for proof-reading my paper. I am also indebted to Ilya Yakubovich for valuable suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> P. Jensen 1898, 1904, 1911; cf. Kretschmer 1933; N. Martirosyan 1972: 164-166 < 1921-22; for more references, see Martirosyan 2010: 383.

<sup>3</sup> Austin 1942.

be explained as loanwords. We can therefore assume that there is no particular relationship between Armenian and Anatolian within the Indo-European family.<sup>4</sup>

## 1.2 Loanwords: historico-geographical background

The problem of Anatolian borrowings in Armenian has attracted the attention of various scholars since the early 20th century.<sup>5</sup> There is a certain scepticism concerning the existence of Hittite loanwords in Armenian, whereas the Luwian ones are largely accepted. The scepticism is mainly conditioned by chronological and geographical problems (cf. e.g. Greppin 1978b, 1988: 189; Simon 2013: 128-129). As Greppin (1980b: 357) points out, if we can show clear-cut evidence for Hittite in Armenian, we will know that the proto-Armenians were in their historical homeland in the 2nd millennium BCE. The opinion that speakers of Armenian migrated into the Armenian Highlands after the fall of the Urartian Empire in the 6th century BCE should be abandoned. That the Armenian language was present in the historical Armenia in (or prior to) the Urartian period is confirmed particularly by Armenian loanwords in Urartian, such as Urart. *aršibi-* from Arm. *arcui* ‘eagle’ and Urart. *Ṭuarašini ḫubi* vs. Arm. *Tuaracatap* ‘(district in the province of Turuberan). Armenisms in the Urartian language are not limited purely to lexical correspondences. Urartian *me(i)* probably reflects the Armenian prohibitive particle *mi*,<sup>6</sup> which derives from the PIE prohibitive particle *\*meh<sub>1</sub>*. Diakonoff (1984: 112) claims that “we should apparently seek the Proto-Armenians either in the Muški or in the Urumeans who penetrated into the valleys of the Upper Euphrates and the Arsianias around 1165 BC”. Vaux (2006: 475a) and Gercenberg (2010: 200) accept the view on the Armenian settlement in the (second half of the) 2nd millennium, and Watkins (2011: xii) notes that Armenians had “probably already settled in eastern Turkey by the mid-second millennium BC”.

In order to be more confident of the existence of specifically Hittite loanwords in Armenian, we need to have linguistic evidence that would confirm the earliest presence of speakers of Armenian in historical Armenia prior to the 12th century BCE, for which Ĵahukyan (1988, 1990) presents a large number of arguments. Not all of them are convincing, however.<sup>7</sup> Earlier (Ĵahukyan 1970: 146-147) he had assumed that, should the theory on the coming of the speakers of Armenian in the 12th century BCE prove correct, we will be dealing with contacts between them and the residual populations of the destroyed Hittite Kingdom. On the other hand,

---

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion, see Pedersen 1924: 225b = 1982: 308b; Ačařyan 1925: 393; Bonfante 1939, 1946; Kerns / Schwartz 1942; Porzig 1954: 187-192 (with lit. on 187) et passim; Solta 1960: 471, 1990: 16; Kammenhuber 1961; van Windekens 1980; Greppin 1981a, 1988: 189-190; Ĵahukyan 1967, 1970: 123-168, 1994; Morani 1981; Fortson 2010: 382.

<sup>5</sup> Adonc‘ 1911, 1927, 2006: 79-85 and 86-96; N. Martirosyan 1924, 1926, 1929, 1972; Ačařyan 1925, AčařHLPatm 1, 1940: 134-139, 144-149; Roth 1927; Ľap‘anc‘yan (Kapancjan) 1931, 1947 passim, 1956 passim, 1961: 147ff, 1975: 174-179, 412-429; Schultheiß 1961; Ĵahukyan 1967, 1970: 123-168, 1987: 311-321, 1988, 1990: 25-28; Xač‘atryan 1967; Mkrtč‘yan 1969, 1970, 1974; Greppin 1972, 1975, 1978ab, 1978-79ab, 1980a, 1981, 1982, 1988: 189, 1991: 204-206; Gamkrelidze / Ivanov 1984, 2: 912-913 = 1995: 807; Russell 1987: 361-373, 2004: 372; Kossian 1994; Petrosyan 2009, 2010a, 2011, 2012; H. Martirosyan 2010 passim; Simon 2013.

<sup>6</sup> Ĵahukyan 1963: 124; Arutjunjan 2001: 454b; Yakubovich 2010; Martirosyan 2013: 91.

<sup>7</sup> For more material and a discussion of this and related issues, see a number of works by Petrosyan, such as 2006, 2007, 2010b and 2014, as well Martirosyan 2010 and 2013 passim, on some relevant words. Note also my recent talk, *The current state of studies and new perspectives in comparative-historical Armenian linguistics*, presented at the International conference “Current Practices in Armenian Studies: The Creation and Visibility of New Knowledge” (May 31 & June 1, 2014, UCLA, Los Angeles).

it has been suggested that the handful of Anatolian loanwords in Armenian “were probably picked up during the migration eastward through Anatolia” (Fortson 2010: 382).

The chronological and geographical framework of early contacts between Armenian and the Anatolian languages may be placed within the context of the kingdom or tribal confederation of *Ḫajša-*, which is attested only in Hittite texts from the 14th to 13th centuries BCE. This place is located in the northwest peripheries and perhaps in central regions of historical Armenia. The name of *Ḫajša-* is reminiscent of the ethnonym *hay*, gen. *hayoc* ‘Armenian’ (cf. *Hay-k* ‘Armenia’), although the origin of the latter has not been established with certainty. Recently (Kitazumi 2013; Simon 2013: 127) the connection has been criticized particularly on the basis of the Armenian *h-* instead of the expected *x-*. One might think, however, that *Ḫajša-* may merely be a cuneiform reflection of the local name with */h/*, for which the cuneiform script has no distinct sign.<sup>8</sup> The comparison, albeit not impeccable, should not be abandoned altogether.<sup>9</sup>

Ĵahukyan (1988, 1: 70, 2: 85, 1990: 27-28) treats a number of Hittite words as loanwords from Armenian, such as Hitt. *luzzi-* n. ‘forced service, public duty, corvée’ from Arm. *luc* ‘yoke; burden of forced service and taxes, subjection; bondage’;<sup>10</sup> Hitt. *arziya-* n. ‘cultivated land, agricultural resource, granary (figurative)’<sup>11</sup> from PArm. *\*arc-* > *art* ‘cornfield, tilled field’ (from PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eǵro-*). In my paper, however, we will be concerned by loanwords of the opposite direction, that is from Anatolian to Armenian.

### 1.3 Historico-cultural context: “Dragon stones”

Concerning the general historico-cultural context one might address, for instance, the problem of “Dragon stones” (Arm. *višapak* ‘ar, composed of *višap* ‘dragon’ and *k’ar* ‘stone’), stone stelae found in high-altitude summer pastures in the northern and northeastern regions of the Armenian highland (i.e. the historical provinces of Tayk’, Gugark’, Ayrarat and Syunik’). They are interpreted as monuments related to mortuary rituals and belong to the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2200-1600 BCE). Some are shaped in the form of a fish, on others the head and hide of a sacrificed bovid are depicted, while a third class represents a combination of both previous types.<sup>12</sup>

As burial monuments, these Dragon, or Vishap, stones have a broad semantic framework and display a syncretic set of functional, ritual and mythical features. There is a special focus on the sacrificial meal which might be organized not only at funerals but also for rain invocation rituals and festivals, such as *Vardavar*. The genealogical framework of the Vishap stones and their semantics is also complex and multilayered: Indo-European elements (compare the so-called “Head and Hooves” ritual burial in Sredny Stog, Yamna, Catacomb, Srubna and other

---

<sup>8</sup> Compare the possible use of Hittite *ḫ* for an *h*-hiatus before *u* (Yakubovich 2011, Kümmel 2014). For the information and references I am indebted to Ilya Yakubovich.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion and literature on *Ḫajša-* and related issues, see Ĵap’anc’yan 1947; Ĵahukyan 1964, 1976, 1987: 322-341, 279-292, 1988.1-2; Diakonoff 1984; Gamkrelidze / Ivanov 1984, 2: 912-913, 1995, 1: 807-808; Petrosyan 2006, 2007; Martirosyan 2010: 382-385; Fortson 2010: 382; Xaç’atryan 2012: 40-44. For some recent considerations on the problem of localization of *Ḫajša-*, see, e.g., Kosyan 2011, 2014.

<sup>10</sup> For other etymologies of the Hittite word, see Puhvel HED 5, 2001: 130-131; Kloekhorst 2008: 536; Beekes 2010, 1: 881-882. For the comparison between the Armenian and Hittite words, see Mkrč’yan 1970: 59-61.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Puhvel HED 1, 1984: 187, cf. 173-174.

<sup>12</sup> See Gilibert / Bobokhyan / Hnila 2012 and especially a forthcoming collection of papers on these stelae.

cultures) have been combined with cultural features that are observable in other Caucasian and Near Eastern (especially Hittite) traditions.<sup>13</sup>

#### 1.4 Scope of this paper

Recently, Simon (2013) offered a very valuable paper attempting to analyse critically all the Anatolian loanwords in Armenian (in total, 78) suggested until now. He concludes that instead of the assumed extended Hittite-Luwian loanword layer, only isolated and only Luwian loanwords can be found in Armenian. I agree with Simon in eliminating the majority of etymologies involved in the discussion. In some cases, however, his judgments seem hypercritical to me. Besides, the material included in his paper is not exhaustive. I therefore assume that we are not yet ready for its final evaluation and clear-cut conclusions.

Rather than give final decisions on the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the Anatolian borrowings in Armenian, this paper merely aims to rework and supplement some of the relevant etymological material. In the section 2 I shall present some remarks on etymologies that are (in my opinion, too easily) rejected by Simon. Section 3 will address etymologies suggested by other scholars but remained out of the scope of Simon. Finally, in section 4 I propose some of my own etymologies.

## 2. Revision of some rejected etymologies

In this section I present some remarks on etymologies that are rejected by Simon.

**2.1 *šelʃ*** (spelled also as *šilʃ*), *i*-stem, *o*-stem (gen.-dat.pl *šelʃ-i-cʻ* and *šelʃ-o-cʻ* in 2 Paralipomenon 31.7/9; note loc.sg *i šelʃi* in Agatʻangelos § 239) ‘heap, mass, pile, accumulation (mainly of corn, fruits and the like)’ (Bible, Agatʻangelos, Pʻawstos Buzand, etc.).

In 2 Paralipomenon 31.6-9 (Zōhrapean 1805a: 285a; Xalatʻeancʻ 1899: 104) we find plural forms: nom. *šelʃkʻ*, acc. *zšelʃs* and *šelʃs šelʃs*, gen.-dat. *šelʃo/icʻ*. Both editions have *šelʃocʻ* in 31.9, and the edition of Xalatʻeancʻ has *šelʃicʻ* in 31.7. The Armenian word renders Gr. *σωρός* m. ‘heap (of corn)’. In Job 5.26: *kam ibrew zšelʃ kaloy* ‘or as a heap on threshing floor’ *ἢ ὡσπερ θημωνιά ἄλωνος* (Cox 2006: 76). In Sirach 20.30 (NHB 2: 475a): *Or gorcē zerkir, barjracʻucʻ anē zšelʃ iwr* ‘He that tills the land shall increase his heap’. In Agatʻangelos § 239: *yanhnarin i xor virapi and yaynmik, yorum tʻalealn kayi es i mēj ōjicʻn ibrew i šelʃi* ‘in that terribly deep pit in which I was buried amidst piles of snakes’ (Thomson 1976: 238/239).

The word has been preserved in a few dialects, both western and eastern. In the Ararat dialect we find *sexč*, with *š...č > s...č* dissimilation; cf. *selʃ* in Zakʻaria Sarkawag, a 17th-century author from the Kʻanakʻerʻ village belonging to the same dialect area (HAB 3: 509a).

No etymology has been recorded by Ačařyan (HAB 3: 509a) and Olsen (1999: 961). According to Ĵahukyan (1970: 152, 1987: 314, 1990: 27), the word has been borrowed from Hittite *šēli-* c. ‘grain pile, grain storage’, derived from a proto-form *\*sel̥io-* (1990: 27). The nature of the form *\*sel̥io-* is not specified.

Tischler (HEG I/2, Lief. 14 S/2, 2006: 987) considers this etymology of *šelʃ* ‘unverbindlich’ without adding any further comment. Simon (2013: 112-113, 122, 128) rejects the comparison because of the problems of the initial *š-* and the vowel *-e-* (instead of the expected *s-* and *-i-*, respectively) and considers Arm. *šelʃ* a word of unknown origin. His objections are not cogent, however. An Armenian hissing consonant easily becomes hushing in

---

<sup>13</sup> See Martirosyan forthc. 1.

the presence of a hushing consonant in the word. For this we have secure cases from both native (cf. \*canač'em > čanač'em, aor. *caneay*, imper. *canir* 'to know, recognize') and borrowed (Iran. \*patsač > Arm. *patšač* 'suitable, proper, decent')<sup>14</sup> terms, as well as internal examples (*astičan* > *aštičan* 'stair', \*z-oyž > žoyž 'endurance, hardihood', *soči* / *šoči* 'pine tree', etc.). As far as the vocalic problem is concerned, we would indeed expect a development \*ē > i in early borrowings.<sup>15</sup> However, we have reasons to think that the *l* had a lowering effect on a preceding *i*-vowel, cf. Syriac *abīla* > Arm. *abelay* 'monk'; *asetn* 'needle' the oblique stem of which (gen *aslan*, etc.) presupposes \*asil[a]n-;<sup>16</sup> Gr. *Βασίλειος* > Arm. *Barsel* (also *Barsil*); Hitt. *Muršiliš* > Arm. *Mušel* (see below). Note that both *asetn* and *šelj* are sometimes spelled with *-i-* rather than *-e-*.

The Armenian *-j* reflects the regular development \*R<sub>i</sub> > R<sub>j</sub>, compare IE \*h<sub>3</sub>nōrjō- > Arm. *anurj* 'prophetic dream, vision', cf. Gr. *ὄναρ* n. 'dream', *ὄνειρος* m. 'god of dreams, dream', Aeol. *ὄνοϊρος*; \*uel-*i*-óh > *get-j* (gen. of *giwt* 'village'); \*g<sup>wh</sup>en-*ie*/o- 'to slay' > Arm. *jnjem* (\**jinj-*) 'to efface, wipe clean, annihilate, destroy', cf. Gr. *θείνω* 'to kill', Lith. *geniù* 'to prune, hem'. In order to account for the form \*seljō- we might assume generalization of the Hittite case forms in \*seli- (GSg. *šeliāš*, DSg. *šeliā*, NPI *šeliēš*, API *šeliuš*: Tischler HEG I/2, Lief. 14 S/2, 2006: 985-986; Kloekhorst 2008: 743-744) and later thematization in Armenian. Since Arm. *šelj* has both *i-* and *o-*stems, the following scenario can be envisaged: Hitt. nom.-acc. *šēli-* and oblique *še/ēli-* yielded PArm. nom. \*seli- and gen. \*seljō-, respectively. The latter would become \*seljō- > \*šelj(o) (with the aforementioned hushing assimilation), and the nominative would be levelled analogically after the oblique stem: \*seli- >> \*šelji-. The word was thematized and thus received the *o*-stem, but next to this we observe a parallel *i*-stem as a residual reflection of the old nominative \*sel(j)i-.

Regardless of minor details concerning the suggested scenario, we can safely conclude that Arm. *šelj*, *i*-stem, *o*-stem 'heap, mass, pile (of corn, etc.)' is a loan from Hittite *šēli-* c. (gen. *šeliāš*) 'grain pile, grain storage'.

**2.2 Mušel m.**, a personal name abundantly attested since the earliest stages of Armenian. According to the widely accepted etymology of Ačařyan,<sup>17</sup> this name is a loan from Hitt. *Muršiliš*.<sup>18</sup> Simon (2013: 99 fn 3) rejects this connection claiming that it is "lautlich *ad hoc*", and the expected form would be †*Muršil*. However, the problem of *-il* > *-el* is not insurmountable (see § 2.1 on *šelj* 'heap of corn'). As far as the loss of the *r* is concerned,<sup>19</sup> we are dealing with a special development of it before the sibilant *s*: in internal position *rs* yields *rš* (ruki-rule), but in

<sup>14</sup> Unless the *š* is due to the ruki-rule after \**-i-* of \**pati-* (Yakubovich, pers. com.).

<sup>15</sup> However, the case of Iranian as adduced by Simon is not relevant, since Armenian *spitak* 'white' (cf. MPers. *spēdag* 'white', YAv. *spaēta-* 'white') derives from earlier \**spētak* [*speitak*] with an inner-Armenian regular development *ē* [*eī*] > *i* in pretonic position.

<sup>16</sup> See Martirosyan 2010: 115-117.

<sup>17</sup> Ačařyan 1925: 393, AčařHLPatm 1, 1940: 149, AčařAnjn 3, 1966, 455; N. Martirosyan 1929: 536 and fn 16, 1972: 165 and fn 6; Łap'anc'yan 1931: 36, 1956: 332, 1961: 148-149; Ĵahukyan 1970: 162; 1987: 315, 1990: 27 ("obvious borrowing"); Petrosyan 2011: 398.

<sup>18</sup> Note that the name of *Muršiliš* is also borrowed into Greek (Dale 2011).

<sup>19</sup> Simon refers to Schmitt 2007: 68-69, but here one does not find any example of *rs*.

many cases the *r* disappears, although the chronological distribution of the forms with and without the *r* varies. Here is a list of relevant examples:<sup>20</sup>

*gološi* (Sirach 22.30, Gregory of Nyssa, Book of Chries, Aristotle, Paterica, Yovhan Ōjnec‘i, etc.) vs. *golorši* (Eznik Kołbac‘i, Elišē, Aristotle, Philo, Grigor Magistros, etc.) ‘vapour, steam’; according to my tentative etymology, *golo(r)ši* is a compound of Arm. *gol* ‘warm, lukewarm, warmth’ and PArm. unattested *\*ə(w)oršīya-* ‘fog, mist, dew’ from *\*Hue/ors-*, cf. Hitt. *uarša-* ‘fog, mist’, Gr. *έέρση, άέρση, έρση* f. ‘dew’, etc.;

*t‘ošom-* (Mandakuni) vs. *t‘orom-* (MidArm. and dial.), *t‘aršamim* and *t‘arāmim* (both Bible+) ‘to wither’;

*t‘uš*, *a*-stem ‘cheek’ (13th century onwards), possibly from *\*tuHr-s-* or the like, cf. Czech *tvář*, Pol. *twarz*, Slk. *tvár* ‘face, cheek’, etc.;<sup>21</sup>

*xašem* (T‘ovma Arcruni, Grigor Magistros, etc.; dialectally widespread) vs. *xaršem* (Bible+) ‘to burn, boil, stew’, cf. *xarem* ‘to burn, brand, cauterize’ (Bible+), see HAB 2: 338-339, 346-347;

*kaž* (widespread in the dialects) vs. *karž* (MidArm.) ‘skein, hank, a length of yarn or thread wound on a reel’ (see § 4.3);

*kaši* ‘skin, hide, leather’ (referring to the hide of a bull in Leviticus 8.17 and 9.11) probably from Hitt. *kurša-*, *kurši-* c. ‘skin, hide, fleece; skinbag, sheepskin as a divinized fetish or talisman’ (see § 4.2);

*mašem* (Bible+) vs. *maršem* (Paterica) ‘to use up, consume, wear out, waste, corrode, spoil, destroy’. Ačarıyan (HAB 3: 258b) derives it from *\*mṛs-*, cf. Skt. *maṣmaṣākaroti* ‘to grind to powder’ (AV, etc.) vs. *mṛsmṛsā-*,<sup>22</sup> OHG *morsari* ‘mortar’, etc. Bailey (1979: 321b) departs from the same etymon but treats the Armenian word as a loan from Iranian *\*mar-š-* ‘to be worn out’, cf. Khot. *maṃgāra-* ‘old, long continued’, Av. *maršo.kāra-* (Yašt 14.28);<sup>23</sup>

*moš(-i)* ‘tamarisk; blackberry, bramble’ (< *\*mor-s-iyā-*) vs. *mor* ‘blackberry’ (both Bible+; cf. also dial. *moř*), cf. Gr. *μόροβ* n. ‘black mulberry, blackberry’, *μopέα, -έη* f. ‘mulberry-tree, *Morus nigra*’; Lat. *mōrum*, *ī*, n. ‘fruit of the black mulberry’, *mōrus*, *ī*, f. ‘black mulberry-tree’;<sup>24</sup>

*p‘oši*, gen.sg. *p‘ošwoy*, gen.pl. *p‘ošeac* ‘dust’ has been interpreted as an *i*-derivative of IE *\*p(o)rso-*: OCS *praxь* m. ‘dust’ < *\*porso-*, *pørstь* ‘dust, earth’, Russ. *pórox* ‘gun-powder, powder’, Pol. *proch* ‘dust, powder’, Czech *pršetí* ‘to sprinkle’, Latv. *pārsla* f. ‘flake, particle (snow, hoarfrost, ashes)’; these words are usually connected to Hitt. *paparsī-* ‘to sprinkle’, Skt. *pṛśant-* ‘spotted, piebald’, etc.<sup>25</sup> Thus, *\*porsjo-* > Arm. *p‘oši*, gen. *p‘ošwoy*. The problem with this etymology is that an initial *\*po-* would have yielded *o-* in Armenian. One might solve this

<sup>20</sup> Wherever no references are given, see Martirosyan 2010 s.vv.; for the ruki-rule in Armenian, see Martirosyan 2010: 709-710.

<sup>21</sup> For references and a discussion, see Martirosyan 2010: 296-297.

<sup>22</sup> On this Indic etymon, see Mayrhofer KEWA 2, 1963: 604.

<sup>23</sup> See also Jahukyan 1987: 552, 2010: 509-510; cf. Mkrtč‘yan 2005: 300.

<sup>24</sup> Martirosyan 2010: 472-473, 474-478, 2013: 117.

<sup>25</sup> Pisani 1951: 65 fn 2, 1978: 307 fn 59, 395-396 fn 1; Olsen 1999: 442-443; for the IE etymon, see Pokorny 1959: 823; Mayrhofer EWAia 2, 1996: 164-165; Derksen 2008: 413, 428, 429; Kloekhorst 2008: 627-628.

problem by assuming that this is a “European substrate” word in Armenian and Balto-Slavic to be added to a list of etyma within the domain of physical words;<sup>26</sup>

*k’aşem* (Ephrem, etc.; dialectally widespread) vs. *k’aršem* (Bible +) ‘to draw, drag, pull’; an Iranian loanword, cf. MPers. *kešīdan* and NPers. *kašīdan* (also with a loss of *r*), ManMPers. *krš-* ‘to pull, draw’, Skt. *kārṣati* ‘to draw, drag, plough’.<sup>27</sup>

I conclude that Ačařyan’s interpretation of the Armenian personal name *Mušel* as a loan from Hittite *Muršiliš* is unproblematic.

### 3. Overlooked etymologies

In this section I address etymologies suggested by other scholars but remained out of the scope of Simon.

**3.1 *akaws***, *i*-stem ‘furrow’ is considered a word of unknown origin<sup>28</sup>. The comparison with Gr. *ὄγμος* m. ‘furrow, swath, line of scythed grass or grain’<sup>29</sup> is phonologically problematic. Gr. *ὄγμος* is etymologically identical with Skt. *ājma-* m. ‘passage, way’ deriving from IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eǵ-* ‘to drive, lead’.<sup>30</sup> The Armenian word has been compared<sup>31</sup> with Hittite *akkuš(š)a-* n. ‘(catch-)hole, (trapping-)pit’, nom.acc.pl *akkuš(š)a*, gloss-wedged hapax legomenon in the Hittite *Gilgameš*, as well as *akkala-* c. or n. ‘furrow’, and the latter is sometimes linked to the aforementioned Gr. *ὄγμος* m. ‘furrow’.<sup>32</sup> In my opinion, Arm. *akaws* may be in a way related with Hitt. *akkuš(š)a-*, although the rest is uncertain.

<sup>26</sup> *\*h<sub>1</sub>iH-ni-*: Arm. *eleamn*, gen.sg. *eleman* ‘hoarfrost’ (*\*ini-áman* > *\*(i)ñiamn.*); BSl. *\*iǰvio* ‘hoarfrost, rime’: Russ. *ínej*, SCr. *ínje*, Bulg. *ínej*, Lith. *ýnis* (dial.), etc.

*\*groHd-*: Arm. *karkut* ‘hail’; OCS *gradъ* ‘hail’, SCr. *gräd* ‘id.’, Lith. *grúodas* ‘frozen dirt or earth’; Lat. *grandō*, *-inis* f. ‘hail, hail-storm’. For the reduplication, compare *mamuř* ‘moss’.

*\*mo/aur-*: Arm. *mawr* ‘mud, silt, marsh, swamp’; Lith. *máuras* ‘mud’, *maurai* ‘duckweed, silt, mud’, Latv. *maürs* ‘grass, lawn’, Russ. *mur* ‘mould’, *murók* ‘meadow grass’, Czech *mour* ‘coal-dust, soot’, SCr. *mûr* ‘drift sand’, *múra* ‘mud, clay’ (Martirosyan 2009).

*\*mus-r-*: Arm. *\*muř-*, the base of the reduplicated form *mamuř* ‘moss’; Slav. *\*mъx-r-* ‘thin moss on trees and stones’. For this type of reduplication, compare Arm. *ka-rkut* ‘hail’ vs. OCS *gradъ* ‘hail’.

*\*(H)e/ouǵ-*: Arm. *oyc* ‘cold’, *ucanam* ‘to cool down, be estranged’; Lith. *áušti* ‘to become cold’, Latv. *aũksts* ‘cold’; Celt. *\*owx-tu-* > OIr. *ócht*, *úacht* (subst.) ‘cold’, *\*owg-ro-* > OIr. *úar* (adj.) ‘cold’.

*\*iūr-*: Arm. *jur* ‘water’; Lith. *júra* ‘sea’, Latv. *jūra* ‘sea’.<sup>26</sup>

*\*k(e)rs-n-*: Arm. *sařn*, gen.sg. *sařin* ‘ice, frost; cold’ < *\*křs-en-*; OIc. *hjarn* ‘frozen snow’; Lith. *šeřkřnas* ‘hoarfrost’, Russ. *serěn* ‘crust over snow’, Ukr. *serěn* ‘frozen hard snow’;

*\*kē/ol-n-*: Arm. dial. *\*st-in* ‘ice, frost’ vs. OIc. *hēla* ‘frost’, Lith. *šalnà* ‘hoarfrost’, SCr., Bulg. *slána* ‘hoarfrost’, etc.

Wherever no references are given, see Martirosyan s.v.

<sup>27</sup> Hübschmann 1897: 257; HAB 4: 562-563; for the Indo-Iranian forms, see MacKenzie 1971: 51; Mayrhofer KEWA 1, 1956: 176; Cheung 2007: 241-243.

<sup>28</sup> HAB 1: 112a; Olsen 1999: 953.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ĵahukyan 1987: 321.

<sup>30</sup> Mayrhofer EWAia 1, 1992: 50-51; Beekes 2010, 2: 1045.

<sup>31</sup> Kapancjan / Łap’anc’yan 1931: 91-92, 1956: 338, 1961: 154, 1975: 425.

<sup>32</sup> For a discussion of these Hittite words and their etymologies, see Benveniste 1962: 107-108; Greppin 1972; Tischler HEG I, 1983; Puhvel HED 1-2, 1984: 23, 25; Ĵahukyan 1970: 160 and fn 134, 1987: 321, 2010: 30a; Starke 1990: 115-116.

**3.2 astuac**, *o*-stem ‘god’ is widely represented in Classical Armenian and in dialects (HAB 1: 279-282). A considerable number of etymologies have been proposed for it. In my opinion, the best etymology has been suggested by Xaçaturova,<sup>33</sup> according to which Arm. *astuac* ‘god’ may be regarded as a loanword from a directly unattested Anatolian form going back to \*Aššu-Tiūaz ‘good deity/lord, good Sun-god, good dawn/day’ or the like, compare Luw. *Tiūaz* ‘Sun God’, Hitt. *aššu- šiūatt-* ‘good day’ (cf. Ved. *su-dyút-* ‘having magnificent lustre’).

For the typology of ‘Good Deity’ or ‘Good Sun-god’, note Hatt. *izzi-ištan* ‘Good Sun-god’ > Hitt. <sup>D</sup>*Izzištanu* (if this interpretation is correct), Lat. *Bona Dea*, Fr. *le Bon Dieu*, as well as OIr. *dagdae* < Celt. \**dago-dēuos*, literally ‘le Bon Dieu’, etc. It is remarkable that, e.g. in an Armenian Morning Prayer from Balu, the God is referred to as *Bari K’ristos Asvac* ‘Good Christ God’ and is associated with the Sun God (*surb arew* ‘holy sun’). A Morning Prayer from Nerk’in Basen starts with *Ov Bari lusi astvac, Hisus K’ristos ter* ‘O God of Good light, Jesus Christ Lord’; the verb is put in plural as if two divinities are addressed. In a folk belief recorded by Sargis Haykuni, *Bari lusu astuc* ‘God of Good light’ is mentioned in contrast with evil spirits of the night; note Arm. dial. *bari-li/us* ‘dawn’, literally ‘good light’.<sup>34</sup>

**3.3 Armawir** (the first capital of Armenia; the sun and moon divinities are attested there) has been interpreted as being composed of Hitt. *arma-* ‘moon, moon god’<sup>35</sup> and Hitt. *pir/parn-*, *pir-*, *per-* n., *parna(nt)-* c. ‘house, building; habitat, quarters, premises, household; estate, holdings’.<sup>36</sup> In view of the use of Hittite *pir* also in allusion to a god’s house,<sup>37</sup> the basic meaning of *Armawir* may have been ‘house/temple of moon god’.

#### 4. My etymological suggestions

In this section I propose some of my own etymologies; some of them have been published earlier but are not included in Simon’s treatment, while others are published for the first time.

**4.1 leli**, gen. *lel(w)oy* ‘gall, bile’ (Bible+). In Job 20.14: *leli iži i p’ori iwrum* ‘the venom of an asp is in his belly’: *χολή ἀσπίδος ἐν γαστρὶ αὐτοῦ* (Cox 2006: 148); Arm. *leli* renders Greek *χολή* ‘gall, bile; (pl. *χολαί*) gall-bladder; *metaph.* bitter anger, wrath; venom’. In Ehišē, Chapter 2 (Ter-Minasyan 1989: 94<sup>L17f</sup>; transl. Thomson 1982: 98-99): *Yaynžam darnac’ eal k’an zleli t’agaworn, p’luzanēr andēn i p’orin zcov kamawor maljoyn iwroy; ew ənd k’it’sn ew ənd berann ar hasarak golorši žermaxaṛn elanēr, ibrew i sastik hnoc’ ē cux t’anjrac’ eal* ‘Then the king became more bitter than gall. He spewed forth the sea of the willful bile in his stomach; from his nose and mouth issued hot vapor like thick smoke from a heated furnace’. The word is widespread in the dialects in both substantival (‘gall, gallbladder’) and adjectival (‘bitter’) meanings (HAB 2: 275).

Arm. *leli* is considered a word of unknown origin.<sup>38</sup> Olsen (1999: 440) derives it from \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>elh<sub>3</sub>iom* < IE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>elh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘yellow; gall’ pointing out that the expected form \**jeli* ‘might have

<sup>33</sup> Xaçaturova 1979: 373-374; for a comparison with the second member of the Anatolian compound, cf. Łap’anc’yan 1956: 279 fn 1; Simon 2013: 101.

<sup>34</sup> For references and a thorough discussion, see Martirosyan 2010a and forthc. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Ĵahukyan 1970: 161, 1987: 315.

<sup>36</sup> Petrosyan 2010a, 2011: 399-400, 2012.

<sup>37</sup> Note *šiunaš pir* ‘god’s house, temple’, see Puhvel HED 9, 2013 : 82-91.

<sup>38</sup> HAB 2: 275; Ĵahukyan 2010: 294b.

been subject to (tabuistic?) distant assimilation or influenced by the semantically related *leard* ‘liver’”. This etymology, albeit attractive, is not totally convincing. Besides, the initial *l-* of *leard* (from PIE *\*Hiek<sup>w</sup>r-t*, cf. Skt. *yákr̥t*, etc.) itself requires an explanation and may be due to influence of *\*liparo-* ‘fat’ (cf. Gr. *λιπαρός* ‘oily, fatty, greasy’, *λιπαρία* f. ‘fatness’, Oic. *lifr* ‘liver’, etc.) or even Armenian *leli* ‘gall, bile’). On the other hand, the problem may be in a way related with Hitt. *lišši-* n. ‘liver’.<sup>39</sup> I therefore propose an alternative etymology for Armenian *leli* ‘gall, bile’.

Formally, Armenian *leli* may have been composed of *\*leal-* and the suffix *-i* found in *aygi* ‘vineyard’, *gini* ‘wine’, *kogi* ‘butter’, *hogi* ‘soul’, *mak’i* ‘ewe’, *teli* ‘place’, etc.,<sup>40</sup> with regular sound change *ea > a* in pretonic position, cf. *leard* and gen. *lerd-i* ‘liver’. Note also *kaši* ‘skin, hide, leather’, possibly from Anatolian *\*g<sup>w</sup>rso/i-* (cf. Hitt. *kurša-*, *kurši-* c. ‘skin, hide, fleece’) and *p’oši* ‘dust’, if from *\*porso-* (cf. OCS *praxъ* m. ‘dust’, etc.), see 2.2. This theoretical base *\*leal-* might go back to Hittite *liššijala-*, which has been interpreted as ‘liver-related, pertaining to the liver’, a derivative of the aforementioned word, *lišši-* n. ‘liver’.<sup>41</sup> Such a borrowing could be possible only at a very early stage, when the loss of old *\*s* was still in operation. The semantic development can be explained by the fact that the bile is secreted by the liver. The ancients must have been aware of that (note, e.g., Horace, *Carmina* 1.13.4: *meum fervens difficili bile tumet iecur* “my burning liver swells with hard bile”).

On the other hand, Armenian *leli* ‘gall, bile’ may be compared to the North Caucasian word for ‘liver’, which is reconstructed as *\*HlälV* (the *l* is a lateral affricate)<sup>42</sup> and has been compared to the IE aforementioned word *\*Hiekw-r/n-* ‘liver’.<sup>43</sup> The relationship between these two proto-forms is dubious. The connection of Armenian *leli* ‘gall, bile’ with this North Caucasian word should not be excluded, but the nature of relation is uncertain.

**4.2 *kaši*** (gen.sg *kaš[w]oy*, gen.pl *kašec*: NHB 1: 1052c) ‘skin, hide, leather’ referring to the hide of a bull in Leviticus 8.17 and 9.11; widespread in the dialects (HAB 2: 518b). The word is usually treated as a Semitic loanword, cf. Akkad. *kūšu-* ‘skin, hide’,<sup>44</sup> etc.<sup>45</sup> However, the vocalism is unclear. Olsen (1999: 941) places *kaši* in her list of words of unknown origin.

I alternatively propose to derive Armenian *kaši* from an Asiatic culture word, cf. Hitt. *kurša-*, *kurši-* c. ‘skin, hide, fleece; skinbag, sheepskin as a divinized fetish or talisman’.<sup>46</sup> The group *CuRCV* may reflect *\*CuRCV* or *\*K<sup>w</sup>RCV*.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, Hittite *kurša/i-* (perhaps also Greek

<sup>39</sup> For references and an etymological discussion, see Schindler 1966; Olsen 1999: 191-192; Martirosyan 2010: 307; Kölligan 2012: 136 and fn 11.

<sup>40</sup> For an extensive discussion on this suffix, see Olsen 1999: 432-452.

<sup>41</sup> ChicHittDict *L-N*, 1989: 72b; Tischler HEG L-M, 1990: 54-55; Puhvel HED 5, 2001: 97-98; Kloekhorst 2008: 525.

<sup>42</sup> See Nikolayev / Starostin 1994: 586, cf. 18.

<sup>43</sup> Starostin 1988: 117; I am indebted to Vahagn Petrosyan for this reference.

<sup>44</sup> For this word, see e.g. ChicAssDict 8, 1971: 602b.

<sup>45</sup> HAB 2: 517-518; Jahukyan 1987: 452, also 2010: 383b, with some hesitation. For a different view, see Greppin 2008.

<sup>46</sup> For attestations and a discussion on the Hittite word and its ritual aspect, see Ivanov 1964; Ivanov/Toporov 1974: 35f; Popko 1974, 1978: 108-120, 1994: passim; Tischler HEG I, 1983: 654-657; Haas 1994: 187-188, 451-452, 454-456, 510, et passim; and especially Puhvel HED 4, 1997, 270-275. On the ritual aspect within the Armenian context, see Martirosyan forthc. 1.

<sup>47</sup> See Kloekhorst 2007.

*βύρσα* f., *βυρσίς* ‘skin, hide’<sup>48</sup> may be derived from a (probably non-Indo-European) proto-form *\*g<sup>w</sup>ṛso/i-*, which would yield Armenian *\*ká(r)š(o/i)-*, with a later *i*-suffix.<sup>49</sup> For the latter, compare a synonymous word, *mort* ‘-i vs. *mort*’, *o*-stem ‘skin, hide, leather’. For the ruki-rule and the loss of *r* before *š*, see § 2.2. on *Mušel*.

**4.3 *karž*** ‘skein, hank, a length of yarn or thread wound on a reel’, *karžar* ‘reel, winder’ (both are Middle Armenian according to Norayr), widespread in dialects. No etymology is offered in HAB 2: 550b. The comparison with Gr. *γυργαθός* m. ‘wicker-basket, creel’<sup>50</sup> does not inspire much confidence. It is tempting to compare Arm. *karž* to Hitt. *karza* / *karzan-* n. ‘spool, bobbin (vel. sim.)’. The latter has been derived from *\*k(e)rt-sr/n-* ‘a spin’, cf. Ved. Skt. *kart-* ‘to spin’, etc.<sup>51</sup> The *ž* of Armenian *karž* is not clear, however.

**4.4 *hazar*** ‘lettuce’ (Eznik Kořbac‘i, Anania řirakac‘i, Grigor Magistros, etc.); Xarberd dial. *hazar-maruli*, with synonymous *mař/rul* as the second member of the compound (HAB 3: 6b). No reliable etymology is recorded in HAB 3: 6b or řahukyan 2010: 437b. I tentatively propose a comparison with Hittite *ħařuřřara-* (*ħa-řu-uř-řa-ra-a-an* in KUB 7.1 i 21, KBo 24.7 iv 19, *ħa-řu-uř-řa-ra-an* in KBo 13.248 i 5), a garden vegetable. In KUB 7.1 i 21 it is mentioned in a list of vegetables between *ħazzuwaniř* ‘lettuce’ and *lakkarwan* ‘legume’.<sup>52</sup> It is unclear whether this plant name is related to Hittite *\*ħařřuřřara-* ‘queen’. In view of the consistent single spelling of the first *-ř-* of the plant name, Kloekhorst (2008: 328) is skeptical about that connection. Since it is listed next to the lettuce, one is tempted to assume that it referred to a kind of lettuce or at least a similar vegetable and was borrowed into Armenian as *hazar* ‘lettuce’. One might also consider contamination with the aforementioned *ħazzuwaniř* ‘lettuce’, as well as a folk-etymological reinterpretation influenced by homonymous *hazar* ‘thousand’.

Should this etymology be accepted, Arm. *hazar* will join other Anatolian borrowings in the domain of agriculture, such as *laxur* ‘apium (celery, parsley)’ and *torr* ‘vine-shoot’ (see Simon 2013: 107-109, 116-117, 127-129, with a positive conclusion).

**4.5 *hasteay***, only acc.pl (*z-*)*hasteay-s* ‘a kind of pastry’ (Jeremiah 44.19 and Ephrem Asori), perhaps in a way related with Hitt. <sup>NINDA</sup>*ħaz(z)ita-* ‘a kind of cake’. Uncertain (Martirosyan 2010: 391, 397-398).

**4.6 *targal*** ‘spoon’ (attested in Movsēs Xorenac‘i 2.47 and ubiquitous in the dialects) has been derived from PIE *\*dṛu-*, a zero-grade form of the PIE word for ‘wood’. A perfect semantic match is Skt. *dārvi* f. / *darvī* f. ‘spoon’, though this has a full grade in the root, cf. Arm. *torg* ‘wooden framework, loom’ and HLuw. *tarw-i(ia)-* prob. ‘wooden beam’; further, note Arm. *tořn* ‘pestle’ vs. Skt. *drōṇa-* n. ‘wooden vessel, trough, bucket’.<sup>53</sup> Now we have a wonderful match that can also solve the problem of the suffix of Arm. *targal* ‘spoon’: Hitt. <sup>GIř</sup>*taru-āli-* n., which

<sup>48</sup> For more etymological detail on the Hittite and Greek words, see Tischler HEG I, 1983, 655-657; Gamkrelidze / Ivanov 1984, 2: 902, 909; Puhvel HED 4, 1997, 274-275; Beekes 2010, 1: 249.

<sup>49</sup> One might assume that the *i*-suffixation was triggered by a possible by-form *\*g<sup>w</sup>ṛsi-*: Hitt. *kurři-* and Gr. *βυρσίς*.

<sup>50</sup> řahukyan 2010: 392a; for the Greek word, see Beekes 2010, 1: 293.

<sup>51</sup> Tischler HEG I, 1983: 531-532; Puhvel HED 4, 1997: 117; Kloekhorst 2008: 459-460.

<sup>52</sup> Puhvel HED 3, 1991: 241, 286, HEG 5, 2001: 37; cf. Tischler HEG I, 1983: 211.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of all these words, see Martirosyan 2010 s.vv.

refers to an implement used for grinding or crushing, probably something like ‘pestle’, cf. CLuw. *taruual-* ‘mortar’.<sup>54</sup> For *\*-al(i)* in designations for implements or the like cf., e.g., Hitt. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*hulāli-* n. ‘distaff’. Therefore, Arm. *targal* may be treated as an Anatolian loanword. In view of the semantics and the absence of apocope, it seems slightly easier to derive the Armenian word from Hitt. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*taruāli-* ‘pestle’ rather than CLuw. *taruual-* ‘mortar’.

**4.7 *tup***, *o*-stem (gen.pl *tp’oc’*) ‘case, box, chest, censer’ (Bible+). No reliable etymology has been recorded.<sup>55</sup> I propose to treat this word as a loan from Hitt. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tuppi-* ‘ark, container’. In Bo 2326 (= KUB LIII.4) Rs iv 32 it refers to an ark or container into which the statue of Telepinu is put: *I-NA UD.6<sup>KAM D</sup> te-li-pí-nu-un<sup>†</sup> GIŠ<sup>†</sup> tup-pí an-da ti-an-zi pé-da-aš-ša-ah-[ha-an-zi]* “Am 6. Tage legen sie den Telipinu in die Lade hinein (und) bring[en ihn an Ort und Stelle (an seinen Kultplatz)” (Haas / Jakob-Rost 1984: 76 / 78). This is reminiscent of the Biblical ark of the covenant (Weinfeld 1993: 466). The word is also attested in the form <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tuppa-*<sup>56</sup> and seems to be identical with <sup>E</sup>*d/tuppa-* ‘storehouse’.<sup>57</sup>

HRACH MARTIROSYAN

Institute of Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences

[hrch.martirosyan@gmail.com](mailto:hrch.martirosyan@gmail.com), [hrach.martirosyan@oeaw.ac.at](mailto:hrach.martirosyan@oeaw.ac.at)

07.03.2015, Vienna

## References

Ačaryan, Hrač’ya Hakobi

1897 Anuank’ haykakan amsoc’. In: *Bazmavēp* 55: 391-394.

1913 (Ačařean), Hayerēn gawarakan bařaran. T’iflis (Ēminean azgagrakan žořovacu, vol. 9).

1925 Graxosut’yun nor hratarakut’yunneri hit’t’it’neri masin. In: *Nork’* (Yerevan) 1925, Nr 5-6: 389-393.

1940-51 (AčařHLPatm 1-2): Hayoc’ lezvi patmut’yun, vol. 1, Yerevan: University Press, 1940; vol. 2, Yerevan: State Press of Armenia (HayPetHrat), 1951.

1942-62 (AčařAnjn 1-5), Hayoc’ anjnanunneri bařaran. 1, 1942; 2, 1944; 3, 1946; 4, 1948; 5, 1962. Yerevan: University Press.

1971-79 (HAB), Hayerēn armatakan bařaran, in 4 vols (second edition). Yerevan: University Press. [The original edition: 1926-1935, in 7 volumes, Yerevan: University Press].

Adonc’, N. (Adontz)

1911 Tork’ astuac hin Hayoc’. In: *Yuřarjan*: Festschrift aus Anlass des 100-jährigen Bestandes der Mechitaristen-Kongregation in Wien (1811-1911), und des 25. Jahrganges der philosophischen Monatsschrift *Handes amsorya* (1887-1911), ed. by Nersēs Akinean. Vienna: Mxit’arean tparan: 389-394.

1927 *Tarkou* chez les anciens arméniens. In: *Revue des études arméniennes* 7: 185-194.

2006 *Nikořayos Adonc’*. Erker. Vol. 1: Patmagitakan usumnasirut’yunner (ed. by P. H. Hovhannisyān). Yerevan: University Press.

<sup>54</sup> Martirosyan 2010: 606-607 and 2013: 106-107.

<sup>55</sup> See HAB 4: 430b; Olsen 1999: 957; Ĵahukyan 2010: 735b.

<sup>56</sup> See Otten 1973: 16-17, 1988: 40; cf. Neu 1983: 201 fn 586.

<sup>57</sup> For a discussion of this word, see Otten 1988: 40; Beal 1992: 52-54.

- Arutjunjan, N. V.  
2001 Korpus urartskix klinoobraznyx nadpisej. Yerevan: Academy Press 'Gitutjun'.
- Austin, William M.  
1942 Is Armenian an Anatolian language? In: *Language* 18.1: 22-25.
- Bailey, Harold W.  
1979 Dictionary of Khotan Saka. Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University press.
- Beal, Richard H.  
1992 The organisation of the Hittite military. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag. (Texte der Hethiter; Heft 20).
- Beekes, Robert S. P.  
2010 Etymological Dictionary of Greek (with the assistance of Lucien van Beek). 2 vols. Leiden: Brill.
- Benveniste, Émile  
1962 Hittite et indo-européen: études comparatives. Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve. (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul; 5).
- Bonfante, Giuliano  
1939 La position du hittite parmi les langues indo-européennes. In: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 18.2-3: 381-392.  
1946 "Indo-Hittite" and areal linguistics. In: *American Journal of Philology* 67.4: 289-310.
- Cheung, Johnny  
2007 Etymological dictionary of the Iranian verb. Leiden, Boston: Brill. (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary series; 2).
- ChicAssDict  
1956– Chicago Assyrian dictionary: The Assyrian dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (oi.chicago.edu).
- ChicHittDict  
1989– The Hittite dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Vol. *L-N*, 1989 [fascicles 1-4, 1980-1989], vol *P*, 1997 (ed. by Hans G. Güterbock and Harry A. Hoffner), vol. *Š*, fasc. 1, 2002, fasc. 2, 2005 (ed. by Hans G. Güterbock, Harry A. Hoffner, Theo P. J. van den Hout).
- Cox, Claude E.  
2006 Armenian Job: reconstructed Greek text, critical edition of the Armenian with English translation. Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Peeters. (Hebrew University Armenian studies; 8).
- Dale, Alexander  
2011 Alcaeus on the career of Myrsilos: Greeks, Lydians and Luwians at the East Aegean – West Anatolian interface. In: *Journal of Hellenic studies* 131: 15-24.
- Derksen, Rick  
2008 Etymological dictionary of the Slavic inherited lexicon. Leiden, Boston: Brill. (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series; 4).
- Diakonoff, I. M.  
1984 The pre-history of the Armenian people (transl. from **D'jakonov 1968** by Lori Jennings; with revisions by the author). Delmar, New York: Caravan Books (Anatolian and Caucasian studies).
- Fortson, Benjamin W.  
2010 Indo-European language and culture: an introduction (second edition). Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell. (Blackwell textbooks in linguistics; 19).
- Gamkrelidze, Th. V. & Ivanov, V. V.  
1984 Indoevropskij jazyk i indoevropjcy: rekonstrukciya i istoriko-tipologičeskij analiz prayazyka i protokul'tury. With a preface by R. Jakobson, 2 vols, Tbilisi: University Press.

- 1995 Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans: a reconstruction and historical analysis of a proto-language and a proto-culture. Part 1. The text. Transl. by J. Nichols, ed. by W. Winter. Berlin, New York : Mouton de Gruyter (Trends in linguistics. Studies and monographs, 80). [English translation of the Russian original 1984].
- Gerckenberg, L. G.  
2010 *Kratkoe vvedenie v indoevropеistiku*. Saint Petersburg: “Nestor-Istoriya”.
- Gilibert, A., Bobokhyan, A., Hnila, P.  
2012 Dragon stones in context: The discovery of high-altitude burial grounds with sculpted stelae in the Armenian mountains. In: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft* 144: 93-132.
- Greppin, John A. C.  
1972 Xet‘a-haykakan mi zugaher. In: *PBH* 1972, Nr. 3: 221-222.  
1975 Hitt. -z(a), Arm. z-, and the theory of Armeno-Hittite loan words. In: *JIES* 3.1: 87-94.  
1978a A further comment on the God *Šanta-/Σανδων*. In: *La Parola del Passato* (Napoli) 33: 411-413.  
1978b Luwian elements in Armenian. In: *Drevnij Vostok* 3. Yerevan: Academy Press: 115-126.  
1978-79a Armeno-Luwica. In: *Revue des études arméniennes* n.s. 13: 7-13.  
1978-79b Review of *J. Friedrich & A. Kammenhuber*, Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Lief. 1-2, 1975-1977. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. In: *Revue des études arméniennes* n.s. 13: 433-435.  
1980a “Hittite” loan words in Armenian (synopsis). In: *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie: Akten der VI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*, Wien, 24–29 September 1978 (hrsg. von Manfred Mayrhofer, Martin Peters, Oskar E. Pfeiffer). Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag: 203-207.  
1980b The earliest origins of the Armenian people. In: *Armenian review* 33.4: 351-358.  
1981a Concerning the reply of Kerns and Schwartz to Austin. In: *Bono homini donum: essays in historical linguistics, in memory of J. Alexander Kerns* (ed. by Yoël L. Arbeitman & Allan R. Bomhard). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science: Series IV Current issues in linguistic theory, 16). Vol. 1: 119-126.  
1981b Armenian *laxur*, Hittite *lahhur-*; Appendix: Arm. *gestras*, Hitt. *wēštaraš*. In: *Revue des études arméniennes* n.s. 15: 5-9.  
1982 A note on Arm. *išxan* ‘ruler’. In: *Annual of Armenian linguistics* 3: 57-59.  
1988 Laryngeal residue in Armenian: genetic and loan evidence. In: *Die Laryngalthorie und die Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Laut- und Formensystems* (hrsg. von Alfred Bammesberger). Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag: 179-193.  
1991 The survival of ancient Anatolian and Mesopotamian vocabulary until the present. In: *Aramazd: Armenian journal of Near Eastern studies*, vol. 50.3: 203-207.  
2008 More material on the Urartian substratum in Armenian. In: *Journal of Indo-European studies* 36.1-2: 1-9.
- Haas, Volkert  
1994 *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.
- Haas, Volkert & Jakob-Rost, Liane  
1984 Das Festritual des Gottes Telipinu in Hanhana und in Kašha: Ein Beitrag zum hethitischen Festkalender. In: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 11.1: 10-91.
- HAB 1-4  
see Ačařyan 1971-79.
- Hübschmann, H.  
1897 *Armenische Grammatik*. 1. Theil: *Armenische Etymologie*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
- Ivanov, V. V.  
1964 Razyskanija v oblasti anatolijskogo jazykoznanija. In: *Problemy indoevropskogo jazykoznanija: ètjudy po sravnitel’no-istoričeskoj grammatike indoevropskix jazykov* (ed. by V. N. Toporov). Moscow: “Nauka”: 40-44.

- Ivanov, V. V. & Toporov, V. N.  
 1974 Issledovanija v oblasti slavjanskix drevnostej: leksičeskie i frazeologičeskie voprosy rekonstrukcii tekstov. Moscow: "Nauka".
- Ĵahukyan, G. B.  
 1963 (Džaukjan), Urartskij i indoevropskie jazyki. Yerevan: Academy Press.  
 1964 (Džaukjan), Xajasskij jazyk i ego otnošenie k indoevropskim jazykam. Yerevan: Academy Press.  
 1967 Hayereni ew xet'a-luvakan lezneri bařayin kazmi cagumnayin zugadipunnerə. In: *PBH* 1967, Nr 4: 57-74.  
 1970 Hayerenə ew hndevropakan hin leznerə. Yerevan: Academy Press.  
 1976 Hayasayi lezvi hinanatoliakan cagman varkacə. In: *PBH* 1976, Nr 1: 89-110.  
 1987 Hayoc' lezvi patmut'yun: naxagrayin žamanakašrjan. Yerevan: Academy Press.  
 1988 O sootnošenii xajasskogo i armjanskogo jazykov. (1) in: *PBH* (= *IFŽ*) 1988, Nr 1: 60-79; (2) in: *PBH* 1988, Nr 2: 68-88.  
 1990 (Djahukian), Did Armenians live in Asia Anterior before the twelfth century B.C.? In: *When worlds collide: the Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-Europeans* (presented by T. L. Markey & John A. C. Greppin). The Rockefeller Foundation's Bellagio Study and Conference Center, Lake Como, Italy, February 8-13, 1988. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers (*Linguistica extranea: Studia*; 19): 25-33.  
 1994 (Djahukian), Indoeuropäische phonetisch-grammatische Dialekt-Isoglossen, die vom Hethitisch-Luvischen und Armenischen geteilt werden. In: *Indogermanica et Caucasia: Festschrift für Karl Horst Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag* (hrsg. von Roland Bielmeier und Reinhard Stempel; unter Mitarb. von René Lanszweert). Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter. (*Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft*; 6): 12-24.  
 2010 Hayeren stugabanakan bařaran (ed. by Vahan Sargsyan). Yerevan: "Asolik".
- Jensen, P.  
 1898 Hittiter und Armenier. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner.  
 1904 (Enšēn), Haterēn ew hayerēn. In: *Handēs amsōreay* 18: 180-184, 271-276.  
 1911 Hittitisch-armenisches. In: *Yušarjan*: Festschrift aus Anlass des 100-jährigen Bestandes der Mechitaristen-Kongregation in Wien (1811-1911), und des 25. Jahrganges der philosophischen Monatsschrift *Handes amsorya* (1887-1911), ed. by Nersēs Akinean. Vienna: Mxit'arean tparan: 331-335.
- Kammenhuber, Annelies  
 1961 Zur Stellung des Hethitisch-Luvischen innerhalb der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache. In: *ZVS* 77: 31-75.
- Kapancjan, Grigor, see Łap'anc'yan
- Kerns, Alexander & Schwartz, Benjamin  
 1942 On the placing of Armenian. In: *Language* 18.3: 226-228.
- Kitazumi, Tomoki  
 2013 Zum problem der Gleichung heth. *Ĥayaša-* = armen. *hayk'*. In: *ZDMG* 163.2: 511-517.
- Kloekhorst, Alwin  
 2007 The Hittite syllabification of PIE \*CuR and \*K<sup>u</sup>R. In: *Tabularia Hethaeorum: hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Kořak zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. Detlev Groddek & Marina Zorman). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. (*Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie*; 25): 455-457.  
 2008 Etymological dictionary of the Hittite inherited lexicon. Leiden, Boston: Brill. (*Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series*; 5).
- Kölligan, Daniel  
 2012 Regular sound change and word-initial \*/j/- in Armenian. In: *Laws and rules in Indo-European* (ed. by Philomen Probert and Andreas Willi). Oxford: Oxford University Press: 134-146.

- Kosyan, Aram V.  
 1994 (Kossian), An Anatolian-Armenian parallel. In: *Annual of Armenian linguistics* 15: 63-65.  
 2011 Towards the Hittite eastern periphery (KUB XLIX 11). In: *Aramazd: Armenian journal of Near-Eastern studies*, vol. 6.2 (Yerevan: Association for Near Eastern and Caucasian Studies): 87-94.  
 2014 To the East of Hatti. In: *Essays in honour of Veli Sevin: a life immersed in archaeology* (ed. by A. Özfirat). Istanbul: Yayınları: 277-282.
- Kretschmer, Paul  
 1933 Der nationale Name der Armenier. In: *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Philosophisch-historische Klasse*. 69. Jahrgang 1932. Wien und Leipzig: 28-36.
- Kümmel, Martin Joachim  
 2014 The conditioning for secondary *h* in Hittite. In: *Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Hittitology: Warsaw, 5-9 September 2011* (ed. by Piotr Taracha and Magada Kapeluś). Warschau: Agade: 431-436.
- Lap'anc'yan, Grigor A. (Kapancjan, Grigor)  
 1931 (Kapancjan), Chetto-Armeniaca. Yerevan: State Press (Gosizdat).  
 1947 Xajasa – kolybel' armjan: ètnogenez armjan i ix načal'naja istorija. Yerevan: Academy Press.  
 1956 (Kapancjan), Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty (vol. 1). Yerevan: Academy Press.  
 1961 Hayoc' lezvi patmut'yun: hin šrjan. Yerevan: Academy Press.  
 1975 (Kapancjan), Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty (vol. 2). Yerevan: Academy Press.
- MacKenzie, D. N.  
 1971 A concise Pahlavi dictionary. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Martirosyan, Hrach K.  
 2009 Armenian *mawr* 'mud, marsh' and its hydronymical value. In: *Aramazd: Armenian journal of Near Eastern studies*, vol. 4.1: 73-85 and 179-180 (Summary in Armenian).  
 2010 Etymological dictionary of the Armenian inherited lexicon. Leiden, Boston: Brill. (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series; 8).  
 2010a Hndevropakan "Erknayin Hayr, astvac" baři hetk'erə hayerenum [Traces of Indo-European 'Father Sky, God' in Armenian]. In: *Through Haldi's power: studies in honour of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Boris Piotrovsky*. Yerevan: Academy Press: 51-64.  
 2013 The place of Armenian in the Indo-European language family: the relationship with Greek and Indo-Iranian. In: *Journal of language relationship (Вопросы языкового родства)* 10: 85-137.  
 forthc. 1 Leřnayin akunk'i fařnə, Arřaluysi dic'uhin ew glxi u mort'u zohacesə viřapakot'ořneri imastabanakan henk'um [The 'farn' of mountainous spring, the Dawn goddess and the ritual of head and hide within the semantic framework of the Viřap stones].  
 forthc. 2 Traces of Indo-European 'Father Sky, God' in Armenian. To appear in: *Festschrift Weitenberg* (ed. by Theo van Lint).
- Martirosyan, Nřan  
 1924 Hayerēni yaraberut'iwnə het'iderēni het. In: *Handēs amsōreay* 38.9-10: 453-459.  
 1926 Hayerēni yaraberut'iwnə het'iterēni het (Npast mə Het'it ew Hay bařak'nnut'ean). In: *Handēs amsōreay* 40.7-8: 369-374.  
 1929 Hay lezui hnagoyñ patmut'ean masin. In: *Handēs amsōreay* 43.8-9: 532-545.  
 1972 Npast mə het' ew hay bařak'nnut'yan. In: *PBH* 1972, Nr. 2: 163-186.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred  
 1956-80 (KEWA) Kurzgefařtes etymologisches Wōrterbuch des Altindischen (4 vols.). Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitātsverlag.  
 1992-01 (EWAia) Etymologisches Wōrterbuch des Altindoirischen (3 vols.). Heidelberg: Universitātsverlag C. Winter.
- Mkrtč'yan, Nerses Alek'sani  
 1969 Xet'a-haykakan mi k'ani bařayin əndhanrut'yunner. In: *PBH* 1969, Nr 1: 238-246.

- 1970 Xet'a-haykakan əndhanrut'yunner. In: *LHG* 1970, Nr 7: 58-69.
- 1974 (Mkrtschjan), Neue hethitisch-armenische lexikalische Parallelen. In: *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest) 22.1-4: 313-319.
- 2005 (Mkrťjan), *Semitskie Jazyki i armjanskij*. Yerevan: "Drazark".
- Morani, Moreno
- 1981 Armeno e ittita. In: *Annual of Armenian linguistics* 2: 35-63.
- NHB 1-2
- 1836-37 *G. Awetik'ean, X. Siwrmēlean, M. Awgerean*, Nor bařgirk' haykazean lezui, 2 vols., Venice: St Lazar (1836-1837); reprinted: Yerevan: University Press (1979-1981).
- Nikolayev, S. L. & Starostin, S. A.
- 1994 A North Caucasian etymological dictionary (ed. by S. A. Starostin). Moscow: Asterisk Publishers.
- Olsen, B. A.
- 1999 The noun in Biblical Armenian: origin and word-formation – with special emphasis on the Indo-European heritage. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. (Trends in linguistics. Studies and monographs 119).
- Otten, H.
- 1973 Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. (Studien zu den Bořazkőy-Texten, Heft 17).
- 1988 Die Bronzetafel aus Bořazkőy: ein Staatsvertrag Tuřalıjas IV. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. (Studien zu den Bořazkőy-Texten, Beiheft 1).
- Pedersen, Holger
- 1924 Armenier. B. Sprache. In: *Max Ebert* (ed.), *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. Vol. 1. Berlin, pp. 219-226 (= 1982: 302-309).
- 1982 *Kleine Schriften zum Armenischen* (hrsg. von Rüdiger Schmitt). Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag.
- Petrosyan, Armen
- 2006 Hayoc' azgacagman harc'er. Yerevan: "Noravank".
- 2007 The problem of identification of the Proto-Armenians: a critical review. In: *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 16: 25-66.
- 2009 The "Eastern Hittites" in the south and east of the Armenian Highland? In: *Aramazd: Armenian journal of Near Eastern studies*, vol. 4.1: 63-72 and 177-178 (Summary in Armenian).
- 2010a Xet'ereni hetk'er Haykakan leřnařxarhi arewelk'um ew harav-arewelk'um [Traces of the Hittite language in the east and southeast of the Armenian Highland]. In: *Through Ĥaldi's power: studies in honour of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Boris Piotrovsky*. Yerevan: Academy Press: 65-77.
- 2010b The Armenian elements in the language and onomastics in Urartian. In: *Aramazd: Armenian journal of Near Eastern studies*, vol. 5.1 (*Urartu and its neighbors: Festschrift in honor of Nikolay Harutyunyan in occasion of his 90th birthday, 22-24 Sept., 2009, Yerevan*): 133-140.
- 2011 Hayerēni ew P'ok'r Asiayi hnagoyn lezuni ařn'ut'iwnner [The connections between Armenian and Ancient Languages of Asia Minor]. In: *Haykazean hayagitakan handēs*: 393-404.
- 2012 Moon God and denomination of Armenia. In: *Aramazd: Armenian journal of Near Eastern studies*, vol. 7.1: 68-71 and 147-148 (Summary in Armenian).
- 2014 Hndevropakan naxahayrenik'i xndirə ew vařňahayerenə [The Problem of Indo-European Homeland and Proto-Armenian]. In: *PBH* 2014, Nr 1: 196-207.
- Pisani, Vittore
- 1951 Studi sulla fonetica dell'armeno II-V. In: *Ricerche linguistiche* 2: 47-74 (= 1978: 286-317).
- 1978 Mantissa. Brescia: Paideia Editrice.

- Pokorny, Julius  
 1959 Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, vol. 1. Bern, Stuttgart: Francke.
- Popko, Maciej  
 1974 Anatolische Schutzgottheiten in Gestalt von Vliesen. In: *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest) 22: 309-311.  
 1978 Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen). Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu warszawskiego. (Dissertationes Universitatis Varsoviensis; 161).  
 1994 Zippalanda: ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter. (Texte der Hethiter; 21).
- Porzig, Walter  
 1954 Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets. Heidelberg: Winter. (Indogermanische Bibliothek. 3. Reihe: Untersuchungen).
- Puhvel, Jaan  
 1984- (HED 1-), Hittite etymological dictionary. Words beginning with A + E and I (vols. 1+2, 1984) [Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton]; H (vol. 3, 1991); K (vol. 4, 1997); L (vol. 5, with indices to volumes 1-5, 2001); M (vol. 6, 2004); N (vol. 7, 2007), PA (vol. 8, 2011) [Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter]; PE, PI, PU (vol. 9, 2013) [Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter]. (Trends in linguistics: Documentation; 1, 5, 14, 18, 22, 26, 29, 32).
- Roth, Karl  
 1927 Die Bedeutung des Armenischen. In: *Handēs amsōreay* 41: 741-750.
- Russell, James R.  
 1987 Zoroastrianism in Armenia. Cambridge: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations and National Association for Armenian Studies and Research. (Harvard Iranian Series; 5).  
 2004 Armenian and Iranian studies. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: Harvard University Press (Harvard Armenian texts and studies; 9).
- Schindler, Jochem  
 1966 Hethitisch *lišši* 'Leber'. In: *Die Sprache* 12: 77-78.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger  
 2007 Grammatik des Klassisch-Armenischen mit sprachvergleichenden Erläuterungen (2., durchgesehene Auflage). Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck. (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft).
- Schultheiß, Tassilo  
 1961 Hethitisch und Armenisch. In: *ZVS* 77: 219-234.
- Simon, Zsolt  
 2013 Die These der hethitisch-luwischen Lehnwörter im Armenischen: eine kritische Neubetrachtung. In: *International journal of diachronic linguistics and linguistic reconstruction* 10.2: 97-135.
- Solta, G. R.  
 1960 Die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen: eine Untersuchung der indogermanischen Bestandteile des armenischen Wortschatzes. Wien: Mechitharisten. (Studien zur armenischen Geschichte; 9).  
 1990 Die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen: ein Überblick. In: *Armenien: Beiträge zur Sprache, Geschichte und Archäologie* (ed. by Erwin M. Ruprechtsberger). Linz. (Linzer Archäologische Forschungen; 18.2).
- Starke, Frank  
 1990 Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Heft 31).

- Starostin, S. A.  
 1988 Indoeuropejsko-severnokavkazskie izoglossy. In: *Drevnij Vostok: ètnokul'turnye svyazi*. Moscow: GRVLI "Nauka": 112-163.
- Ter-Minasyan, E.  
 1989 (ed.): *Elišē*, Vardani ew Hayoc' paterazmi masin (ModArm. translation and commentary; includes also the classical text). Yerevan: University Press.
- Thomson, R. W.  
 1976 *Agathangelos*, History of the Armenians (Armenian text and English translation on facing pages; "The Teaching of St. Gregory" is omitted; with introduction and commentary). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.  
 1982 *Elišē*, History of Vardani and the Armenian War: translation and commentary. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: Harvard University Press. (Harvard Armenian texts and studies, 5).
- Tischler, Johann  
 1983- HEG: Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar (mit Beiträgen von Günter Neumann und Erich Neu). Teil I: Lieferungen 1-4 (A-K), 1983; Teil II/1: Lief. 5+6 (L-M), 1990; 7 (N), 1991; 11+12 (P), 2001; Teil II/2: Lief. 13 (S/1), 2004; 14 (S/2), 2006; Teil III: Lieferungen 8-10 (T, D/1-3), 1991, 1993, 1994; Teil IV: Lief. 15 (U), 2010; 6 (Z), in Vorbereitung. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck. (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft; 20).
- Vaux, Bert  
 2006 Armenian. In: *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, 2nd edition (editor-in-chief: Keith Brown). Elsevier Ltd: 474-478.
- Watkins, Calvert  
 2011 The American heritage dictionary of Indo-European roots (3rd edition, revised and edited by C. Watkins). Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Weinfeld, Moshe  
 1993 Traces of Hittite cult in Shiloh, Bethel and in Jerusalem. In: *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament*: internationales Symposium Hamburg, 17.-21. März 1990 (hrsg. von Bernd Janowski, Klaus Koch, Gernot Wilhelm). Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. (Orbis biblicus et orientalis; 129): 455-472.
- Windekens, A. J. van  
 1980 Quelques confrontations lexicales arméno-hittites. In: *Annual of Armenian linguistics* 1: 39-43.
- Xaç'atryan, V. N.  
 1967 Xet'a-haykakan dic'abanakan əndhanrut'yunner. In: *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri* 1967, Nr 8: 71-79.  
 2012 Haykakan təlanunnerə sepagir əlbyurnerum: təlagrakan ew stugabanakan k'nnut'yun. Yerevan: "Nairi".\
- Xaç'aturova, E. G.  
 1979 Drevnejšie armjano-indo-iranskije jazykovye kontakty. In: *Hayoc' lezvi hamematakan k'erakanut'yan harc'er*. Yerevan: Academy Press: 325-375.
- Xalat'eanc', Grigor  
 1899 *Girk' mnac'ordac'* əst hnagoyn hay t'argmanut'ean. Moscow: Tparan Varvaře Gate'uk.
- Yakubovich, Ilya  
 2010 Morphological negation in Urartian. In: *Aramazd: Armenian journal of Near Eastern studies*, vol. 5.1 (*Urartu and its neighbors: Festschrift in honor of Nikolay Harutyunyan in occasion of his 90<sup>th</sup> birthday*, 22-24 Sept., 2009, Yerevan): 141-165.  
 2011 When Hittite laryngeals are secondary. In: *Sinxronnoe i diaxronnoe v sravnitel'no-istoričeskom jazykoznanii*: Materialy VII Meždunarodnoj naučnoj konferencii po sravnitel'no-

istoričeskomu jazykoznaniju (Moscow, 31 January – 2 February 2011). Moscow: Dobrosvet, Izd. “KDU”: 277-279.

Zōhrapean, Yovhannēs

1805 (1-4) *Astuacašunč‘ matean Hin ew Nor Ktakaranac‘* (4 vols.). Venice: S. Lazar.

1805<sup>a</sup> (Hovhann Zohrapian), *Astuatsashunch‘ matean Hin ew Nor Ktakaran[a]c‘* (Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments): a facsimile reproduction of the 1805 Venetian edition with an introduction by Claude Cox. Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1984.