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The Origin of the Surname *Košak*

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1 According to the Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Slovenia there are 568 individuals with the surname *Košak* living in Slovenia and the name ranks 492nd in frequency¹. The majority of those who go by this name – nearly half of them – reside in the Central Slovene region, followed by the South-East, as well as a few individuals in the Drava, Sava, Littoral Karst, Upper Carniolan, Carinthian, and Mura regions. There are no Košaks in the Inner Carniolan Karst and Gorica regions².

1.1 In Standard Slovene pronunciation the surname is characterized by long-rising stress in the second syllable in all case forms and derivatives, thus *Košák*, gen. *Košáka*, adj. *Košákov*³.

1.2 The surname, which is undoubtedly of Slovene origin, originates in central Slovenia, probably from Lower Carniola⁴. Its meaning is opaque to modern speakers of Slovene. My first step in the etymological analysis of the surname was to query the honoree, who, in his e-mail to me on 25 October 2005 was kind enough to respond that according to an unverified family legend his ancestors had purchased a homestead around the periphery of which *koščaki* (dial. *košaki*) 'wild walnuts' grew, after which the homestead was called and as a result its residents adopted it as a surname. The word *koščák* in Slovene means 'a nut with a very hard shell and nutmeat that is difficult to remove'⁵, i.e., 'a wild variety of *Juglans regia*, Persian walnut'. The Croatian equivalent is Kajkavian *koščák* 'walnut'⁶. The presumed

1 This article was translated from Slovene by Marc L. Greenberg (University of Kansas).

2 Source: <http://www.stat.si/ina.asp> as of 7 January 2006.

3 Slovenski pravopis (781).

4 To judge by the number of telephones, the majority of people with the surname *Košak* in the Central Slovene region live in Ljubljana, suggesting relatively late settlement. In the rural environment the most frequent occurrence is in Lower Carniola. As it is quite widespread elsewhere, too, it seems likely that it did not originate in one place, but, rather, cropped up in several locations in a parallel fashion.

5 Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika II (1975: 449). Pleteršnik I (445) cites the meaning 'die Steinnuß, der Steinnußbaum'.

6 Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika V (1898-1903: 383), cites Kajk. *koščák* for Kastav (near Rijeka), where the term is used to refer to the same type of nut as in nearby Grobnik *koščuh*. In

Proto-Slavic form is **kost'akъ*, a derivative from the adjective **kostъ* 'bony, lean'⁷ from **kostъ* 'bone'. The semantic motivation for the term lies in its shell, which is conceptualized as being as hard as bone, cf. German *Steinnuß*, which is semantically motivated by its rock-hard shell.

2.0 The etymological explanation given above assumes that the surname *Košak* arose after the simplification of the consonant cluster *-šč-* > *-š-*, a change that occurred throughout most of the Slovene speech territory⁸. We shall now turn to the possibilities that follow from the consideration of this phonetic change.

2.0.1 Following from the assumption of the phonetic simplification *-šč-* > *-š-*, the surname *Košak* is originally identical to the surname *Koščak*, which occurs in a similar distribution in Slovenia as the former, but is attested by only 413 individuals, making its ranking 825th in frequency⁹. In contrast to *Košak*, the surname *Koščak* is attested in the western periphery of the Slovene ethnic territory, where today it is rendered in Italian orthography as *Coszach* in the municipality of Srednje and in Tavagnacco near Udine, where a person with the name *Iuan Cusch-iach* is recorded in 1602¹⁰.

2.1 Although the explanation of the surname *Koščak* (as well as, possibly, *Košak*) originating in the name for a wild walnut is a possibility, it is not the only one. Slovene surnames are rarely identical to the names of trees. Such an example is the surname *Hrast* alongside the appellative *hrast* 'oak tree', which most likely came from a nickname (for a strong, tough character), as evidenced by the patronymic *Hrastič*, known also in the Štokavian-speaking territory as *Hrastić*. The surname *Košak* and *Koščak* have no such patronymic. A further example is the surname *Lesnika*, which is homonymous with the appellative *lesníka* 'crab apple, wild pear'. This surname more likely than by direct onymization arose from the more common

Lesnik, which is derived from the root *les* 'wood, forest' with the suffix *-nik*, the original meaning of which was 'forest dweller'. One may compare derivatives formed in this way in surnames such as *Nika* – *Nik*, *Špika* – *Špik*, *Zelenika* – *Zelenik*. The surname *Lipa*, which the *Začasni slovar slovenskih priimkov* cites for Dolnja Lendava and Ljubljana¹¹, probably does not derive from the appellative *lipa* 'lime tree', but rather, like the surnames *Lipaj* and *Lipej*, from the anthroponym *Filip* < gr. Φίλιππος. The surname *Hruška* is perhaps from the appellative *hruška*, corresponding to Štok. *kruška* 'pear tree', though the direct onymization of the appellative is uncertain, given that the surname can also be derived from the stem *hruša* 'pear tree', known from Slovene tpn. *Hrušica*, *Hruševje*, with the suffix *-ka*, just as, perhaps, *breka* 'rowan tree' gave rise to the surname *Breška* and the anthroponym *Gregor* produced the surname *Gregorka*.

2.2 Though the metaphorical naming of an individual after a strong tree, such as *hrast* 'oak tree', is conceivable, the naming of an individual after a type of nut has no reliable typological parallels in Slovene anthroponymy. Even the hypernym *oreh* is unlikely to have yielded a surname or a nickname¹². Deriving surnames from the appellative **kost'akъ* was more likely from a reading of the name as 'strong, tough character', which the appellative *koščak* lists as one of its meanings in the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*¹³. Merkù's insight that the surname *Koščak* was originally a nickname referring to a thin, bony person, is probably closer to the mark¹⁴. This nickname arose from the same etymon, **kost'akъ* 'something bony', which on one hand reifies the concept **bonelike fruit* > 'nut', on the other hand the notion 'thin, bony person'.

2.2.1 In favor of the etymon **kost'akъ* one may adduce the Cr. surname *Koščak* and the Štokavianized *Koščak*, known primarily in the (erstwhile) Kajkavian territory¹⁵, as well as the Pol. surname *Koścíak*¹⁶, which is probably a parallel de-

Grobnik there are two types of nut known, *koščuh* and *mekeš* (the latter from *mek* 'soft'). The same dictionary lists *koščak* 'nut' also for the Kajkavian-speaking settlement Štrmec pri Klanjcu. Compare also the derivation from secondary adjectives, Sln. (Bovec) *koščenjak*, (according to Zalokar and Caf) *koščánec* 'Steinnuß' (Pleteršnik I: 445) and Kajk. (Samobor) *koščenjak*, *koščínjak* 'Steinnuß' (Šulek 1879: 164).

7 The adjective **kostъ(jъ)* (= **kostъ/jъ*) is adduced in the *Ètimologičeskij slovar' slavyanskix jazykov* XI (1984: 187), which notes in RCS *koštъ*, *koštii* 'gracilis', Rus. dial. *koščá* 'an emaciated person' and BRus. *kaščěj* 'a very thin person'.

8 Ramovš (1924: 279) claims that the intervocalic cluster *-šč-* is preserved in Prekmurje, eastern Styrian, in Zilja, Rož, Rezija, Goriška, and Karst, in the vicinity of Postojna and in part of Lower Carniola (Raščica, Ribnica, the vicinity of Novo mesto, Mokronog), elsewhere it is simplified to *-š-*.

9 Source: <http://www.stat.si/imena.asp> as of 7 January 2006.

10 Merkù (1982: 36).

11 *Začasni slovar slovenskih priimkov* (335).

12 The surnames *Orehar* and *Orešnik* at first designated immigrants from *Oreh*, *Orešje* or a resident/settler who lived near a nut tree or nut grove. Only the surname *Orehak* could, because of the possibility that it contains a patronymic suffix, indicate an otherwise unattested nickname **Oreh*. However, it is also possible to presume that the *-ek* is not patronymic, but a suffix for a house name from the toponym *Oreh*, cf. the surname *Ledínek* from the toponym *Ledina* or the geographical term *ledina*.

13 *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* II (1975: 449); not listed in Pleteršnik.

14 Merkù (1982: 36).

15 *Leksik prezimena Socialističke republike Hrvatske* (320) cites 654 people with the surname *Koščak* and 287 with *Košćak*. Both are found mostly around Varaždin. According to Frančić's data (2002: 334), this surname is recorded in Mala Subotica, Medimurje in 1768 as *Koschak* and

velopment from the same etymon. While in Cr. Kajk. the appellative *koščak* 'nut' is attested, there is no corresponding appellative in Pol. For this reason, the explanation deriving the surnames from the nickname for a thin, bony person is more likely than the direct onymization of the term for a wild nut. There are, however, numerous parallels for deriving the surname from a nickname with the meaning 'thin, bony person', e.g., Pol. *Kościj*, *Kościał*¹⁷; Cz. *Koštíál*; Sorbian *Kosćej* and *Kostnik*¹⁸; the Russ. folkloric character *Koščej bessmertnyj*¹⁹.

2.3 Regarding the fact that more Slovene surnames arose by morphological means than by direct onymization of appellatives, one more solution to the etymological problem seems plausible. The element *-ščak* > *-šak* (in unstressed position also reduced to *-šek*) is a common onomastic suffix producing surnames, originally from toponyms and from geographical terms. Thus, there are surnames *Dolinščak* and *Dolinšek* (from *dolina* 'valley' or the toponym *Dolina*), *Dolščak*, *Dolšek*, *Doljšak*, *Dovšak*, *Dovšek* (from *dol* 'valley' or the toponym *Dol*, *Dolsko*), *Dvorščak*, *Dvoršek* (from *dvor* 'yard, court' or the toponym *Dvor*), *Kamenščak*, *Kamenšek*, *Kamenšek* (from *kamen* 'stone' or the toponym *Kamenca*), *Novinščak*, *Novinšek* (from *novína* 'a newly cleared piece of land, fallow field', or the toponym *Novine*), *Podgorščak*, *Podgoršek* (from *podgora* 'a piece of land at the foot of a mountain', or the toponym *Podgora*), *Podgrajšek* (from the prepositional phrase *pod gradom* 'beneath a castle' or the toponym *Podgrad*), *Ravenščak* (from *raven* 'plain, flat land', or the toponym *Raven*, *Ravenca*, *Ravensko*), *Zagorščak*, *Zagoršek* (from *zagorje* 'a piece of land behind a mountain' or the toponym *Zagora*, *Zagorje*), just to mention the most transparent examples. We might refer to surnames such as *Dvorski*, *Kamenski*, *Podgorski*, *Ravenski* in *Zagorski* as derivational ancestors, originally adjectives, which examples ending in *-ščak* arose as a later layer of nominalized forms with the suffix *-ak*, cf. the adjective *debel* 'fat' or a toponym with this attribute, e.g., *Debeli hrib*, *Debelo brdo*, gave rise to the surname *Debeljak*. It should be kept in mind that the derivation of surnames in *-ak* from adjectives in *-ski* is not exclusively Slovene, but oc-

curs also in Cr. Kajk., cf. *Dvorščak*, *Novinščak*, *Podgorščak*, *Ravenščak*, *Zagorščak*²⁰.

2.3.1 In the Slovene name-formational process the conglomerate of suffixes *-ščak* has the same semantic function as the conglomerate *-nik*, the base of which contains the adjectival suffix **-ьнъ* followed by the nominal suffix **-икъ*, cf. the derivational variants in the surnames *Podgornik* – *Podgoršek*; *Podkrajnik* – *Podkrajšek*; *Dobernik* – *Doberšek*, *Dobršek*; *Dovnik*, *Suhadolnik* – *Dovšek*, *Dolšek*; *Dvornik* – *Dvorščak*; *Hribrnik*, *Hribernik* – *Hribaršek*, *Hribršek*, etc. If we take into consideration the assimilation and consequent loss of a dental stop before the cluster *-šč-*, which has spread over most of the Slovene speech territory – cf. *grad* 'castle' – *gradski* 'pertaining to a castle' (> *grajski*) – *graščak* 'lord of a castle' – we may include in this series the pair *Kotnik* – **Kotščak* > *Koščak* > *Košak*. The surname *Kotnik*, which is assigned to some 3075 individuals and is 19th in frequency²¹ meant, undoubtedly, 'corner (Sln. *kot*) dweller', where *kot* < PSl. **kŏtъ* 'corner' is understood in its geographical context, denoting 'a piece of land at the upper end of a valley, where mountains or hills begin'²². The surname *Kotnik* is paralleled in Cr. *Kutnik*,²³ Pol. *Kątnik*²⁴. The term *Kot* < **kŏtъ* occurs in the Slovene speech territory in the names of sixteen areas, regions or settlements, and in twenty-seven it occurs as part of a toponym, e.g., *Dolnji Kot*.

2.3.2 The lack of Slovene doublets in **-jščak* > **-jšak* > **-jšek* does not necessarily speak against this possibility, since the result of the assimilatory process *-j- < -t/-d-* before *-šč-* usually occurs only in stressed position, cf. St. Sln. *grájski*: *graščák*, *graščína*, though in dialects we find also examples with *-j-*, e.g., Prešeren writes *grajšina*.

3.0 However, the supposition that *Košak* arose phonetically from a nickname or a house name or from the surname *Koščak* is not obligatory.

3.1 The surname *Košak* occurs in the Kajkavian (and even further in Croatian) dialect territory²⁵, where the consonant cluster *-stʹ-* is preserved as Kajk. *-šč-*, Štok. *-šč-*, cf. in Međimurje the attestations *Kosach*, *Kosak* (1660), later written as *Kos-*

in Donja Dubrava as *Kostyak*. Frančić also surmises that the name goes back to a nickname for a thin, bony person.

16 Rymut (1992-94 V: 265) cites 265 people in Poland with the surname *Koścjak*. On the same page the surname *Koszczak* is noted for 26 individuals. Rymut (1999: 158) derives the surname *Koścjak* from the anthroponym *Kość*, attested in 1405, from the appellative *kość* 'bone'.

17 Rymut (1999: 158).

18 Wenzel (1987-94 II/1: 231).

19 Marc L. Greenberg, personal communication.

20 Keber (1982: 229–236).

21 Source: <http://www.stat.si/imena.asp> as of 7 January 2006.

22 This meaning is cited in Badjura (1953: 176, *passim*).

23 Cited in Leksik prezimena Socialističke republike Hrvatske (352).

24 Cited in Rymut (1999: 148).

25 Leksik prezimena Socialističke republike Hrvatske (320).

*sak*²⁶. Polish attests the name as *Koszak*,²⁷ in Sorbian²⁸ and in the German speech territory as *Koschak*, *Koschack*²⁹. The surname is derived from the Slavic appellative **košb* 'basket'³⁰. Since except in Croatia these surnames cannot be verified for earlier centuries³¹ and since it is quite rare in Poland, where it is known for only 61 individuals³², and in the German speech territory it was certainly imported from the Slavic-speaking world, it is possible that the surname spread from Slovenia. However, this view is difficult to verify.

3.2 If the surname *Košak* is of a different origin than *Koščak*, deriving it from **košb* makes no sense without further explanation. The suffix -*ak* in anthroponyms largely serves to produce nicknames and derivatives of geographical terms. In the West Slavic territory the surnames Cz. *Koš*, Pol. *Kosz*, and in Lusatia and the German speech territory *Kosch*³³, are attested, which could be due to direct onymization of the appellative **košb* 'basket' as a nickname. However, it seems more probable that **košb* was a geographical term. The Slovene surname *Košnik* speaks in favor of this possibility, as it contains a suffix that is typical for surnames from geographical terms. This surname is known to occur in Croatia with two individuals³⁴, in Poland it is attested as *Kosznik*, where it is documented in 1408³⁵. From there or from the Slavic south it migrated to German speech territory as well, where it is attested both as *Koschnik* and *Koschnick*³⁶. Badjura cites Sln. *koš* in the

26 Frančič (2002: 333).

27 Rymut (1992-94 V: 200).

28 Wenzel (1999: 138).

29 The German telephone directory cites 23 phones registered to the name *Koschak* and 59 to *Koschack* (<http://www.telefonbuch.de> as of 12 January 2006); the Austrian telephone directory lists 47 phones registered to the name *Koschak* and one to *Koschack* (<http://www.telefonbuch.at> as of 13 January 2006).

30 Frančič (2002: 333) believes that the surname is a nickname from the appellative *koš* 'basket'. Wenzel (1999: 138), who notes that the surname was unknown in Lusatia before the 20th c., derives it from Cz. *košák* 'a woven beehive, Bienenkorb'. The etymon **košb* is said to have produced the Polish surname *Koszak* according to Rymut (1999: 158).

31 The surname in Polish is rather recent as it is unattested in Old Polish. Taszycki (1965-87 III [1971-73], 101) fails to cite it. The closest attestations are the anthroponyms *Koszek*, *Kosek*, *Koszko*, *Kosko* and *Kosz*, which are derivatives of the anthroponym *Kosz*.

32 Rymut (1992-94 V: 200).

33 Wenzel (1999: 138).

34 Leksik prezimena Socialističke republike Hrvatske (321).

35 Rymut 1999: 158.

36 The German telephone directory lists 93 phones registered to the name *Koschnik* and 326 to *Koschnick* (<http://www.telefonbuch.de> as of 12 January 2006); the Austrian telephone directory lists 8 telephones for *Koschnik* and 5 for *Koschnick* (<http://www.telefonbuch.at> as of 13 January 2006).

meaning 'crown, top of a tree' and the derivation *košévje* 'brush'³⁷. The surnames *Košnik* and *Košak* could thus be originally house names that referred to settlers near a brushy area. Also the Sln. surname *Košar*, corresponding to Pol. *Koszarz*, does not necessarily come from a term denoting an activity, basket-weaving, but can denote a settler by the brush, cf. the Sln. surname *Kališčar*, which originally designated someone living by a pool or pond (Sln. *kališče* 'pool, puddle'). If this explanation holds water, then the Sln. surname *Grm* from *grm* 'bush' is typologically comparable to the West Slavic surnames *Koš*, *Kosz*.

3.2.1 The *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*³⁸ cites the Serb. tpn. *Koš* and the OCS tpn. *Košb*, which support the view that **košb* is in fact a geographical term. The possibility mentioned in the previous paragraph – that the term means 'brush' – is not the only possible one, as the Croatian dictionary gives *koš* with the meaning 'space enclosed with a wattle fence where crops, especially corn, are stored'. In several Slavic languages *koš* occurs also in the meaning 'woven beehive'³⁹, a meaning that could have also given rise to a nickname.

3.3. A different attempt at an explanation is given by Bahlow,⁴⁰ who associates the German surnames *Kosch*, *Koschke*, *Koschek* and *Kusch*, with some reservation, to the Slavic hypocoristic *Nikuš* from the Christian anthroponym *Nicolaus*. This supposition is not verifiable as there are no corresponding hypocoristics in the Slavic speech territory.

3.4 It is also possible that the Sln. surname *Košak* was at least partially of the same origin as *Koščak* and that the surnames Pol. *Koszak* and Cr. *Košak* is of a different origin – the Cr. surname is more likely to have been a result of outmigration from Slovenia.

4 The toponym *Košáki* near Maribor, which denotes a place on the eastern edge of the areal of the change -šć- > -š-, most likely originates from the anthroponym in question. The toponym is first mentioned with certainty in 1245 as *Koaschav*, *Koschav*, then in 1288 as *Choschah*, in 1399 as *Kotschah*; the corresponding German demonym is attested in the beginning of the 14th c. as *Koschacher* and *Kotschacher*⁴¹. From the attestations it is not possible to conclude unequivocally

37 Badjura (1953: 267).

38 Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika V (1898–1903: 381).

39 Ètimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskix jazykov XI (1984: 195).

40 Bahlow (1967: 293).

41 Blaznik (1986-88 I: 365).

whether the word was pronounced with -š- or -šč-, as spoken -šč- in medieval writing is frequently written in the same way as spoken -š-, cf. 1478 *zu Grädyschen* for *Gradišče* near Ormož⁴², which lies in the territory where -šč- is preserved to the present day, and 1428 *Gelschobitz*, i.e., *Jelševce* for the modern settlement *Ješovec*⁴³ from *jelša* 'alder tree'. In addition to this place, *Košak* denotes three other settlements: in Remšnik, between Vojnik and Frankolovo, and near Šentjernej. A settlement near Ambrus is called *Koščak* and one in the Bloke area is *Koščake*. These names are not attested in medieval sources. *Anthroponyma volant, toponyma manent*. While *Košaki* near Maribor is a diffuse settlement, all the other names attested, except for the one near Šentjernej, designate small villages or settlements at the ends of valleys, which suggest the possibility described in paragraph 2.3.1. Even with regard to *Košaki* near Maribor it is possible to assume that it spread out from one of the valleys there, perhaps from *Košaški dol*.

5.0 It follows from the discussion above that nothing conclusive can be said about the origin of the surname *Košak*. The possibilities for etymological explanation adduced above may be ranked as follows.

5.1 Most likely it arose from the appellative *koščak* or from the surname/nickname *Koščak* < **kost'akъ* 'a thin, bony person'. The typological acceptability of this form lends support to this explanation, especially the existence of the surnames Cr. *Koščak* and Pol. *Kościak*, which apparently come from the same nickname.

5.2 Almost equal in likelihood to the first possibility is the derivation from **Košakъ*, which could be, just as the surname Sln. *Košnik*, Pol. *Kosznik* (> Germ. *Koschnik*, *Koschnick*), a formation from a geographical term **košъ* in a meaning that cannot be determined with any certainty, as preserved in the Sln. oronym *Koš*, in the Serb. tpn. *Koš* and in the OCS tpn. *Košъ*. In this case the surname was originally a house name.

5.3 A third possibility is to derive only the Slovene surnames *Košak* and *Koščak* from **Kotščak* with the appellative meaning 'corner dweller', i.e., at the end of a valley. In this case the surname would have initially been a house name. Support for this possibility is found in the existence of a surname, originally a house name *Kotnik*, which could hold the same relationship to *Košak* < *Koščak* as, e.g., the surname *Dvornik* to *Dvorščak*. If this explanation is correct, the root vowel in the surname *Košak* < *Koščak* comes from etymological *o*, which in this position in the

42 Blaznik (1986-88 I: 246).

43 Blaznik (1986-88 I: 314).

vast majority of Slovene dialects has merged with etymological *o*. This view is justifiable in terms of typology and word-formation and it is further supported by the characteristics of most of the places with the requisite toponyms. However, this view has a weakness in that in other Slavic languages there is no house name or surname that would have come from the same reconstruction.

5.4 The fourth possibility is the supposition that the surnames *Košak* and *Koščak* came about from the onymization of the appellative *koščák* 'wild nut', which has the same etymon as in the reconstructed appellative **kost'akъ* in paragraph 5.1. This possibility is the least typologically justified and is therefore the least likely.

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Hattice metinlerde dört önemli kent ve bunların rahipleri*

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Anadolu'nun tanınan en eski dili Hattice'nin henüz az bilinmesi ve Hattice yazılmış belgelerin de çoğu kez iyi korunmamış ve küçük boyutlarda günümüze ulaşmış olması nedeni ile şimdiye kadar bu tür metinlere araştırmacılar tarafından pek ilgi gösterilmediği bilinen bir gerçektir. Son yıllarda bu dilin çözülmesinde kaydedilen gelişmeler, bilimsel ilginin ufak fragmenler üzerinde de yoğunlaşmasını sağlamıştır ve bu sayede Hatti – Hitit dinsel hayatı ile ilgili bazı ilginç ayrıntılar da ortaya çıkmaktadır. İşte, Boğazköy'den kaynaklanan böyle küçük birkaç Hattice tablet parçası, dilsel içeriklerinden daha çok, ardarda saydıkları dört şehir adı ile dikkat çekmektedir. Bu kentler sırası ile Arinna, Hattuša, Zippalanta ve Nerik'tir. Çalışmamın konusu dahilinde anmak istediğim ilk metin, birer satırdan oluşan paragraflarında söz konusu şehir isimleri ve hemen bunları izleyen Hattice *šaḫmulup* kelimesinin tekrarlarından oluşan KUB 28.73'dür (CTH 745; Yeni Hitit yazısı):

KUB 28.73		
§ 2'	x+1](-) $\lceil x-x-x \rceil$ <i>ša-aḫ-[mu-lu-up ...?]</i>
§ 3'	2']- $\lceil x \rceil$ ¹ URU <i>A-ri-in-na ṣ[a-aḫ-mu-lu-up ...?]</i>
§ 4'	3']- $\lceil x \rceil$ ^{URU} <i>Ha-at- $\lceil tu \rceil$ -uṣ ṣa-aḫ- $\lceil mu \rceil$ -[lu-up ...?]</i>
§ 5'	4'	^{URU} <i>Z[i-ip-pa-la-an-ta ṣa-aḫ-mu-lu-[up ...?]</i>

* Bu makalenin manuskripti Ekim 2005'te tamamlandı. Hattice kelimeler ile ilgili bibliyografik göndermeler, lüzumsuz tekrarlardan kaçınmak için genellikle O. Soysal, Hattischer Wortschatz in hethitischer Textüberlieferung. HbOr, Abt. 1, Bd. 74, 2004(; kısaltması HWHT)'ye yapılmıştır. Kısaltmalar ise HW², 1975, vdd.) ile CHD (1980 vdd.)'de verilenlere uymaktadır.

¹ H.-S. Schuster Arinna şehri ile ilgili bu satır yerini HHB II, 2002, 286 dipnot 526'da [^d]UTU ^{URU} *Arinna* olarak okumak istese de, korunan ilk işaretin "ur" olduğu konusunda kesin bir yargı yapılamaz. Diğer taraftan hatırlanmalıdır ki, Hititçe metinlerdeki genitif kullanımına özgün olan ^d ... ^{URU} ... şeklindeki bir ifade tarzına şimdiye kadar tek dilli Hattice metinlerde rastlanmaktadır.