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hat- 'to dry' ~ Lat. adare

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AN INDO-EUROPEAN AGRICULTURAL TERM:
LATIN *ADOR*, HITTITE *UAT*-

CALVERT WATKINS

THE Latin neuter *ador*, *adōris* "a coarse grain, emmer wheat" (Oxford Latin Dictionary), "spelt," is first attested in Horace, Sat. 2.6.89 *esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens*. But the derivative *adoreus*, substantivized *adoreum*, is found already in Cato, Ag. 34.2 *in creta . . . et ager qui aquosus erit, semen adoreum potissimum serito*.¹ As J. André states (*Lexique des termes de botanique en latin*), *ador* is the "nom ancien du far." Compare Pliny, Nat. 18.81 *far, quod ueteres adoreum appellauere*. The word is thus clearly archaic, and was recognized as such by the Romans themselves; Cato is using an ancient agricultural term.

Since we know that *far* has cognates in the Italic dialects, Slavic, and Germanic (English *bar-ley*), we should expect the still older *ador* which it replaced to have cognates as well. And the uniqueness of Latin *ador* in stem-formation and gender marks it as a word with a right to an Indo-European etymology.

Yet the only cognate hitherto proposed has been a wholly isolated word in Germanic occurring twice (in identical passages) in the Gothic Bible, and in High German. At Luke 6.1 and Mark 2.23 the Greek *διὰ τῶν σπορίμων* "through the cornfields" is rendered by Gothic *pairh atisk*. Old High German shows *ezzesc*, pl. *ezzisca* "Saat, Saatfeld; Flur," Middle High German *ezzisch*, and a reflex is sporadically preserved in modern dialects: Swiss *Aesch* "Feldflur eines Dorfes." Though occasionally questioned, due to the isolation of the Latin and Germanic forms, this etymology need not be doubted, so far as it goes; the proposed connection of *ador* with Greek *ἀθήρ* "awn, spike of grain" is certainly to be rejected, with Chantraine and Frisk. For Tocharian A *āti*, B *atīyai* (obl.) "grass," which probably belongs with *ador* and *atisk*, see note 4 below.

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¹ Note the archaic relative clause, which is not a mere lapsus.

Germanic specifies the consonant of the root as Indo-European *-d- (Latin -d- can reflect either *d or *dh). Pokorny, *Indogerm. etym. Wb.*, 3 sets up *ades- for the Indo-European base, and derives Gothic *atisk* from *ades-ko-. But the Germanic form looks rather more like an adjectival derivative, as in the σπόριμα (σπόρ-ιμος) which it translates, which would better account for the transferred semantic specialization "cornfield, field of grain." As such Gothic *atisk* is better analyzed as *at-isk*, with the productive adjectival suffix -isk, as it was already taken by Jakob Grimm in 1822 (*Deutsche Grammatik* 1.598).

If Latin *ador* was in fact an original s-stem, it is surprising that in a word of such evident antiquity and ritual association there is no trace of the old -s(-) preserved, as in *arbōs*. It is furthermore abnormal for the -s of the nominative singular to be replaced by -r in a neuter noun; contrast *decus*, *genus*. I therefore prefer to take the -r of *ador* at face value, as an old r-stem *ad-r. The hesitation in the quantity of the vowel in the oblique cases may indicate that the stem *adōr-* is secondary, and replaces an older heteroclitic r/n-stem *ad-r / *ad-en-. Compare the word for "water," Hittite *wātar* / *weten-*, and especially the ancient Old Irish word for "grain" *arbor*, genitive *arbae* < *arṡ-r / arṡ-en-s, in the same semantic area.

More recently, O. Szemerényi (*Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani* 2.968-9 [1969]) has sought to connect *ador* with the Iranian stem *ādu-* "grain," whose meaning was securely established by R. Emmerick, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1966, 1-7, 1967, 204. But within Iranian the semantic parallels favor a development from "eat" to "grain," and therefore favor Emmerick's original derivation of the Iranian word from *ēdu- and the root of Latin *edō* and especially *edū-lis*, as he has now shown at *TPS* 1969, 201-2. Szemerényi's etymology must therefore be rejected, and we are still left with the isolated comparison of *ador* with Gothic *atisk*. Emmerick, *loc. cit.*, quite rightly focused attention on the crucial lack: the absence of "a suitable Indo-European verbal base *ad-."

The etymology requires a verbal base *ad-, in laryngeal notation *a₃od- (*h₃od-). Purely formally, such a verbal base does exist in one Indo-European language, and the most ancient: Hittite *hat-* "dry out (intrans.)." The spelling with single -t- indicates an Indo-European voiced stop. The Hittite verb has hitherto been linked only with Greek ἄζομαι (*ad-yo-), by Benveniste, *BSL* 50, 1954, 39.

The following forms of the Hittite verb, belonging to the *hi*-conjugation, are attested:

- 3 sg. pres. *hāti*: KUB VIII 3 I 12 (moon-omen, Laroche, CTH 533,2) *k]a-aš-za ki-ša na-ap ha-a-ti* "famine will occur and it will dry up." *na₄kišis za₄ha-ti* (in *š₂ku₂ti*).
- 3 sg. pret. *hazta*, pl. *hāter*: KUB XVII 10 I 14f (Telepinu-myth) *hal-ki-iš ZÍZ-tar Ū-UL ma-a-i* "grain [and] spelt do not grow," (16) *HUR.SAG^{AŠ.AŠ.HI.A} ha-a-te-er GIŠ^{HI.A}-ru ha-a-az-ta* . . . (17) *ú-e-ša-e-eš ha-a-te-er TÚL^{HI.A} ha-a-az-ta* "the mountains dried up, the trees dried up, . . . The meadows dried up, the springs dried up." The spelling *haz(z)ašta* of the 3 sg. pret. occurs in the mythological fragment KUB XII 62 I 8' (CTH 338) *ša-ra-a-ma GIŠ-ru ha-za-aš-ta* "the tree dried up," and in the horse-training tablet XXIX 40 IV 20 *na-at ha-a-az-za-aš-ta* "and it dried up" (A. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia Hethitica* 187 [1961]). The 3 sg. pret. is probably to be analyzed as *hat-šta*, with the ending of *memi-šta*.
- 3 sg. impv. *hādu* KUB XVII 28 II 43 (a curse, CTH 458.2) *a-pi-el-la e-eš-ša-ri* (44), *É-ZU QA-TAM-MA ha-a-du* "may his form [and] his household likewise dry up," (46) *nu-uš-ši hal-ki-iš* (47) *li-e ma-a-i* "and may grain not grow for him."
- participle *hātant-* "dried": nom. sg. masc. *ha-ta-an-za* KUB XVII 28 II 43, nom. sg. neut. *ha-a-ta-an* KBo XVI 78 I 8' (v. infra) et passim.

Beside this *hi*-verb we have an inchoative stative in -eš-, 3 sg. *hatešzi*: Bo 4859 IV 13 *na-at ha-te-eš-zi a-pt-e-da-ni-ma* UD.KAM-ti "(of a fruit:) it will dry out in the same day (as it is picked)," cited by C. G. von Brandenstein, Or. NS 8, 76. The Greek verb is likewise first used of the drying out of a felled tree (ἀζομένη 4487).

In the form and meaning the Hittite verb belongs to a very archaic class in Indo-European: that of "adjective-verbs," where the basic adjectival value is expressed verbally. On the type see Watkins, "The Indo-European denominative statives in -ē-," *TPS* 1971, and J. Jasanoff, "The Germanic third class of weak verbs," *Language* 1972. The coexistence of stative suffix -ē-, -ē-s- and originally middle intrans-

sitive 3 sg. *-e/o* (on which see my *Indogerm. Gram.* III/1, ch. 8) which we find in the Hittite adjective-verb "DRY" is precisely what we find in the adjective-verbs "COLD" and "LIGHT, BRIGHT":

Hitt. <i>ḫati</i>	Gk. <i>ἄππυρε</i> <i>ἔππυρε</i>	Hitt. <i>luk(kat)ta</i> Skt. <i>rocate</i> Toch. <i>lyuketär</i> (*-o-tor) ²
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Hitt. <i>ḫateš-</i>	Lat. <i>frigē-</i> Gk. <i>ρύγγω-</i> (aor. and fut.)	Lat. <i>lūcē-</i> Hitt. <i>lukkeš-</i>
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In Indo-European shape

* <i>ḥod-e/o</i>	* <i>srīg-e/o</i>	* <i>leuk-e/o</i>
* <i>ḥod-ē-</i>	* <i>srīg-ē-</i>	* <i>leuk-ē-</i>
* <i>ḥou-ē-s-</i>	* <i>srīg-ē-s-</i>	* <i>leuk-ē-s-</i>

In Latin *ador* and Hittite *ḫat-* we have an exact formal match: a necessary, but scarcely sufficient, condition for an etymology. How can we link the Hittite verb for "dry out" with the Latin word for "spelt"? If we can, then we will have given Lat. *ador* the etymology which it lacked before. To do so, we must look more deeply into the texts in both languages.

Beside the general sense of "dry up," e.g. of vegetation during a drought, Hittite *ḫat-* can refer to drying in the processing and preserving of cereals. The semantics are precisely those of American English *parch* in *parched corn*, the principal diet of the Confederate Army. The usage is ancient in Hittite. In KBo XVI 78, an Old Hittite text (cf. A. Kammenhuber, Or. NS 39.560 [1970]) listing "offrandes de villes pour des cultes locaux" (Laroche, CTH 662) we find several itemizations of rations of ZÍD.DA ZÍZ "spelt meal" (Vs. I 2' XXX PA ZÍD.DA ZÍZ "30 measures of spelt meal." The text continues with the fuller description

I 7' ZÍD.DA-aš *pa-at-ti-ya-ta-aš-še-et da-a-an-z[i]*
8' ZÍD.DA-aš *ḫa-a-ta-an ma-al-la-an* [

They take a — (measure or container) of meal . . . of meal? dried (and) milled

² The explanation of the Tocharian *e*-class is due to J. Jasanoff, and supersedes that in my *Celtic Verb* 71 (1962).

Though the restoration of ZÍD.DA-aš is uncertain, the context and the juxtaposition of *ḫatan* "dried" with *mallan* "ground, milled" (: Lat. *molere*), both nom. sg. neut. of the participles *ḫātant-*, *mallant-*, shows that we have a technical term in the processing of grain, and grain which is destined specifically for cultic use.

The same can be inferred from the use of the Sumerogram ZÍD.DA ḪÁD.DU.A (UD.DU.A) "dried meal" in a Hittite text: KUB XII 4 I 7', IV 5, a fragmentary text dealing again with cultic administration (Laroche, CTH 530). IV 4 *nu-za kiš-an ḫa-an-da-a-iz-zi* (5) I PA ZÍD.DA A II PA ZÍD.DA ḪÁD.DU.A "And he arranges as follows: . . . 1 measure of wet meal, 2 measures of dry meal." It has already been assumed by A. Kammerhuber, *Hippologia hethitica* 328 (1961), that the Sumerogram ḪÁD.DU.A stands for the Hittite participle *ḫātant-*, on the basis of the equation *uzuhri* ḪÁD.DU.A = *welku* *ḫātant-* "dried grass, hay."³ We may assume the same in ZÍD.DA ḪÁD.DU.A "dried meal."⁴

An additional example may be cited from Hittite:

IBoT II 93 Vs. 12'

]III PA ZÍD.DA ZÍZ *ḫa-a-ta-an-da-aš*

The text is edited by Volkert Hass, *Der Kult von Nerik* 124-5 [Studia Pohl 4], Rome, 1970, who incorrectly translates "drei parisu-Masse des ḫ.-Spelts," rather than "three parisu-measures of flour of dried spelt." The full writing of ZÍD.DA ZÍZ *ḫātantaš* confirms the interpretation of the Old Hittite passage cited above. From Vs. 10' of IBoT II 93 ZÍD.DA ŠA *še-ep-pi-it-ta-aš* "flour of barley, (?)," compared with KBo XVII 36 IV 5' *me-ma]-al še-ep-pi-da-aš* (as restored by my student Mary-Anita Browne), we may substantiate the construction with the defining genitive ("flour of barley", "flour of dried spelt"), as well as hazard the guess that ZÍD.DA = *memal*.

The texts of Hittite thus point to a particular specialization of *ḫat-* as a technical term referring to "dried, parched meal," specifically "spelt,"⁵

³ The sign ḪÁD is normally read UD, *ut* in Hittite. If indeed it is to be read ḪÁD here, we may assume the Hittite scribe is making a folk-etymology with his native *ḫad-*. The phrase ZÍD.DA ḪÁD.DU.A is found only in Boghazköy (Deimel, *Šum. Lex.* 536,209).

⁴ The phrase *welku* *ḫātant-* "dried grass" will explain Tocharian A *āti*, B obl. *atiyai* "grass" just as "dried spelt meal" explains Latin *ador* "spelt." For the phonology cf. AB *āk-* "lead"; Lat. *agō*.

⁵ The Hittite reading of the Sumerogram ZÍZ "spelt" is unknown. It is an *r/n*-stem: with phonetic complement, nom. sg. ZÍZ-*tar* KUB XVII 10 I 14, KBo XV 10 II 58, gen. sg. ZÍZ-*na-aš* KUB XXXV 116, 10, dat./loc. sg. ZÍZ-*ni* KBo XV 33 I 15 (I owe the latter two references to H. Berman, *The*

co-occurring with the participle "ground (meal)," and destined for cultic use. It is not an ordinary foodstuff; the context is religious.

We have already noted that Latin *ador* is the ancient word for *far*: *far, quod ueteres adorem appellauere* (Plin. Nat. 18, 81). Compare also Servius [auct.] Aen. 5.745 (*far*): *frumenti certa species sicut adorem*. But the crucial definition of *ador* is that given us by Festus (P.F. 3, 19) to explain his second etymology: *ador farris genus, edor quondam appellatum ab edendo, uel quod aduratur, ut fiat tostum, unde in sacrificio mola salsa efficitur*. Festus' first etymology, and unfortunately the only one cited by the etymological dictionaries, *edor ab edendo*, is only a "calembour" (Ernout-Meillet). It is his second etymology, *ador quod adur-atur*, which proceeds to give a definition identical in every particular with the Hittite semantic and cultural picture: *ador* is parched (*tostum*) and ground (*unde mola efficitur*) for a specific cultic purpose (*in sacrificio*).

The equivalence of *ador* and *far tostum* is clear in Festus. Compare further F. 124, 13 *mola etiam uocatur far tostum et sale sparsum, quod eo molito hostiae aspergantur*, and P.F. 97, 22 *immolare est mola, id est farre molito et sale, hostiam perspersam sacrare*. In the parallel *far tostum et sale sparsum* and *farre molito et sale* we may see the same co-occurrence as in Hittite *ḫātan mallan* "parched [and] ground."

The sacral character of *ador* and *far* is likewise evident from the passages quoted, and numerous others. Nonius 59.5 (82.5 Lindsay) cites an etymology of *nefarū* from Varro, *Vita Populi Romani*: "*a farre; quod adorem est, id quo scelerati uti non debeant, non triticum sed far*." Note especially Nonius' definition: 52, 14 (74, 14 L.) *ador frumenti genus quod epulis et immolationibus sacris pium putatur*. *Ador* is *pium*, as is *far*. Vergil, Aen. 5.745 *farre pio et supplex ueneratur acerra*. It is not a mere "Vergilian" *pious* but a genuine epithet of Latin religious language. Horace, Carm. 3.23.19–20 *molliuit auersos Penatis / farre pio et saliente mica* is describing the solemn aspersion of the *focus* with *mola salsa*. Compare also Arnobius 7.26 *ut pium far monstrat, quo peragi mos fuit sacrificiorum solemnium munia*. Vergil's unique use of *ador(eus)* is similarly in a religious, cultic context: Aen. 7.109–10 *instituuntque dapes et adorea liba per herbam / subiciunt epulis (sic Iuppiter ipse monebat)*.

stem formation of Hittite nouns and adjectives (unpub. diss., University of Chicago, 1972). It is of course tempting to speculate that the Hittite form might be *ḫatar, like *ador*, but no evidence for this exists.

We thus have in Latin *ador* the ancient name of a kind of grain which is parched, and ground, to serve a cultic purpose in the sacrificial ritual. The set of cultural features, as elements of a structure, is identical with that of Hittite. The root of the word for "ground, milled" is common to both Latin (*moli-tus*) and Hittite (*mall-ant-*). I suggest that in the Hittite verb for "dry," *ḫat-*, we must see the root of Latin *ad-or*.

The semantic shift is identical with that in English *meal* (which in Southern American means specifically *cornmeal*, the unmarked meal), which with its Germanic congeners is a derivative of the verb "to grind, mill," Indo-Eur. **melə-*.

Latin *immolare* "sacrifice" from *mola (salsa)* "meal (with which the victim, the altar, and the knife were sprinkled)" illustrates the sort of semantic shift and etymology that can be recovered only by paying attention to the whole cultural context which gave rise to the term. The etymology of Latin *ador* can be discovered only by these same means.

The implications of this etymology for the prehistoric agriculture of the Indo-Europeans, as well as for the history of Indo-European religion, remain a problem for the future.