

The derivational history of Greek ἵππος and ἵππεύς

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The recent insight that the Proto-Anatolian word for ‘horse’ was $*^2ek-u-$ suggests that the non-Anatolian word $*h_1ekuo-$ ‘horse’ resulted from thematization. Its source may have been the genitive singular $*h_1kuós$ of the Early PIE u -stem for ‘horse’. In Greek, the vowel i in ἵππος may reflect a prop vowel which regularly arose in the cluster $*h_1ku-$, showing the generalization of $*h_1kuó-$ in a prestige of Greek. The suffix of ἵππεύς ‘horseman’ may have arisen from hypostasis of the locative singular $*h_1kéu$ ‘on the horse, on horseback’, yielding $*h_1kéus$ ‘horse-rider’; thence, the suffix spread to other occupational denominations.

1. In his recent etymological dictionary of Hittite, Alwin Kloekhorst (2008: 237-239) convincingly shows that the Anatolian words for ‘horse’ go back to a Proto-Anatolian u -stem $*^2ek-u-$ ‘horse’ from PIE $*h_1ék-u-$. Compare the attestations: Hittite $*ekku-$ (c.): ANŠE.KUR.RA- $uš$ [nom.sg.], ANŠE.KUR.RA^{HLA}- un [acc.sg.], ANŠE.KUR.RA- $aš$ [gen.sg.], ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES}- $uš$ [acc.pl.]; Cuneiform Luwian $*āššu-$ or $*azzu-$ (c.) (ANŠE.KUR.RA- $uš$ [nom.sg.]), Hieroglyphic Luwian $ásu-$ (c.) ‘horse’; Lycian $esb-$ ‘horse’ ($esbedi$ [abl.-ins.], $esbehi$ [gen.adj. nom.sg.c.]). The Lycian word is mostly cited as $esbe-$ (e.g. by Melchert 2004: 17), but, as Kloekhorst argues, “this is not necessarily correct as the $-e-$ visible in abl.-instr. $esbedi$ and gen.adj. $esbehe/i-$ in both cases is inherent to the ending ($-edi \sim$ CLuw. $-āti$, $-ehe/i-$ \sim CLuw. $-ašša/i-$.)” Kloekhorst infers that the thematic stem $*h_1ekuo-$ ‘horse’ found in the other Indo-European languages must be the result of a thematization which was not shared by Anatolian. This, then, is one of the common innovations of the Indo-European dialects that remained a linguistic unity for some time after Proto-Anatolian split off, and one of the indications for the correctness of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis (Kloekhorst 2008: 7–11, Cowgill 1974,