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The "proterokinetic" inflection of the Hittite *i*-stem adjectives – analogical or inherited?

The Hittite *i*-stem adjectives are known to show an ablauting stem, with zero grade in the suffix in the nominative, accusative, instrumental and allative (+ exceptionally in dative/locative) sg. The *i*-stems share common features of inflection and ablaut patterns with the *u*-stems. The possible causes of the inflectional pattern of the *i*-stem adjectives are an analogy to the *u*-stems and influence by the *i*-stem nouns (or influence of the *-iya-* stems on *-ui*-stems, such as *dankui-* "dark", *parkui-* "pure", *warhui-* "rough"). The question discussed here is the extent of the analogy with the *u*-stems as opposed to inherited ablaut.

The group of potentially PIE origin *i*-stem proterokinetic adjectives comprises *ḫarki-* 'white, bright', **ḫarši-* 'head-shaped', *ḫuelpi-* 'fresh, young, new', *karši-* 'bare, mere; frank; harsh, astringent (of medicament); sour(?)', *mēkki-*, *mēkk-* (or *mēkka-*?) 'much, many', *palḫi-* 'wide, broad', *parkui-* 'clean, pure, free of something', *šalli-* 'great; adult, large, important, vast', *šuppi-* 'pure (ritually), sacred, holy; taboo', *daluki-* 'long', *dankui-* 'dark, black', *warḫui-* 'rough, shaggy; unshaven; covered with trees'. (Plus, the less attested *kāki-* 'thin' (or sim.), *kappi-* 'small', *kaši-* (a color), **lazzi-* 'good, fine', [*manni-* 'related to pregnancy'], **marri-* 'whole; mere (?)', **marši-* (modifies ritual), *teri-* 'three', *walli-* 'shorn, smooth (?)').

For different reasons, the following are excluded from the discussion: *ḫuelpi-*, *kāki-*, **šuppi-*, **lazzi-*, *walli-*, **ḫarši-*, *manni-*, *marri-*, **marši-*, *mēkki-* (< PIE **meǵh₂-* and certainly not an original *i*-stem), *warḫui-*, *daluki-*. *karši-* is likely deverbal from **kers-* 'to cut' and the two property adjectives, *kappi-* 'small' (< PIE **km̥b^{(h)}-i-* 'small') and *kaši-*, which likely belong to the Caland group.

teri- is the only adjective generally accepted as an PIE *i*-stem < **trei-* / **tri-*. Remaining candidates for original *o*-stem adjectives are *ḫarki-* (< **h₂(e)rǵ-*) with its adjective cognates, *palḫi-* < **pleh₂-* 'flat', *parkui-* likely < PIE **pr̥kw-yé-* to **perk^w-*, *šalli-* < **swólh₂o-* with the *i*-stem found only in Hittite, and *dankui-*, likely < PIE adjective base **d^hng^w-*.

Three explanations have been given for this type of *i*-stem adjectives: (1) Abstraction from abstracts as first compound members (deadjectival *i*-stem abstracts, e.g., Nussbaum, (2) the appositional theory of compound second members, Grestenberger 2016, (3) proposal that *i*-stem abstracts replaced *o*-stem abstracts, e.g., **swólh₂-o-m* 'the big (one)' >**swolh₂-i-/swolh₂-oy-* 'big' (adj.), Rieken 2005. The common axiom is that the only "true" *i*-stems in PIE were abstracts or result nouns. Nussbaum 2014a suggests an alternative derivational path where he cites Hitt. *ḫarki-*: adj. **h₂(e)rǵó-/*h₂r̥ǵó-* 'bright, shining' > subst. **h₂(o/e)rǵi-* (Hitt. *ḫarki-*) 'bright, shining one' and > abstract subst. **h₂(o/e)rǵi-* 'brightness'. Though I suggest that the endocentric adjectives may have remained adjectives marked for definiteness (Höfler 2021), one must still account for their ablauting suffix. Per Nussbaum's derivation the accent-ablaut pattern would be that of "modified acrostatic" inflection, with **o ~ *Ø* root ablaut.

The suffix ablaut must then be explained by analogy to the robust ablaut pattern of the Hittite *u*-stem adjectives (certainly, the cause for ablaut in originally *a*-stem adjectives restored as *i*-stems (e.g., *šallaš >> šallayaš*) and hardly by the Luvic *u*-stem adjectives (though the *i*-mutation could be a promising source of the ablaut (Starke 1990, Melchert 2022), which were already a recessive category (attested in CLv are *aru-*, *kwanzu-*, *mannu-*, *šuwaru-* , *wāšu-*; only in compounds are found *addu-*, *huitu-*, *daššu-*, *wašku*-and with uncertainty *marru-*, and the genuineness of *annaru-*, *iyau-*, *maliddu-*, *maddu-* , *danku-* (rather *dakkuwa/i-*) listed by Starke 1990 cannot be confirmed).

To conclude, while the influence of the *u*-stem adjectives is obvious in Hittite, I prefer not to exclude *a priori* the existence of *i*-stem adjectives inherited from PIE, for there is no reason not

to believe such a development for some of the adjectives in the set mentioned here together with *teri-*. What this implies is that Hittite may be closer to the PIE state of affairs in showing direct reflexes of ablauting *i*-stem adjectives, whether they are truly primary or secondary via Nussbaum's account.

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