

## PIE *\*deh<sub>3</sub>*- 'give' and Hitt. *da*- 'take'

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This paper contributes to the discussion about the relationship between the PIE root *\*deh<sub>3</sub>*- represented by Skt. *dādāti*, Gr. *δίδωμι*, Lat. *dō*, *dare* etc. which all mean 'give', and Hitt. *da*- which —along with its Anatolian cognates—allegedly generalized the opposite meaning of 'give', that is 'take'. The unexpected semantic relationship has provoked curiosity ever since scholars began to assume that PIE *\*deh<sub>3</sub>*- and Hitt. *da*- were etymologically related. Dealing with this matter, most of them have dwelt on the motivation for the change of meaning from 'give' to 'take' (most recently Frotscher 2015; for a bibliography of previous studies on the topic, see Tischler 1991: 7-11). Some have claimed that both meanings, 'give' and 'take' could already be assigned to PIE *\*deh<sub>3</sub>*- (see Tischler, *l. cit.*, and Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995: 656), but the widely accepted view that Hitt. *da*- can only mean 'take' has remained unquestioned.

Based on evidence collected from Starke 1977: 112 f., Ciantelli 1978, 1979, and Tjerkstra 1999 this paper shows that (1) *da*- can be used as a synonym of *pai*- 'give', (2) the dative in some constructions with a trivalent *da*- can indicate the recipient of the transferred object, (3) the direction of movement of the object with respect to the subject can be undetermined in some constructions with *da*-, and (4) *da*- appears as part of a larger construction in which an additional verb indicates a consequent interaction between the subject and the object. Observations No (1) and (2) ) prove that Hitt. *da*- not only means 'take' but also 'give'. Given that directionality and the transfer of an object from the giver to the recipient or vice versa are inherent in the literal understanding of the notions of giving and taking (Newman 1996), observations No (3) and (4) lead to the conclusion that the meaning of *da*- can extend beyond its literal use to indicate what Ciantelli 1979: 176 calls "eine allgemeine Her-Bewegung". An additional proof for this is provided by the fact that *šara da*- (which according to Ciantelli 1978: 3 functions as a synonym of *da*- in its non-literal understanding) can be occasionally replaced by *pedi ninink*- 'move, remove, transfer' (cf. CHD, L-N, p. 441, and Puhvel, HED, N, p. 111).

These considerations do not provide an exhaustive description of the meaning of *da*- but suffice to establish that in the history of this Hittite verb, there was no "rampant change of meaning" (Kronnaser apud Lutzeier 2012: XXIII) and no "striking semantic development"

from 'give' to 'take' which needed elucidation (Mallory and Adams 1997: 224). *da-* was simply an *enantioseme*, a word with opposite meanings, of approximately the same kind as are the English verbs *rent* or *dust*: *rent* can mean either to pay or receive money for the use of something, and *dust* can involve adding or removing powder. Enantiosemes may provoke curiosity but they are not uncommon in natural languages.