Indo-European Perspectives

Studies in Honour of
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A Luwian Dedication

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We owe to Anna Morpurgo Davies an entire series of ground-breaking analyses of various aspects of Luwian grammar, encompassing phonology, morphology, and syntax. Admirers for these accomplishments are heightened among those of us who know just how difficult it has been merely to collect for (hieroglyphic) Luwian all the relevant data needed to draw valid generalizations, much less to offer convincing solutions to the many problems raised. Thanks to the magnificent recently published corpus of Iron Age inscriptions by David Hawkins (2000), we now have greatly enhanced opportunities to use the two forms of Luwian in complementary fashion to elucidate both. I hope that both our honorand and others will find the following a persuasive example of this technique.

Clu(e)iform Luwian attests two verbal stems upp- and upa-. One would expect the first to be cognate with Hittite upp- 'to bring', and the only two examples with enough context to determine a meaning are compatible with this assumption:

(1) anta-wa-at-ta willunatu à'lam wami uppanta2 in-quothem-part. of lifting woman (inex.) they brought
They brought them (larrəsini的对象s) in to the midway.

(2) larr̂r̂r̂sini'ninim uppanta2 ears (f.) in s. they brought
They brought in larr̂sini(ni) as the ears (f.)).

The examples uppanda at KUB 25. 39 iv 28, uppata at KBO 12. 356 iv 14, and the 4-stem form upp(ati) in KBO 39. 39, that may also belong here can contribute nothing towards determining the meaning of the stem.

KUB 35. 88 iv 22 All Clu(e)iform passages may be conveniently found in the excellent corpus of Stark (1996).

2 KUB 35. 107 iii ii.

The restorations are not assured, but the context is that of turning a pot into the image of a human face by putting various objects into or on it to stand for various parts such as eyes, nose, and forth.

However, the sense 'bring' seems confirmed by the following example of the derived stem uppama-:

3 KUMU(ULU) [ULU]2- mi SUM-ŠU jualatu bissušurar-la uppama-nda to the human his name calls life let them bring
To the human (one calls out his name) let them bring life!

As noted by Stark (1990: 520 n. 221), Melchert (1993: 242), and others, the stem upa- is at least synchronically distinct from upp-. The clear examples of upa-call for a sense 'grant, furnish' or the like:

4 (an) Hattlinda uppamsat anin annanamah hittuweisla-ša to Hattusa 5[bure time vigour vitality and
upa2 grant (inex.)
Grant to Hattusa during the future vigour and vitality!

5 uppata-pa-sa-du bariyam is-la b[i](a)n(s)a furnished cons.-quot-to be s. twice nine
She furnished to her eighteen bariryami.

As per Stark, only one instance of upa- seems to call for a meaning 'bring':

6 [M]UN-ša-pa áldati wūši (n)īnas₂ uppamna₂ salt-con. from steep rock face -ed
While salt (is) -ed from the steep rock face.

However, the parallelism with the preceding 'water (is) led from the river' still holds if one translates 'while salt is furnished from/ by the steep rock face'. That is-pa-am-ma-am is an error for upp- 'to bring' is very unlikely, given that the latter is always spelt (u)-up-pa-, with the other u-sign.

One must agree with Stark (1990: 520) that Clu(e)ian upa- with singular -pmatches Lycian  usleep- 'to dedicate' (also Carian wep 'dedicated' per Melchert, 1993b: 77 ff.). The basic sense 'to grant, give (permanently)' is also reflected in the derivative upas- 'land-grant, demesne' (borrowed into Hittite as an 1-stem ubsatt, as per Stark 1990: 195 ff.). It is clear that one does not 'bring' land, and we must abandon any attempt to derive upa- 'to grant,

KUB 35. 360 iii 18. The inserted instruction 'one calls out his name' is in Hittite.
KUB 35. 111 ii 30. The sense of the parallel upa in the preceding ii 38 must be the same.
KUB 35. 88 iii ii.
furnish, dedicate' from the same preform as *āppah- 'to bring.' Note that in accordance with their meanings the verb *āppah- may take the directional preverb anata’in(to), while *apa- naturally does not.

The fact that HLuvian orthography does not distinguish voicing or gemination in stops creates problems in sorting out the various forms of *u-pa- in that dialect. Indeed, Hawkins (2000: 366) suggests that all examples should be combined into a single verb, declaring that one cannot distinguish consistently 'to bring' from 'to dedicate' and raising the possibility that two originally distinct verbs may have fallen together. In fact, however, the situation is not so grave. The contexts and co-occurrence with preverbs (or lack thereof) do permit us to distinguish (*CAPERE)u-pa- 'to bring' (C-productions *āppah-) from (PES)u-pa- 'to furnish, dedicate' (C-productions *apa-). Unsurprisingly, one or two examples of HLuvian *apa- without determinative are difficult to assign to one or the other, but this fact does not affect the validity of the contrast.

The meaning 'to bring' for (CAPERE)apa- is assured by examples where it is accompanied by a directional preverb marking movement:

(7) (I devastated those countries.)

'a-waštā tā (SCALPRUM.CAPERE),u-pa-ni-tā a-tā i cons.-quod. naut. spoils in 'CAPERE)u-pa-hā'

I brought

and I brought in the spoils.

The phrase apaŋnati apa-ha is obviously a figura etymologica, the noun referring to 'spoils' or 'trophies' that are brought from the conquered countries (cf. Hawkins 2000:106). The same phrase recurs with a different directional preverb:

(8) (I destroyed the city Matalana.)

'a-waštā ha-1 (SCALPRUM.CAPERE),u-pa-ni-tā i cons.-quod. to him forth-and spoils (CAPERE)u-pa-hā'

I brought

and I brought forth the spoils to him.

The latter verb is a modification of the preverb *u-: plus the stem pi- (Melchert 1994: 429, 452), which is in turn an earlier variation of *pe (cf. Melchert 1990: 42).
ously, 'to bring' would also work for these two cases, but absolutely nothing requires such a meaning ('shall bring' for the second, as per Hawkins 2000: 386, is quite unnecessary).

In the following passage the meaning seems to be rather 'to furnish':

(t1) (I placed them for his interest.) (PES)nap-ta-pa-wat-sa-ba1 '1-as-mi-si PURUS.FONS.MF
furnished-but-quot.-them Azami Suppilliuliana RDEX-er-%i SERVSUS-cd-2sd
ruler (cause) servant
but Azami, servant of the ruler Suppilliuliana, furnished them.

The speaker, Panamutawi, wife of Suppilliuliana, indicates that she placed the votive objects (a throne and table) on behalf of her husband, but they were furnished by his servant, Azami.

A final example shows again that the meaning of (PES)upa cannot be 'to bring', which necessarily implies movement:

(t1) *274-ja-pa-wat-sa2 Femina MANUS-asl-ha SERVSUS-as
demeste-cont-quot. women children -and slavery
"(PES)ja-pa-wat-a2,16 surrendered.

The land-holdings, the women (and) children they surrendered into slavery.

The first object, which as per Hawkins (2000: 456) must be standing for upattis, a word referring to a land-grant or 'demesne', excludes 'brought' in the sense of physically moving something. This sentence, then, can hardly refer to removal of said objects by forces of Wasusarma. It must describe rather their surrender into slavery by the people of Panamutawi in the face of the attack by Wasusarma's troops and chariots. 10 All instances of (PES)upa are compatible with a core meaning of 'voluntarily to transfer permanent possession of', hence 'to dedicate, present, grant, furnish'. We may thus

12 BUTREIPNARI 5, 9a.
15 In TOPADA, 555, the same action is referred to again in virtually the same words, but
TOPADA, 555, the verb in ARHA as pa-sa-ta. The meaning is precisely the same. NB: the present verb here does not mark direction of physical movement, but merely underscores the permanent alienation of the objects (cf. German iss-gaben).
16 The instance as a pa-hiin in TOPADA, 55, without determinative remains unclear: Hawkins (2000: 495) finds it significant that the next sentence contains the verb iowa 'to place' recalling the pairing of iowa and (PES)upa in BUTREIPNARI above. But this supposed linkage is a mirage, because 55 in TOPADA contains no direct object. So neither of our Hittite usses and panmai can sometimes mean 'to drive' with suppression of the understood object 'I brought (my troops) with my royal horse (charioteer).'

confidently equate it with CLuwian upa, which shows a similar range of usage.

If we assume that Anatolian 'abk (V) 'to present' directly reflects a PIE root, we are forced to seek one with a shape *eulh-. Since no suitable etymology is available, we are led to hypothesize that our stem also contains the same preverb *asu- as seen in uppa-. We thus need a root of the form *h(V)C, where the second consonant is subject to loss in Anatolian (at least in Luwian and Lycian). Before we pursue this line of speculation further, however, we shall first see whether we can find any independent support within Anatolian for a base verb of the shape PV with the desired sense of 'to present, dedicate' or the like.

I believe that Hittite supplies just such a verb in the form of (PES)paa-2as, whose syntax and meaning have up to now largely been unattested in their verb.forms. Hawkins (2000: 582 et alii) tries to take (PES)paa-2as as an intransitive moving verb, but most examples clearly must be transitive, and all may be so interpreted. The clearest instance is KARKAMIS 412, §531-12:

(t2) *277-asu-wat-ta4 ("590)ja-as-ha 9-as-mi-si i (PES)paa-ha-i cont.-quot. to him-past. blood sacrifices I ed-ed ("277)wadur-pa-wat-ta ("SCUTU5)/harb-h-1i -hasi skill/bruit -and-quot.-to him shield (ARGUMENT.DARE)pi-pa-4a-ini-h-e... i (PES)paa-ha-i gift I ed-ed
I used to — to him [the deity] blood sacrifices. I also used to — to him (my) craft, (my) shield, and (gifts).

Contra Hawkins (2000: 114) and Starke (1990: 556-7), the noun asharmis cannot be animate nominative singular, but must be nom.-acc. plural neuter and thus the object of the verb. This is proven by the corresponding singular [ja-asi-ha-ra-hi] mi-sa-2a (asharmis-za) (KARKAMIS Aziz, frag. 3, 1): see in further detail Melchert (forthcoming). It should also be clear that the context, especially the last object (ARGUMENT.DARE)pia-4a-2a, points to a meaning not far from that of our verb (PES)paa:-i 'saw, allocated, assigned' 17.

A transitive verb with a similar sense is likewise demanded by the example of the base verb in ASSUR letter 6, §24:

17 For cognates confirming the existence of a noun paasur 'gift' see Schett (1990), but the Hittite word represents the presumed verbal abstract itself, not a derivative thereof, as assumed by Schett (1990: 27), wrongly following Hawkins in supposing that the verb is intransitive.
from a similar noun, thus a virtual *(k)uGA-, vs. a putative *(k)uci-, I cannot pursue this complex problem here. I assert only that my proposed derivation of HLuwian *pa(k)*a- and of pan-Luwian *apa- seems compatible with what we currently know of Luwian historical phonology.

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