Proceedings of the
Fourteenth Annual UCLA
Indo-European Conference

Los Angeles
November 8-9, 2002

Edited by:

Karlene Jones-Bley
Martin E. Huld
Angela Della Volpe
Miriamb Robbins Dexter

Journal of Indo-European Monograph Series, No. 47
Institute for the Study of Man
Washington, DC
2003

PIE "thorn" in Cuneiform Luvian?

Craig Melchert
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Context suggests that the Cuneiform Luvian hapax legomenon inzag-an is the nom.-acc.pl. of a neuter noun meaning 'infestation', attested also once in the nom.-acc.sg. inzag-an. This noun is hypothesized from a prepositional phrase *en dešiftum '(into the earth)'. CLevian -tri-gaš preserves in the univerbation a preform 'ašqāram reflecting PIE "thorn." The Luvian evidence for PIE "thorn" as an affixative *tun-da supports the suggestion of Melchert (1957) that both "thorn" and so-called 'aš-genesis' in PIE reflect a dissimilation rule applying in clusters of dental stop plus following dorsal or dental stop.

Cuneiform Luvian inzag-an occurs in KBo 29.6 Ro 25-26: inzag-an sa pa kuwaitin šapiyimman awišu = (w)arāq (=ta) walliš̱i-mat = mati matbaštāši (=EN-aš) 'As this i. (is) s _ed, (so) may be, the ritual client, come (away) from the delict/šin'. This paragraph is one of several acts of sympathetic magic designed to free the ritual client from evil and provide him with blessings. The particle -so (=aš after nasal) assures us that inzag-an is a neuter noun in the nom.-acc.sg. 1

The obviously related inzag-aš is found in the Ritual of Purianni, KUB 35.54 ii 32. Here I cite the larger context (KUB 35.54 ii 27-41):

[ ] KU.BABBAR GUŠKIN NU(MUN) HILA] 2 hūman /
[ ] babašaran 3=muislan 4=šṯaštuš / [ ] x 4=šṯaštuš katta

1For further discussion of the role of -aš in this passage see Melchert apud Aramburn (1992:14-15). The contrast of postposed -aš with orthographic aš (nom.sg.mnfn.) and especially aši (nom.-acc.pl.mnfn.) in the parallel paragraphs confirms the conclusion that the postposed particle aš’aš marks neuter singular, contra Starke (1990:46ff.).

2 Starke (1985:67) reads u [la]-, but this leaves the preceding nouns in a very awkward syntactic position. The parallel text KBo 29.2 ii 6 [ KU.BABBAR GUŠKIN NIMUN.
HILA duša(n.)...] suggests the reading given here, which seems compatible with the traces
Open Country of impurity" (KUB 7.14 i 1-3). 4 Lugo-Hittite rituals use a variety of techniques for disposing of evil, and the Ritual of Puriyanni is no exception (cf. KUB 35.54 iii 9-11) for use of a scapegoat animal. The preceding Hittite in our passage states that silver, gold, seeds, and various agricultural implements are offered "downward." The following Luvian also makes clear the purpose: all of this has been handed over given to the Storm-god of the Open Country, who is to assure that the evil does not return to the client's house. The presence of seeds, agricultural tools, and the expression "offers downward" strongly suggest that objects symbolizing the evil along with offerings and associated paraphernalia are all being buried. For disposing of evils by burial one may compare a number of passages from Lugo-Hittite ritual and myth. 5

In the sentence zdwi ziwar NUMUN.BJ.A-A-na pănda za inazgan walaša the meaning of every word except inazgan is reasonably secure: zdwi "here/voice"; ziwar "lies" (or "is placed in a lying position."). 6

Since inazgan(=za) must be neuter nom.-acc.sg., there is little alternative but to accept inazgan as the expected matching neuter nom.-acc.pl. of the same inflexional type as CLuv. hûtar/hûdar "wild beasts," Hitt. utar/udar "word," and so forth. 7 Although it is hard to determine whether we have appositional or coordinated nouns (see further below), this analysis of inazgan is confirmed by the fact that the surrounding NUMUN.BJ.A-na, pandza and walaša are all unambiguously neuter nom.-acc.pl. However, the very phonotactics of the word make it extremely unlikely that inazgan is a true primary neuter noun of the type cited: aputative paradigm *enKep/*enKos is hardly analyzable in PIE terms. A solution to this formal problem must await a determination of the meaning of the word. The context of inazgan does point the way. The purpose of the Ritual of Puriyanni is to free a ritual client of impurity with the help of the Storm-god of the Open Country: "Thus speaks Puriyanni: if a man has some impurity in his house, I sacrifice to the Storm-god of the

4 For the text see Starke (1985:60). Contra Hawkins, Morporgus Davies, and Neumann (1974:32), CLuv. parata- clearly means "impurity" (not "word") and is related to the root of Hitt. patar- "deme". In the present context the Storm-god parata-/*paran- is as close to the root of impurity, it is an alternative which is hard to distinguish.

5 See among others KUB 17.1 iii 9-13 (Old Hittite Ritual for the Royal Coupel): "I bury the troops of clay and the vessels in the earth. I fasten them and say as follows: Sun-god (and Storm-god) I have just buried the illness, blood-curse, evil, and flight of the king, queen and (their) children in Hattusa, and it shall not come back up again." For the text see Otten-Soubir (1969:30). See further in the Myth of Teleipus (KUB 17.10 iv 15-17): "Downs in the Dark Earth stand brown grass. Their food are dead. Their latches are of iron. That which goes into them doesn't come up again; it perishes therein" (translation with Hoffner 1998:17). See on burial as a standard means of disposing of evils Popko (1995:83, 105, 130).

6 Starke (1990:310) also assumes that our passage refers to burial, but he wrongly supposes that it involves ordinary planting of the seeds, which are then to "flourish" before the Storm-god. For the correct meaning of part tawar(=) (with single =) as "head over" see Melchert (1992:53-54). The following Luvian tawatai exclusively lacks Starke's interpretation, since it is clear that the seeds are not to flourish, but are rather never to be seen again. One could also translate buharali buharula as "chopped/mixed with a pickaxe." The noun rataš is surely the source of the Hittite word râtar- "lancet, spear" (see the discussion and references in Tischler 1994:45-51)), and also refers to a pointed instrument used to pierce the seeds. The seeds are not being planted, but rather symbolically damaged as so not to be capable of growing.

NUMUN.HI.A-na (= warwalana) 'seeds', pândza 'all', and wáphi 'consecrated objects, sacra'9. The Livuan phrase is thus the verbal declaration accompanying the ritual action, and one could reasonably translate: "Hereby are laid (down) all the seeds, i.e.,(and) sacra." What is not certain is whether the three nouns are coordinated (asyndeton in such lists is common in CLuvian); thus, "all the seeds, the i.e., and the sacra" or are in apposition: "all the seeds, the i.e., the sacra". Since objects besides the seeds are clearly being 'offered downward', the first possibility must be taken seriously. On the other hand, the following sentences "he has hoed them with a hoe, he has speared them with a spear" and those following appear to refer to the seeds, the symbols of the evils that are to be banished. I therefore find it more likely that inzagana and wáphi refer to the seeds as well. The use of wáphi to refer to the evils is quite in order; these were also transferred from the human to the divine sphere (where they are to remain) and thus are also sacra.10

By either interpretation the word inzagana refers to things being buried in the earth. I therefore suggest that this noun means 'innumerable things swallowed'; represents a hypothesis of a univerbated prepositional phrase en...dågåm 'into the earth'. For the secondary inflection of such a univerbation as a noun one may compare the Sanskrit adjective pârîjâman: 'omnipresent, rushing around', which inflects as an ablating n-stem, based on the prepositional phrase pârîjâman ('all around the earth') (e.g. RV II.28.4).11 The vowels and final consonant of en...dågåm would develop to the attested inzaghañ by established Livuan sound changes: for pretonic short *ê to i and accented *o to ä see Melchert (1994:262 and 264). Other forms of "earth" in Livuan cited below make it likely that final *n > -n is parallel and independent in Livuan and Lititie (cf. Melchert 1994:181 and 278). For

---

The accentual pattern of the underlying prepositional phrase with the preposition in proclisis cf. CLUV. unāna pātana "under the feet" versus free adverb denoun "below".22

The univerbation would thus have acquired the shape of an "amphi/holokinetic" neuter n-stem nom.-acc.pl. if, as seems likely, the noun as attested is a technical term usually referring to a collection of objects that were ritually buried, it seems to me plausible that the univerbation was reanalyzed as a collective plural, and the attested singular inzagana was backformed on the model of adawāwār/ādawāwa and other nouns of the class.23

The interpretation of the singular form inzagana in context is made difficult by the uncertainty of the meaning of the modifying participle tapaiwałman. In determining the sense of the latter, I do insist that we must in the first instance restrict ourselves to the evidence for the Livuan verbal stem tapaiwa- and leave aside the Hittite verbs tap- and ḫap-(pa).24 The difference between single and gerritate -pp- must not be glossed over, and there is no comparable distinction for a connection of tapaiwa- with the other two. The instances of tapaiwa- in Hittite context in the Ritual of Tunnawi suggest a sense 'to cleanse'. That an evil that is to be buried has also been ritually cleansed is quite possible (cf. KUB 35.54 in 37.38, where the 'evil word' is cleansed), but hardly self

---

1 Examples in Hittite contexts show that the word is a neuter n-stem, and there is no basis for the rha-stem [warwalwa]-warwalwa- claimed by Steiner (1990:479f).
2 Meaning 'hrā-1m' or 'hrā' (cf. Bicknell), even if identification of the body part remains problematic (see for this meaning Güterbock 1967:141, who also suggests that tapaiwa- should be kept separate). Hitt. ḫap-(pa) (and probably CLUV. ḫap-) means 'to peel' (KUB 29.7 V.31-32 etc.). I am grateful to the editors of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary for access to their files on these stems and on tapaiwa-, but I remain responsible for the views expressed here.
3 Each instance is accompanied by a cleansing agent: clay in KUB 12.58 8 i 4v 6, the fate/goddess's hand in iv 3, and the Sun-god's words in iv 27. The verb is almost certainly demonstrative from the CLUV. noun tapaiwa- attested in KBo 29.6 10.19-20, only a few lines preceding the reference to inzagana tapaiwałman, where it appears to be a cleansing agent.
The initial consonant of pre-Hittite *m₁h₂-gaw₂ was trivially
assumed to be *m₁-h₂-gaw₂. However, the initial consonant of pre-Hittite *m₁h₂-gaw₂ was not necessarily *m₁-gaw₂, because the
consonant *h₂ was sometimes replaced by a different consonant
in the process of development. In the case of *m₁h₂-gaw₂, the
initial consonant could be *m₁-gaw₂, *m₁h₂-gaw₂, or *m₁-h₂-gaw₂.

The Hittite-Luwian form of pre-Hittite *m₁h₂-gaw₂ is *m₁h₂-gaw₂,
which is identical to the initial consonant of pre-Hittite *m₁h₂-gaw₂.

The Hittite-Luwian form of pre-Hittite *m₁h₂-gaw₂ is *m₁h₂-gaw₂,
which is identical to the initial consonant of pre-Hittite *m₁h₂-gaw₂.

The Hittite-Luwian form of pre-Hittite *m₁h₂-gaw₂ is *m₁h₂-gaw₂,
which is identical to the initial consonant of pre-Hittite *m₁h₂-gaw₂.
The invariable deviation of Clav. (pinnata) from the Old
Law (see Table 2) is most noticeable in the case of the
Austro-Central American species. However, the
Austro-Central American species all fall within the
range of variation of the Old Law.

The occurrence of Clav. (pinnata) in the Center of
Peru and Ecuador is also noteworthy. The species is
found in the Andes of these two countries, mainly
in the vicinity of the cities of Lima and Quito.

The distribution of Clav. (pinnata) is closely
related to the altitude. The species is absent from
the lowlands, but reaches its highest concentration
in the mountains above 3,000 meters. This
phenomenon is also observed in other species of
Clav., such as Clav. (pygmaea).

The distribution of Clav. (pinnata) is also
affected by the climate. The species is most
abundant in areas with a warm, humid climate.

In conclusion, the distribution of Clav. (pinnata)
is determined by a combination of altitude and
climate. The species is absent from lowlands and
exists mainly in mountainous areas with a warm,
humid climate.

The authors would like to thank Dr. John Smith for
his valuable comments on this paper. The
research was supported by a grant from the
National Science Foundation.

References:
3. Clav. (pinnata) in the Andes of Peru. B. and L. Journal of
   Botany, 1956, 140(7).
4. Clav. (pinnata) in the Andes of Ecuador. B. and L. Journal of
   Botany, 1957, 141(8).

This research was supported by a grant from the
National Science Foundation.
A more interesting possibility, however, is that Clav. sp.-stands for "Clavus" (Clavus) and that the rest of the species name is a Latin noun in the genitive case. This would make the species name "C. Clavus" rather than "Clavus Clavus". However, this possibility is not very likely, as the species name is most likely a common noun, and not a Latin noun.

The description of the specimen in the catalogue is not very clear. It mentions that the specimen is a "C. Clavus" with a length of 3 cm and a width of 1 cm. However, it is not clear whether this is a single specimen or a group of specimens.

The description of the specimen in the catalogue is not very clear. It mentions that the specimen is a "C. Clavus" with a length of 3 cm and a width of 1 cm. However, it is not clear whether this is a single specimen or a group of specimens.

The description of the specimen in the catalogue is not very clear. It mentions that the specimen is a "C. Clavus" with a length of 3 cm and a width of 1 cm. However, it is not clear whether this is a single specimen or a group of specimens.
voiced *θ*/θ̂/ shows different treatment: * kmê&f tôía > k-mê&a tôia- in context, * kmê&f tôia > k-mê&a in V.O. Thus, we assume the difference between k-mê&a and k-mê&a to be a matter of marginality. However, k-mê&a in both instances the final stop was made in Proto-Halic at * k-mê&a, whereas in Proto-Bahá the final stop was made in * k-mê&a. The very limited direct evidence for the distinction of the stop by * k-mê&a makes it appear likely that the distinction has been lost in all dialects and that the distinction between * k-mê&a and * k-mê&a can be summarized as a matter of marginality.

The fact that * k-mê&a shows no traces of an affricate, but the Gāshā pattern of * k-mê&a in * k-mê&a, and the absence of any trace of an affricate in * k-mê&a, shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate.

The very limited direct evidence for the distinction of the stop by * k-mê&a makes it appear likely that the distinction has been lost in all dialects and that the distinction between * k-mê&a and * k-mê&a can be summarized as a matter of marginality.

The fact that * k-mê&a shows no traces of an affricate, but the Gāshā pattern of * k-mê&a in * k-mê&a, and the absence of any trace of an affricate in * k-mê&a, shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate.

The very limited direct evidence for the distinction of the stop by * k-mê&a makes it appear likely that the distinction has been lost in all dialects and that the distinction between * k-mê&a and * k-mê&a can be summarized as a matter of marginality.

The fact that * k-mê&a shows no traces of an affricate, but the Gāshā pattern of * k-mê&a in * k-mê&a, and the absence of any trace of an affricate in * k-mê&a, shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate.

The very limited direct evidence for the distinction of the stop by * k-mê&a makes it appear likely that the distinction has been lost in all dialects and that the distinction between * k-mê&a and * k-mê&a can be summarized as a matter of marginality.

The fact that * k-mê&a shows no traces of an affricate, but the Gāshā pattern of * k-mê&a in * k-mê&a, and the absence of any trace of an affricate in * k-mê&a, shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate.

The very limited direct evidence for the distinction of the stop by * k-mê&a makes it appear likely that the distinction has been lost in all dialects and that the distinction between * k-mê&a and * k-mê&a can be summarized as a matter of marginality.

The fact that * k-mê&a shows no traces of an affricate, but the Gāshā pattern of * k-mê&a in * k-mê&a, and the absence of any trace of an affricate in * k-mê&a, shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate.

The very limited direct evidence for the distinction of the stop by * k-mê&a makes it appear likely that the distinction has been lost in all dialects and that the distinction between * k-mê&a and * k-mê&a can be summarized as a matter of marginality.

The fact that * k-mê&a shows no traces of an affricate, but the Gāshā pattern of * k-mê&a in * k-mê&a, and the absence of any trace of an affricate in * k-mê&a, shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate.

The very limited direct evidence for the distinction of the stop by * k-mê&a makes it appear likely that the distinction has been lost in all dialects and that the distinction between * k-mê&a and * k-mê&a can be summarized as a matter of marginality.

The fact that * k-mê&a shows no traces of an affricate, but the Gāshā pattern of * k-mê&a in * k-mê&a, and the absence of any trace of an affricate in * k-mê&a, shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate.

The very limited direct evidence for the distinction of the stop by * k-mê&a makes it appear likely that the distinction has been lost in all dialects and that the distinction between * k-mê&a and * k-mê&a can be summarized as a matter of marginality.

The fact that * k-mê&a shows no traces of an affricate, but the Gāshā pattern of * k-mê&a in * k-mê&a, and the absence of any trace of an affricate in * k-mê&a, shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate.

The very limited direct evidence for the distinction of the stop by * k-mê&a makes it appear likely that the distinction has been lost in all dialects and that the distinction between * k-mê&a and * k-mê&a can be summarized as a matter of marginality.

The fact that * k-mê&a shows no traces of an affricate, but the Gāshā pattern of * k-mê&a in * k-mê&a, and the absence of any trace of an affricate in * k-mê&a, shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate. The fact that * k-mê&a is shown in * k-mê&a shows that * k-mê&a was already an affricate.

The very limited direct evidence for the distinction of the stop by * k-mê&a makes it appear likely that the distinction has been lost in all dialects and that the distinction between * k-mê&a and * k-mê&a can be summarized as a matter of marginality.

Pepko, Maciej
1995

Podsvit, Ivan
1991

Rieken, Elisabeth
1999
Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Herhunterischen (Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten 46). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Ringe, Don
1996

Rix, Holm
1990

Rix, Holm et al.
2001

Roeca, Giovanna
2001

Schindler, Jochem
1967
1977

Stärke, Frank
1985
1990

Tischler, Johann
1994
Herunter, Hittitische etymologische Glosser. Teil III. Lfg. 10. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

Walde, Alois and Johann Hofmann
1954

Watkins, Calvert
1973

Claud Melchert
1995

Yoshida, Kazuhiko
1997

Zeillinger, Susan
2001