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New Luvian Verb Etymologies

In modest tribute to our honorand's interest in and contributions to the field of Anatolian etymology, I offer the following new suggestions regarding the meaning and source of three Luvian verbal roots.¹

1. Cuneiform Luvian *par(a)-* and *papra-*; Hieroglyphic Luvian *501+RA/I-(*ha*)-

The verb *par(a)-*, with its reduplicated form *papra-* that appears in cuneiform in Kizzuwatna Luvian ritual texts, has long been interpreted as 'chase, drive' and is taken to be cognate with Hittite *parḫ-* 'chase, drive'.² All those who adopted this analysis assumed a conditioned rule, by which the fricative appearing in Hittite was deleted in Luvian. None of the alleged parallels for this deletion are probative. The Luvian verb 'to die', attested in the lexicalized participle *ulant(i)-* in Cuneiform Luvian and in the Hieroglyphic Luvian verb *wa/i-la- ~ wa/i+ra-*, is cognate with Tocharian A *wäl-* 'die' < PIE **wel-* and has nothing to do with Hittite *walḫ-* 'strike' < **welh₃-*.³ Nor is there any basis for equating the difficult hapax Hieroglyphic Luvian verbal stem (*69)*sana-* with Hittite *šanḫ-* 'seek'.⁴ This derivation also required either separating from *par(a)-* the Istanuvian hapax verb *parḫaddu* or assumes that the deletion did not take place in that Luvian dialect.⁵ On the other hand, there did not appear to be compelling evidence against such a deletion in at least Kizzuwatna Luvian.

However, Ilya Yakubovich has now made a strong case that Palaic *mārḫa-* means not 'god' as previously assumed, but 'guest', belonging to a root *marḫ-*

¹ I am indebted to Hasan Peker and especially to Ilya Yakubovich for valuable references and suggestions. The usual disclaimer applies, and I am responsible for all views not explicitly attributed.

² Čop 1965, 101; Hawkins 1980, 115; Melchert 1993, 169; Tischler 2001, 452; Kloekhorst 2008, 634. The meaning 'announce; curse' assigned by Starke 1990, 134, is quite impossible.

³ Contra Čop 1965, 101 n. 13. The Tocharian verb shows no sign of a final laryngeal and likewise is not from **welh₃-*, contra Hackstein 1995, 301 ff. Cf. the cautious remarks of Malzahn 2010, 893.

⁴ Contra Hawkins 1980, 115. This verb is more likely to be an extended stem in /-anna-/ to (*69)*sa-* 'release, let go', for which see Melchert 1989, 32-41.

⁵ Melchert 1993, 170 and implicitly Kloekhorst 2008, 634.

'present oneself', which appears also in Palaic *marḥa-* 'present oneself, come as a guest' and *marḥina-* 'treat as a guest', as well as the Empire Luvian verb *marḥ(a)-* 'to present oneself' that appears as a Glossenkeil word in Hittite context in the Apology of Hattusili III (KUB 1.1 IV 5-6 with duplicates).⁶ While a PIE etymon is thus far lacking, there can be little doubt that the Palaic and Luvian words are cognate, and the attested Luvian Pret. 3. Sg *marḥata* ~ *marḥda* further calls into question the supposed deletion rule, which would have not applied in either Empire or Istanuvian Luvian, but only in Kizzuwatna Luvian.

A reexamination of the limited available data shows that the assigned meaning 'drive, chase', for *par(a)-* ~ *papra-* is suitable, but hardly compelling. We have, effectively, only one reasonably complete passage for this verb (with partially preserved parallels):

KUB 35.43 II 10-15 (Third ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI Ritual)⁷

[-p]a zaš *paraddu ārrazza*<š> *ḥāwīš* []x-*antan witattan* §
 [lalai=d]u=*tta papraddu=tta* 4-ti *pārtāti* []x-ti *zarwaniyati*
arpuwanāti [*manḥunnat*]i *dāuwaššanzati tititāti* [^{UZU}Š]Ā-ti
^{UZU}NÍG.GI[G-t]i 12-tāti ^{UZU}ḥappiṣāti

"Let this *male* sheep *para-* [from him] the [] w. Let it take (it) from him. Let it *papra-* (it) with its four legs/hooves, with its [], with *the crook of its horn*, with its *m.*, with the pupils of its eyes, with its heart, with its liver, with its twelve members."

The context is that of a scape animal, which is to take and remove evil from the ritual client. The partially broken term describing the evil is unclear, and we do not fully understand the meanings of all the body parts referred to, but the overall sense is quite evident. The reference to "four" legs or hooves shows that the ablative-instrumental case forms refer to the body parts of the scape animal, with which it is to carry out its task.

I submit that the context is entirely compatible with a sense 'carry (off)' and that we have before us a reflex of PIE **b^her-* 'carry'. The Cuneiform Luvian cannot continue a PIE thematic present **b^héreti*, **b^héronti*, which could lead only to **parrati*, **parranti*, with gemination of the **r* by "Čop's

⁶ Yakubovich 2006, 18-19 n. 40.

⁷ For the text and restorations see Starke 1985, 144. For *ārrazza-* as 'male' see the discussion by Norbert Oettinger in this volume.

Law" and "lenition" of the third singular ending.⁸ However, an athematic present back-formed from a root aorist **b^hért*, **b^hr-ént*⁹ would have given **parti*, **paranti*, from which a stem *para-* can in turn easily have been back-formed from the plural (thus attested Pres. 3. Sg. *paratti* at KBo 29.26 lc 3, Imv. 3. Sg. *paraddu* cited above and perhaps Imv. 2. Sg. *para* at KUB 55.38 III 16). If it belongs here, as is likely, Imv. 3. Sg. *pardu* (KUB 35.90 9) may represent the original singular stem *par-* or result from syncope. Alternatively, one may start from a modified "Narten present" **b^hērti*, *b^hr-énti* (with secondary zero grade in the weak stem).¹⁰ This would have produced **pīrti*, **paranti*, and leveling to **parti*, **paranti*, and eventually *paratti*, *paranti* would again be trivial.

Confirmation that Cuneiform Luvian *par(a)-* and *papra-* are not related to Hittite *parḫ-* 'drive, chase' comes from the realization that we have the genuine Luvian cognate of the latter, in Hieroglyphic Luvian, with the expected root-final fricative. The verb **50I+RA/I- ~ *50I-ha-* occurs only three times, but the consistent co-occurrence with the preverb *ARHA* 'away' and nouns in the ablative point unequivocally to a meaning of 'drive/chase (away), remove'. The fullest context is that in the Luvian-Phoenician Bilingual:

KARATEPE I (Ho) § XIII

|*wa/i=ta* ("TERRA")*ta-sà-REL+ra/i-ri+i* |*ARHA *50I-ha-há*

'I removed them (the evils mentioned in the preceding clause) from the land.'¹¹

The other two passages are fragmentary, but unmistakably contain the same topos. TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 6 reads: [... BRACCHIU]M-*li-zi* [TER]R-*REL+ra/i-ti-i* |*ARHA* (PES₂)**50I+RA/I-ha* 'I expelled the ___s [] from the land'. A fuller version appears in JISR EL HADID, frag. 3, line 3: |*wa/i-*' ("PES₂.PES")*tara/i-pa-ma-za* |(LOQUI)*ma_x+ra/i-li-i*||*li-i-sà²-zi* |BRACCHIUM-*la/i/u-zi* "TERRA"-*REL+ra/i-ti-i* |*ARHA* |**50I-ha* 'For the *tarpama*'s I expelled the *marlilisa* ___s from the land.'¹² The significance of the determinative **50I*

⁸ See respectively Čop 1970 and Morpurgo Davies 1982-83 (also for the latter Eichner 1973, 100 n. 86).

⁹ Rix 2001, 76-77 with references.

¹⁰ For such a present in PIE see Jasanoff 1998, 305 and passim.

¹¹ Thus with Hawkins 2000, 50 and 60. The clause is incomplete in version Hu, but the spelling of the verb is likely the same.

¹² For the texts and similar translations see Hawkins 2000, 370 and 379.

is uncertain, but the alternate spellings of the stem as **50I-ha-* and as **50I+RA/I-* together point to a stem ending in /-rx-/. Given the contextually demanded sense of 'drive/chase away, expel', an interpretation as /parx(a)-/ and equation with Hittite (*arḫa*) *parḫ-* 'idem' virtually imposes itself. The latter takes among other objects evils of various kinds, and, like the Luvian verb, occurs with and without a local particle (contrast KARATEPE 1 with local particle =*ta* vs. JISR EL HADID without it).¹³

Luvian thus shows reflexes of both PIE **b^her-* 'carry' in Cuneiform Luvian *par(a)-* and *papra-* and PIE **b^herh₂-* 'rush' in Hieroglyphic Luvian /parx(a)-/ (**50I+RA/I-ha-*), matching Hittite *parḫ-*.¹⁴ Luvian /parx(a)-/ is likely also attested in Istanuvian *parḫaddu* (KUB 25.39 IV 10), but, as usual in the "Istanuvian songs", the sense cannot be securely determined. The Imv. 2. Sg. *para* at KUB 55.38 III 16 suggests that the two verbs 'carry' and 'drive, chase' coexisted in at least Istanuvian Luvian.¹⁵

2. Hieroglyphic Luvian (VIA.PUGNUS)*pu-*

The Hieroglyphic Luvian verb *pu-* (with and without the determinative VIA.PUGNUS) is attested to four times in published texts: Pret. 3. Pl. *pu-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A5a § 6), Imv. 3. Sg./Pl. *pu-tu* (KARABURUN § 13), (VIA'.PUGNUS)*pu-si* (MARAŞ 14 § 9) and now Pret. 3. Sg. *pu-tà*/ VIA.PUGNUS-*tà* (ARSUZ 1 and 2 § 20). Co-occurrence of the verb with the preverb /sarri/ (SUPER-*i*, SUPER+*ra/i*) in the last three examples assures us that we are dealing with the same verb in all instances.

The first three attestations all present cruces for various reasons, and their interpretation has remained quite uncertain. Attempts to relate them to the Cuneiform Luvian verb *pūwa-* (also Hittitized as *puwāi-*) 'pound, crush' and/or Lycian *ppuwe-* 'inscribe, write' have not successfully elucidated the respective textual passages.¹⁶ It is noteworthy that the most recent treatment of Luvian *pūwa-* and Lycian *ppuwe-* does not discuss Hieroglyphic

¹³ See Güterbock/Hoffner 1995, 145 sub *parḫ-* 2.b.

¹⁴ Root etymology with Oettinger 1979, 213-214, followed by Rix 2001, 81, Tischler 2001, 453, and Kloekhorst 2008, 634.

¹⁵ For the text see Starke 1990, 602, who correctly assigns it to the "Istanuvian songs."

¹⁶ See Hawkins 2000, 183 and 482-483 for commentary and references.

Luvian *pu-*.¹⁷ The recently published new fourth occurrence brings welcome illumination:¹⁸

ARSUZ 1 and 2 § 20

A1. *wa/i-mu-*a* SUPER+*ra/i* |*pu-tà*

A2. [*w*]*a/i-mu-*a* SUPER+*ra/i* VIA.PUGNUS-*tà*

('This Storm-god raised his mighty hand.') He *pu-ed* me up. ('And he made me superior to every king.')

The preceding and following clauses leave little doubt that the combination of the preverb /*sarri*/ 'up' and the verb /*pu-*/ means 'lift, elevate' – in context with a human ruler as the direct object 'exalt'.¹⁹ Given that the sense 'up' is expressed by the preverb, we may assume 'hold' for the verb itself, a meaning supported by the presence of the logogram PUGNUS 'fist' (what VIA 'way, path' contributes to the sense is for me at least obscure). Now that the existence of a verb (VIA.PUGNUS)*pu-* is confirmed, we may reasonably attribute the same basic meaning 'hold up' to another example:

MARAŞ 14 § 9

"3"-*zi[-wa/i²]* | ("PANIS")*t[u²+ra/i-pi²-zi²]* | "VAS?"...-*ti(-)na-i-ha* SUPER-*i*
(VIA¹.PUGNUS)*pu-si*

'You shall hold up three loaves of bread and a ___ vessel.'

The new example from ARSUZ with the logogram combination VIA.PUGNUS, confirms what was a doubtful reading of the verb.²⁰ Since the immediately preceding clause declares that there should be a ritual performed for the statue of Astiwasus, here 'hold up' obviously refers to the solemn presentation of a ritual offering. The third instance of the combination /*sarri*/ /*pu-*/ presents more serious interpretive challenges, but it is also compatible with a basic sense 'hold/take up, lift':

¹⁷ See Giusfredi 2009, who does include Lycian *pu-*, to which we will return briefly below.

¹⁸ Text after Dinçol et al. 2015, 64. For the spelling of /*a=wa=mu*/ as *wa/i-mu-a** see Hawkins 2003, 160-162 and Melchert 2010, 147-149.

¹⁹ That the verb is intransitive is not remotely credible, contra Dinçol et al. 2015, 68. On the alleged intransitive use in KARABURUN see immediately below. Hasan Peker (email of 3 September, 2015) now informs me that in another as yet unpublished text the same topos occurs with *wa/i-na* /*a=wa=an*/ 'And him ...', confirming that the verb is transitive.

²⁰ See Hawkins 2000, 266 for the text. Part of the doubt lay in the reverse orientation of the VIA sign, which Hasan Peker (pers. comm.) has kindly called to my attention.

KARABURUN §§ 12-13²¹

§12 *á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i* REX *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sá* (DEUS)LUNA+*MI-sa ki-hara/i-ni za+ra/i-ti* INFRA *sá-tu*

§13 SUPER+*ra/i-pa-wa/i-tu-ta ni-i ma-nu-ha pu-tu* ||

('He who shall erase these engravings'), may the Harranean King, the Moon-god, let k. down into his heart. May he by no means lift (them) up for him!'

It is clear that the action of § 12 is negative, consisting of some kind of punishment of the malefactor, and that the action of § 13 is prohibited because it would effectively undo the effects of the previous action.²² Whatever precisely *ki-har/i-ni* is (a concrete object, which would cause pain, or a more abstract evil), I believe that lifting it from the heart of the malefactor is a suitable pendant for letting it down into his heart. Effectively, 'lift' here with a dative means 'relieve of' (an unwanted burden). The remaining example of our verb takes not /sarri/ as its preverb, but rather /arxa/ 'away'.²³

KARKAMIŠ A5a § 6

wa/i-mu-uⁱ [x x]-mi-i na-hu-ti-na ARHA *pu-t[a]*

('For me [] my father (and) mother stood for/in *tarpu*<*na*>*lahit*), and they *pu*-ed away *nahuti* for me, (who was) __.')

Since the subject of the clause is clearly the speaker's parents, we can and should interpret *pu-t[a]* as Pret. 3. Pl. /punta/, and there is thus no conflict with the Pret. 3. Sg. *pu-tà*, which must represent /puda/, with a "lenited" ending (about which more below). The action of the parents is surely benign, leading us to infer that /naxutin/ is something whose removal (NB ARHA 'away') is to be welcomed. Connection of the Hieroglyphic Luvian noun with the Empire Luvian verb *nahhuwa-* 'to be afraid, worry, have concern' attested to as a Glossenkeilwort in Hittite context and Hittite *nahh-* 'be afraid', seems eminently reasonable.²⁴ One may analyze /naxuti-/ or /naxudi-/ as a primary

²¹ Text after Hawkins 2000, 481, but I follow Ilya Yakubovich (pers. comm.) against Hawkins in construing the hapax *ki-hara/i-ni* in § 12 as neuter nom.-acc. plural, not dat.-loc. singular, and the verb *sá-tu* as the verb /sa-/ 'release, let go', not /as-/ 'be'.

²² To this extent in agreement with Hawkins 2000, 482 f. I do not find credible the alternative account of Morpurgo Davies that he reports there.

²³ Text with Hawkins 2000, 182.

²⁴ Thus with *ibid.* 183. The verb is construed with dative of the "experiencer" and in at least some instances has the sense of 'be concerned for, worry about'. There is also in

action/result noun 'worry, anxiety, fear' formed from an unattested /nax-/, matching the Hittite, with the suffix /-uti-/ or /-udi-/ seen in Cuneiform Luvian *arut(i)*- 'wing' and Hieroglyphic Luvian (*78)*a-ru-t(i)*- 'basket' (named for its shape), formed from the root *(h)*ar*- 'fit (together)'.²⁵ We may therefore interpret *ARHA pu- as* 'take away, remove'. That Hieroglyphic Luvian /pu-/ means both 'take, grasp' and 'hold' is entirely parallel to Hittite *ēpp-*, which likewise shows both meanings. The result of grasping something is to hold it in one's hand – or, rather, in one's closed hand, hence the determinative PUGNUS.

Up to now, all verbal forms in Cuneiform Luvian with initial *pu*-^o have been assigned to *puwa*- 'pound, crush'.²⁶ Such a sense is assured for the occurrences in Hittite contexts (KUB 37.1 I 16 *puwāti* 'he pounds' = Akkadian *taḥšašal* 'you pound' *ibid.* I 15 and KBo 4.2 I 40 *puwati* 'pounds' followed by *ištałgaizzi* 'kneads').²⁷ Given the association with *tarm(a)i*- 'fasten, nail', this also seemed appropriate for the occurrence in the following passage from the Kizzuwatna *dupaduparša* ritual:

KUB 32.8+5 IV 21-24²⁸

[*ku-i*]š=*du=r a*<*d*>*duwa*[*l ...?*]*piya*<*i*>¹ *a=du=tta* [*ta*]*niminzi*
 DINGIR.MEŠ-z[*i ...*]*x šarra zātī* [(*p*)]*ūwandu a=(a)ta=tar za[nta]*
tarmaindu URUDU-yati [*tar*]*mati*

'Whoever gives evil [...] to him, let all the gods pound __ upon this one, and let them nail it down with a copper nail!'

This interpretation, however, was based on the premise that *zātī* is the dat.-loc. singular of the near deictic demonstrative 'this', referring to the malefactor.²⁹ Petra Goedegebuure has now shown that *zātī* (/zadi/), with

Kizzuwatna Luvian an adjective *naḥḥawašša/i-*, whose probable meaning is 'fearsome' (less likely 'fearful').

²⁵ See Melchert 1988, 224-225. The original meaning of the noun was *'joint', whence *'shoulder' and then 'wing' (compare German *Achsel* 'shoulder' but Latin *āla*- 'wing'). Cuneiform Luvian **kalut(t)i-* 'circle', presupposed by the derived verbs *kaluti(ya)-* and *kaluttaniya-* 'make the rounds of', is similarly derived from **k^wel-* 'turn' via a virtual **k^wol-uti-* (cf. Melchert 1993, 102).

²⁶ Thus, e. g., in Melchert 1993, 186 and Giusfredi 2009, *passim*.

²⁷ See Güterbock/Hoffner 1997, 368 f.

²⁸ Text after Goedegebuure 2010a, 85, modifying Starke 1985, 120. For *zanta* 'down' see Goedegebuure 2010b, 300-312.

²⁹ Starke 1990, 379 and Melchert 1993, 282.

voiced dental stop, is rather the ablative-instrumental, matching Hieroglyphic Luvian *za-ti ~ za+ra/i* (/zadi/ ~ /zari/), which means 'thus' or 'here'.³⁰ She attempts to retain the sense 'pound (upon)' for the passage, taking *zātī* as 'thus, in this way', but the resulting overall interpretation is not entirely satisfactory.³¹ In view of the frequent collocation of Hieroglyphic Luvian (VIA.PUGNUS)*pu-* 'take, hold' with SUPER+*ra/i* 'up', I prefer to adopt the illuminating suggestion of Ilya Yakubovich (pers. comm.) that *šarra puwandu* belongs to a Kizzuwatna Luvian cognate and means 'take up'. The dative clitic *-du-* in the second clause refers not to the malefactor, but to the ritual client, and *zātī* means rather 'here'. The gods are to remove the evil (lost in the break) from the ritual client and nail it down so that it cannot return: 'Whoever gives evil [] to him, let all the gods take up the [] from him here, and let them nail it/them down with a copper nail!'. This interpretation gains further support from the following variant of the ritual passage:

KUB 35.14 I 7-10 (with duplicate KBo 29.9 Ro 10-12)

[ku]iš=tar mal[ḫaššaššan EN-ya (āddu)wā(l)] ānnīti a=du[(=tta D)INGIR.MEŠ-inzi ... [ša]rra zātī [(pūwa)nd(u a=ttar zanta) l]āīmman [tarmaindu URUDU-(ya)ti tarma(ti)]

'Whoever does evil to the ritual client, let the gods [] take up the ___ from him here, and let them nail down what was taken with a copper nail!'³²

The meaning 'take up' for *šarra pu-* in this attestation is confirmed by the use of the partial synonym *lā-* 'take'.

We have thus established a Luvian verb *pu-* meaning 'take, grasp' and also 'hold', whose Pret. 3. Sg. *pu-tà* in Hieroglyphic Luvian represents /pu(:)da/,

³⁰ Goedegebuure 2010a, 78-86.

³¹ One may compare the versions in *ibid.* 86 and 2010b, 306.

³² Restorations and interpretation with Goedegebuure 2010a, 86, contra Goedegebuure 2010b, 305. Her latter interpretation, based on a quite doubtful textual reconstruction, is syntactically impossible. The putative nom.-acc. neuter participle [tarm]āīmman 'nailed' cannot remotely be construed with the abl.-inst. URUDU-*yati tarmati* 'copper nail' in the manner she claims, and Luvian participles in *-Vmma/i-* do not have deontic force. There is also no independent support for a collocation *zanta puwa-* 'pound down', but rather for *zanta tarm(a)i-*. Despite her claim, *ibid.* n. 30, the traces of the broken first sign in KUB 35.14 I 10 are equally compatible with LA or MA.

with "lenition" or voicing of the *-t- of the ending *-to.³³ Since Luvian shows a general loss of medial voiced dorsal stops, such a stem may continue a PIE root of the shape **Peu(H)-* or **Peu(g)(h)-*. While I know of no evidence for a semantically suitable PIE root of the first type, both Greek and Latin show well-known reflexes of a root **peug-* referring to the closed hand or fist: Grk. πύξ 'with the fist', πύγμη 'fist, fist fight', Lat. *pugil* 'boxer', *pūgnus* 'fist', etc. Following an etymology of August Fick, the handbooks unanimously assign these words to the PIE root **peu(g)-* 'prick, pierce' of Latin *pungō* 'pierce, wound' and *pūgiō* 'dagger', a root also showing a variant **peuk-* in Grk. πεύκη 'fir' and Lith. *pušis* 'id.'. In the absence of the Luvian evidence, the desire not to multiply entities was understandable, but a closed hand is not used to prick or pierce someone or something, but rather to hit or pound – and more fundamentally to grasp or hold. The 'fist' is surely not *'the piercer', but rather *'the grasper'. A preform **peug-to* renewing a root aorist **peug-t* leads directly via **pūto* to attested Luvian Pret. 3. Sg. /puda/ and the other reflexes.³⁴ We must posit a PIE root **peug-* 'grasp, seize; hold'.³⁵

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³³ For the demonstration that the sign <ta> consistently represents the outcome of voiced *[d] see Rieken 2008; on the Luvian Pret. 3. Sg. ending /-ta ~ -da/ as reflecting medio-passive *-to see Yoshida 1993, 29-34.

³⁴ For "lenition" or voicing of the stop after an accented long vowel see Eichner 1973, 79-83 and Morpurgo Davies 1982 f., 261.

³⁵ The Lycian verb *pu-* may or may not be cognate. The formal match of Pret. 3. Sg. *pude* ~ *pudē* and Pret. 3. Pl. *puñtē* with Luvian /puda/ and /punta/ argues that it is, but the contexts of their use do not decisively favor 'took' or 'held' over the standard interpretation as 'inscribed'. See for the latter Melchert 2004, 52-53 and Giusfredi 2009, both with references.

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