

COLLECTION LINGUISTIQUE
publiée par la
SOCIÉTÉ DE LINGUISTIQUE DE PARIS
————— CVI —————

Ὄνομάτων Ἱστορ

Mélanges offerts à Charles de Lamberterie

Textes réunis par
Claire LE FEUVRE et Daniel PETIT

PEETERS
LEUVEN - PARIS
2020

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HITTITE *TARRU*- ‘FIRM, SECURE’ AND LUVIAN COGNATES

H. Craig Melchert

I am pleased to offer the following modest contribution in honor of Charles de Lamberterie, an esteemed friend and colleague who has made seminal contributions to our understanding of the history of Greek, Armenian, and the Indo-European family at large. I hope that the author of the monumental *Les adjectifs grecs en -υς* (1990) will find some interest in this study of a misunderstood Anatolian *u*-stem adjective.¹

1. INTRODUCTION

In Melchert (2019) I present arguments supporting the analysis of Pintore (1979) that the famous first-millennium Iron Age Luvian term *tarrawann(i)*- (arguably the source of Greek τῶρανος) means neither ‘judge’ nor ‘ruler’, but is an honorific epithet ‘just, upright’, matching reflexes of the Semitic root *šdq*, a meaning confirmed by the use of the homophonous abstract noun ‘justice, righteousness, rectitude’.²

My reading of the adjective and the abstract noun as /tarrawann(i)-/ instead of the conventional /tarwan(n)i-/ follows a suggestion of Ilya Yakubovich (pers. comm.), who rightly points to one spelling of the ablative-instrumental of the abstract as *tara/i-u-na-ti*, which can hardly be read other than as /tarraunnadi/, contracted from usual *tara/i-wa/i-na-ti* /tarrawannadi/. This reading is confirmed by second-millennium Luvian and Hittite cognates.

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1. I am indebted to Yoram Cohen, Theo van den Hout, Alan Nussbaum, Norbert Oettinger, and Ilya Yakubovich for invaluable assistance. The usual disclaimers apply, and I am solely responsible for anything not explicitly attributed to them.
 2. It is possible that in some instances the Luvian adjective means ‘loyal’, but no examples thus far strictly prove this sense (cf. Pintore 1979: 477).

The shape and sense of first-millennium /tarrawann(i)-/ inevitably suggest to any Indo-Europeanist an etymological connection with German *treu*, English ‘true’, and other cognates in Germanic based on a thematic stem **trewwa-* < **drewH-o-*. Closely related forms in Germanic and elsewhere show that the meaning ‘steadfast, loyal, true’ developed from that of ‘firm, fast, secure’.³ A reexamination of relevant second-millennium Hittite and Luvian evidence—the focus of this paper—affirms that the older sense in Anatolian was also ‘firm, fast, secure’.

2. HITTITE *TARRU-/TARRAW-*

The sense of the ablauting Hittite *u*-stem adjective *tarru-/tarraw-* has been a longstanding problem. Goetze (1933: 6, with note 2) suggested tentatively ‘on one’s belly, lying prone’, based on the following ritual passage:

(1) KUB 9.4 ii 23-31 (/9.34 iii 7-14) (Tunnawiya Ritual; NS)

*nu hukkiškeuwa[(n)] dāi nu 12 ^{UZU}ÚR.ĪI.A QATAMMA irḫaizzi
uez[(z)]i=ma=za parā tarrū šešzi n=a[(n=š)]i=kan [(i)]škišaš šer
ēpzi ḫ[(ukki)]škezzi=ma QATAMMA=pat § 12 ^{UZU}ÚR.ĪI.A=ya=an
QATAMMA=pat irḫaizzi n=aš=za uezzi EGIR-pa parašza šešzi
nu=šši=ššan UDU ^{UZU}GAB-i šer ēpzi*

And she begins to incant/exorcise and makes the rounds of the twelve body parts likewise. But (if) he (the ritual patron) happens to lie down *parā tarrū*, she holds it (the sheep) over his back, while she incants in the same fashion and also makes the rounds of his twelve body parts in the same fashion. (If) he happens to lie down backwards (i.e., on his back), she holds the sheep over his chest.

Laroche (1959: 79) proposed that the Luvian adjectives *parittarwašša/i-* and *parittarwalliya-* are based on a Luvian **parittaru-* matching Hittite *parā tarru-* and likewise mean « à plat ventre ». Watkins (1982: 258, note 17), while confusingly adducing *tarranu-* ‘to make strong’ (which is based on *tarra-* ‘be strong, capable’) and allowing for a sense ‘resting solidly’, ventured a comparison with Latin *protervus* ‘headlong’ and hence ‘head-strong’.⁴

3. Faroese *tryggur* ‘stable (of a vessel/craft); safe, secure’ shows that **trewwa-* once had a concrete sense.

4. Followed by Melchert (1993: 211), with an inaccurate gloss ‘supine’.

This analysis of *parā tarrū* must now be abandoned. First, the putative Luvian comparison falls. As shown by Mouton and Yakubovich (forthcoming), Luvian *parittarwalliya-* means ‘external’, cognate with Lydian *płtarwo-* ‘exterior’, and is unrelated to Hittite *parā tarrū*. Furthermore, the contrasting clause says merely *n=aš=za uezzi EGIR-pa parašza šešzi* “(If) he happens to lie down backwards”. That the patient ends up on his back is to be inferred.⁵ Likewise, then, *uezzi=ma=za parā šešzi* “(If) he happens to lie down forward” is sufficient to indicate that he ends up face downward on his belly (compare *prōnus*). This passage leaves the sense of *tarrū* entirely open. The meaning ‘on one’s belly, lying prone’ is in any case now entirely refuted by other occurrences with verbs such as ‘to stand’, ‘to know’, and ‘to shut’ (see below).

Nevertheless, this single example in ritual context has continued to unduly influence nearly all subsequent interpretations of *tarru*. Weitenberg (1984: 141) conceded that finding a suitable unitary meaning for *tarru-/tarrow-* that fits all contexts is difficult, but hesitatingly suggested ‘spread out, wide(ly)’. Surprisingly, this interpretation has met with broad, if qualified, acceptance—surprisingly, because this makes little sense even for the ritual example, which Weitenberg (*loc. cit.*) perplexingly renders as “lengthwise” (*der Länge nach*), cited with apparent approval by Hutter (1988: 80). No explanation is given for how a word allegedly meaning ‘wide(ly)’ should express lying down *lengthwise*. More importantly, given the shape of the human body, it is hard to see how an adult person can lie down in any fashion except lengthwise.

A meaning ‘wide, broad’ makes no sense at all for some examples, especially the following, where ‘spread out, wide(ly)’ is entirely incompatible with the metaphor of being *in the hand* of the royal couple:

(2) KUB 57.60 ii 7-10 (= 57.63 ii 12-15) (Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna; NS)
 KUR ^{URU}Hatti=[m]a=kan labarnaš ^{MUNUS}tawannannaš kišrī tarrū
 wešiettaru n=at palhiškettaru

May the land of Hatti graze secure(ly) in the hand of the labarna
 (and) the tawananna, and may it continue to broaden/expand!

5. The duplicate KUB 9.34 iii 13 has instead of EGIR-*pa par(a)šza* the thus far undecipherable *šar-k[u[?]]-x[-x]-x*.

As seen by the editors of the *CHD* Volume P (1994: 67), the wish is that the land of Hatti graze ‘quietly, undisturbed’, that is, in safety and security. The image of enjoying security in the hand of the king is a Hittite topos:

(3) Bo 86/299 iv 15 (Treaty with Kuruntiya; NH)
nu=kan ANA ŠU^dUTU=ŠI aššuli meḥuntahḫut

May you grow old in well-being in the hand of His Majesty!

See likewise KBo 4.10 Vo 11 (Treaty with Ulmi-Tešub, NH) and KUB 21.1 iv 45-46 and duplicates (Treaty of Muwattalli with Alaksandu, NH). It is also clear that this image is modeled on that of the king being safe in the hand of a deity (see KUB 1.1 i 20, where Hattušili III finds prosperity in the hand of Ishtar).⁶

A meaning ‘firm, secure’ is also called for in the following passage:

(4) KBo 12.70 ii¹ 12-14 (*Šimā Milka*; ?/NS)
nu=tta tarrun šašdan wēkzi^{MUNUS} KAR[!].KID-dann=a=ta wēkz[i]
nu=šši ḥapper p[eški]

(If) he asks you for a firm/secure bed/sleeping place and also asks you for a prostitute, give him the price.

The Akkadian parallel text is very fragmentary at this point.⁷ However, other wisdom texts confirm that we are dealing with a proverb regarding the care to be given to a traveler in a strange city, namely, food and a bed (Cohen 2013: 110-11). To render *tarrun šašdan* as ‘spread/stretched out(?) bed(-roll)’ (*CHD* Volume Š 2005: 308, *et al.*) is otiose: a bed-roll is of no use unless it is spread out. What is crucial is that the visitor have a firm and secure place to sleep—and in the Akkadian-Hittite version of the proverb also to enjoy the company of a prostitute.

Although not every detail is entirely clear, ‘firm(ly)’ also is demanded by the following ritual example:

6. Compare also in the greeting formula of letters: *nu=tta DINGIR.MEŠ TI-an ḥarkandu nu=tta ŠU.ĪI.A-uš araḫzanda aššuli ḥarkandu nu=tta paḫšandaru* “May the gods keep you alive and hold their hands around you in well-being and protect you!” (HKM 73 Vo 20-23; MH/MS).

7. As per Cohen (2013: 111) one can tentatively restore the words for ‘price’ and ‘prostitute’ in the Akkadian version.

(5) KBo 21.6 Ro 4-5 (Tunnawiya Ritual; NS)
 [^{Giš}waw]arkimaš tametarwanza EGIR-an kēdani tarrū x[...k]ēdani
 tarrū parān ištapper EGIR-*anda=ma*[...]⁸

The bountiful door pan/hinge [...-s/has ...ed] firmly behind for this one. They have firmly blocked the air/breath for this one. But afterwards [...]

Although the passage does not use the explicit *mahḥan...apeniššan* simile structure, we are clearly facing another example of “sympathetic magic”: the shutting off of the ritual client’s breath is compared with the shutting of a door (for which the standard word is *ištapp-*), an action surely to be undone in the following ritual. While a large door might be said to close ‘widely’, one cannot sensibly shut off a person’s breath ‘widely’. Surely the point is that the ritual client’s breath has been firmly, that is, entirely blocked.

It is also very hard to see what knowing something ‘widely’ in one’s heart would mean:

(6) KUB 58.111 Vo 6 (Ritual of Zuwi; pre-NH/NS)
 [...INA/IŠTU Š]À=ya tarru šākki

He also knows [...] firmly in/with his heart.

That one would know something ‘firmly’ in Hittite reflects the well-attested image of “pressing” knowledge into one’s heart (*CHD* Volume Š 2002: 17), surely based on the parallel of pressing an image into soft clay by means of a seal.⁹

Other instances of *tarru-/tarraw-* are less diagnostic, but make at least as much sense as ‘firm’ as they do as ‘wide’:

(7) KUB 36.89 Vo 43-4 (Prayer; ?/NS)
 labarnaš KUR.KUR.ḪI.A tarrāuwa [lē] tepawēšzi

May the lands of the Labarna (being) secure not be diminished.¹⁰

8. Reading with Weitenberg (1984: 142). *Pace* Hutter (1988: 44-45), the autograph and photo show no space after EGIR in Ro 5; one must read EGIR-*an-da-ma*[...]. There is also no justification for restoring *p[arān]* in Ro 4 and assuming an iterated clause.

9. Since there is no basis for the physical sense ‘wide’, there is no justification for trying to save this meaning by supposing an extended ‘thoroughly’ (*weitgehend*) in examples like (5) and (6), *pace* Hutter (1988: 45) for (5).

10. I tentatively interpret the postposed adjective as “depictive”, expressing a condition, not an inherent attribute. See for such a function in postposed participles Rieken (2017).

(8) KUB 31.105:8 (Gasga Treaty; MH/MS)

[...]x-ni [k]²ēdani tarrū artari []

[...]stands firm(ly) for this one²

(9) KBo 9.49 Ro² 14 (Medical Omen; ?/NS)

[]auliš šarra tarru artari

The spleen(??) stands up firmly.

Understanding of examples (8) and (9) is seriously limited by the lack of a subject in the former and the abiding uncertainty as to just which internal organ *auli-* refers to. A person can certainly stand ‘widely’, that is, with legs spread, but ‘to stand firm’ is also a wide-spread figure.¹¹ The apparent dative-locative plural [t]arrawašš=a in the Hedammu myth is in too broken a context to assign any meaning (see for the passage Siegelová 1971: 60-61).

We may return finally to example (1) where the ritual client lies down, first *parā tarrū* and then EGIR-*pa par(a)šza*. It is commonplace in Hittite rituals that explicit mention is made of permissible and impermissible alternatives,¹² and that is surely true in the present instance. The main point is that it makes no difference whether the ritual client lies down forward or backward—on his belly or on his back: the practitioner proceeds to hold the scape animal over the client and treats the twelve body parts in either case. That *tarrū* is not repeated in the second clause likely reflects “gapping”: the specification applies to both clauses, but is not salient enough to require that it be explicitly repeated. In view of other evidence from examples (2), (4), (5) and (6) for a sense ‘firm, secure’, we may assume that here as well. If the client lies down in a “fixed” prone position (or a supine one) and shows no inclination to move, it is unnecessary to force him to do so: the practitioner can carry out the necessary purification with either posture.¹³

11. Akkadian *kīnu* ‘firm’ is used in omens of various parts of the exta (*CAD* 1971: 393), but it is very uncertain whether the context of the Hittite example (9) is truly comparable.

12. Note the construction *mān...mān...ŪL tuqqāri* “Whether...or..., it does not matter.”

13. In post-OH it is not certain that (=za) *šeš-* always implies ‘(fall) asleep’, as opposed simply to lying (down) and remaining still (see *CHD* Volume Š 442-443). I have therefore cautiously assumed ‘lie down’ here. However, we do not have the portion of the ritual that precedes our passage. As Norbert Oettinger reminds me, ‘firm, fast’ is widely used in Indo-European to mean ‘sound’ of

3. HITTITE *TARRAWĀ(I)*- ‘TO ESTABLISH, INSTITUTE’

As shown by Carter (1962: 196), the late New Hittite verb *tarrawā(i)*- means ‘to establish, institute’, said in cult inventories of festivals (KBo 2.7 Ro 8 and Vo 23, KUB 38.12 ii 7-8, etc.) and of statues and temples for deities (KBo 2.7 Ro 23) and in the report by Šuppiluliuma II regarding the conquest of Cyprus of towns (KBo 12.38 iv 8). There can be little doubt that this denominative verb is based on the stem *tarraw*- ‘firm, fixed’: compare German *festsetzen* or English ‘to fix’ in the sense ‘to establish, determine’.¹⁴ The only question is whether the verb is native Hittite, based on the oblique stem of *tarru*-, *tarraw*-, or a borrowing of the cuneiform Luvian verb *tarrawā*-, attested for certain in the preterite third plural *tar-ra-wa-u-un-ta* in Hittite context (KUB 6.15 ii 8) and perhaps in Luvian context (KUB 35.111 Ro 1, KBo 27.61: 6, KBo 48.85: 5). Unfortunately, the Luvian verb occurs only in very broken contexts, so its meaning cannot be determined. In either case, the sense of the Hittite verb confirms a meaning ‘firm, fixed’ for the base adjective in the second millennium.

4. ETYMOLOGY

First millennium Luvian *tarrawann(i)*- may be derived from a virtual **dreuH-eno-* comparable to Germanic **trewwa-* < **dreuH-o-* (Melchert 2019: 343-344). However, such a derivation is more difficult for a second-millennium Luvian verb *tarrawā*- and quite impossible for a Hittite ablauting adjective *tarru-/tarraw*-. The latter may only plausibly reflect a proterokinetic *u*-stem adjective of a well-represented Hittite type, in idealized form **dérH-u-*, **d̥rH-éu-*. As in other examples, Hittite *tarru-/tarraw*- shows leveling of the accented full-grade root (compare *tēpu-/tēpaw*- ‘few’ < virtual **d̥éb^h-u-*, **d̥eb^h-éu-*).¹⁵ Although *u*-stems are highly recessive in

sleep, including Lithuanian *drūtas*. I would not entirely exclude that also here the meaning is “But (if) he falls fast asleep forward (on his belly),...”.

14. There is no basis for the interpretation of the verb as ‘to enrich, outfit’ by Neu (1968: 134, note 3), much less ‘make strong/powerful’, nor for a connection with *tarra*- ‘to be able/capable’.

15. As already explicated by Watkins (1982: 257-258), *tarrū* continues a neuter nominative-accusative plural **dérH-uh₂* in adverbial use, formally matching *āššū* ‘goods’. The archaic form was replaced in adverbial use by *tarrawa*, showing the regular New Hittite shape of the neuter nominative-accusative plural. Compare

Luvian, we have one attested example of ablauting *mannu-* ‘gentle’ (?) in Luvian in cuneiform: accusative singular common gender *mannun*, nominative-accusative singular neuter *mannu*, and dative-locative plural *mannawanza* (see Melchert 1993: 141). We are thus justified in positing a preform **dérH-u-*, **d̥rH-éu-* for at least Luvo-Hittite, if not Proto-Anatolian.

Hittite *tarrawā(i)-* ‘to institute, establish’ may be derived with the very productive denominative suffix *-ā(i)-* from the oblique stem of the adjective, with an original sense **‘to make fixed’*. If it belongs here, which is likely, Luvian *tarrawā-* shows an entirely parallel derivation—in fact, as indicated, it may well be the source of the late Hittite verb, instead of the latter being an independent parallel creation. First-millennium Luvian *tarrawann(i)-* ‘just, upright’ may be derived from **‘having the quality of being firm, steadfast’* < **tarraw-* plus the productive Luvian suffix *-ann(i)-* (anachronistically **derH-ew-éno-*). As already mentioned (footnote 2), *tarrawann(i)-* may or may not have had the sense ‘loyal’. In any case, both English ‘true’ and German *treu* have in their history been used to mean ‘honest, just, upright’ (see *OED* s. v. meaning 2 and *DW* 22.258–60, 1.B).

The problem then becomes: how do we reconcile the Anatolian preform **dérH-u-*, **d̥rH-éu-* with the **dreuH-o-* needed to account for Germanic **trewwa-*? The first point to be made is that the Hittite reflex confirms that the PIE root of ‘firm, fixed, solid’ ended in a laryngeal, also suggested by Lithuanian *drūtas* ‘thick, strong, fast (of sleep)’ < **druH-to-*.¹⁶ Old Irish *dron* ‘solid, firm’ and Old English *trum* ‘firm, strong, steadfast’ with no trace of a laryngeal may reflect “Dybo’s rule” with the western Indo-European shortening of the first vowel < **druH-no-* and **druH-mo-* respectively.¹⁷ Likewise, Old Irish *derb* ‘sure, certain’ may continue **derH-wo-* as

likewise older adverbial *karši* vs. later *karšaya* ‘frankly, in unadorned fashion’ to the ablauting *i*-stem adjective *karši-* ‘bare; mere; frank’.

16. Derksen (2015: 143) claims that the long vowel in the Lithuanian is secondary, but this is based entirely on the *presumption* that the word must be related to ‘wood’.

17. Zair (2012: 132-134 and 145-147) offers extended discussion of this phenomenon in Celtic, Germanic and Italic and references to various accounts. He tentatively prefers a morphological process. However one chooses to deal with them, such unexpected short vowels before sonorant where one expects lengthening by loss of a tautosyllabic laryngeal are a descriptive fact.

well as **der-wo-* (cf. Zair 2012: 206 on the source of the similarly structured *delb* ‘form, image’).

On the other hand, Sanskrit *dāru-* ‘wood’ < **dór-u-* with the effect of “Brugmann’s Law” points unequivocally to a root without final laryngeal. Slavic reflexes likewise point to an “aniṭ” root, and the prosodic effects of a root-final laryngeal in Baltic must be innovative (Derksen 2008: 99 and 2015: 124). Germanic **trew-a-* ‘tree’ < **drew-o-* (Kroonen 2013: 522, *et al.*) likewise argues for a root without final laryngeal. Since the primary meaning clearly is ‘wood’, ‘piece of wood’, ‘object of wood’ (‘tree’, as in Hittite *tāru-* beside ‘wood’, is by metonymy), the *u*-stem noun is surely derived from **der-* ‘to split, flay’ (cautiously Pinault 2001: 201, more decisively Nussbaum 2014: 235-236). The long *ū* of Greek *δρῦς* ‘tree’ is secondary, as shown by *δρῦμά* ‘copse’ (Homer)—compare Sanskrit *drumá-* ‘tree’—and *δρῦτόμος* ‘woodcutter’. For the derivation of *δρῦς* (singulative of a collective **drúh₂* < **dóru-/drew-*) see Pinault (2001: 198-200) after Janda (1997: 141-154).¹⁸ The long-standing and still popular derivation of ‘tree, wood’ from ‘firm, solid, lasting’ or vice-versa must be abandoned (*pace* Hardarson 2018: 242-252): the former continues **dor-u-*, **dr-éw-* and the latter **derH-u-*.¹⁹

As to the relationship between Anatolian **dérH-u-* and Germanic **trewwa-*, our honorand has elucidated the first step (Lamberterrie 1990: 552): beside the *u*-stem adjective **g^wh₂-ú-* ‘heavy’ (Greek *βαρύς*, Sanskrit *gurú-*) to a root in final laryngeal there is also evidence for a zero-grade derivative **g^wruh₂-tó-* in Latin *brūtus* ‘heavy, inert; dull, brutish’ and Latvian *grūts* ‘heavy’. Greek also

18. This derivation is far more satisfactory than the received account attributing the secondary length to monosyllabicity or to feminine gender due to becoming the name of a tree, ‘oak’ (Chantraine 1968: 299 and Frisk 1960-1972: 1.421, with references).

19. This is in no way meant to deny that such derivations are attested, in both directions. Benveniste (1954: 257-259) cites Modern Persian *draxt* ‘tree’ from a preform attested in Avestan *draxta-* ‘firm’ to *drang-* ‘to hold firm’, and Latin *rōbustus* ‘strong, firm’ is manifestly from *rōbus* ‘(red) oak’. Lithuanian *sūdrus/sūdrūs* ‘robust, strong’ vs. Sanskrit *sudrú-* ‘of strong wood’ < **h₁su-dru-* (Petit 2004: 271-273) shows that, unsurprisingly, such a secondary development is also possible in reflexes of **dór-u-*, **dr-éw-* (see also Derksen 2015: 434). I insist only that such a connection is not formally possible between PIE **dérH-u-* ‘firm, solid, lasting’ and **dór-u-*, **dr-éw-* ‘wood’ < **(thing) split* < **der-* ‘to split’.

shows to the same root a base $\beta\bar{r}\bar{i}$ - < $*g^wrih_2$ -, seen in $\beta\bar{r}\bar{i}\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ‘heavy’, attesting to a parallel *i*-stem $*g^w\bar{r}h_2\bar{i}$ -.

We may therefore plausibly suppose that beside $*d\acute{e}rH-u$ -, $*d\bar{r}H\acute{e}w$ - there was likewise a metathesized zero-grade variant $*druH$ - (the basis of $*druH-t\acute{o}$ - seen in Lithuanian *drūtas* cited above). However one wishes to relate the pattern to the idealized “proterokinetic” inflection seen in $*d\acute{e}rH-u$ -, $*d\bar{r}H\acute{e}w$ -, Greek and Indo-Iranian show that in Core Indo-European *u*-stem adjectives productively had consistent zero grade of the root (see Lamberterie 1990: 23): $\pi\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ‘thick’ ~ *bahú-* ‘much, many’, $\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ~ *dhṛṣú-* ‘bold’, etc. We may reconstruct a $*d\bar{r}H\acute{u}$ -s, $*d\bar{r}H\acute{e}w$ -s from whose metathesized preconsonantal variant $*druH$ - was derived not only $*druH-t\acute{o}$ -, but also $*druH-\acute{o}$ -, source of at least Germanic $*truwa$ - seen in ON *trúr* ‘reliable, loyal’ (Harðarson 2018: 229-239), more arguably of Vedic *dhruvá-* ‘firm, fixed’, YAv. *druua-* ‘healthy, whole’, and OP *duruva-* ‘firm, secure’ (*ibid.* 241). From this Germanic derived via *vṛddhi* a secondary “genitival” derivative $*dréuH-o$ - ‘of a firm sort’ > ‘stable, secure’ and secondarily ‘steadfast, loyal’. The relationship of $*dréuH-o$ - to $*druH-\acute{o}$ - is directly comparable to that of $*k\acute{e}iwo$ - to $*k\bar{i}w\acute{o}$ - reflected in Vedic *śéva-* ‘dear’ beside *śívá-* ‘favorable, dear’: see for such derivatives Nussbaum (2009: section 4.2.6.2) and Harðarson (2018: 252).

Germanic $*trewwa$ - is reflected in Gothic *triggws* and ON *tryggr* ‘loyal, trustworthy, true’ and Faroese *tryggur* ‘stable (of a vessel/craft); safe, secure’ (Heidermanns 1993: 603, *et al.*).²⁰ The West Germanic cognates Old English *trēowe*, Old High German *gi-triuwi*, and Old Saxon *triuwi* ‘loyal, trustworthy, true’ are based on a further derived $*trewwiya$ -. Opinions on the source of $*trewwa$ - differ, reflecting the still ongoing controversy regarding the source of Germanic “Verschärfung” (gemination of the glides $*w$ and $*y$ intervocally). While many scholars have argued that geminate $*ww$ and $*yy$ result consistently from $*CeuHV$ and $*CeiHV$ (see the references given by Mees 2011: 66-67, note 80), others entertain gemination also without the presence of laryngeals (Miller 2019: 59-61) or doubt that any examples are due to laryngeals (Ringe 2017: 268).

Fortunately, settling this issue is not necessary for our purposes. It is enough that it is clear that some examples of such geminates do reflect sequences of $*Vw/yV$: e.g., Proto-Germanic $*kewwan$ ‘to

20. The idiosyncratic *trewwu-* of Kroonen (2013: 523) may be set aside.

chew’ definitely continues a root in final laryngeal: **ġyeuH*- seen in Tocharian AB *śwāṣ/śuwam* ‘eats’ and Lithuanian *žiąunos* ‘jaws’ (Kroonen 2013: 286, *LIV*²: 168). In view of the Anatolian evidence for a laryngeal-final root in **derH-u*- we may therefore follow Lehmann (1986: 347) and others in deriving Proto-Germanic **trewwa*- from **dreuH-o*-.²¹

5. CONCLUSION

A reexamination of the evidence shows that the Hittite ablauting *u*-stem adjective *tarru-/tarraw-* means ‘firm, secure’. The geminate *-rr-* requires a prehistoric paradigm **dérH-u*-, **d̥rH-éw*- with a laryngeal-final root, precluding any connection with the root of **dór-u*-, **dr-éw*- ‘wood’, which is rather derived from **der*- ‘to flay, split’. The shape and meaning of the Hittite adjective do confirm the derivation of the Proto-Germanic base **trewwa*- ‘secure; loyal, trustworthy, true’ from **dréuH-o*-, a *v̥ddhi* derivative of **druH-ó*- attested in ON *trír* ‘reliable, loyal’, with a zero-grade **druH*- seen also in Lithuanian *drútas* ‘thick, strong, fast (of sleep)’ < **druH-to*-. The late Hittite verb *tarrawā(i)*- ‘to establish, insitute’ < *‘to make fixed’ is derived in regular fashion from the oblique stem either of the attested Hittite adjective or of a Luvian cognate. The first-millennium Luvian adjective *tarrawann(i)*- ‘just, righteous’ shows a semantic development like that seen in most reflexes of Germanic **trewwa*-.

H. Craig Melchert
University of California, Los Angeles

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21. The absence of any gemination in reflexes of **trew-a*- < **drew-o*- (Gothic *triu* ‘tree, wood’, etc.) directly contradicts the attempt of Heidermanns (1986: 298) to derive **trewwa*- < **trew-a*- without a laryngeal.

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