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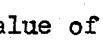
INDOEUROPEAN $^{+}\underline{e}$ IN LUWIAN

In the article are presented reflections of IE short $^{+}\underline{\breve{e}}$ in the cuneiform Luwian. Based on the material from DLL and HW it was established that IE $^{+}\underline{\breve{e}}$ in the neutral positions reflects as -a- while in the non-neutral positions (before or behind Proto-Luw. $^{+}\underline{\hat{i}}$ and behind $^{+}\underline{\hat{u}}$) reflects, at least in graphics, as i.

There are many hazy facts in the historical phonetics of the IE-Anat. languages.In the present article I am trying to clear up a developing course of IE $^{+}\underline{\breve{e}}$ in the cuneiform Luwian.I present examples with rather acceptable etymologies which contains Proto-Anat. $^{+}\underline{e}$ from Laroche's Dictionnaire de la langue louvite (DLL) and Friedrich's Hethitisches Wörterbuch (HW). DLL has been until now the most systematical collection of Luw.[1] words. Proto-Anat. $^{+}\underline{e}$ is generally identic with IE $^{+}\underline{\breve{e}}$, with exception of borrowed words which came in the language(s) after IE parting.

First, I have to present reflections of IE $^{+}\underline{\breve{e}}$, $^{+}\underline{\bar{e}}$ and $^{+}\underline{\breve{o}}$, $^{+}\underline{\breve{a}}$ in the IE-Anat. languages in the neutral positions:

IE	Proto-Anat.	ti-group					tsi-group
		Luw.	HLuw.	Pal.	Lyc.	Lyd.	Hitt.
$^{+}\underline{\breve{e}}$	$^{+}\underline{e}$	a	a	a	a	a	e/i
$^{+}\underline{\bar{e}}$	$^{+}\underline{\bar{i}}$, $^{+}\underline{\bar{e}}$(?)	i	i	i		i	$\bar{i}$/$\bar{e}$
$^{+}\underline{\breve{o}}$	$^{+}\underline{\breve{a}}$(?)	a	a	a	e	a	a
$^{+}\underline{\breve{a}}$	$^{+}\underline{a}$	a	a	a	a	a	a

Second, I want to point at the inexact cuneiform writing, which had been destined for Akkad. language and has not been adapted to IE-Anat. languages successfully enough. So, we don't know the exact phonetic value of the cuneiform signs  /ɥi/ and  /pi/ in Luw. that are the topics of the present ar-

ticle. In all probability we have to read the vowel of these two signs, at least in cases where it doesn't reflect IE +i and +ē (or i-diphtongs) as a bit palatal semivowel which, unfortunatly, in writing has coincided with the real i from mentioned sources. Below in the text I always deal with the orthographic but never with the phonetic values of discussed signs.

I also have to remind on Hitt. assibilation of dentals, which is caused by Proto-Anat. +ĭ̯, ē (i.e. IE +ĭ̯, +i̯ and +ē) but never +ĕ.

At last, in the Luw. orthography the Proto-Anat. +e is distinguished from +å/a by the fact that IE +l, +r, +m, +bh, +dh and +gh are doubled behind accented IE +ĕ́; IE +s is doubled also behind unaccented IE +ĕ, while all these consonants are written singly behind Proto-Anat. +å/a (Čop 1970: 85 ff.).

Examples of Proto-Anat. +e in the neutral positions:

1) Luw. aya- "faire", HLuw. aia-, Lyc. a- = Hitt.iia- "machen, tun" (DLL 23, HW 80). The Hitt.and Luw.verb may be from +iiia-, IE reduplicated Pres. +iiia- from the root +ie- "werfen, machen, tun" (Tischler 1978: 339). So, there is no e in this Anat.verb.

2) Luw. akuwa- "boire", Pal. ahu- "trinken" (?) = Hitt. eku- "trinken" (DLL 24, HW 40), Toch. AB yok- "to drink", IE +akʷa- : +ekʷ- "Wasser, Fluss" (Pokorny 1959: 23, Čop 1971/2: 35 f.). The Anat. verb is the result of IE ablaut +ē : +e (> a). Luw. akuwa- might be also a generalized weak stem which is found in Hitt. Pres. 3. Pl. akuuanzi.

3) Luw. annari- (according to Rosenkranz 1952: 21) "eine wünschenswerte Eigenschaft", cf. Luw. annar-ummi- "fort" = Hitt. innar-a-uant- "rüstig (?)", Luw. DAnnarumienzi = Hitt. DInnara-uantes (DLL 27, HW 83) < Proto-Anat. +én-nar-a- "strenght, vigour" < IE +én-nᵊr-o- =Slav. +(j)ędrъ with inserted -d- between the old +-n- and +-r-, cf. Skr. jèdar "vigorous, fresh", +jędrъ in OCS jędro, Russ. jadró, Pol. jadro, Skr. jédro "nucleus" that

is not related to OI andá- "egg, testicle" (so Miklošič 1886: 104) or Gr. ἀνδρός "voll, dicht, ausgewachsen, reif" (so Trautmann 1923: 107 and others) that is built from the Adv. ἄδην from IE +sə-d- (cf. Arm. at-ok' "voll, ausgewachsen", further Lat. satis, Goth. saþs "satt") by the suffix -ró- (Frisk 1973 I: 20 ff.). IE +en-n^{ə}r- is a compound from IE +en "in" and the root +ner- (by Pokorny 1959: 765 +aner-, +ener-) "(magische)Lebenskraft" = Finn.-Lapp +nōre- in Finn. nuori, Lapp nuorrâ "young" (the IE-Ural. equation discovered by Čop 1975/2: 94). Gr. ἀνήρ "man" results IE +^{ə}n-nér-s, OI sūnara "strong, youthful" < IE +su(^{ə})nnéro- and Gr. εὐ-ήνωρ "idem" results IE +séu-^{ə}nnor-s. So, there is no need to suppose an initial laryngeal in this root.

Otherwise Tischler 1978: 361 presumes originally +ə$_2$nor- that would reflect in Hitt. and OI as in- (cf. OI Indra- "the name of the god"). By such assumption it is impossible to explain Luw. ann- that in confrontation with the Hitt. inn- represents only IE +enn-.

4) Luw. aš- "être", HLuw. as-, Pal. aš-, Lyc. es (?) "idem" = Hitt. eš- "sein, vorhanden sein" (DLL 33, HW 42) from IE +es- "sein" (Pokorny 1959: 343).

5) Luw. ašḫa(r)nu- "ensanglanter", Hitt. ešḫarnu- "blutig machen" (DLL 34, HW 44) are identical denominative-causative verbs, made from IE +esH-r- (Hitt. ešḫar) "Blut" by the suffix +-n(e)u- (Pokorny 1959: 343).

6) Luw. ad- "manger", HLuw. ad-/ar- = Hitt. ed- "essen, fressen" (DLL 34, HW 44) from IE +ed- "essen" (Pokorny 1959: 287 f.). Luw. ad- may be also a weak stem like Hitt. Pres. 3. Pl. adanzi.

7) Luw. atari- "nourir" = Hitt. etriia- "ernähren" (DLL 34, HW 44), cf. Hitt. etri- "Gericht, Speisen, Mahlzeit", further see N° 6.

8) Luw. adduwal(i)- "mal, mauvais", HLuw. adu(wa)ta, cf. Hitt.

idalu- "schlecht, böse" (DLL 35, HW 93, Meriggi 1962:44),Toch. B yolo "böse", OI ādhrá- "poor", IE +edh- "bad, evil" (Čop 1970: 91, 1975/1: 204 f.).

9) Luw. kutaššara/i- "muraille", HLuw. kutasari = Hitt. BAD-eššar "Mauer, Befestigung, Burg" (DLL 58, HW 226), cf.etymologycaly the same suffix beyond the N° 30.

10) Luw. mallit- "miel", Pal. malit = Hitt. melit (written milit) from IE +melit, cf. Gr. μέλι , Gen. μέλιτος , Goth. miliþ, Alb. mjaltë (Čop 1970: 85).

11) Luw. mammana- "dire", Hitt. mema-, memiia- "sprechen" (DLL 67, HW 140) is reduplicated Perf. IE +me-mon-, +me-mn- from the root +men- "denken, geistig erregt sein" (Pokorny: 1959: 726, Čop 1961: 58 ff., 1970: 85).

12) Luw. mannaḫuni-, manna(ḫu)wani- = Hitt. maninku(ant)- "kurz" (DLL 68, HW 136), hypothetical IE +mən-enkᵘ-; the first member of compound is IE word for "hand" (weak stem) (by Pokorny 1959: 740 +mer-, Gen. +me-n-és "Hand") the seccond one is the suffix of direction that is found also in OI úd-añc- "turned upwards", Lat. prop-inqu-us "near". The second Luw. suffix is compared with that one in Hitt. arāḫz-en-a- "umwohnend ..." (cf. Hitt. arāḫza "ringsum, ausserhalb" (Čop 1970: 88 f., HW 28).

13) Luw. mawa- "4", HLuw. ma- = Hitt. meu- "4", Proto-Anat. +meu- "4" (DLL 70, Friedrich 1960: 71).

14) Luw. parran "devant, avant", HLuw. paran = Hitt. piran "vorn, voran" (DLL 78, HW 170) from IE +péro-m (Acc. Sg.to +pero-s "ferner"), cf. OI param "hinaus über, jenseits, nach"(Pokorny 1959: 811, Čop 1970: 86).

15) Luw. šappa- "écorcer" = Hitt. (arḫa) šippa(i)- "abschälen" (DLL 85, HW 193). But in the Hitt. exists also šap- "abschaben (?), säubern (?), (gefälte Baumstämme) von der Rinde be-

freien (?)", Pret. Sg. 3. šap-pa-at-ta (HW 183, 193); both verbs from IE +sep- "sich mit etwas abgeben, in Ehren halten" (Pokorny 1959: 909). So, Proto-Anat. +e in this Luw. word can not be proved.

16) Luw. šašša(i)- "coucher, reposer" = Hitt. šeš- "ruhen, schlafen" (DLL 87, HW 191), IE +ses- "to sleep", cf. OI sasti, Av. hahmī "he sleeps, I sleep" (Mayrhofer 1976: 449).

17) Luw. tappaš(a) "ciel", HLuw. tapas(a) (DLL 87, HW 191), = = Lith. debesis "cloud", probably from IE +nébhes- "Nebel, Dunst ..." (Pokorny 1959: 315).

18) Luw. uwata- "amener" = Hitt. uuate- "herbringen" (DLL 104, HW 239) is a thematic Pres. IE +u-u̯ódh-e- from the root +u̯edh- "führen" (Pokorny 1959: 1115 f.). Luw. thematic vowel in the neutral position is -a-, Hitt. -e-, cf. also thematic iterative suffix Luw. -šš-a-, Hitt. -šk-e- (Friedrich 1960: 74 f.). Cf. N° 24 and 28.

Luw. wašš- "vêtir" is probably comparable with the Hitt. weak stem u̯aš(š)-(u̯eš(š)-, u̯aššii̯a-, u̯ešši̯a-) "bekleiden, bedecken" (HW 248), p.ex. Pres. 3. Pl. u̯aššanzi = Luw. wasanti; IE +u̯es- "kleiden", Goth. wasjan (Pokorny 1959: 1172 f., DLL 108).

Luw. wašha- "maître (?)" derives from IE +u̯os-Ho- (by Pokorny 1959: 1174 +u̯esu- "gut") related to Luw. wašu- "bon" (Čop 1971 /1: 9 f.) (that is not identic with Hitt. aššu- "gut", so DLL 110) < IE +u̯os-u- = OIr. fō "gut, Güte" (Pokorny, l.c. without Luw. examples). Cf. the relations between Hitt. ešha- (written išha-) "Herr" from IE +es-H-o- = lat. erus (Pedersen 1938: § 107), OI ásu-ra- "mighty, master" < +es-u- at IE +étse- "souffle, âme" (Čop 1981: 93 f.) and aššu- "gut" from IE +os-u- or +ᵊs-u- to the root +es- "gut, tüchtig" (Pokorny 1959: 342, Friedrich 1923: 370).

Examples of Proto-Anat. +e in the non-neutral Positions:

Laroche (DLL 134) calles attention to the opposition Luw. i- a-

gainst Hitt. ke/i- and cites two examples:

19) Luw. immara/i- "campagne":Hitt. kim(ma)ra- "Feld, Flur" (HW 109). Both words may have arisen from IE $^{+}$ghrem-^{e}ro-, cf. Germ. $^{+}$grun-ƀu- "Grund" (Čop 1956: 43) or IE $^{+}$ghim-ro- without a single parallel (Čop 1971/1: 3).

20 Luw. iššari- "main" : Hitt. keššera- "Hand" (HW 108) < IE $^{+}$ǵhés(o)r- "Hand" (Pokorny 1959: 447).

In both cases weakend IE $^{+}$gh (ǵh)> $^{+}$ƀ > y before the palatal vowel assimilates following $^{+}$e to i. Regressive assimilation is found in:

21) IE $^{+}$dhéǵhom- → $^{+}$dheƀ́om+i- > Luw. tiyami- "Erde", cf. Hluw. takam- "earth"< IE $^{+}$dhéǵhom- (Čop 1971/1: 6 f., 19 f.).

22) Luw. $^{+}$mai- "crowd', Adj. mayašši- "de la foule" (DLL 65) dissimilated from $^{+}$miyi- < IE $^{+}$meǵH-i- "multa, magna" (see Pokorny 1959: 708); the vowel -i- is saved in Lyc. mi-ñt-i "meeting, assambly" < $^{+}$mii-ant-i- < IE $^{+}$meǵHā-nt- = OI mahánt- (Čop 1965: 123, 1971/1: 1-24). Example for such a dissimilation is cited also under the N° 1. The phenomenon IE $^{+}$gh > Luw. ø detailed by Čop 1971/1: 1-24.

The second non-neutral position that prevents changing $^{+}$e to a is behind Proto-Anat. $^{+}$u̯ (and $^{+}$p (?)). Examples:

23) Luw. iššar-wili- "droite" (DLL 53) against Hitt. u̯al-kišša-ra- "kundig erfahren" (HW 234)[2], IE $^{+}$u̯el- "wallen, wählen", OHG wela, wola "well" (Čop 1980), otherwise Hrozný 1917: 40 compares Lat. valeō.

24) Luw. widai-, (✎)wiwida(i)- "(her)bringen (?)"= Hitt. u̯eda- "herbringen" (DLL 111, HW 256), IE $^{+}$u̯edh- "führen, heimführen" (Pokorny 1959: 115 f).

25) Pal. úite- "bauen"[3], Lyd. uiT- = Hitt. u̯ete- "bauen" (Carruba 1970: 76, Ševoroškin 1967: 23, HW 254), IE $^{+}$u̯edh-"knüpfen,

binden" (Pokorny 1959: 116 f.)or u̯e-dhē- (-dhə$_1$- (?)) "niedersetzen" (Kronasser 1966: 554).

26) Luw. wid- "eau" = Hitt. stem in Gen. Sg. u̯et-en-aš(DLL 111, HW 249). Luw. wid- may be explained as a lenghtened grade, too, cf. Hitt. Nom.-Acc. Pl. u̯idār (?), OCS vědro (Pokorny 1959:80). In Pal. Loc.-Dat. u̯attana (Carruba 1970: 79) we can see the same vowel as in the Hitt. Nom. Sg. u̯atar.

27) Luw. wiyana-"vin", Hitt. u̯iiana- "Wein" (DLL 111, HW 225) < $^{+}$u̯äi̯na-, taken over from Semith. $^{+}$wainu (Assir. īnu).The phenomenon can be explained as regressive assimilation (see N° 21, 22 and 1).

28) Thematic vowel IE $^{+}$-e- is in neutral position in Luw.realised as -a- (see N° 18). On the other hand, Luw. tarawi- "abattre, terasser" can be explained as thematic deadverbative $^{+}$tar-au̯-e- related to Hitt. tarū "bäuchlings (?)", tarau̯a "idem"(DLL 92, HW 213, 217; etymology Luw. tarawi-: Hitt. tarū founded by Čop 1980).

29) Luw. (Ḫupešna) SAL alḫuitra- "a kind of priestess" = Hitt. SAL alḫuešra- "Funktionär im Kultus" (DLL 176, HW 19, Čop 1965: 100). Etymology unknown.

30) Luw. ḫuidwali- "vivant", ḫuitwal-aḫit- "vie", stem ḫuidu- "vivre", cf. Hitt. ḫuišu-āi- "leben", ḫuiš-, ḫueš- "idem" (DLL 47, HW 71 f., Čop 1965: 108 f.). Proto-anat. $^{+}$ḫues- "to live" may be simply IE $^{+}$Ḫues- , cf. OI vásati "he dwells", Goth.wisan "to be, to remain" (Pokorny 1959: 1170; about other alternatives see Čop, loc. cit.).

Luw. šaḫuidar(a)- "régulier, normal" and Hitt. šakuu̯aššar(a)- "richtig, vollständig" (DLL 84, HW 178) have arosen from Proto-Anat. $^{+}$sak^{u}asar(a)- (cf. Hitt. šakuu̯a "eyes"). The Luw. word is influenced by the primary adjective šaḫui- that is saved p. ex. in šaḫui-dali- (Čop 1965: 99, 112). The -i- in šaḫu-i- is identic with that one in Luw. parra-i-, Lat. tenu-i-s etc. So,there

is no -e- in this case.

Uncertain examples are Luw. (UZU)ḫappiša- "membre" that may result +ḫap-ešar = Hitt. UZUḫappeššar "Glied, Körperteil (DLL 41, HW 54, Tischler 1977: 165), cf. the same suffix in Luw.malḫašša- (DLL 65) and under the N°9; and Luw. pintanza (Acc.Pl.) "die Ruder (?)" (HW 169) that may represent IE Acc. Pl. +(s)pendhons , (+(s)pēndhons (?), cf. vrddhi formation in Hitt. Nom.-Acc. Pl. ui̯dār) to Nom. +(s)pendho-, +(s)pondho- "Holzeimer", cf. Gr. σπάθη (<+spn̥dhā) "Bez. mehrerer flacher und länglicher Gegenstände; z.b. Schwert(klinge), Ruderblatt, Spatel ..."; Pokorny 1959: 989 without the Luw. and Gr. parallels to which kindly called my attention Prof. Bojan Čop). Otherwise Frisk 1973 II 775 connects the Gr. word with Germ. spaðan, -ōn "Spaten".

Conclusions

IE +e reflects in Luw.: 1) In neutral positions a according to the phonetical-orthographical rule (Čop 1970: 85 ff.), see N°2-18; 2) In the proximity of Proto-Luw. +i̯ is assimilated to i, see N° 19-22; 3) behind IE+u̯ reflects as i (also in Pal. (?)) , see N° 23-30. In the last case the +e following consonant in Luw. is not doubled although IE +e is accented.

Finally, I have to remark that the third conclusion is exclusively phonetical-orthographical rule and has nothing to do with the productiveness of -i- stem in Luw. that is a matter of word formation. The rule should be proved or disproved by more materials that are not accesible to me.

Notes

Many thanks to Prof. Bojan Čop fo revising the article and correcting my faults.

[1]By the term Luw. is always ment cuneiform Luw. Hieroglyphic Luw. is always appointed by its attribute.

[2]Čop 1965: 112 cites wid- (see N° 26) and the discussing one.

He also compares Luw.ḫirut- "serment" with Hitt.ḫaruaš-i- "secret" where vowel relations in the first syllable are not clear.

[3]Carruba loc. cit. cites as a possible meaning also "bringen" but at least from the context arūnam-pi tī úiteši ānta nam tī úiteši (KUB XXXV 165 Vs. 23) where the agent is [D]Katahzipuri only the meaning "bauen, erschaffen" is evident.

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Povzetek

REFLEKSI INDOEVROPSKEGA $^{+}\underline{\check{e}}$ V LUVIJŠČINI

Iz materiala, ki ga nudita Larochev DLL in Friedrichov HW je razvidno, da v nemotenih pozicijah indoevropskemu $^{+}\underline{\check{e}}$ ustreza luv. $\underline{a}$. Če stoji praluv. refleks indoevropskega $^{+}\underline{\check{e}}$ v sosedstvu praluv. $\underline{\chi}$ (kakršnegakoli izvora), ga ta palatalni konsonant asimilira v historični $\underline{i}$. To velja tudi pri izposojenkah. Tudi v poziciji za ide. $^{+}\underline{u}$ stoji vsaj v ortografiji na mestu ide. $^{+}\underline{\check{e}}$ luv. (in pal. (?)) $\underline{\bar{i}}$, ki pa ne povzroči ortografske geminacije sledečega sonanta ali medie aspirate niti v primerih, ko je bil $^{+}\underline{\acute{\check{e}}}$ poudarjen.