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I. "Indo-Hittite Lite"

- IA Indo-Anatolian
- PA Proto-Anatolian
- CIE Common Indo-European (IA after the PA family split off ca. 4000–3500 BCE)

II. CL *kuwanzu*- 'heavy' and derivatives

Meriggi 1980:303 'plumbeo, di plombo'

A. Adj. *kuwanzu*-'heavy' or 'important' (Melchert 1993:115)

nom. sg. c. [ku-wa-a]n-zu-us KBo 9.143 III 10 (in fragmentary context)
 nom.-acc. sg. n. ku-wa-an-zu KUB 35.48 III 12, KUB 35.58 II 9
 nom. pl. c. ku-wa-an-zu-in-zi KUB 35.132+ II 4
 nom.-acc. pl. n. ku-wa-an-z[u-wa] KBo 29.6 Rs. 27, KBo 9.41 I 7 (in fragmentary context)

B. **k(u)wanzuna/i*- 'heaviness' (or sim.)

gen. adj. ku-wa-an-zu-na-as-si-is KUB 17.12 III 25

C. *ku(wa)nzuni(ya)*- 'be heavy, be weighed down with' (or sim.)

3. pl. imp. ku-un-zu-ni-in-du KBo 29.6 Rs. 28
 ptcp. ku-wa-an-zu-ni-im-ma-an KUB 35.15 III(!) 5

For *kuwanzuniya*-, see Starke 1990:253 n. 870, 421-22 n. 1519, 547 n. 2027 and Sasseville 2021:148-49.

III. How *kuwanzu*- and its derivatives are used

A. 'Heavy' literally of tools and metaphorically of a ritual patron and his wife

KBo 29.6 (CTH 762.2) "Great Ritual and *Halliyattanza*-ritual"

Vs. I

27. zā=pa kuwatin washasaura **kuwanz[u=wa]** 'a-at 7-[ta
 28. **kunzunindu** malḥassassis [EN-as ...]
 29. DUMU^{MES}-ti DUMU.MUNUS^{MES}-ti hamsāti ham[sukkallāti]

27. As these *washasaura*-tools are **heavy**, (likewise) [...]
 28. may the ritual [patron and his wife] **be gravid**
 29. with sons, daughters, grand-children (and) great-g[rand-children]!

Starke 1985:129; Yakubovich and Mouton 2023:352, 353

B. "May his burden not be heavy again"

KUB 35.48+ (CTH 760.4) "Great Ritual and *Dupaduparsa* Ritual"

Rs. III

10. [zila=d]ur DINGIR^{MES}-inzi zamman taparu
 11. [tat]arya[m]a hīrun wassini nis h[apai(nti)]
 12. [nis=d]u=wa=ta āppa **kuwanzu** GUN-an [n̄]s=[du=wa=tta]
 13. [āppa k]aldunīa uītt[ari]

10-11. [In the future], may the gods not b[ind] to his body bewitchment, judgment, [c]ur[s]e, perjury!
 12. [May] they [not (be experienced)] again [by h]im as a **heavy** burden!
 12-13. May they n[o]t be experienced [again by him] (as) [th]rashing!"

Starke 1985:156, Yakubovich and Mouton 2023:178, 179

cf. KUB 35.58 II 8-10 (CTH 759.6?) "Dupaduparsa-ritual"

Vs. II

8. [tapāru tatarriyamm]an NÍ.TE-ni ni[s
 9. [ku]wa[n]zu GU[N-an
 10. []uī[ttari

Starke 1985:164. Yakubovich and Mouton 2023:92, 93

C. *kuwanzuniya*- 'be loaded, be heavy with, be encumbered with'

KUB 35.15 + (CTH 761.2.5) "Great Ritual"

Rs. III!

1. [ārin] **r**war[maunta tapāruwa]
 2. [tatar]riyām[ma hīrū] **r**ta **7** [pūwatila]
 3. nānumtariya **r**la **7**[walan] **r**tie **7**ya [huitwalieya]
 4. nānum=pa nakkussāūnta pā n[akkussāhiti]

5. **kuwanzunimman** āsdu

1–3. [For a while we have been performing] conju[rations (on account of) judgments], curse[s, perjuri]es, [past] (or) present, [of the de]ad [(or) the living].

4. Now we have performed the scapegoat rite.

4–5. May (those) be affected [by] the sc[apegoat rite]!

Starke 1985:128, Yakubovich and Mouton 2023:2023:264, 265

Yakubovich and Mouton 2021:265–66 (commentary on III 4–5) More literally, “May (those) be loaded with the scapegoat rite!”

Better: “May (they) be encumbered with the scapegoat rite”?

D. 'Heavy' = 'important' (used of gods)

KUB 35.132 + KUB 25.37 + KUB 51.9 + KUB 35.131 CTH 771.1 Tablet of Lallupiya

Vs. II 42 arunaindu **kuwanzuinzi** DINGIR^{MES}[zi]

The **important** gods must make high [...]

Sasseville 2021:84

E. *kuwanzūnassis* 'of weightiness, importance'

KUB 17.12 CTH 431 B "Ritual of Bappi for Huwassanna"

Rs. III

22.' [na]mma ANA DINGIR^{LIM}3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA parsiya

23.' [i] NINDA.G]UR₄.RA sarladdassis

24.' [i] NINDA.GU]R₄.RA pilhaddassis

25.' [i] NINDA.GUR₄].RA **kuwanzūnassis**

Afterwards he breaks three thick breads for the deity:

[One t]hick [bread of exaltation,

[One th]ick [bread] of splendor(?), (and).

[One thic]k [bread] of **heaviness/importance**.

del Monte 2004:342, 343. See Hutter 2002:247–47 for a discussion of this ritual.

IV. 'Heavy, weighty' => 'important'

Hitt. *dassu-* 'heavy, important, strong'

KBo 4.1 I 41 nu KÙ.GI mahhan uktūri namma=at parkui
dassu=ya "As gold is eternal (and) furthermore it is pure and heavy."

dassus EZEN-as 'important festival' KUB 36.97 III 5
ŠUM-an=tit dassu "Your name is important." KUB 31.141 L. 4

cf. German *Gewicht, Gewichtigkeit*

V. IE **kʷendh-* 'receive an impression, experience, suffer' (LIV 390, Puhvel 1996) Better IE **kʷenth-* (IEW 641, Watkins 1964)

A. LIV 391

aor. **kʷéndh-*, **kʷṇdh-*-with secondary thematization in Gk. ἔπαθον 'experienced, suffered'
pres. **kʷéndh-e*-in Lith *kentù* 'suffer, endure, bear'
pres. **kʷṇdh-ské*-in Gk. πάσχω 'suffer, endure'
perf. **kʷekʷóndh-*, **kʷekʷṇdh-* in Gk. πέπονθα 'have experienced'
desid. **kʷéndh-*. *kʷṇdh s-* in Gk. πείσομαι, OIr. *céssaid* 'suffers, endures'

secondary pres. in *-ye/o- in Lith *kenčiù*, Latv. *cīešu* 'suffer, endure'

B. Beekes 1156 (w. refs.) **kʷendh-* violates IE root structure constraints. Alternatively **bhendh-* 'bind' with semantic development *'be bound' => 'suffer'

Leumann (1928) to be bound is to suffer; Pedersen (1938:192-95) to be bound is to be unfree, and thus to suffer

C. Watkins 1964

**kʷṇth-s-* > OIr. *céss-*-(with analogical reshaping to weak a-pres. *céssaid*)
**kʷ-sk-* > Gk. πάσχ-

Lith. *kenčiù* clearly secondary with suffix *-yo-

D. OIr. *céssaid* 'suffers, endures'

Bammesburger 1974-1975 denom. from a noun **céss* 'suffering' < **kʷṇth-t-ā-* (**kʷṇth-t-eh₂-*)
Matasović 2009:176 denom. from a **céss* 'suffering' < **kʷensā* or from **kʷenssā* or **kʷanssā* < IE **kʷendh-teh₂-*

VI. PA *kʷʰntwṛ in Hittite and Luwian *kāntar 'impression'

A. Puhvel 1996:167-68, 1997:254-55

B. Hitt. *kundurā(i)*- 'imbue, impress'

KUB 44.64 (CTH 561.10) Medical Text (Burde 1974:48-50)

Vs. I

- 23. -]at anda **kundurai**zzi
- 24.]x anda sīyāizzi

... **imbues** it (a compress or bandage with medication)
... presses

Note *wassi*^{HLA} 'medications' ib. II 6, 16, 12.

See also van den Hout 1994:314 and Sasseville 2021:412-13.

For the exposure of medical materials on the roof to the influence of the stars, see Barsacchi:2020:349-50.

C. Luw. *kundurai*-, *kunduriya*- 'impress, give the impression'

KUB 60.97 + 31.71 (CTH 584) "Dream of the Queen"

Vs. I

- 10. ^MMarasantass=[a=wa]
- 11. ^{LÚ}antuwasall[i]s artari
- 12. nu=war=as iwar LÚ ^{[UR]U}Karanduniyas
- 13. ``**kunduriyai** namma=assi
- 14. [tē]danus me[kki d]alugas

Marasanta, the *antuwasalli*-man, is standing
He **gives the impression** of a man of Babylon]
His hair has very long [pigtales(?) / braids? ...]

Puhvel 1996:168, 1997:255 "He impresses like a man of Babylon."
Sasseville 2021:122-13 "He gives the impression of a man of Babylon."

See also van den Hout 1994: 314-15 and Mouton 2007:276

D. Hitt. and Luw. verbs are denominative from **kūntūr* < PA **kʷṇthwṛ* 'impression' (or sim.)

Hitt. *kundurāi*- 'impress'

For the transitive sense in a denominative, Puhvel compares Gk. πατθαίνω 'instill with emotion'

But note e.g.

Σ 77 Σ 77 ἀεκήελια ἔργα παθέεν "and suffer shameful things"
 α 4 πολλὰ δ' ὅ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὅν κατὰ θυμόν "... suffered many sorrows in his heart at sea"

CL *kunduriya-* 'give the impression', *hi*-conjugation denominative

For *hi*-verbs from nouns, see Sasseville 2021:438-39, who notes Hitt. *ishamāi*-, *-iya*- 'sing' from **ishama*- or **ishami*- 'song' or from the oblique stem of *ishamāi*- 'song' and Hitt. *halzāi*, *halziya*- 'call', CL (Istanuwian) *haltai*-, *haltiya*-, if from **h₂l-ti*- in CL (Istanuwian) *halt(i)*- c. 'call'

VII. Adjective **kʷenth-su*- 'heavy, encumbered' > CL *kuwanzu*-

Rieken 1999:181, 220-22, 229, 237: *-su- arose via contamination of -s- stem nouns and -u- stem adjectives

Note *-su- in

Hitt. *genzu*- 'lap, lower abdomen' < **ǵenəsu*- (< **ǵenhₖ-su*-), nominalized neut. adj. 'that which engenders'

Eichner 1973:55, 86, Kloekhorst 2008:468-69, Puhvel 1997:154-57
 cf. **ǵenhₖ-e/o-s*- 'offspring, 'race' in e.g. Skt. *janas*-, Gk. γένος, Lat. *genus*

But see Kimball 2011: *genzu*- is unlikely to mean 'lap' etc. or to have anything to do with female or male gentials; better 'spleen' or another internal organ. Compare maybe Gk. γέντα (pl.) Κρέα, σπλάνγχνα 'meat, innards' (Hesych.), and see Laroche 1965:51, Zucha 1988:255-257 and Weitenberg 1984:165 w. refs.

Derivation of γέντα from **ǵem-s*- or **ǵen-s*- 'compress, grasp' in e.g. Gk. aor. γέντο "grasped" < *γέμι-το), γέμω 'am full,' γόμιος m. 'shipload, cargo', γέμιος n. 'load', Umb. *gomia*, *kumiaf* 'gravida's', OCS ज़ुमृ 'compress, jam, constrict, squeeze, pack' is unlikely (Beekes 2010:266, Frisk 1960:297)

Skt. *raṁśu*- 'pleasant' cf. **r̥cm-e/os* 'rest' in Go. *rimis* n. 'rest', Gk. ἡρεμος 'peaceful', comp. ἡρεμέστερος, Lith. *ramù* 'peaceful'

Hitt. *tepsu*- 'something little (a by-product of grain that does not yield a plant' (Kloekhorst 2008:866-69) from adj. 'small, slight'

cf. KUB 24.3 ii 52-53 tuel ŠUM=KA (53) lē **tepsanusi** "O, goddess, do not diminish your name!"

= KUB 24.4 + KUB 30.12 ii 9 nu=za tuēl! ŠUM=KA lē **tepnu]skesi** "Do not diminish your name!"

Hitt. *tepsu-* points to an unattested *-s-stem* *dhébh-e/os- beside *dhebh-u- in Hitt. *tēpu-* 'little'
Pace Kloekhorst, there is no nominalizing suffix *-su-*.

Rieken: Skt. *dhákṣu-* 'burning', compared by Eichner, probably remade from *o-stem* *dhogʷh-ó-

For *kuwanzu-* note Gk. πένθος < *kʷénth-e/os (with analogical π)

VIII. Indo-Anatolian *kʷenth- 'weigh down, impress, encumber'

Metaphorical extension of 'weigh down, impress' to 'suffer, experience, undergo' in CIE

IX. Other instances of semantic innovations in CIE after Anatolian broke away

A. Technology

'wheel'

Hroth₂o- 'wheel' in e.g. Lat. *rota* 'wheel', OHG *rad* 'wheel', OIr. *roth* 'wheel, chariot'
Skt. *rátha-* 'chariot' (< *Hrót-h₂-o-) : IE *Hreth₂- 'run' in OIr. -reith 'run'

kʷekʷlo- 'wheel' in e.g. Skt. *cakra*, Gk. κύκλος, OE *hwéol*, Toch. A *kukäl*, B *kokale*,
'chariot' : *kʷelh₂- 'turn'; cf. CL *k(u)wali-*, *ku(wa)lai-* 'turn' < *kwol(h₂)-eye/o-

vs. Hitt. *hurki-* 'wheel' < *h₂wrǵ-i- : *h₂werǵ- 'turn, twirl, twist' in e.g. Skt. aor. *várk* 'you turn, pres. *vṛṇákti*

See Anthony and Ringe 2015.

'plow'

**h₂erh₂-* 'plow' in e.g. Gk. ἀρόω, Lat. *arō*, Go. *arjan*, OCS *orati*, Lith. *árti*, and OIr. *airid*

**h₂erh₂-trom* 'plow, ard-type plow' in e.g. Gk. ἄρτρον, Lat. *arātrum* (ā secondary), ON *arðr*; OIr. *arathar*; and cf. Lit. *árklas* 'plow' < *arH-tlo-, OCS *rado* id. < *arH-dhlo-

'vs. 'crush, pound, destroy' in Hitt.-CL *harra-*

cf. Hitt. *harszi terepzi* 'tills (and) plows', which suggests seeder-plow technology.

For independent adoption of technological innovations in plowing, see Puhvel 1964 and 1991:184-85.

'make'

**k^wer-* 'make, shape' in e.g. in Skt. *karóti*, *kṛṇóti* 'makes', OIr. *cruth* 'shape, form', and Lith. *kuriù* 'make, build'

vs. 'cut, hew' in Hitt. *kwer-*, *kur-*, CL *kuwar-*, *kūr-*, and HL *kwar-*

B. Metaphorical extension

'Disappear => 'die'

**mer-* 'die' e.g. in Ved. *ámṛta* 'has died' and OCS *umrěti* 'died'

vs. 'disappear' in Hitt. *mer-*, *mar-* 'disappear, vanish', *mernu-* 'make disappear', and HL **marnuwa-* 'make disappear'.

See also Kloekhorst HIL:7-11 and Kloekhorst and Pronk 2019:3-4 for discussions of semantic innovations in CIE as opposed to Anatolian.

IX. Conclusions

A. IA **k^wenth-* 'weigh down, impress, encumber'

aor. * <i>k^wenth-</i> , * <i>k^wnth-</i>	Gk. ἐπαθον
*-ske/o- pres. * <i>k^wñ-ske/o-</i>	Gk. πάσχω
-s-pres.?, desid.?, * <i>k^wenth-s-</i>	OIr. céssaid

neut. -s-stem **k^wénth-e/os-* 'weight, impression'
-u-stem adj. **k^wénth-u-* 'heavy, weighty'

B. After splitting off of PA

PA

CIE

verb. * <i>k^want-</i> , * <i>k^wnt-</i> 'weigh down, impress'	verb * <i>k^wenth-</i> , <i>k^wnth-</i> 'weigh down, impress'
=>	'receive an impression, experience, suffer'

verbal noun * <i>k^wntwṛ</i> 'impression'	* <i>k^wnth-ske/o-</i> > Gk. πάσχω * <i>k^wenth-s-</i> in OIr. céssaid
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neut. -s-stem * <i>k^want-e/os-</i> 'weight' -u-stem adj. * <i>k^wantu-</i> 'heavy, weighty'	* <i>k^wenth-e/os</i> 'weight' => 'burden' => 'grief' Gk. πένθος for **τένθος
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