The Fat and the Furious.

*\textit{w(o)rg-} ‘fat, furious, strong’ and derivatives in Hittite and Luwian

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Abstract

The famous Hurrian-Hittite wisdom parable KBo 32.14 starts with the expulsion of a deer from a mountain, the deer’s relocation, its allegedly growing fat (\textit{n-aš warkešta}) and arrogant, and its curse of the mountain. In view of \textit{warkant-} ‘fat’, \textit{warg(a)nu-} ‘to fatten’, and \textit{warka-} c. ‘fat’ this makes sense. However, there are two problems with this translation: (1) The exegesis of the parable shows that \textit{warkešta} cannot mean ‘grew fat’ in context, and (2) the Hurrian equivalent idiomatic expression only depicts increasing degrees of anger. The discrepancy between the Hurrian and Hittite version can be resolved by relating \textit{warkešta} to \textit{warkui-} c. ‘anger, fury’, which is not Hittite but borrowed from Luwian \textit{*warkuit-} n. (= adj. \textit{*warku-} + \textit{-it-} < \textit{*wr(H)gráfico}). But \textit{warkešta} ‘became angry’ would also surely have invoked ‘became fat’. We should consider merging the two stems ‘fat’ and ‘fury’: what underlies both stems is the notion of swelling: metaphorical swelling for the ‘anger’ cluster \textit{warkui-} ‘fury’, \textit{warkešš-} ‘to become angry’, and concrete swelling for the ‘fat’ cluster \textit{warkant-} ‘fat’, \textit{warg(a)nu-} ‘to fatten’, \textit{warka-} c. ‘fat’ (< \textit{*wór(H)gráfico}). Cun.Luw. \textit{wāra-nni} ‘strong’ and Hier.Luwian \textit{ni-wara-anna/i} ‘child (< not having strength)’ probably belong here as well. Given that both senses of swelling are attested in Greek \textit{ḍéργη} ‘passion, anger, fierceness’ and \textit{ḍéργάω} ‘to swell, be ready to bear fruit’
and Sanskrit ūṛj- ‘strength’ and ‘food, refreshment’, the Hittite-Luwian war(k)-family therefore aligns with its IE cognates.

1. Introduction: the parable of ‘The Disrespectful Deer’ KBo 32.14 ii 1-21

At first sight, the Hurrian-Hittite parable of “The Disrespectful Deer” (KBo 32.14 ii 1-21, ed. Neu 1996:75, 77) is rather straightforward. The conventional translation of warkešš-, a crucial lexeme in the parable, as ‘to become fat’ is contextually plausible:

(1) A mountain pushed a deer off of [its] body. The deer moved on to another mountain. He grew fat2 (n-aš warkešta (Hitt.) / — (Hurr.)3), and he became arrogant/disrespectful

1 This study is part of a larger project, Expressing Agency and Point of View: The core cases in the ancient Anatolian languages (1700-300 B.C.), assisted by an ACLS Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies. I am very grateful to the audience of WeCIEC 31 for their very useful comments and suggestions, and the as usual insightful comments of the editors. Crucial improvements, which I owe to Craig Melchert, are to treat warkui- ‘fury’ not as a mistake for Hittite low register or taboo warku- but to analyze it as a borrowing from Luwian, and to analyze warka- c. ‘fat’ as a result noun, not as a substantivized neuter participle warkan. For further discussion of these words see §3 and §4.2. All remaining views, unless otherwise noted, and errors are my own.

2 The lexemes discussed in this study are bolded.

3 Neu (1996:112) suggested that the Hurrian equivalent of n-aš warkešta ‘he became fat’ was omitted by mistake. Since I will argue that warkešš- is captured by Hurrian tēlu, it follows that the scribe of the Hurrian version did not make a mistake of omission.
He started to curse at the mountain in return: “The mountain on which I graze, I hope fire completely burns it. I hope the Storm God strikes it, and fire completely burns it.” When the mountain heard (about it), its feelings were hurt. The mountain cursed the deer in return: “The deer that I made fat (aliyanan kuin warganun / Hurr. šeduiliyaniž “the fattened (deer) (erg.sg.)”) now keeps cursing me. Let the hunters drop it, the deer, let the falconers take it. Let the hunters take its meat, let the falconers take its skin.”

(It is) not a deer, (it is) a human being! It is that (type of) man who ran away from his own city and went to another country. He sought to become disrespectful (man-aš šollēt / fūru tēlu tapšū (Hurr.)), and started to plot evil back at the city. The gods of the city have cursed him (forever).

Indeed, the meaning ‘fat’ for the root wark- and its derivation warkant- (Sum. ŠE) is well established (Tischler 2016:331–3). Pigs, for example, are fattened on grass and grains (ex. 2), and fat oxen and sheep, a necessary staple for the gods (ex. 3a and b), are the responsibility of the royal couple (ex. 4):

(2)² The Wise Woman takes the piglet, and holds it up over them (i.e., the ritual patrons). She speaks as follows:

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² For the glosses, see the Leipzig Glossing Rules (https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php). In bound transcription ‘−’ denotes a clitic boundary, ‘-’ a morpheme boundary, and ‘∼’ the boundary between a logogram and
“(kāša = w) ar ⸗aš Û-it ḫalk-it [w]arkanza

Here. now = QUOT 3S. NOM. C grass-INS grain-INS fat(tened): NOM. S. C

“Here now, it is fat(tened) with grasses (and) grains!” (MH/MS, KBo 39.8 ii 45-46 w. dupl. KBo 44.18 ii 3, ed. Mouton 2012)

(3a) Then the camp commanders lay their hands on the rams while speaking as follows:

“Here, rams are now standing ready for the deity that has caused this plague.

nu ⸗war ⸗at ÛSTU UZU NĪG. GIG UZU ŠĀ

CONN = QUOT 3PL. NOM. C with meat liver meat heart

Û ÛSTU UZU ÚR mekki warkant-eš

and with meat limb very fat(tened)- NOM. PL. C

“They are very fat(tened) with (respect to their) liver, hearts and limbs. (May human flesh be repulsive to him again. And may you, (o deity,) be satisfied with these rams)” (MH/NS, KUB 9.31 iii 38-39, ed. Chrzanowska 2016)

syllabogram. Additional glosses: C = common gender, CONN = connective, FIENT = fientive, ITER = iterative, PTCL = particle
Regarding your domains, o Gods of the sky, that were (designated for the delivery) of thick breads, libation vessels and tribute: from some the priests, the ‘mother-of-god’ priestesses, the pure priests, the anointed priests, the musicians (and) the singers have marched off, while from others they carried off the tributes and cultic provisions of the gods: from some they carried off the solar discs and moon discs of silver, gold, bronze (and) copper of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the fine cloths, the *adupli* cloths, the mantle(s) of the *kušši*, the thick breads and libation vessels,

\begin{verbatim}
auli-uš₮a-kan GU₄.MAH₄.HI₄.A ŠE GU₄.ÁB ŠE
sacrificial.animal-ACC.PL.Ç while-PTCL prize-bulls fat bovine cow fat

UDU.HI.A ŠE MĀ₄.GAL₄.HI₄.A ŠE ku₆-z ar₉a nanni-ér
sheep fat billy-goats fat some-ABL off drive-3PL.PST
\end{verbatim}

while from others they drove off the sacrificial animals: the fat prize bulls, the fat cow(s), the fat sheep, the fat Billy goats. (MH/MS, KUB 17.21 ii 18’-19’, ed. Rieken et al. 2016)

(4) Mount Šarišša, rise!

\begin{verbatim}
zīge₄a warkant-aš GU₄.MAH₄.HI₄.A-aš UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ-aš
you-but fat(tened)-GEN.PL prize.bulls-GEN.PL rams-GEN.PL

EGIR-pa mayant-aš dUTU-sùmm-i 'Tawananna-i
\end{verbatim}
Now you race back to the rejuvenated ones, Our Sun (i.e., the king) (and) Tawanna, wardens of fat(tened) prize bulls and rams. (OH/MS, KBo 17.88 + KBo 24.116 iii 20’-22’, ed. Klinger 1996:320–1)

In an otherwise damaged context someone claims he could have mixed warka- c. ‘fat’ with clay (ex. 5), perhaps to form a figurine in a magical ritual, compare ex. 6:

(5) \([\text{\textit{nu}²-\textit{ka}}]\)\textit{n} man \textit{warka-n} ulin-i anda \textit{imie-nun}\n
\text{CONN\textasciitilde{PT} IRR fat-ACC.S.C clay-LOC.S into mix-}
\text{CL} \text{1S.PST}

I could have mixed fat into clay. (OH/NS, KBo 3.46 obv. 13’)

(6) 1–EN \(\text{\textit{šīna-n}}\) \textit{wil[n]-aš} \textit{šaluin-it}\n
\text{one figurine-ACC.S.C clay-GEN.S mud-plaster-INS}
With mud-plaster and with lard I shape (?) one figurine of clay. (OH/OS, KBo 17.1 iv 18-19)

To return to the deer, according to the generally accepted interpretation the deer grew fat on the mountain it moved to after its mountain of origin pushed it away (e.g., Hoffner 1998:69, Melchert 2005:91 n. 5, Ünal 1994:862). The deer’s curse would then apply to this second mountain, as the mountain’s response to the curse seems to make clear: “The deer that I made fat (aliyanan kuin warganun, KBo 32.14 ii 12) now keeps cursing me.” But there are two problems with this interpretation: the first mountain is cursed (§2.1) and the growing fat is not represented in the Hurrian version (§2.2).

Instead, we should equate warkešš- with Hurrian tēlu ‘he swelled in anger’ (§2.3). Fientive warkešš- ‘to become furious’ can then be linked to warkui- c. ‘fury’ < Luw. *warkuit- n. (§3). I next discuss the SWELL conceptualization of anger (§4.1), connect the words for fat based on wark- with the words for fury based on wark- (§4.2), and let *wark- ‘fat, fury’ join its IE cognates (§4.3). I furthermore propose that Cun.Luw. wāranni- ‘strong’ and Hier.Luwian niwaranna/i- ‘child (not having strength)’ (instead of niwarranna/i- ‘not having help = helpless’) belong here too, and conclude the paragraph with an overview of the Hittite and Luwian reflexes of PIE *werHg-. §5 contains some concluding remarks, returning to the Disrespectful Deer.

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5 The sign remnants in KBo 17.1 iv 19 allow the reading 𒂗.UR.AH-it-ta ‘and with lard (lit. pork fat)’, compare the hand copy 𒉗𒈺 with ᖬ (HZL nr. 72).
2. Problems and solutions

2.1 Which mountain is cursed?

Within the larger context of the parables, it is better to follow Neu (1996:75: “Und er began danach, (seinen ehemaligen) Berg zu verfluchen”) and Tischler (2016:333) that the deer curses the first mountain. Comparison with the other parables dealing with disrespectful behavior (parables 3, 6 and 7) shows that the disrespect is always directed against the creator of the entity (Table 1). In each case the narrative development is as follows: the disrespectful cup (3), tower (6), and brushwood (7) take issue with their makers and curse them, after which their maker utters a curse of destruction in return. While the parable of the Disrespectful Deer does not start with the literal creation of the deer by the mountain that pushed him off, I suggest that the first mountain, not the second mountain, is the ‘creator’ in the sense that it is the deer’s home until the latter reaches adulthood and is ready to leave.

Table 1: Development of narrative of the disrespectful entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parable</th>
<th>3 (KBo 32.14 ii 42-60)</th>
<th>6 (KBo 32.14 rev. 41-47)</th>
<th>7 (KBo 32.14 lower edge 66-left edge 4)</th>
<th>1 (KBo 32.14 ii 1-16)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entity</td>
<td>cup</td>
<td>tower</td>
<td>pile of brushwood</td>
<td>deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creator</td>
<td>smith</td>
<td>builder</td>
<td>stacker</td>
<td>mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>sublimely created and adorned by smith</td>
<td>sublimely created by builder for</td>
<td>stacked by a stacker in pile</td>
<td>(deer grows up on a mountain),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>State of mind of entity</strong></td>
<td>marlants ‘crazy’</td>
<td>marlants ‘crazy’</td>
<td>marlants ‘crazy’</td>
<td>wark- and disrespectful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curse by entity</td>
<td>curses smith with loss of the arm and hand that created him</td>
<td>curses builder with loss of the arm and hand that created him</td>
<td>curses stacker with loss of the arm and hand that created him</td>
<td>curses mountain that fattened him with being struck by Teššub, and burnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurting of creator</td>
<td>his heart sickened inside him</td>
<td>his heart turned bad inside him</td>
<td>his heart turned bad inside him</td>
<td>his heart sickened inside him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question by creator</td>
<td>why does the copper that I poured curse me?</td>
<td>why does the wall that I built curse me?</td>
<td>why does the wood that I placed curse me?</td>
<td>why does the deer that I fattened curse me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curse by creator</td>
<td>a. may Teššub strike it and remove the ornaments</td>
<td>a. may Teššub strike it and turn its fundament up</td>
<td>a. may Teššub strike it</td>
<td>a. may hunters and falconers seize it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The exegesis of the parable supports this. Both the Hurrian and Hittite exegesis make a clear distinction between the city of origin and the new country of the man, the deer in the allegory. In Hurrian the first mountain is represented by ardi ‘city’ in the exegesis (KBo 32.14 i 18), which Hittite translates as URU ‘city’ (KBo 32.14 ii 18). The second mountain is represented by Hurrian ommini ‘land’ (KBo 32.14 i 20), and Hittite KUR ‘land’ (KBo 32.14 ii 19). Both exegeses make it perfectly clear that the man maltreats his hometown, not his new country. As a result, the city-gods have cursed the man (Table 2). In short, the parables of the Disrespectful Deer, Cup, Tower and Brushwood and their exegeses all deal with disrespect towards one’s maker or place of origin, never towards a new situation. The deer therefore curses the first mountain, and that also means that the first mountain fattened the deer (see ex. (1) for the context).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exegesis</th>
<th>3 (KBo 32.14 iii 1-5)</th>
<th>6 (KBo 32.14 rev. 50-52)</th>
<th>7 (KBo 32.14 lower edge 66-)</th>
<th>1 (KBo 32.14 ii 17-21)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. may it fall in the canal</td>
<td>b. may its [...] fall in the canal</td>
<td>b. may the lower part fall in the canal</td>
<td>b. may the hunters take its meat</td>
<td>b. may the lower part fall in the canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. and its ornaments in river</td>
<td>c. and its tiles in the river</td>
<td>c. and its foliage in the water</td>
<td>c. the falconers its hide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entity</td>
<td>a man who is hostile to his father</td>
<td>a man who is hostile to his father</td>
<td>a student [who is] zazga- (?)</td>
<td>a man who ran away from his hometown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Creator’</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>hometown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>raised for success by father</td>
<td>raised for success by father</td>
<td>raised for success by teacher</td>
<td>leaves for another country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of mind of entity</td>
<td>hostile</td>
<td>hostile</td>
<td>zazga- (?)</td>
<td>disrespectful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equivalent of curse by entity</td>
<td>ignores his father</td>
<td>ignores his father</td>
<td>zazga-s his teacher</td>
<td>talks bad about hometown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curse related to ‘creator’</td>
<td>the gods of his father have cursed him</td>
<td>the gods of his father have cursed him</td>
<td>[partially broken]: cursed with death</td>
<td>the gods of the town have him cursed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2 Mismatch between the Hurrian and Hittite versions

Since the state of affairs denoted by *warkešš-* follows the move of the deer to the second mountain while the narratological development of the parable and the exegesis support the fattening of the deer on the first mountain, *warkešš-* no longer means ‘become fat (from food)’. Rejecting this translation is further supported by the mismatch of the Hurrian and Hittite version.
The clause *n-aš warkešta ‘he became (physically) fat’ (ex. 7a) is not represented in Hurrian (ex. 7b). This is odd because when we do have *warganu- ‘make fat’ in Hittite (ex. 8a), it matches Hurrian *šed- (ex. 8b, already see Neu 1996:103):

\[(7a) \quad n-aš \quad \text{wark-}eš-ta \]
\[
\text{CONN}3\text{S.NOM.C} \quad \text{fat-FIENT-3S.PST} \\
\]
\[
n-aš \quad šöllē-t \]
\[
\text{CONN}3\text{S.NOM.C} \quad \text{become.disrespectful-3S.PST} \\
\]

He became fat, and he became disrespectful (MH/MS, KBo 32.14 ii 4)

\[(7b) \quad fūr-u \quad tēl-u \quad tapš-ū \]
\[
\text{see-INTR} \quad \text{increase-INTR} \quad \text{transgress-INTR} \\
\]

He became noted, he swelled in anger, he broke the rules (MH/MS, KBo 32.14 i 3-4)

\[(8a) \quad aliyana-n \quad kui-n \quad \text{warganu-}nun \]
\[
\text{deer-ACC.S.C} \quad \text{which-ACC.S.C} \quad \text{make.fat-1S.PST} \\
\]

\[
\text{kinuna-mu} \quad āppa \quad ḫurzaki-zī \\
\text{now-me} \quad \text{back} \quad \text{curse:IPFV-3S.NPST} \\
\]
The deer that I fattened is now cursing me in return (MH/MS, KBo 32.14 ii 12-13)

(8b) iyā-t šēd-u-ili-(y)a-ni-ž šit-ār-a nāl-li(<ni)-ž
why- fat-? PASS.PTCPL-? curse-ITER deer-RELAT-ERG.S
1.S.ABS RELAT-ERG.S 3.S.TRANS

Why is the fattened deer cursing me? (MH/MS, KBo 32.14 i 10-11)

In other words, the Hurrian text could have used šed- earlier too if the fattening of the deer had been intended. The argument that ‘become fat’ might be represented by the only root in the Hurrian sequence that could represent a measure of size, tel- ‘big, large’, does not hold: all other instances of fūru tēlu tapšū in KBo 32.14 are either translated as šōllet (Disrespectful Deer: KBo 32.14 i 20/ii 19 man-āš šōllet) or as n-āš meikki šōllet (Discontented Dog: KBo 32.14 iv 16-17/iii 16; Discontented giluši-animal: KBo 32.14 rev. 26/rev. 32). The sequence fūru tēlu tapšū was clearly deemed captured by the verb šōlle- ‘to become disrespectful, arrogant’. This verb, as Melchert has shown, describes “the sin of ingratitude and disrespect towards a benefactor” (2005:91). A final analysis of fūru tēlu tapšū is still outstanding (for more discussion see §2.3), but seems to mean “er wurde auffällig, er ging über die Maßen hinaus, er überschritt/empörte sich” (Giorgieri 2001:133, with discussion of alternatives; similarly Haas 2006:296 with “er […] stierte, blähte sich auf, wurde zornig”).

That the verb warkešš- was considered omissible in all other passages with šōlle- suggests that warkešš- belongs to the same semantic sphere as šōlle-. Additional, though not conclusive, support for fully relegating fūru tēlu tapšū = n-āš warkešta n-āš šōllet to the mental-cognitive domain can be gained from the other parables of disrespect. Parables 3, 6 and 7
describe the cup, tower and brushwood as marlant- ‘foolish’ at the same point in the narrative where Parable 1 describes the deer as warkeš- and šōlle- (Table 1). We should therefore consider interpreting warkeš- as an emotion on a par with foolish or unwise behavior, and perhaps leading to the act of disrespect if the sequence of verbs indicates a logical sequence. De Martino (1999:13) already thought of anger for both verbs (“si arrabiò e si infuriò”), translating šōllet as “si infuriò.” The connection of warkešš- with anger will be pursued in §3.

2.3 Hitt. warkešta = Hurr. tēlu

The phrase fūru tēlu tapšū requires more research, but could preliminarily be analyzed as follows. The ending -u is some kind of intransitivity marker. The root fūr- means ‘to see’ (Richter 2012:325–6), and as Giorgieri has shown, tel- means “vermehren, zahlreicher machen, anhäufen” in transitive context, and in intransitive context “über die Maßen/Grenzen (des Erlaubten) hinausgehen; schwellen; sich aufblasen” (Giorgieri 2001:127, 132–3, but see Richter 2012:434 for other translations as well). In my view, Wilhelm provides the best analysis of tapš- as belonging to the semantic field of crossing boundaries. The root occurs in tapš-ağ- “ausgießen (??)” and tapš-oğ- “überschreiten” (Wilhelm 1992:252, see Richter 2012:442 for more translations). Thus, pending new insights, we should translate fūru tēlu tapšū literally as ‘he became seen, he swelled up, he crossed/broke the rules’ and follow Giorgieri’s view that we are dealing with increasing anger. In the exegeses of the Disrespectful Deer, Discontented Dog and Discontented giluši-animal we need a metaphorical reading with mainly negative connotations ‘he became noted, he swelled up in anger, he became disrespectful’. Now that Melchert (2005) has shown that šōlle- means ‘become disrespectful, arrogant’, we should equate šōlle- with tapš- instead of tel- (so Melchert 2005:90). For our Disrespectful Deer that implies that n-aš warkešta
translates tēlu ‘he swelled up, bloated’. We therefore do not discard the basic meaning of ‘fat’ for wark-, but read it here as metaphor for anger, as already noted. Indeed, the emotion that is intricately connected with arrogance and disrespect is anger or rage (Tanesini 2018): warkešš- could therefore mean ‘to become swollen (with anger) > to become furious’.

3. warkui- c. ‘fury’< Luw. *warkuit- n., warkešš- ‘to become furious’

And indeed, there exists a lexeme built on the root wark- denoting some form of anger. It only occurs twice6, in the Old Hittite myth series ‘The Disappearance of the Disgruntled Deity’ (Telipinu version CTH 324, ex. 9 and in the parallel Storm God version CTH 325, marked as variant):

(9) I burnt (the shearings) all over Telipinu in one direction and the other direction. From Telipinu’s body I took his evil (idāluššit) away. I took his sin (uštulšet). I took his wrath (karpi(n)ššan). I took his anger (kardimiyatta(n)ššan).

历时 warku-(n)ššan, var. warkui-(n)ššan dā-ḫḫun

fury-ACC.S.C=his:ACC.S.C take-1.S.PST

I took his fury. (I took (his) sullenness (šāuwar)). (OH/MS, KUB 17.10 iii 12, var. KUB 33.28:6’, ed. Rieken et al. 2012, who leave warku- untranslated but provide several translations with references to the literature in fn. 48)

6 With Melchert (2016:214) we should replace w[a-a]r-ku-uš-šu-uš (so Rieken et al. 2012) in KUB 17.10 iii 5 with l[u-e²-e]k-ku-uš-šu-uš.
This noun is listed as an *-stem *warkui- in Kloekhorst 2008:964 and Tischler 2016:332. The passage that Kloekhorst uses to determine the stem is late NS *sa-warku-ša-an (KUB 33.28:6’, CTH 325), versus MS < *wa-ku-us-ša-an (KUB 17.10 iii 12). Kloekhorst and Tischler prefer to emend UŠ𒍑 to IŠ𒅖 in KUB 17.10 iii 12 because according to both it is easier to imagine that the scribe left out a vertical wedge by mistake (so read *wa-ku-ša-an in KUB 17.10 iii 12) than to add a wedge by mistake (so read *wa-ku-us-ša-an in KUB 33.28:6’). This is not very compelling, given that the scribe of the NS version made a few mistakes that included *adding* something to a sign besides omitting elements. For example, we find AN𒀭 instead of AŠ𒈪 (KUB 33.24 + KBo 26.124 i 19’), NE𒉈 instead of ET𒉈 (KUB 33.24 i 26’), or ZÍZ𒉈 instead of PA𒈪 (id. iv 24’). Similar mistakes occur in KUB 17.10: ḤA𒉈 instead of ZA𒉈 (i 38’), PA𒈪 instead of PÁR𒉈 (ii 29’), and even IŠ𒅖 instead of UŠ𒅖 (KBo 55.8 ii 2’). Clearly, there are no longer any palaeographic arguments to express a preference for either *warku- or *warkui-. A choice must be made on other grounds.

What is far more relevant is the use of the Glossenkeil in KUB 17.10. Though glossed words are not necessarily Luwian, in the context of this myth with many Luwianisms, a Luwian origin for our word is very likely (Melchert 1993:259). Since Luwian *u*-stems are very rare while -*i*-stems are ubiquitous, *warkui- is probabilistically the best choice. Its source is then a Luwian neuter abstract noun *warkuit-*, compare Hitt. *wašku-*. < Luw. *waškuit- n. ‘offense’ (Starke 1990:180–1). The Luwian *nomina qualitatis* on -*it*- are derived from adjectives, and thus we posit a Luwian adjective *warku- ‘furious’ (further see §4.2).

Discarding an originally Hittite noun *warkui-* in favor of a borrowing from Luwian solves the problem that *warkešš-* ‘to become furious’ cannot derive from Hittite *warkui-* ‘fury’; the
fientive of *warkui- should have been *warkuešš-, compare *parkui- ‘clean’ and *parkuešš- ‘to become clean’. Rather, we should explore whether and how Luwian *warku- ‘furious’, ‘Hittite’ *warkui- c. ‘fury’, and Hittite *warkešš- ‘to become furious’ are semantically and etymologically related to the root *wark- ‘fat’ attested in examples (2-5).

4. Connecting the fat, the furious and the children

4.1. The swell conceptualization of anger

The connection between swollen and anger is well-established: swell conceptualizations of anger can be found in, for example, Old English, Old Saxon and Old High German (all belgan ‘to swell up (in anger)’ and ‘to be angry’< PIE *bʰelǵʰ- ‘to swell’), Ancient Greek (θόέιν ‘to rage’ and ‘to swell’; ὀργή ‘impulse, passion, anger, wrath, violent emotion’ and ὀργάω ‘to swell with lust, be excited’, ‘to swell as it ripens’ (said of fruit), ‘to swell with produce’ (said of soil)9. Further see §4.3), Hawaiian (huhū ‘anger, rage’, from hū ‘to rise up, swell’10), Latin (tumidus ‘swollen’ and ‘excited, violent’11), Spanish (colloquial hinchar las narices ‘to swell (someone’s) nose = to make (someone) angry’12), and especially Dutch where dik ‘fat’ is used to describe anger (colloquial zich dik maken ‘to get angry, lit. to make oneself fat’).


11 Melchert 2005:96 fn. 23.

4.2. *warku- concrete ‘fat’, figuratively ‘angry’

Clearly, connecting fat with furious is semantically unproblematic and even trivial, and morphologically it is feasible as well. To start with warkešš-, Hittite fientives on -ešš- are overwhelmingly built on adjectives. The verb wark-ešš- should then be based on an adjective *warku- ‘angry’, just as parkešš- ‘become high’ is based on the adjective parku- ‘high’, or daššešš- ‘to become strong’ on daššu- ‘strong’. Since Luw. *warkuit- is necessarily based on a Luwian adjective *warku-, we may now reconstruct the PA adjective *wr̃gu- ‘angry’ (further see §4.3)

In attested Hittite, factitives on -nu- that have a nominal base are mainly derived from u-stem and i-stem adjectives, and only very rarely from a-stem adjectives. The latter overwhelmingly form factitives on -aḫḫ-. More importantly, -nu- factitives were originally strongly correlated with u-stem adjectives, if not directly derived from them (Shatskov 2017:223–8). The base of warganu- ‘to make fat’ is therefore most likely a Hittite adj. *warku- ‘fat’. Given the common swell conceptualization of anger, it is safe to assume that Hittite *warku- ‘fat’ and Hittite *warku- ‘angry’ are not mere homonyms but in fact the same lexeme, hence we have PA *wr̃gu- ‘fat, angry’, based on PA *wer̃-.

The proposed PA stem *wer̃-/*wr̃- explains several of the other wark- forms. The result noun of the verb *wer̃-, necessarily common gender (Hoffner and Melchert 2008:54), is attested as warka- ‘fat’ < PA *wōr̃-o- (ex. 5). Though it is possible that some warkant- forms are participles (so perhaps ex. 2), they are more likely possessive denominal -ant- adjectives of warka- ‘fat’, so ‘having fat’ (ex. 4) (Hoffner and Melchert 2008:54). This should also apply to Palaic wakkant- ‘fat’, written wa-aq-qa-kán-t̥ (Eichner 2010:52–4). The fact that adnominal
‘fat’ is always expressed as *warkant- and never as *warku- implies that *warkant- replaced the latter in Hittite (for Palaic there is not enough data).


4.3. Etymology

The root *wark- ‘fat’ is long known to have cognates in several IE languages with both concrete and emotive semantics. With the addition of the meaning ‘fury’ and the removal of the cognateless lexical item *warkui- < *w(o)rK̑-i- (for which see Kloekhorst 2008:965), *wark- is now semantically fully in agreement with Greek and Sanskrit: compare Greek ὀργή ‘passion, anger, fierceness’ and concrete ὀργάω ‘to swell, be ready to bear fruit’, and also Sanskrit ūṛj- ‘strength’ and concrete ‘food, refreshment’. Old Irish ferć ‘anger’ and Avestan varǝz- ‘strength’ only represent the emotional aspect (Mayrhofer 1992:242, Kloekhorst 2008:965, both with references to the older literature). Reconstruction of PIE *werH̑ǵ- is still warranted13 (Kloekhorst 2008:965), instead of *werǵ- ‘to work’.

13 Recently, the reality of the ‘Saussure-Hirt’ effect in Greek has come under fire (Van Beek 2011), including for ὀργή (Van Beek 2011:150). If we wish to maintain both Sanskrit ūṛj- and Avestan varǝz- ‘strength’ and the Greek forms as cognates of the Hittite-Luwian war(k)-family (which I think we should, given the strong semantic correspondences), then, as Craig Melchert (pers.comm.) pointed out to me, we both need to reconstruct a laryngeal to arrive at the Sanskrit form, and use the ‘Saussure-Hirt’ effect to explain the loss of this laryngeal in Greek ὀργή < *werH̑ǵ-éh̑2-. This is not covered by Van Beek’s rule *-VLHNV- > *-VLNV-.
That Sanskrit and Avestan both also show the meaning ‘strength’, with ‘strong’ commonly associated with ‘big’, invites us to consider Cun.Luwian wāranna/i- ‘strong’ and its derivation wārannāḥīt- ‘strength’ (for these meanings see Yakubovich, ACLT s.v.), but also Hier. Luw. niwaranni- ‘child, son’ (fully spelled out in MARAŞ 4 §14, geminate -n- attested in Cun.Luw. KUB 35.102 (+) 103 ii 13). The latter is usually analyzed as ‘helpless’, based on the root warriya- ‘to help’ (Starke 1990:452: “ni-yarra-ann- “keine Hilfe habend, hilflos””). While both ‘helpless’ and ‘not having strength’ are appropriate descriptors of children, they do not do so to an equal degree. Only the very young can be considered helpless (note that in pre-industrial societies most young children worked, and they were certainly considered helpers), but almost all children are lacking in strength compared with adults. We should therefore derive niwaranni- (now with non-geminate -r-) from waranni- ‘strong’, compare the similar derivation nimuwizza- ‘son < powerless’. The adjective waranna/i- contains the possessive adjective suffix -anna/i- (for which see Melchert 2003:196), with a base *wara- ‘strength’.14

If indeed Luw. *wara- ‘strength’ originally belongs with Luw. *warku- ‘angry’, and Luw. *wara- ‘strength’ and Hitt. warka- ‘fat’ are therefore cognates, both should be the regular outcome of *wórǵ-o-. The voiced front velar is then lost in *wara-, yet retained in *warku- < *wrg-u-. Should we attribute the difference to accent placement and posit that PA medial prevocalic voiced velars are lost after the accent but retained elsewhere? Does *wára- < *wórǵ-o- pattern with, e.g., par(a)i- (C) ‘high’ < *bhrǵ-h-oi-, tuwatra/i- (H) ‘daughter’ <

14 The root *war- is perhaps also attested in hitherto untranslated Hier. Luwian (PUGNUS)wa/i+ra/i-mi- (see Yakubovich, ACLT s.v. warm(i)-), which could then mean ‘strength, power, vel sim.’ (attested in MEHARDE §5, KIRȘEHİR §10, KARKAMIŞ A24a2+3 §11). This requires more research.
*dhugh₂tr* but *warku- < *wṛg-u- with papparkuwa- (C) ‘to purify’ < *bhrsīgw-?. (For all these forms see Melchert 2012:212–3.)

While PA *wórģ-/wṛg-* still meant concrete ‘fat’ and figurative ‘anger, fury, strength’, the development of two stems in Proto-Luwian was followed by a semantic split. The subst. *wara-* ‘strength, anger, fury’ only kept the connotation ‘strength’, while the adj. *warku-* ‘strong, angry, furious’ lost the connotation ‘strong’. The loss of a substantive covering ‘anger’ then led to the new formation *warkuit-* ‘fury’, and the loss of an adjective to express ‘strong’ led to the new formation waranni-.

Table 3: the war(k)- ‘swell (fat; angry; strong)’ family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Anatolian</th>
<th>Hittite (and Palaic)</th>
<th>Luwian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wórģ-o-</em> subst.</td>
<td>warka- subst. c. ‘fat’</td>
<td>*wāra- subst. ‘anger, strength’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warkant- adj. ‘having fat’</td>
<td>waranna/i- (C) adj. ‘having strength’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warka- (or partic. of <em>wark-</em>)</td>
<td>*wāra- strength’ &lt; *wāra-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaic wakkant- ‘id.’</td>
<td>‘child’ &lt; ‘not having strength’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wārannāḥit- (C) ‘strength’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wṛg-(e)u-</em> adj.</td>
<td>*wark-u- adj. ‘fat, angry’</td>
<td>*wark-u- adj. ‘angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warkui- subst. c. ‘anger’</td>
<td>*warku-it- subst. n. ‘anger’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Concluding remarks

Returning to our starting point, the parable of the Disrespectful Deer, we can now translate the relevant passage as follows:

(1=10) A mountain pushed a deer off of [its] body. The deer moved on to another mountain. He swelled in anger (n-aising warkešta (Hitt.) / tēlu (Hurr.)), and became disrespectful (n-aising šōllet (Hitt.) / tapšū (Hurr.)). He started to curse back at the mountain.

But warkešš- ‘to swell in anger’ would surely also have invoked its concrete meaning ‘to become swollen = fat’. Perhaps that was the point, because this is the only parable where the disrespectful entity did grow fat before he became angry and disrespectful. The fact that warkešš- is present here but absent elsewhere where Hurrian tēlu occurs, can be explained as wordplay. Moreover, given that the verb šōlle- also has a basic meaning ‘to become swollen, puffed up’ (Melchert 2005:96), the composer of the Hittite version skillfully played with different expressions for ‘to swell’, and fully exploited the basic connection between ‘being fat < physically swollen’ and ‘being furious < emotionally swollen’ when narrating the anger of the fattened deer.
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