

The Fat and the Furious.

*w(o)rǵ- ‘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 (*n=aš warkešta*) and arrogant, and its curse of the mountain. In view of *warkant-* ‘fat’, *warg(a)nu-* ‘to fatten’, and *warka-* c. ‘fat’ this makes sense. However, there are two problems with this translation: (1) The exegesis of the parable shows that *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 *warkešta* to *warkui-* c. ‘anger, fury’, which is not Hittite but borrowed from Luwian **warkuit-* n. (= adj. **warku-* + *-it-* < **wr(H)ǵ-u-*). But *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 *warkui-* ‘fury’, *warkešš-* ‘to become angry’, and concrete swelling for the ‘fat’ cluster *warkant-* ‘fat’, *warg(a)nu-* ‘to fatten’, *warka-* c. ‘fat’ (< **wór(H)ǵ-o-*). Cun.Luw. *wāra-nni-* ‘strong’ and Hier.Luwian *ni-wara-anna/i-* ‘child (< not having strength)’ probably belong here as well. Given that both senses of swelling are attested in Greek ὀργή ‘passion, anger, fierceness’ and ὀργάω ‘to swell, be ready to bear fruit’

and Sanskrit *úrj-* ‘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 1-21¹

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 fat**² (*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.

(*n=aš šöllēt* (Hitt.) / *fūru tēlu tapšū* (Hurr.)). 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. *šēduiliyaniš* “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 šöllēt* / *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)⁴ The Wise Woman takes the piglet, and holds it up over them (i.e., the ritual patrons). She speaks as follows:

⁴ 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

<i>[(kāša=w)]ar=aš</i>	<i>Ú-it</i>	<i>ħalk-it</i>	[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.

<i>nu=war=at</i>	<i>IŠTU^{UZU}NÍG.GIG</i>	<i>UZUŠÀ</i>
CONN=QUOT=3PL.NOM.C	with ^{meat} liver	^{meat} heart

<i>Ú IŠTU^{UZU}ÚR</i>	<i>mekki</i>	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

(3b) 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 *kušiši*, the thick breads and libation vessels,

auli-uš_akan GU₄.MAḪ.ḪI.A ŠE GU₄ÁB ŠE
sacrificial.animal-ACC.PL.C>while>PTCL prize-bulls **fat** ^{bovine}cow **fat**

UDU.ḪI.A ŠE MÁŠ.GAL.ḪI.A ŠE *kuē-z arḫa nanni-ēr*
sheep **fat** billy-goats **fat** some-ABL off drive-3PL.PST

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!

zig_a warkant-aš GU₄.MAḪ.ḪI.A-*aš* UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ-*aš*
you>but **fat(tened)**-GEN.PL prize.bulls-GEN.PL rams-GEN.PL

EGIR-*pa mayant-aš* ^dUTU-*šumm-i* ^fTawananna-*i*

back rejuvenated-DAT.PL deity_{sun}our-DAT.S woman_{Tawannana}-DAT.S

auriyal-aš piddāi-ø

warden-DAT.PL race-2S.IMP

Now *you* race back to the rejuvenated ones, Our Sun (i.e., the king) (and) Tawananna, 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) [nu[?]ka]n man **warka-n** ulin-ī anda imie-nun
CONN≠PT IRR **fat-ACC.S.C** clay-LOC.S into mix-
CL 1S.PST

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

(6) 1~EN *šīna-n* wil[n]-aš *šaluin-it*
one figurine-ACC.S.C clay-GEN.S mud-plaster-INS



𐎠𐎢𐎡[𐎠]𐎢-itt-a⁵ arap-mi

lard.pig-INS=and shape?-1S.NPST

With mud-plaster and with **I[a]r[d]** 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 **werHǵ-*. §5 contains some concluding remarks, returning to the Disrespectful Deer.

⁵ The sign remnants in KBo 17.1 iv 19 allow the reading 𐎠𐎢𐎡[𐎠]𐎢-*it-ta* ‘and with lard (lit. pork fat)’, compare the hand copy  with  (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

Parable	3 (KBo 32.14 ii 42-60)	6 (KBo 32.14 rev. 41-47)	7 (KBo 32.14 lower edge 66-left edge 4)	1 (KBo 32.14 ii 1-16)
Entity	cup	tower	pile of brushwood	deer
Creator	smith	builder	stacker	mountain
Production	sublimely created and adorned by smith	sublimely created by builder for	stacked by a stacker in pile	(deer grows up on a mountain),

	for admiration	admiration	that reaches the sky and the netherworld	after which it is pushed off by the mountain and leaves for another place
State of mind of entity	<i>marlants</i> ‘crazy’	<i>marlants</i> ‘crazy’	<i>marlants</i> ‘crazy’	<i>wark-</i> and disrespectful
Curse by entity	curses smith with loss of the arm and hand that created him	curses builder with loss of the arm and hand that created him	curses stacker with loss of the arm and hand that created it	curses mountain that fattened him with being struck by Teššub, and burnt
Hurting of creator	his heart sickened inside him	his heart turned bad inside him	his heart turned bad inside him	his heart sickened inside him
Question by creator	why does the copper that I poured curse me?	why does the wall that I built curse me?	why does the wood that I placed curse me?	why does the deer that I fattened curse me?
Curse by creator	a. may Teššub strike it and remove the ornaments	a. may Teššub strike it and turn its fundamentals up	a. may Teššub strike it	a. may hunters and falconers seize it

	b. may it fall in the canal	b. may its [...] fall in the canal	b. may the lower part fall in the canal	b. may the hunters take its meat
	c. and its ornaments in river	c. and its tiles in the river	c. and its foliage in the water	c. the falconers its hide

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 2: Exegesis of the parables of the disrespectful entities

Exegesis	3 (KBo 32.14 iii 1-5)	6 (KBo 32.14 rev. 50-52)	7 (KBo 32.14 lower edge 66-	1 (KBo 32.14 ii 17-21)
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			left edge 4-7)	
Entity	a man who is hostile to his father	a man who is hostile to his father	a student [who is] <i>zazga-</i> (?)	a man who ran away from his hometown
‘Creator’	father	father	father	hometown
Production	raised for success by father	raised for success by father	raised for success by teacher	leaves for another country
State of mind of entity	hostile	hostile	<i>zazga-</i> (?)	disrespectful
Equivalent of curse by entity	ignores his father	ignores his father	<i>zazga-s</i> his teacher	talks bad about hometown
Curse related to ‘creator’	the gods of his father have cursed him	the gods of his father have cursed him	[partially broken]: cursed with death	the gods of the town have him cursed

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) *n=aš* *wark-eš-ta*
 CONN=3S.NOM.C **fat**-FIENT-3S.PST

n=aš *šöllē-t*
 CONN=3S.NOM.C become.disrespectful-3S.PST

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

(7b) *fūr-u* *tēl-u* *tapš-ū*
 see-INTR increase-INTR transgress-INTR

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

(8a) *aliyana-n* *kui-n* *warganu-nun*
 deer-ACC.S.C which-ACC.S.C make.fat-1S.PST

kinuna=mu *āppa* *hurzaki-zi*
 now=me back curse:IPFV-3S.NPST

The deer that **I fattened** is now cursing me in return (MH/MS, KBo 32.14 ii 12-13)

(8b)	<i>iyā-t</i>	<i>šēd-u-ili-(y)a-ni-ž</i>	<i>šit-ār-a</i>	<i>nāl-li(<ni)-ž</i>
	why-	fat-?-PASS.PTCPL-?-	curse-ITER-	deer-RELAT-ERG.S
	1S.ABS	RELAT-ERG.S	3S.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 *šöllet* (Disrespectful Deer: KBo 32.14 i 20/ii 19 *man=aš šöllet*) or as *n=aš mekki šöllet* (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 *šölle-* ‘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 *šölle-* suggests that *warkešš-* belongs to the same semantic sphere as *šölle-*. Additional, though not conclusive, support for fully relegating *fūru tēlu tapšū* = *n=aš warkešta n=aš šöllēt* 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 *šōllēt* 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=ag-* “ausgießen (??)” and *tapš=og-* “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, 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 (*karpī(n)ššan*). I took his anger (*kardimiyatta(n)ššan*).

↳ *warku-(n)ššan*, var. *warkui-(n)ššan* *dā-ḫhun*
 fury-ACC.S.C∴his:ACC.S.C take-1S.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 *t[u-e’-e]k-ku-uš-šu-uš*.

This noun is listed as an *i*-stem *warkui-* in Kloekhorst 2008:964 and Tischler 2016:332. The passage that Kloekhorst uses to determine the stem is late NS *wa-ar-ku-iš-ša-an* (KUB 33.28:6', CTH 325), versus MS *wa-ar-ku-uš-ša-an* (KUB 17.10 iii 12). Kloekhorst and Tischler prefer to emend UŠ 𐎗 to IŠ 𐎗 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-ar-ku-iš-ša-an* in KUB 17.10 iii 12) than to add a wedge by mistake (so read *wa-ar-ku-uš-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 AN 𐎗 instead of AŠ 𐎗 (KUB 33.24 + KBo 26.124 i 19'), NE 𐎗 instead of ET 𐎗 (KUB 33.24 i 26'), or ZÍZ 𐎗 instead of PA 𐎗 (id. iv 24'). Similar mistakes occur in KUB 17.10: HA 𐎗 instead of ZA 𐎗 (i 38'), PA 𐎗 instead of PÁR 𐎗 (ii 29'), and even IŠ 𐎗 instead of UŠ 𐎗 (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. *waškui-* c. < 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’⁸ < PIE **b^helǵh-* ‘to swell’), Ancient Greek (θύειν ‘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**’).

⁸ Bosworth 1898:82, Lockett 2011:59–60, Izdebska 2015:120–1.

⁹ Faraone 2003:161.

¹⁰ Chamberlain 1895:590, Kawena Pukui & Elbert 1986:83.

¹¹ Melchert 2005:96 fn. 23.

¹² Martínez López and Jørgensen 2009:316, Soriano 2003:114.

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 factitives 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 **wrǵu-* ‘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 *-ahḫ-*. 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 **wrǵu-* ‘fat, angry’, based on PA **werǵ-*.

The proposed PA stem **werǵ-*/**wrǵ-* explains several of the other *wark-* forms. The result noun of the verb **werǵ-*, necessarily common gender (Hoffner and Melchert 2008:54), is attested as *warka-* ‘fat’ < PA **wórǵ-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-t°* (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).

Finally, **warku-* ‘fat, angry’, *warganu-* ‘to fatten’, *warkešš-* ‘to become angry’ now pattern with *daššu* ‘strong’, *daššanu-* ‘to strengthen’, *daššešš-* ‘to become strong’, and *parku-* ‘high’, *parganu-* ‘to make high’, *parkešš-* ‘to become high, tall’.

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)rK^w-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 *úrj-* ‘strength’ and concrete ‘food, refreshment’. Old Irish *ferc* ‘anger’ and Avestan *varəz-* ‘strength’ only represent the emotional aspect (Mayrhofer 1992:242, Kloekhorst 2008:965, both with references to the older literature). Reconstruction of PIE **werHǵ-* is still warranted¹³ (Kloekhorst 2008:965), instead of **werg-* ‘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 *úrj-* and Avestan *varəz-* ‘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 < **worHǵ-éh₂-*. 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 *wārannāhit-* ‘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-uarra-ann-* “keine Hilfe habend, hilfloss”). 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 **wórg-o-*. The voiced front velar is then lost in **wara-*, yet retained in **warku-* < **wǝrg-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-* < **wórg-o-* pattern with, e.g., *parray(a)-* (C) ‘high’ < **bhérgh-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, KIRŞEHİR §10, KARKAMIŞ A24a2+3 §11). This requires more research.

**dhugh_{2tr}* but **warku-* < **wrǵ-u-* with *papparkuwa-* (C) ‘to purify’ < **-bhrh₁ǵw-*? (For all these forms see Melchert 2012:212–3.)

While PA **wórg-/wrǵ-* 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

Proto- Anatolian	Hittite (and Palaic)	Luwian
* <i>wórg-o-</i> subst.	<i>warka-</i> subst. c. ‘fat’	* <i>wāra-</i> subst. ‘anger, strength’
	<i>warkant-</i> adj. ‘having fat’ < <i>warka-</i>	<i>waranna/i-</i> (C) adj. ‘having strength’ < * <i>wāra-</i>
	(or partic. of * <i>wark-</i>)	<i>niwaranna/i-</i> (H) subst.
	Palaic <i>wakkant-</i> ‘id.’	‘child’ < ‘not having strength’ <i>wārannāhit-</i> (C) ‘strength’
* <i>wrǵ-(e)u-</i> adj.	* <i>wark-u-</i> adj. ‘fat, angry’	* <i>wark-u-</i> adj. ‘angry’
	<i>warkui-</i> subst. c. ‘anger’ <	* <i>warku-it-</i> subst. n. ‘anger’

warkešš- v. ‘to become

angry’

warganu- v. ‘to make fat’

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=aš warkešta* (Hitt.) / *tēlu* (Hurr.)), and became disrespectful (*n=aš šöllēt* (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 *šolle-* 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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