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Old Indo-Aryan Lexicon in the Ancient Near East: Proto-Indo-European, Anatolian and Core Indo-European

Two Indo-Iranian names (probably Old Aryan) in regions under Mittani influence (14th BC), which are diverging, in form and/or semantics, from their contemporary comparanda in the IE languages of 2nd millennium Anatolian reflect different developments.

The MN *šat-ti-ú-a(z)-za* /Šātiu̯āza-/ (Nuza) : Ved. **sāti-vā́ja-* (cf. Ved. *vā́ja-sāti-* 'winning of the price'), has a first member /Šāti°/, which reflects the inherited sense of Ved. *san^i* / *sā* 'reach, win' (**senh₂-*: Hom. ἀνύω 'id.', also 'to finish, fulfill', also, with secondary lexicalization, Hitt. *šanḫu-* 'to roast'). Contrarily, Hitt. *šan(a)ḫ-* 'seek, try' reflects the lexicalization of the conative realisation of the aspectual prs. **sn̥-n-h₂-* of PIE **senh₂-*, which was inherited with its full paradigm, and previous to the separation of Anatolian and Core Indo-European.

The MN *in-tar-ú-da*, *en-dar-ú-ta* /Indraūta-/ (letters of Amarna) : Ved. *indrotá-* 'helped by ', with °*ūtá-* , reflects the sense of Ved. *av^j* / *ū* 'to help, assist' (**h₂euh₁-*: Lat. *i-uuō*, *-āre* 'id.', cf. ppp. °*i-ūtus*). Contrarily, the reflexes of **h₂euh₁-* in Hittite and Luvian (also in Lycian) mean 'to run', not 'to help' (cf. Hitt. ᴸᵁ*ḫui̯ant-* 'fugitive' [**'runner'] vs. Ved. *ávant-* 'helping, helper', Lat. (*ad*)*iuuans* 'id.': **h₂euh₁-ent-*): this suggests that Anatolian has preserved the inherited PIE semantics **h₂euh₁-* and that the shift to 'help' is an innovation of Core IE, not shared by Anatolian.

1. A series of names and terms which are surely recognizable as Indo-Aryan and/or Iranian occur in the documents of the kingdom of Mittani[1] and regions under its

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1. Main sources: the treaty between the Hittites and Mittani (ca. 1380 BC), the glosses in the chariot

influence (ca. 1500-1300 BC), in an area between southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria, including Palestina. Their attestation in these documents, written in Hurrian or in Akkadian, points surely to the presence in the region of elements, which should have spoken Indo-Aryan – or an early form of Indo-Iranian[2] (in what follows, conventionally Mittani Indo-Iranian)[3], at a date contemporaneous with the Hittite and Luvian documents fairly and earlier than that of the oldest Vedic and Avestan texts. This is the case with some god-names ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ*ak-ni-iš*, *a-ak-ni-iš* /Agni-/, *a-ru-na*, *ú-ru-wa-na* /Varuna-/, *in-tar*, *in-da-ra* /Indra-/, *mi-it-ra* /Mitra-/, *na-ša-ti-ya-an-na* /Nasatyā=nna/, personal names like *ar-ta-aš-šu-ma-ra* /Artasmara-/ (: *ṛta-smara-* 'having thoughts of ṛtá-', cf. *smará-* 'memory' AV+), *bi-ir-ya-aš-šu-wa* /Priyāšva-/ (: *pri̯a-aśu̯a-* 'having horses as friends'), *bi-ir-ya-ma-aš-da* /Priyamazdʰa-/ (: Ved. *priyámedha-* 'having beloved wisdom'), *bi-ri-da-aš-wa* /Prītāšva-/ (*prīta-aśu̯a-* 'having beloved horse(s)'), *šu-ba-an-du/i* /Šubandu/i-/ (: *su-bándhu-* 'having good relatives'), *d/tu-uš-rat-ta, tu-iš-e-rat-ta, tu-uš-e-rat-ta* /Tvaiša-ratha-/ (: Ved. *tveṣá-ratha-* 'whose chariot is vehement'), and terms like *mi-iš-ta(=nnu)* 'payment' (*mizdʰa-*, Skr. *mīdhá-* : Av. *mīžda*), *b/pa-ri-ta(=nnu)* /parita-/, *b/pi-in-ka-ra(=nnu)* /pingara-/ with /r/ : Ved. *palitá-* 'grey', *piṅgalá-* 'red',[4] or *mani=nnu* '(neck's) ornament' (: Ved. *maṇí-* : Av. *maini-* 'id.').

Two statements are of relevance: (a) At least in one case, the form attested in the Mittani area is older than its correspondence in Vedic: the spellings *in-tar-ú-da*, *en-dar-ú-ta*, ¹*in-tar-ú-ta* (with *ú* [u(:)]) conceals /indra-ūta-/ 'helped by Indra' (: Ved. *indróta-*). The form, previous to the monophthongation /au/ > /o:/ of Indo-Aryan, reflects a prehistoric form of Indo-Aryan or an old variant of Indo-Iranian itself. (b) Most of the ocurrences match Vedic, not Iranian forms, and some of them are in contrast to their Iranian counterparts, if attested, e.g. *a-i-ka°* /aika°/ 'round of one' (: Ved. *éka-*), *ša-at-ta°* '7' (: *saptá°*) as against Av. *aeuua-*, OP *aiva-* (also Ved. *evá-* 'the one'), YAv. *hapta-*. This points to an early form of Old Indo-Aryan, but a variant of still undifferentiated Indo-Iranian (with **sapta*), in which the forms later attested in Vedic and in Iranian could coexist (e.g. **ai̯ka-* and **ai̯u̯a-*), remains possible.

Especially interesting are the terms identical to those of Vedic (and/or Iranian) of the first millennium, but different, in form and/or semantics, from their contemporary comparanda in the IE languages of Anatolia of the second millennium. In such

horse training text of Kikkuli (14th cent.: MH, NS copy of 13th cent.), the Hurro-Akkadian tablets from Nuzi (appellatives, horse designations). Cf. for overview and data [Mayrhofer 1974: 18ff., Hess 1993, Eichner 2009: 57-8].

2. The population of Mittani was basically Hurrian (with significant Amorite and Assyrian elements). Whether the Indo-Iranian elements were a dynasty or a kind of aristocracy, and how they arrive to the area of Mittani (residual groups on the way to Iran and India? Indo-Aryans, or Indo-Iranians who came back to Near East?) is irrelevant at this point.

3. "noch ungeteiltes Indo-Iranisch" [Kammenhüber 1968: 234], "mittannisch-Indoeuropäisch' [Eichner 2009: 57-8, n. 4, 5]. For a balance cf. [Mayrhofer 1974: 18, 23 n. 60, especially 31].

4. Most probably archaic West-Indo-Aryan [Mayrhofer 1974: 30].

cases, the question is whether the Mittani Indo-Iranian form preserves the inherited sense and/or meaning as against an innovation of 2nd millennium Anatolian, or viceversa, or whether both branches have developed diverging innovations as against the inherited situation.

The present contribution will focus on two remarkable divergences between Mittani Indo-Iranian and 2nd millenium Anatolian. On the one hand, the MN *šat-ti-ú-a(z)-za* /Šātiu̯āza-/ (Nuzi, 14th BC) : Ved. **sāti-vā́ja-* (cf. Ved. *vā́ja-sāti-* 'winning of the price'), which reflects the inherited sense of Ved. *san^i* / *sā* 'reach, win' (**senh₂-*: Hom. ἀνύω 'reach, finish, fulfill'), as against Hitt. *šanḫ-* 'attempt, try, seek', and *šanḫu-* 'roast'. On the other hand, the name *in-tar-ú-da*, *en-dar-ú-ta* /Indraūta-/ (Amarna letters, 14th BC) : *indrotá-* 'helped by Indra' (RV) : the second member °*ūtá-* (Ved. *av^i* / *ū* 'to help, assist', Lat. *i-uu̯ō*, *-āre* 'id.') reflects PIE **h₂eu̯h₁-*, the reflexes of which in Hittite and Luvian mean 'to run', not 'to help'. In what follows an attempt will be made to show that Anatolian has preserved the inherited PIE semantics of **h₂eu̯h₁-* and that the shift to 'help' is an innovation of Core IE (attested in Mittani's realm), not shared by Anatolian.

2. The man's name *Šat-ti-ú-a(z)-za* /Šātiwaza-/ (Nuzi, 14th BC) matches (a probably previous stage of) a non attested Vedic compound **sāti-vāja-*, which reflects an inversion of *vā́ja-sāti-* (RV) 'winning of a prize', or a compound of the type *dā́ti-vāra-*, βωτι-άνειρα, i.e. 'the one who wins a prize', whichever the origin of this type of compounds could be. The sense of /Šāti°/ : Ved. *sā-* (**sn̥h₂-*) is obviously that of Ved. *san^i-* (and PIE **senh₂-*) 'to reach, win'. The situation of Anatolian is fairly different: PIE **senh₂-* is represented in Hittite by two different verbs, namely *šan(a)ḫ-^mi* 'to seek, look for, attempt, request' (also *sanḫe/isk-*)[5] and *šanḫu-* 'to roast'. It is true that Hitt. *šanḫu-* (**sn̥h₂-éu̯/u-*) matches prs. Ved. *sanáu-/sanu-´* (and Hom. ἄνυμι) and its sense may be explain as a secondary shift, but that of Hitt. *šan(a)ḫ-* 'seek, look for' hardly matches that of Ved. *san^i-* 'reach'. The open question is how the diverging representation of PIE **senh₂-* in Vedic (also in the realm of Mittani, 14th BC) and in Hittite may be explained: in what follows an attempt will be made to explain it as the result of diverging lexicalisations in both languages of the aspectual realizations of a paradigm of **senh₂-*, which may be assumed to be inherited.

Let us shortly remember the essentials of Vedic, where *san^i/sā-* 'gain, obtain' (: Av. *han* 'id.') has a full paradigm with prs. *sanáv-/sanu-´*, aor. *san-a-*, perf. *sasā́n-*), also desiderative *síṣās-* and intensive *saniṣan-*,[6] as well as derivatives and

5. A second meaning of *šan(a)ḫ-^mi* 'to cleanse, sweep clean', which remains obscure (a semantic shift which should be precised? A different homonymous lexeme?), is irrelevant at this point, cf. KBo 24.57 i 6-8 *n=ašta* ^GIŠ BANŠUR. HI.A [*a*]*rḫa šanḫanzi É-r=a=kan PĀNI* DINGIR-*LIM* [*š*]*anḫanzi* 'and they wipe off the tables. They sweep also the house in front of the deity' (ritual of *šarraš*) dupl 23.42 i 6-7 (NH).

6. [Schäfer 1994: 196]. Other frequents objects of *san^i/sā* are *dhána-* 'stake' (*dhánasya sātáu* 'in the winning of the stake' VI 44.9d+, *sánitā dhánāni* I 100.9c), *gáv-* 'cow' (*gó-ṣáti-* 'obtention of cows' VIII

compounds with °sāti-, °sáni-, °sā-, which do actually reflect the same sense. The compound vā́ja-sāti- (RV 65x, e.g. I 130.1fg putrā́so ná pitáraṃ vā́jasātaye máṃhiṣṭhaṃ vā́jasātaye "Like sons a father (we invoke you) for the winning of prizes-(you) most munificent, for the winning of prizes"), as the hypostasis of vā́jasya sātáye (V 9.7d+),[7] reflects the collocation [REACH (san[i]) – PRICE (vā́jam)], cf. sanóti vā́jam "he wins victory's prize" (III 25.2b +) and, with "desiderative" śuddhó vā́jaṃ siṣāsasi "cleansed, you seek to gain the prize" (VIII 95.9d +). The collocation also underlies agentive compounds vā́ja-sáni- 'the one who wins the prize' (3x),vā́ja-sā́- 'winner of booty/wealth'(3x),[8] as well as vā́jasya /vā́jam sánitar- (I 36.13c, VII 56.23d).

Two points are of interest for our purpose:

(a) Ved. san[i] is a telic transformative lexeme, with root aorist (and marked present) and a resultative stative perfect sasā́na 'he has (reached)', and the same applies to *senh$_2$- (perf. *se-son(h$_2$) cf. also YAv. haŋhāna (ptc. haŋhanuš and Arm. ownim 'I have'[9], also OIr. do·coissin* 'there is' (*se-s(o)nh$_2$-).

(b) the conative reading of 'win, reach' is expressed by the "desiderative", e.g. IX 90.4cd apáḥ síṣāsann uṣásaḥ súvar gā́ḥ / sáṃ cikrado mahó asmábhya vā́jān "striving to win the waters, also the dawns, the sun, and the cows, you have roared together great prizes for us".

3. Let us remember that Greek basically matches Vedic. On the one hand, prs. Hom. ἄνυμι (with Ionic psilosis, with thematic ἀνύω, ἄν(ϝ)εται, also ἐξ°, Att. ἐξανύτω) perfectly matches Ved. sanóti (IE *sn̥h$_2$-éu̯- /*sn̥h$_2$u-´), whereas aor. ἄνυσα-, ἀνυσθη- (Hom.), perf. ἤνυκα (Pl.+), ἤνυσμαι (hellen.) shows a secondary extension of -νυ- to the whole paradigm. On the other hand, its meanings may traced back to a basic 'reach (the end)', cf. among others 'to effect, accomplish' (Od. 5.243 ἤνυτο δ'ἔργον, 16.375 ἀνύσσεσθαι τάδε ἔργα, Il. 8.370 Θέτιδος δ' ἐξήνυσε βουλάς 'make her plans effectual'), 'make an end of' (Od. 24.71 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δή σε φλὸξ ἤνυσεν Ἡφαίστοιο, Il. 11.365 ἦ θήν σ' ἐξανύω), 'reach a goal' (of a journey, e.g. Od. 4.357

84.7c+), go-ṣáni- (VI 53.10a), go-ṣā́- (IX 2.10), sū́rya-'sun' (sū́ryasya sātáu II 19.4d), śū́raḥ sánitā I 175.3a+).

7. Also sātā́ vā́jasya (VI 46.1b), mahó vā́jasya sātaú (VI 26.1b+).

8. The situation in Avestan is similar, as far as the scanty evidence allows to state, cf. the compounds with °han- (°šā̆n-, °ŋhān-) of the type YAv. nmāna-ŋhan- 'who conquers the house'.

Yt.13.151 paoiriiąn t̰kaēš̄ə̄ yazamaide nmānanąmca vīsąmca.
           zaṇtunąmca daxiiunąmca nmānaŋhānō vīšā̆nō
        e zaṇtušā̆nō daiŋ́hušā̆nō aš̌ō.aŋhānō maϑrō.aŋhānō
        g uruuō.aŋhānō vīspāiš vaŋhūš vaŋhušā̆nō

"… nous sacrifions aux premiers instruits des maisons, des villages, des provinces et des pays, qui ont conquis la maison, qui ont conquis le village, qui ont conquis la province, qui ont conquis le pays, qui ont conquis Aša, qui ont conquis la strophe, qui ont conquis l'âme,… qui ont conquis le bien" [Kellens 1974: 106-11].

9. For Indo-Iranian cf. [Kümmel 2000: 545-6, 677]; for Armenian, cf. [Kölligan 2015: 137-9].

ὅσσον τε πανημερίη γλαφυρὴ νηῦς ἤνυσεν (sc. ὁδοῦ) 'as much as a ship gets over in a day'), in Classical poetry also 'to get, obtain' (S.*Ph.* 711 ἀνύσειε γαστρὶ φορβάν).[10]

4. Let us turn to Hittite. It seems clear that *ša(n)ḫu-ᵐⁱ* 'to roast' (grains and seeds, barley, e.g. KBo 17.105 iii 2-3 *nu karaš ŠEʾAM tēpu dāi n=at=kan paḫḫunit sanḫūzzi* 'she takes a bit of *karaš*-grain and barley, and roasts them on/with a fire" [MH/MS]) perfectly matches Ved. *sanáv-/sanu-ʾ* and Gk. ἄνυμι. Its concrete meaning (cf. also *ša(n)ḫant-* 'roasted', also substantivized transferred epithet 'the (roasted) grain'), may be explained as a specialisation *'effect throughly', as per [Eichner 1979][11]. We can also safely assume that Hittite as well as Vedic and Greek (Core-IE) preserve an inherited form, with a semantic shift limited to Hittite.

As to Hitt *šan(a)ḫ-ᵐⁱ* 'try, plan (to do)', 'seek' (and *šanḫiske-ᵐⁱ*),[12] the form and semantics of which differ from that of the reflexes of *$senh_2$- in Indo-Iranian and Greek, cf.

KBo 4.3 i 44/5 *nu=šmaš menaḫḫanda idālu lē* [*ša*]*nḫti* 'do not try (to do) evil against them'

KUB 54.1 obv. 52/3 [*nu=u̯*]*a ammuk āššu imma kuitki šanḫiskēr* '… were they really planning (to do) something good for me?'[13]

KUB 14.1 obv. 2 *nu tuēl ŠA* ᵐ*Ma*[*dduw*]*att*[*a* ḪUL-*lu*] *ḫinkan šanḫiškit* 'he (i.e., Attariššiya) has always been seeking your [painful] death, Ma[dduwa]tta' (MH/MS).

The current interpretation of Hitt. *šan(a)ḫ-* 'look for, search' as a former root-present *$sénh_2$-ti* of *$senh_2$-* 'reach' (not 'seek, attempt'!) raises a major difficulty: *$senh_2$-* is universally assumed to be a telic, momentative lexeme, for which one expects a marked present (*snh_2-éu̯/u-* actually), not a root present. Since *šan(a)ḫ-* obviously expresses a non telic, non momentative action,[14] I assume that it is to be traced back to PIE *$snn-n-h_2$-ʾ (the weak stem of *$snn-n-áh_2$-, a former -*n*- present, like Hitt. *išta(n)ḫ-* 'taste' from *$st-n-h_2$-* "den Geschmack feststellen"[15], and that its meaning represents the lexicalization of the [conative] realization of the aspectual present stem (/durative: ongoing action/) of 'reach', namely 3sg. *[(s)he is trying/about to reach], whence '(s)he is searching, looking for' and, in Hittite, '(s)he searches, looks for'.

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10. Also with χρείαν 'a request', cf. S. *OC* 1755 τίνος, ὦ παῖδες, χρείας ἀνύσαι; , A. *Pr.*700 τὴν πρίν γε χρείαν ἠνύσασθ' ἐμοῦ πάρα.

11. [Eichner 1979: 55, n. 42] with reference to the parallel of Hitt. *zeari* 'cooks, is cooked' ("stat."*$t/séi̯h_1$-o-*) beside causat. *zinnai-* 'to stop, finish with' (*$tineh_1$-*), also in the periphrase with infinitive.

12. Also as a modal verb with infinitive as complement, cf. KUB 14.1 obv. 60 nu EGIR-*an tuk=pat* ᵐ*Madduwattan kunanna šanḫ*[*iški*]*t* "and later he tr[ied constantly] to kill you …" (MH/MS).

13. Also 'to plot an affair (*uttar*) + gen. of a verbal noun: *kuiški u̯aggarii̯au̯aš uttar ... šanḫazi* '… (if) someone plans an affair of rebellion …' (KBo 5.13 ii 17-18).

14. The same applies to Hitt. *šan(a)ḫ-* 'wipe', also a non momentative action.

15. [Eichner 1988: 143].

The conative realization of the present stem is paralleled in aspect languages proper, like Greek, cf. for instance impf. ἐδίδου 'was giving', but also 'was promising / offering', with lexicalisation of the conative realization 'was trying to give, was about to give' as 'promised, offered (for a while)'[16]. It must be stressed at this point that the reconstruction of PIE *$sn̥-n-h_2$-´ I propose for Hittite is supported by striking parallels in Germanic, with identical sense (OHG sinnan 'seek, strive for', OE sinnan 'take care', OFr. sinna), which may reflect the durative-conative realization of a present stem PIE *$sn̥-n-h_2$-o/e-, whence *sunnan remodeled as *sennan 'strive, seek')[17] and in Celtic, with preservation of the original sense 'reach' 'finish' (PCelt. *san-na- from *$sn̥-n-h_2$-o/e:[18] OIr seinn(a)id 'reaches' beside do·seinn* 'prosecute, hunts').

5. To sum up, Hittite has two representants of *$senh_2$- 'reach', both lexicalized as independent verbs, which may be traced back to an inherited paradigm, with two nasal infixed presents:

šanḫu-*mi* 'roast', a lexicalization of an -u-present *$sn̥h_2$-u-´ (zero grade of *$sénh_2$-u-), of which continues the sense of *$senh_2$- 'reach (the end)', which lives on in Vedic and Greek too.

šan(a)ḫ-*mi* 'look for, search', formed from *$sn̥-n-h_2$-´ (zero grade of *$sn̥-n-éh_2$-) *'be about to reach', whence 'search', with semantics of the present stem (cf. PGm. *$sn̥-n-h_2$-o/e-, whence *sennan 'id.': OHG sinnan 'strive after' et al., PCelt. *sanna- 'reaches'), not of the former aorist *$sénh_2$-t 'reached' (Ved. sán-a-). The conative reading is expressed in Vedic by mans of the desiderative siṣā-s-.

We can therefore conclude that the Indic form Šat-ti-ú-a(z)-za /Šātiwaza-/ 'reaching the price' in Mittani reflects the inherited meaning of *$senh_2$-, which must have existed also in Proto-Anatolian, in view of Hitt. šan(a)ḫ- 'searchs, longs for, ask', which results from the lexicalization of the conative realization of the inherited aspectual present *$sn̥-n-h_2$- of the lexeme, whereas šanḫu- 'roast' continues its original sense in a lexicalized variant. All this suggests that the paradigm of PIE *$senh_2$- was constituted before the separation of Anatolian and Core Indo-European, and that the differences between Hittite and Old Aryan (Nuza) attested in the 14th Century reflect developments of both branches (which are actually more innovatory in Hittite than in Vedic).

16. Cf. Hdt. 9.109.3 Ἀλλὰ πόλις τε **ἐδίδου** καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἄλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη· … Ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φᾶρος· ἡ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο. 'he was offering/promising (: was about to give) cities and gold without any restriction and an army … but, given that he failed to convince, he gave her the mantle'.
17. Cf. [García Ramón 2002: 131-3]. An alternative explanation as the reflex of an aor. subj. *$senh_2$-o/e- 'wishes to reach, get, arrive' remains equally possible. *Aliter*, less convincing: PGm. *senþnan, st. V., „gehen, fahren; s. OHG sin (1); IE. *sent- "gehen, empfinden, wahrnehmen" [Seebold, *VEWG*, s.v. WENN-A].
18. Originally a -na-verb (type tlenaid) : *san-na- (*sann-e/o- thematized) [Schumacher 2004, s.v.].

6. The compounded name *in-tar-ú-da*, *en-dar-ú-ta*, [1]*in-tar-ú-ta* /Indraūta-/, as an earlier form of Ved. MN *indróta-* 'helped by Indra')[19] occurs in the Amarna letters (3x: E 367.1, E 223.4, E 366.23) as the name of a prince of Palestine, who ruled over Akšapa[20]. Another MN *in-tar-ú-ut-ti* in a document from Nagar (Tell Brak) may conceal a putative Ved. **indra-ūtí-* 'having the help of Indra'.[21] The god Indra is also attested (as *in-tar*, *in-da-ra*: Ved. *índra-*) in the treaty between Šattiwaza of Mittani and Suppiluliuma (ca. 1340).

Ved. *indrotá-*[22] (RV VIII 68.15a *r̥jrā́v indrotā́ ā́ dade* "From Indrota I received the two silvery ones" (also *indroté* .17ab, *índratvotā* VIII 19.16d). Indra's characterization as helper[23] is indirectly reflected in *tvótā íd indra* '(they) helped by you, Indra' (II 11.16 +) and voc. *índratvota-* 'helped by you, Indra' (I 132.1, VIII 19.16), a conflation of *índra-* and *tvotá-* (**tvā́-ūtá-* cf. 1.132.1ab *tváyā vayám maghavan pūrviye dhána / índratvotāḥ sāsahyāma pr̥tanyatáḥ* "With you, bounteous lndra, aided by you, may we overcome those who do battle over the foremost stakes"), also in the mention of Indra as *ákṣitoti-* 'providing imperishable help' (I 5.9 +).

7. The compound *indrotá-* has no formal or semantic comparandum in Anatolian of the second millennium. Its second member, the verbal adjective °*ūtá-* 'helped' (: Ved. *av^i* / *ū* : Av. *auu* / *ū*) matches PLat. **-ūto-*, which has been remodelled in Latin to *i-ūtus*, *ad-i-ūtus* (: pres. **(ad)i-ouō,-āre* with *i*-reduplication): both forms point to **HuH-tó-*, and ultimately to IE (in fact "Core IE", s. below) **HeuH-* 'to help, assist' (without specification of the laryngeals), which turns out to be surely **h₂euH-* in the light of Greek (ἀίτᾱς : **au̯-ī-tā-*), and most probably **h₂eu̯h₁-* if Lat. *au̯eō, -ēre* 'desire' is the outcome of **h₂ou̯h₁-éi̯o/e-* 'favour' or ***'run for', as I have tried to show.[24]

In my opinion, IE **h₂eu̯h₁-* has also reflexes in Anatolian in the second millennium, with a different meaning, namely 'to run', which is common to Hitt. *ḫuu̯ai-*[ḫḫi]-, *ḫui̯a-*[mi], CLuv. *ḫūi̯a-*[mi] : HLuv. *ḫuu̯i̯a-*[mi] (*ḫù-i̯a-*), also Lyc. *xuwa-*. The difference between the meanings of **h₂eu̯h₁-* in Anatolian ('to run') and in all other languages, i.e. in Core Indo-European ('to help') raises the question of the original meaning of the root.

19. The spelling <-*d/ta-rV*> may note [-tᵃrV-], which fits to the frequent trisyllabic scansion of *índra-* in Rig Veda [H. Eichner p.c.].

20. [Rainey 1970: 89, Hess 1993: 89-90, n. 87].

21. [Finkel 1985, Mayrhofer 1983: 316-7].

22. *Indrotá-* is also a priest in ŚB 13.5.3.5, 4.1, in SSS 16.7.7, .8.7 and JUBr 6.20.8 [MacDonell–Keith 1912: 78-9].

23. The GN *índra°* is also attested as agent in compounds with a ppp. in *-ta-* as the second member: *indréṣita-* 'impelled by Indra' (II 22.8 +), *índra-dviṣṭa-* 'hated by Indra' (IX 73.5), *índra-pīta-* 'drunk by Indra' (IX 8.9), and others.

24. [García Ramón 1996, 2012].

8. The essentials of *$h_2eu̯h_1$- (quoted *$Heu̯H$- conventionally in what follows, as Indo-Iranian and Latin do not allow for more precision: only an *ultima laryngalis* is assured by Ved. *av^i/ū-*) outside Anatolian may be summarized as follows:

(1) A complete verbal paradigm is attested only in Vedic (*av^i/ū* : prs. *áv-a-^ti*) and Latin (redupl. pres. °(*i-*)*ou-ō, -āre*: *$Hi-HuH-o/e-$ or atem. *$Hi-HuH-$, with extension of *i-* to the entire paradigm of a new lexeme, and to nominal derivatives). In spite of the differences, a series of comparanda (equations and *aequabilia*)[25] may be traced back at least to Core Indo-European: apart from Ved. *ūtá-* : Lat. (°)*iūtus*, ptc. Ved. *ávant-* (*$Héu̯H$-ont-*) : Lat. → (°)*iuuāns*, Ved. dat. *ávitave* 'for help' (*$Héu̯ə-tu-$) : Lat. → supine (°)*iūtu-* , as well as Ved. *avitár-* 'helper', fem. *avitrī́-* (*$Heu̯ə-tér-$, *$Heu̯ə-tr-íh_2-$) : Lat. → *adiūtor, adiūtrīx*, or Ved. *omán-* 'protection' (by gods: *$He/ou̯(H)-men-$) : Lat. → *adiūmentum*.

As to the semantics the match is perfect, also to express the collocation [GOD(DESS) - HELP - HUMAN], both with verbal and nominal forms:

RV V 51.13ac *víśve devā́ no adyā́ svastáye ... devā́ avantv ṛbhávaḥ svastáye* "Let all the gods be there for us today, for well-being … Let the gods, the Ṛbhus give aid for (our) well-being", Pl. *Per.* 755 *bene nos, Iuppiter, iuuisti* "You helped us well, Jupiter'.[26]

Ved. *ávant-* (of Indra, among others) : Lat. *(ad)iuuans*, cf. RV VI 18.9ab *udā́vatā tvákṣasā … vṛtrahátyāya rátham indra tiṣṭha* "with your helpful energy, up and mount your chariot, Indra, for the Vṛtra-smashing")[27] and Cic. *Fam.*7.2.6 *meque dis iuuantibus ante brumam exspectabis*,[28] Ter. *An.* 522 *id spero adiuturos deos.*[29]

Ved. *avitár-* (of Indra and other gods)[30], *avitrī́-* : Lat. *(ad)iūtor, (ad)iūtrix*, cf. X 24.3c *índra stotṝ̄ṇā́m avitā́, +*), as well as fem. *avitrī́-* of Sarasvatī (VI 61.4c *dhīnā́m avitry àvatu*), and *IOVE IVTORI* (CIL 9.5531.1), *VENVS IVTRIX* (BMCI 4, p. 516), Cic. *Tusc.* 1.28 *Tyndaridae fratres, ... non modo adiutores ... uictoriae populi Romani*, Cic. *Dom.* 144 *Minerua, quae semper adiutrix ... exstitisti*, *Cael.* 52 *Uenus adiutrix*, Ov. *Met.* 7.195 *Hecate quae ... adiutrixque uenis*.

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25. Also perf. * *He-Hou̯ə-* (Ved. *ā́v-*, Lat. *$ou̯(a)+u̯-ai̯$ → *i+uuī*). Pres. *iuu-ā-* might be explained from an earlier *$i̯ou̯-a-$ (cf. subj. *IOVENT* CIL 1.364) from a reduplicated athematic *$Hi-Hou̯H-$, with the survival of a reflex of the stem-final laryngeal as *a* (cf. Lat. *arā-re* : *$h_2erə_3-$), or from a thematic *$Hi-HuH-o/e-$ of the *bibit* type [Specht 1938, 1943: 53-6], with "Entgleisung" to the 1st conjugation as a back-formation from the compound *ad-iuuā-* (cf. *appellāre* zu *pellere* [Meiser 1998: 188]) and full-grade *-ou̯-* analogical with that of the perfect [García Ramón 1996: 38-9; 2012: 156].
26. Cf. *As.* 15 *ut uos ... nunc Mars adiuuet*, Pl. *Ps.* 905 *si umquam quemquam di immortales uoluere esse auxilio adiutum.*
27. Cf. also VIII 73.7a *ávantam … gṛhám* 'a helpful house' (for Agni), I 152.6a *ā́ dhenávo māmateyám ávantīḥ* "aiding the son of Mamatā … the milk-cows." With *figura etymologica*, VII 46.2c *ávann ávantīr úpa no dúraś cara* 'come helpful to our helpful-minded' (of Rudra), I 185.4a *ávasā́vantī* "(Heaven and Earth) giving help with their help".
28. Also Cic. *Phil.* 3.36; Sal. *Jug.* 85.48.1.
29. Also with non-divine agent: Ter. *Ph.* 3-4 *uirtus ... bonitasque uostra adiutans*, (also Cic. *Phil.* 10.4.7 +), Liv. 6.4.6.3 *re publica impensas adiuuante.*
30. Also of Agni (III 19.5+) and Pūṣan (III 62.9+).

(2) The reconstruction of *$h_2eu̯h_1$-[31] relies on two marginal forms which are in fact decisive:

(a) αἴτας 'friend' (Theocr.),[32] also αἴτας · ἑταῖρος (Hsch.) is the counterpart of Ved. *avitár*-, Lat. *adiūtor*, and clearly points to initial *h_2-, namely *$h_2eu̯H$-: αἴτας (*$au̯-i̯-tā$-) stands by Hom. ἐνηής* (*scil.* ἑταῖρος) 'friendly, ready to help', actually a possessive compound *'who has help in himself' (*$en-āu̯es$) of the type ἔνθεος, with °$āu̯es$ as compositional lengthened form of PGk. *$áu̯o/es$- 'help'[33] (*$h_2éu̯H-es$-: Ved. *ávas*-, Av. *auuah*-).[34] The pair αἴτας :: Hom. ἐνηής* (*$au̯-i̯-tā$- :: *°$āu̯es$-) matches the pattern of Θερσίτης :: °θέρσης, θέρσος.

(b) Lat. *au-ēre* 'be eager for, long (for)', which matches OIr. *con·oí* 'protects', points to *-h_1-[35] and to an intensive *$ou̯éi̯e$- (*$h_2ou̯h_1-éi̯e$-), which preserved the sense 'help, assist' in Celtic (*$kom-h_2ou̯h_1-éi̯e$-[36]), whereas in Latin the phonetic outcome (*auē*-, by Thurneysen-Havet's rule) underwent a semantic shift of *'favour' to 'desire', or a lexicalization of original 'run to/for' to 'long for',[37] which lead ultimately to a stative *au-ēre* (: *au-idus*) in Latin synchrony, different from Lat. (°)*iuuō*, -*āre*.

31. The assumption of *h_1- has nothing in its favor, *pace* [Kümmel, *LIV²* s.v. *$h_1eu̯H$- "helfen, fördern"], supposedly connected with Hitt. *ii̯a(u)u̯a-ᵗᵃ* 'to recover', and different from *$h_2eu̯$- "genießen" (Lat. *auēre*), with prs. *$h_1i-h_1éu̯H/h_1uH$- whence Lat. *iuuō*, -*āre*).

32. Theocr. 12.14 τὸν δ᾽ ἕτερον πάλιν ὥς κεν ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴποι ἀίτην, cf. the gloss in *Schol.Vet. in Theocr*. … ἀίτης ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἐρωμένους αἴτας ἔνιοι καλοῦσιν ὡς οἱ Θεσσαλοί καὶ γὰρ Ἀλκμὰν τὰς ἐπεράστους κόρας λέγει ἀίτας οἱ δ᾽ αἴτας τοὺς ἑταίρους.

33. Also ἐνηείη* 'friendship' only in gen. (*Il.* 17.670 νῦν τις ἐνηείης Πατροκλῆος … μνησάσθω). Hom. ἐνηής* is glossed as πρᾷος 'mild' (*Schol. D ad P 204*), ἐπιεικής *et sim.* Hsch. *ἐνήεας · προσηνεῖς, ἀγαθούς. συνετούς. ἐπιεικεῖς, Eust. 3.931 Πάτροκλον, …, ὡς οἱ παλαιοί φασι, τῷ Ἀχιλλέως ἑταίρῳ τῷ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς περιποιησαμένῳ, τῷ φιλοίκτῳ, τῷ συμπαθεῖ, τῷ ἐνηεῖ, Sud. ἐνήεος · τοῦ πράου. καὶ ἐνηής, ὁ πρᾷος. ἐνήεια · ἡ πραότης.

34. The term ἐνηής*, referred to Patroklos (the ἑταῖρος *par excellence*), matches αἴτᾱς semantically, cf. Ved. *sákhā ... avitā́ḥ* "compagnon secourable" [Pinault 2006: 402-3]. It seems, at least in Homer, in complementary distribution with ἐρίηρ*, ἐρίηρος [García Ramón 2006: 841-3]: ἐνηής* occurs only in acc. (ἑταῖρον ἐνηέα *Il.* 8.200, 17.204, +), gen. (ἑταίροιο ἐνηέος 20.252 +), as against ἐρίηρος, which usually occurs in formulas in nom. sg. (ἐρίηρος ἑταῖρος 4.266), nom. acc. pl. ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι, ἐρίηρας ἑταίρους).

35. A further argument in favor of *$h_2eu̯h_1$- could be Gk. ἄε-θλον 'prize', if from *$h_2eu̯h_1-dʰlo$- "objet de préférence, de valeur", "ce par quoi se réalise la valeur" [Pinault 2006: 397-8].

36. Cf. García Ramón 1996: 45-6, 2012: 157. *Aliter* [Kümmel, *LIV²* s.v. *$h_2eu̯$- "genießen" (*$h_2ou̯-éi̯e$-), De Vaan 2008 s.v. *aveō* (*$h_2eu̯-eh_1$- "to enjoy, consume"), Vernet i Pons 2008: 151 (*$h_1u-eh_1-i̯e$- originally "aver gaudit"), Schumacher 2000: 176-7 (OIr. *con·oí* from *$h_1au̯H$-)]. Whether a Vedic root *$av²$ 'eat' (ipf. 2sg. *ā́vayas*, 3sg. -*at* 'ate' of *ad* as per [Hoffmann 1982: 63-7]; *aviṣyú*- 'greedy (of food) reflects a different root *$h_2eu̯$- 'desire' or is specialization of *avⁱ/ū* is irrelevant at this point.

37. Probably, but not necessarily, through an intermediate 'give preference', with a former accusative of direction which becomes the object of 'to desire', cf. García Ramón 1996, 2012: 158-61 with reference to Lat. *accersō*, -*ere* (*$ad-kers-s-o/e$-) 'to go forth' → 'to fetch' (Pl.+) and to PIE *nes- 'to come (where one will)' → 'to desire': TB *ñäsk*- (*$nes-sk̂o/e$-), also TB *ñyas* → TA *ñās* 'desire' [Malzahn 2007].

9. The evidence cited thus far in support of the assumption of Core IE *$h_2eu̯h_1$- 'help, assist' (or *$h_2eu̯H$- if one remains skeptical about Lat. *auēre* 'desire, long for' as a specialization of *'run to') may be summarized as follows:

*$h_2eu̯h_1$-	Ved. *áv^i/ū*	: →	Lat. (°)*i+u̯o/e-* : → (°)*i+uu̯āre*
*h_2uh_1-*tó-*	Ved. *ūtá-* (*indrotá-*!)	: →	Lat. (°)*i+ūto-* > (°)*iūtus*
*$h_2(e)u̯h_1$-*ent-*	Ved. *ávant-*	: →	Lat. (°)*i+uu̯ānt-*
*$h_2éu̯ə_1$-*tu-*	Ved. *ávitave*	: →	Lat. Supine (°)*i+ūtu-* → (°)*iūtum,-ū(i)*
*$h_2eu̯ə_1$-*tér-*	Ved. *avitár-*	: →	Lat. *ad-i+ūtor*
*$h_2eu̯ə_1$-*tr-íh_2-*	Ved. *avitr̄́-*	: →	Lat. *ad-i+ūtrīx*
*$h_2e/ou̯h_1$-*men-*	Ved. *omán-*	: →	Lat. *ad-i+ūmentum* (Pl.+)
*$h_2éu̯h_1$-*es-*	Ved. *ávas-*, Av. *auuah-*	:	PGk. *$áu̯es$- (Hom. ἐν-η(ϝ)ής*): ἀ(ϝ)-ίτᾱς
*$h_2ou̯h_1$-*éi̯o/e-*	---		OIr. *con ˙ói* ' protect'; Lat. *auēre* (→) 'to desire'

To these comparanda we may add further evidence for *$h_2eu̯h_1$- with the sense 'desire, long for', issued from 'run for' (like Lat. *au-ēre*), namely

*$h_2óu̯h_1$-*no-* Hom. ἐρι-ούνιος, ἐρι-ούνης		:	οὖνος 'course', denom. Arc. οὔνημι*,
*$h_2ou̯h_1$-*éh_2-*	---	: →	Lat. *auārus* 'desirous, greedy'

The word-family of οὖνος 'course, race' (with denominative οὔνημι*) is attested by the glosses οὖνον ˙ … Κύπριοι δρόμον, οὖνιος, οὖνης ˙ δρομεύς. κλέπτης, and (impv.) οὖνη ˙ δεῦρο. δράμε. Ἀρκάδες. Gk. οὖνος (i.e. *$h_2ou̯h_1$-*no-*) reflects PGk. *$óu̯$-*no-* 'course' (transposable as *$h_2óu̯h_1$-*no-*). The term (like a variant *οὐνᾶ) is actually the second member of ἐρι-ούνιος, ἐρι-ούνης (epithet of Hermes, Hom.+) 'the one who runs speedily', literally *'who has a course (οὖνος) *at the highest level* (ἐρι°)', as well as 'the one who helps *at the highest*', as shown by E. Langella.[38] The sense 'run' survives only in οὖνος and derivatives in the Arcado-Cyprian glosses.

Lat. *auārus* 'desirous, greedy' in R. Garnier's interpretation (p.c.) as a derivative of *$au̯ā$- 'desire, greediness' (*$h_2ou̯h_1$-*éh_2-*), originally *'course, running for', which, in my opinion, underlies Lycian *xuwa-* 'assistance' (cf. § 11).

38. [Langella 2013], with reference to *HDem.* 407 εὖτέ μοι Ἑρμῆς ἦ[λθ]' ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς (*HHPan* 28/9 Ἑρμείην ἐριούνιον … /… ὡς ὅ γ'(ε) … θοὸς ἄγγελός ἐστι) and to *HHerm.* 28 Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος υἱὸς / … / σύμβολον ἤδη μοι μέγ' ὀνήσιμον, 35 … ˙ σὺ δέ με πρώτιστον ὄνησες. The term is glossed as 'helper' or as 'greatly serviceable', cf. *schol. in Il.* 20.34 ἐριούνης … βοηθεῖ αὐτοῖς; *schol. in Od.* 8.322 ἐριούνιον λέγει τὸν Ἑρμῆν … ἢ μεγαλωφελὴς, ἐκ τοῦ ἐρι ἐπιτατικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὄνησις ἡ ὠφέλεια.

10. PIE *h_2euh_1- is, to my mind, reflected in Anatolian in Hitt. ḫūu̯ai- [ḫḫi], ḫui̯a-[mi] 'run' and CLuv. ḫūi̯a-[mi] : HLuv. ḫuu̯ia-[mi] (ḫù-i̯a-)[39], as well as in Lyc. xuu̯a-[mi], the meaning of which remains controversial §11). These forms fit perfectly into the pattern of PIE *h_2euh_1-: Hitt. CLuv. ḫ- and Lyc. x- confirm the initial *h_2- (*h_3- is excluded), and *-h_1- does not leave any trace in any of the three languages. The stem formation of the Hittite and Luvian forms may remain a matter of discussion (probably an -i- present *$h_2éuh_1$-i-e-i / *h_2uh_1-i-énti of the type dāi-/ti̯a-),[40] but their formal appurtenance to *h_2euh_1- goes beyond any doubt. The same applies to Lyc. xuwa-, most probably a denominative of *xuu̯a-[41] (transposable as *h_2ouh_1-éh_2, like Lat. *au̯ā- in auā-rus (§9), of the same type as CLuv. (anda)u̯arrāi- 'to help, support' to u̯arraḫ-* (cf. u̯arraḫ-it- 'help').[42]

As to semantics, the Hittite and Luvian verbs clearly mean 'to run, rush, flee', without any connotation of 'help', or 'assistance' inherent to the lexeme, cf. Hitt. ptc. [LÚ]ḫui̯ant- lexicalized as 'fugitive' (continuant of a perfect formal, but not semantic, equation with Ved. ávant- 'helping': Lat. (ad)iuuans, adiutans 'id.'), or causative ḫue/inu- (e.g. KBo 22.5 vs. 9' ḫ]u?-u-e-nu-un 'I let him run'), also MHitt. ḫūt/da-: CLuv. ḫuta- 'haste, readiness'.[43] It is true that Hitt. peran ḫuu̯ai- means 'to help' (*'run ahead'),[44] e.g. KUB 14.15 rs. ii 43´-44´ […ANA KARAŠ[ḪI.·]A GÌ[R-i]t pé-ra-an ḫu-u-i-i̯a-nu-un 'I protected my army' (*'marched on foot in front of my army'), as seen also in causat. peran ḫue/inu- 'send forth' (auxiliary troops)', peran ḫuu̯ii̯atalla- 'helper' (*'one who goes ahead') and gen. peran ḫui̯au̯aš (neutr. -u̯ar) 'of protection', but this is the result of a lexicalization, ultimately depending on the preverb, not on the lexeme itself. The same applies to the lexicalization as 'observe, supervise' with Hitt. šer 'on, above' and Lyc. hri 'id.' (loc. *ser(-i), cf. Ion.-Hom. ἐριº 'high, highly')[45], as in Hitt. šer ḫui̯ant- '(who is a) supervisor', i.e. *'who runs

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39. "No good etymology … available for huwai-" [Jasanoff 2003: 95]. A connection with IE *h_2ueh_1- 'to blow' (Ved. vā́ti, Gk. ἄησι) or with Hitt. ḫuu̯ant- 'wind' (*h_2ueh_1nt-, cf. Ved. vātá-, Lat. uentus) [Kloekhorst, EDHIL s.v. following others] is formally possible, but hardly convincing: the root-structure is different, semantics and collocations are very different (the wind does not run). [Puhvel, HED s.v.] connects the verb with Ved. véti, Hom. ἵεμαι, which is phonetically impossible.
40. [Jasanoff 2003: 93-5]. Aliter, hardly convincing, [Kloekhorst EDHIL s.v. **ḫuu̯ai-[i] / ḫui-**] (in terms of an *-oi- /-i- suffix).
41. With 3.sg. /-ati/ by extension from 3.pl. /-ānti/ (*-āi̯ónti) cf. [Hajnal 1995: 130-1] (reference to the homonymy of nouns and denominative verbs in Lycian, cf. kumaza- 'priest' : kumaza-[mi] 'to be priest', la- 'dead' : la-[mi] 'to be dead'.
42. [Starke 1990: 155-7]. Cf. also Lat. suppetiā-rī 'to help' beside suppetiās īre.
43. From *h_2uh_1t-ó- (with -t- enlargement), cf. also the derivatives Hitt. ḫūtarla/i-, CLuv. ḫutarlā- 'slave' Lyc. xddaza- 'id.' [Eichner 1983: 58-9, Starke 1990: 363, Melchert 2004 s.v. **xddaza-**].
44. The alleged 3.pl. προθέουσιν* 'they help' (ºθέω) in Il. 1.291 τοὔνεκά οἱ προθέουσιν ὀνείδεα μυθήσασθαι conceals aor. subj. *ºtʰḗ-onti (ºτίθημι), not a syntactic calque of Hitt. peran ḫuu̯ai- (pace [Puhvel 1988]).
45. Cf. [Willi 1989: 95-6]. The form is attested also in Gk. ῥίον 'promontory', Myc. PN ri-jo (*sri̯o-, cf. [Heubeck 1964]).

above’ (with impv. *šer ḫui̯anza eštu* ‘let be the supervisor’)[46], and in Lyc. *hri-xuwama* ‘protector’ (epithet of Malija, the Lycian Athena, cf. §11).[47]

In fact ‘help’ is expressed in Hittite and Luvian by means of the family of a different term, namely Hitt. *u̯arr-*, *u̯arrešš-*, denom. *u̯arrai-*, CLuv. *u̯arraḫ-it-*, HLuv. *u̯arii̯a-* (and Hitt. *u̯arr(i)-* ‘help’, HLuv. *u̯arra/i-* ‘id.’):[48] ‘run for help’ is expressed by a syntagm with ‘run’ and a case form of (or a periphrasis with) *u̯arra/i-* ‘help’, e.g. Hitt. *u̯arraš udani* ‘for a matter of assistance’ or, in the first millennium, HLuv. ˣBONUS-*ti-i* ˣ *HWI-ia-ta* ‘run for favor’[49]. Only two terms allow to recognize a transferred sense. On the one hand, CLuv. dat. *ḫūu̯ai̯alli* ᴰUTU-*i* ‘witness’ in KUB 6.46 iv 53 (NH), an epithet of the sun-god equivalent to Hitt. *kutru(u̯an)-* ‘witness’ (dat. *kutrui* ᴰUTU-*i* in the duplicate 6.45 iv 56), probably from *‘to run with’ (cf. NHG *Mitläufer*, Sp. *compañero de viaje*). On the other hand, Hitt. *ḫūtarla/i-*, CLuv. *ḫutarlā-* ‘slave, servant’ (beside n.*ḫūtar* ‘haste’) seems to anticipate the shift ‘run’ → ‘assist’, which is recognizable in Lyc. *xddaza-* ‘slave’ (*xud-aza-*, with -*aza*-suffixe)[50] and Lyc. *xuwa-* (§11).

11. Lyc. *xuwa-* ‘assist’ or ‘be related to’, namely 3sg. *xuwati*, may be explained as a specialization of *‘run’, the sense of *$h_2eu̯h_1$- in Anatolian. The same applies to the epithet *hri-xuwama-* ‘supervisor’, as the reflex of the lexicalized sense with *hri.°*

3sg. *xuwati* occurs only twice. In the Greek version of the trilingual inscription of Xanthos (N 320.11): *se=de : Eseimijaje : xuwati=ti : s/e=i* it is rendered as καὶ ὃς ἂν Σιμίαι ἐγγύτατος ἦι τὸν πάντα χρόνον (320G.9/10) ‘and whoever may stand closest to Simias for all the time’. Lyc. *xuwa-* “ἐγγύτατος εἶναι” ‘to stand close to’(+ dat.)[51]

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46. Cf. KUB 31.84 iii 60-1 (service instructions): [*A-NA / ma-a-an* ? NAM.R]Aᴴᴵ·ᴬ-*ma ku-u̯a-pi* NUMUNᴴᴵ·ᴬ *an-ni-iš-kán-zi nu a-ú-u̯a-ri-aš* EN-*aš* [*ḫu-u-ma*]-*an-da-aš-ša* IGIᴴᴵ·ᴬ-*ŠU še-ir ḫu-i̯a-an-za e-eš-tu …*‘(If the deportees are sowing seed somewhere, let the commander of the watchtower be supervisor (: *obseruāre*) also of them all as to his eyes.’.

47. The phraseme [ABOVE – RUN], expressed by means of loc. *sér(-i)* ‘above’ and *$h_2eu̯h_1$- ‘run’, which has shifted to [SUPERVISE] in Anatolian (Hitt. *šer ḫuu̯anza eštu* ‘let him supervise’, Lyc. *hri-xuwama-* ‘supervisor’) has a formal parallel in Hom. ἐρι-ούνιος, ἐρι-ούνης (of Hermes, §9), with °ουνος, which reflects both the old and the new senses of *$h_2ou̯h_1$-*no-*. The formal coincidence between Anatolian and Greek may result from areal contact and/or be an Anatolism in Ionic Greek.

48. The term for ‘help, aid’ *u̯arra/i-* occurs in onomastic compounds of the type HLuv. /Parni-warra/i-/, i.e. DOMUS-*ni-wa/i+ra/i-* ‘help to the house(hold)’; /Tarḫu-u̯arra/i-/ : TONITRUS*hu-wa/i+ra/i-i-* ‘help to Tarhunt-’ (Melchert 2013: 38 with references).

49. KUB 23.72 rs. 20 *u̯a-ar-ra-aš ud-da*[-*ni-i*] *šu-me-eš ma-aḫ-ḫa-an pa-ra-a ḫu-u̯a-ad-du-ma* ‘as you rush for a matter of assistance’. Cf. the same extension by [for HELP] in HLuv. ˣBONUS-*ti-i* ˣ *HWI-ia-ta* ‘run for favor’ (: abl.sg. *u̯a-ša-ra-ti*) in the Babylon-Stele 1-2 (9ᵗʰ cent.) *u̯a/i-mu-ta′*TONITRUS.ḪALPA-*pa-u̯a/i* '-*ní-ša* ᴰᴱᵁˢTONITRUS-*ša* ˣBONUS-*ti-i* ˣ *HWI-ia-ta* ‘for me Halabean Tarḫunzas run with favour’ [Hawkins 2000: 392-3]. The same construction occurs in Latin (Cic. *Att.* 12.3.2 *uereor ne iste…*Ἀτύπῳ *subsidio currat*, Sen. *Nat.* 1.15.5 *in auxilium ... cucurrerunt*).

50. On these forms cf. [Eichner 1983: 58-9, Starke 1990: 363-4, Melchert 2004 s.v. **xddaza-**].

51. Aesch. *Eum.* 65-6 διὰ τέλους δέ σοι φύλαξ, / ἐγγὺς παρεστὼς …, ‘standing close to you for ever, as your guard, …’, *Pers.* 686 … ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτες τάφου ‘…, standing close to my tomb’.

points to an original *'to run together with', with two possible special nuances, 'to *assist/attend* (as priest)', and 'to be *related* to someone'.[52] In the funerary inscription of Kaş (TL 80.2/3) *xuwati* may be understood as '(the one who is) a relative'[53] (better than 'a collaborator', cf. *xddaza-* 'servant, helper'): *se=i=ni ñtepi tãtu tike ne=de xuwati=ti ne ṃe=i m=ene* / [*Trq*]*as tubidi se Malija hrixuwama* "… and one may not put into /bury (*ñtepi tãtu*) someone, who does not *xuwati*. If not, so will the God Trqqnt- punish him, and also Malija (: Athena) *hrixuwama-*".

Lyc. °*xuwama-* in the GN *hri-xuwama-* is a participle or a *-*mo-* derivative of *xuwa-* and reflects the lexicalized sense 'supervisor' with *hri*°: as an epithet of Malja, the Lycian Athena, it has close parallels in the Greek epithets of Athena ἐπίσκοπος (Solon), Πότνι᾽ Ἀθηνάων ἐπιήρανε (*Ant.Gr.*), ἐπίκουρος (Nonnus).[54]

12. The semantic path [$_{(ADVERB)}$–RUN] to [ASSIST],[HELP] we assume for PIE **h$_2$euh$_1$*- 'to run, hasten' in Core Indo-European is supported by parallels in other Indo-European lexemes for 'to run' (also 'to fly'), which happen to mean 'help, assist' (in some cases, but not necessarily, with an adverb like Lat. *sub*, Gk. ἐπί, OIr. *fo*). This is the case with Lat. *sub-currō, -ere* 'to help' (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.630 *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco*), Hom. ἐπίκουρος (*°*kors-ó-*, cf. Lat. *currere*) with denominative ἐπικουρέω, βοηθέω or OIr. *fo·reith* "succurrit" (cf. Lat. *rota* 'wheel', Ved. *rathá-* 'chariot'), *do·reith* "accurrit", as well as with Lat. *suppetō, -ere* 'to turn up as a support' (and *suppetiās īre* 'id.', *suppetia* 'help', all since Plautus), cf. Hitt. *piddai-* / *pittiia-* 'run', also 'flee' (PIE **peth$_2$*- 'to fly').[55] The same applies to Lyc. *xuuua-* and *xddaza-* 'slave' (§11), with a parallel in Goth. *þiu-magus* 'servant' (PGmc. **þe(g)ṷa-* : Ved. *takvá-* 'swift' to **tek^w*- : Ved. *tak-*).[56]

13. Once it has been stated that the semantic shift [$_{(ADVERB)}$–RUN] → [HELP, ASSIST], as well as → [ASSIST (someone)], [STAND CLOSE TO], and not viceversa, is supported by cross-linguistic evidence, one may safely assume that this applies to the semantics of PIE **h$_2$euh$_1$*-, which originally meant 'to run, hasten', as still attested in Anatolian (Hitt. *ḫuṷai-/ḫuia-^{hhi}* 'to run' and its Luvian cognates, and partly Lyc.

52. Cf. [Starke 1990: 350, n. 1236] "und wer dem Eseimijaje (Simias) jeweils verwandt ist". This may be a son (: *tideimi*), a young brother (: *epñnẽne/i-*), or a direct descendent (: *esedẽñewe/i-*).

53. In fact, this means '(the one) who has an agreement/licence' (to be placed in a grave), which would match the frequent συγχωρεῖν in the formulary of Greek grave inscriptions in Lycia. Cf. for instance TAM II 69-70 [ἐπὶ τῷ τ]εθῆναι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς [καὶ] τὰ ἐξ ἡμῶν κ[αὶ ο]ἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ ζῶντες / [συνχ]ωρήσομεν · ἕτερος δὲ ἐξουσίαν οὐχ ἕξει. Further instances in [García Ramón 2015: 139 and n. 50, 51].

54. [García Ramón 2015: 130-5].

55. [Watkins 1975: 93].

56. [Eichner 1983: 59], with reference to [Brugmann 1906: 380] (with reference to further semantic parallels).

xuwa-) and shifted to 'to help, assist' in the other IE languages (Ved. *áv-a-* : Av. *auu-a-*, Lat. (*ad*)*iuuō, -āre* … §§8-9), i.e. in "Core Indo-European".

The contrast between Anatolian of the 2nd millennium and the languages of Core Indo-European is clear in this respect. In Anatolian, where the reflexes of *$h_2$eu̯h$_1$*-preserve the meaning 'to run', the terms for 'help' (Hitt. *u̯arr-, u̯arra/i-* and denominatives, HLuv. *u̯aria-*, CLuv. *u̯arraḫit-*) are reflexes of another lexeme, namely PIE *(*s*)*u̯erH-* 'to pay attention' 'to assist' (cf. Hom. ἦρα 'favor'). Contrarily, in the languages of Core Indo-European, where *$h_2$eu̯h$_1$*- has shifted to 'to help', 'to run' is expressed by other lexemes, among others Ved. *syand-, abhi-dhāv-*, Gk. θέω, τρέχω / δραμο/ε-, Lat. *currō*, OIr. *reith*. The original sense 'to run' is still recognizable in a few residual forms of Greek (the family of οὖνος in Arcadian and Cyprian glosses, partly in Hom. Ἐριούνιος) and, indirectly, in Lat. *aueō, -ēre*, and *auārus*, which point to a parallel semantic paths [RUN (FOR)] → [DESIRE] (§ 8.2).

The occurrence of *indrotá-* 'helped by Indra' as /Indra-ūta-/ in the letters of Amarna in the area of influence of Mittani in the 14th century BC, i.e. at the time when Anatolian languages still conserved the sense 'to run' for the same lexeme, is crucial. On the one hand, it allows to state that in Indo-Aryan or Indo-Iranian *Hau̯H-* meant 'to help', as shown by the name /Indra-ūta/ which had been exported to Near East before *ca*. 1400. On the other hand, it provides us with a terminus *ante quem*: the shift of PIE *$h_2$eu̯h$_1$*- from 'to run' to 'to help' (a specific non-trivial common innovation of Core Indo-European) had already taken place in the Indo-Iranian languages ca. 1400 (and surely before), but in any case after the separation of Proto-Anatolian, which did not share the innovation. This is especially evident in the case of the different meanings of Hitt. ^{LÚ}*ḫui̯ant-* 'fugitive' (*'runner'), the continuant of *$h_2$eu̯h$_1$-ent-*, and Ved. *ávant-* 'helping, helper' (and Lat. (*ad*)*iuuans* 'id.').

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