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IE *LEUB^h – “TO LOVE”

0. The main purposes of this contribution are: (i) to collect all important continuants of the root **leub^h*- in IE languages, (ii) to map a dispersion of meanings in this semantic field, (iii) to try to determine the starting semantics.

1. The oldest attestation of the IE root **leub^h*- in Indo-Aryan languages is known from RV (X, 103, 12):

*amīśāṃ cittāṃ prati-lobhāyantī gṛhāṇā āṅgāny apve párehi
abhi préhi nír daha hṛtsú sókair andhénāmítrās támasā sacantām*

“Bewildering the senses of our foemen, seize thou their bodies and depart,
O Apvā.

Attack them, set their hearts on fire and burn them: so let our foes abide in utter darkness”.

(transl. Griffith 1889[1987]: 588).

The later attestations represent a wider semantic spectrum:

**lubhati* (aor. *alubhat*) “is desirous” (Dhātupāṭha), Hindi *luhnā* “to be infatuated, covet” (T #11085);

lúbhyati “is eager, is desirous” (MBh), Pali *lubbhati* “covets”, Gypsy *lubev-* “to be vicious”, *lubni* “harlot”; Hindi *lubbhānā* “to excite desire” (T #11086);

lubdha- “covetous, greedy” (Gautama), “hunter” (MBh); “confused” (Aitareya-Brahmana), Old Gujarati *lūdhaḍī* “desirous” vs. Sindhi *lujhaṇu* “to be agitated by grief or anger” etc. (T #1184 & #1184a);

lōbha- m. “eager desire” (Manu), Panjabi *lohar* “lust, violence, oppression”, Marathi *loho* “tenderness, affection”, Sinhali *loba* “desire, greed” (T #11147);

**lōbha-* “agitation” in *a-lōbha* - “the not going astray” (Aitareya-Brahmana) (T #11147a);

**lōbhati* (aor. *alōbhī*) “is desirous” (Dhātupāṭha), Lahnda *lohaṇ* “to desire, wish” (T #11142);

lōbhana- “allurement”, Assamese *lohan* “gentle persuasion by holding out false hopes” (T #11149);

lōbhyatē “is enticed”, pass. of *lōbhayati* “entices” (Kalidasa), Kashmiri *lubun* “to feel desire” (T #11152);

pralubdha- “seduced” (Manu), *pralubhyati* “is lustful” (Śaṅkhi Gṛhyasūtra), caus. *pralōbhayati* (MBh), Prakrit *palōbhēdi* “tempts, entices” (T #8762 & #8768);

vilōbhayati “allures” (MBh), “perplexes” (Dasar), *vilubhita-* “agitated” (Bhaṭṭi-Kavya), Oriya *biḷohiba* “to allure; mix, agitate” etc. (T #11913 & #11913a).

A detailed discussion of morphology and semantics of the root **leub^h-* in Indo-Aryan was presented by Burrow 1956 and Mayrhofer 1966.

2. Morgenstierne 1932, 54 has found an Iranian cognate to IA data in Modern Persian *āluftan* “to rage, grow mad (with love), be enamoured”. The Persian word is quoted according to the dictionary J.A. Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum etymologicum*, I. Bonnae ad Rhenum 1845: 39, 48. But concerning the meaning we can find only the reference to the synonymous verb *āšuftan* translated as “movere, agitare, perturbare; commoveri, agitari, perturbari; irasci”; the participle *ālufta* is quoted independently and translated “agitatus, perturbatus; iratus; amans, amore captus; homo vagus, erro; pauper, afflictus; pila”.

Abaev 1966: 9-14 has completed yet Ossetic (Digor) *ilivd* “unhappy, unlucky, miserable”, cf. *ilivd od* “poor soul” (< **vi-lufta-*).

3. Mann 1987: 715 quotes as a continuant of the IE root **leub^h-* also Hittite *lupasti-* “satisfaction”, corr. Hittite or Luwian *:lumpasti-* & *:luppasti-* n. com. “something unpleasant, displeasing, offensive; Ärgeris; chagrin”, cf. the contextual evidence (Güterbrock & Hoffner 1989: 85):

maanmat ANA ŠEŠ-YA UL ZI-za nu ANA ŠEŠ-YA ZI-ni :lu-pa-a š-tin DU-mi
 “If my brother doesn’t want it, will I do something offensive to my brother’s mind?” (KUB 21.38 obv. 65);

ANA ŠEŠ-YA kuiš ZI[-ni :l]u-um-pa-aš-ti-iš ammukman ANA ŠEŠ-YA UL namma iyami [m]aan UL kuit IDI nu ANA ŠEŠ-YA :lu-um-p[a-aš-ti-i]n apuun DU-mi karuuma kuit IDI nu A-[N]A ŠEŠ-YA :lu-um-pa-aš-ti-in UL-pat iy[ami...]
 “I will not do to my brother again that which is offensive to my brother’s mind. If I didn’t know something, then I might do such an offensive thing to my brother. But since I already know, I won’t do anything offensive to my brother.” (ibid. rev. 11-3);

nu kuedani DINGIR-LIM-ni kuiš ZI-aš :lu-up-pa-aš-ti-iš nuza idaalun [:]lu-up-aš-ti-in ZI-ni piran [a]rha iyaddu

“Let the god in whose mind there is annoyance send away the evil annoyance from his mind”. (KUB 36.97 iii? 8-iv?)

Regarding the semantic dispersion recorded among Indo-Iranian continuants of the root **leub^h-*, the meaning of Hittite/ Luwian *lu(m)pasti-* is quite compatible with the quoted semantic field. There is also the recognizable suffix *-asti-*, productive in Hittite, cf. *dalugasti-* “length” vs. *dalugai-* “long”, *pargasti-* “height” vs. *parku-* “high”, *palhasti-* “width” vs. *palhi-* “wide” (Kronasser 1966: 208). The geminate *-pp-* changing with *-mp-* can be explained as *-m/n-* + *-p-*, cf. *irippi-* & *irimpi-* “cedar” < Sumerian ERIN & Hurrian suffix *-pi-* (Kronasser 1966: 224-25, 244). Accepting the original stem **luNp(a)-*, there is probably the only chance to connect it with the IE root **leub^h-*, supposing the development via metathesis: **lub^h-no-* (cf. Albanian *lumë* “happy” < **lub^h-no-*; see # 5.) >

**lumpa-* / **luppa-* - The IE adjectival suffix *-*no-* appears also in Hittite *ekuna-* "cold" vs. *eka-* "cold, frost, ice" (Kronasser 1966: 181). Probably etymologically related nominal suffix appears also in Luwian (Starke 1990: 410, fn. 1477). Unfortunately, there is no attested example of the supposed metathesis *-*b^hn-* > *-*Np-* (but cf. the opposite example in Hittite *tepnu-* "to diminish", preserving *-*b^hn-*, or Luwian *ulipna-* / *walipna-* "fox" or "wolf"; cf. Melchert 1994: 113, 267). Finally, there are other etymologies without similar complications: Pisani (1966 - see Tischler 1990: 77) compares it with Greek λύπη "Kummer, Trauer, Schmerz". Furnée sees a cognate in (pre-) Greek λυβάζειν "schmähen, schimpfen". We can conclude that the derivation of the Anatolian **luNp(a)-* from IE **leub^h-* remains very doubtful.

4. As the only continuant of IE **leub^h-* in Greek has been quoted the gloss λυπτά ἡταίρα, πόρνη (Hesychios) < **lub^h-tə* (Pokorny 1959: 683; Mann 1987: 682, 716). Formally it can be interpreted also as **λυφια*, cf. κρύπτω : κρύφα, θάπτω : τάφος, βάπτω : βαφή etc. (Lejeune 1972: 79). A comparable semantic difference appears in Old High German *huora* "whore" vs. Latin *cārus* "beloved, dear".

Furnée 1972: 240, 316 connects λυπτά with (Pre-)Greek λίπτω "I desire, long for" (**λιφιω* ?), perf. med. λελυμμένος, λίψ · ἐπιθυμία (Hes.). Accepting the root **λιφ-*, it remains to explain the irregular vowel -i- instead of the expected -v-. A possible solution can be in contamination of the verb ἀλείφω "I grease" and the hypothetical **λυφιω*. The semantic proximity of the meanings "to smear, grease" and "to long for, cling" etc. is known e.g. from Slavic: Slovak *lipnut'* "to adhere, cling, desire" (ÉSSJ 17: 92), cf. also Russian *λέπυ* "good, beautiful" of the same origin (ÉSSJ 14: 226). In spite of the quoted attempt to explain the serious phonetic problems the Furnée's etymology cannot be accepted without strong doubts.

5. Albanian *lyp* "I beg; seek, look, pray; ask, request, beseech; implore, need, require" (Mann 1948) can be related (so Lehmann 1986: 235). The change **u* > *y* was probably caused by Umlaut as in *hyp* "mount" < **up-yō* (Huld 1983: 151). In neofinal position of some dialects, voiced stops are frequently devoiced (Huld 1983: 142). If the preceding explanations are correct, the original proto-form was **lub^h-yō*. The adjective *lumë* "lucky, blissful" has been analyzed as *no-* extension of IE **lub^h-* too, cf. the parallel development in *gjumë* "sleep" < **sup-no-* (Jokl 1911: 52-53; Huld 1983: 88). But Çabej 1964: 41 sees here a derivative from the verb *lut* "to pray, ask", cf. *lutm* "celebration". There is also the verb *laps* "I wish, desire" (but also "I am tired, exhausted" - cf. Indo-Iranian) (Khristoforidos 1904: 198; Leotti 1937: 550), analyzed by Jokl 1911: 48 as **loub^h-tyō*. Çabej 1964: 38 presents a different solution: a borrowing from Modern Greek βλάβω, εβλάψα "to harm, injure, offend". Çabej explains the semantic dispersion on the idiom (Albanian) *lapsi ta merrte* "il fit tout son possible pour l'épouseur".

6. Latin *lubet*, later (*mihi*) *libet* (impersonal) "pleases (me)", originally **lub^h-ey-*, cf. *lubet* : *iubet* = Old Indic *lúbhyati* : *yúdhya-*; *lubēns*, *libēns* "willing"; *lubentia* "lust"; *lubīdō* & *libīdō* "lust, fancy"; *prō-lubium* "delight, appetite".

Oscan *loufi(r)* "vel", orig. also impersonal "pleases" (Ernout & Meillet 1959: 367; Walde & Hofmann 1938: 793-4).

Szemerényi 1962: 181 derives Latin *volup* "pleasant", *voluptās*, *-ātis* "pleasure, joy, delight" from the adjective **uolubis*, resp. the abstract **uolubitat-*, analyzing the stem as the original compound **welo-lub^h-i-* or **wolo-lub^h-i-* "valde lubens". Toporov 1974: 9-11 adds Slavic parallels of the same structure (Upper Sorbian *wjeleluby* etc.). It would be very attractive to analyze West Slavic **velьbiti* "to eulogize, praise" as **velь-lьbiti* < **wel-i.& *lub^h-*, assuming the same compound as in Latin.

7. The root **leub^h-* is attested in more Gaulish inscriptions:

(1) The inscription on ceramics:

lubi rutenica onobiia ti edi ulano celicnu
 "ama rutenica liquida uiua tibi est expletio calice"
 (Fleuriot 1980: 113: 2sg. imperative);

(2) The inscription on the vase from La Graufesenque:

aricani lubites ris tecuan doedo tidres trianis
 "verse d'un trait, trois triens des liquides de premier choix, en mélange aux deux tiers, pour que tu aimes"

(Fleuriot 1980: 126: 2sg. middle);

(3)] *şani lubiias saþ* [] *llias sante* [
 "...que tu aimes..."

(Fleuriot 1980: 114: 2sg. conjunctive or optative).

There are also some proper names probably of the same origin:

Gaulish *Lubicus*, *Lubia* (cf. Greek *λυπτά* < **λυφιá* ? - see above), Celtiberian *LuPoš*, *LuPinas* (Botorrita), *Lubbus*, *Lubbi* (Tabula Contrebiensis), Old Irish (in ogam script) *Lubbais* or *Lubbia s*, cf. Old Irish tribal name *Lubet-rige* (= Old Germanic personal name *Leube-ric*) (Korolev 1984: 77, 170; Eska 1989: 125, 160, 161, 189, 131).

8. All apophonic grades of the root **leub^h-* are attested in Germanic:

(1) **leub^hos* > **leubaz* > Gothic *liufs* "beloved", *liuba-leiks* "lovely", Runic Norse *liubu*, Runic Swedish personal name *Ski[n]þa-leubaR* (450 AD), Old Saxon *liof*, Old High German *liob* etc. "dear";

(2) **loub^h-* > **lauba-* > Gothic *ga-laufs* "valuable, costly", cf. dat. sg. *un-ga-laubamma*, Old High German *ga-loub* "encouraging confidence, agreeable"; **laubjan* > Gothic *us-laubjan* "to allow", *ga-laubjan* "to believe", Old English *ge-lyfian*, Old High German *gi-louben* id.;

(3) **lub^h-* > **lub-an* "praise" > Old Norse *lof*, Old High German *lob*; **lubō* "love" > Gothic *lubō*, Old English *lufu*, Old Saxon *luba* etc.

(Lehmann 1986: 141-2, 235; Vries 1962: 361, 363).

9. Lithuanian *liaupsė* "praise, boost" represents the *es*-stem **leub^h-es-*. There are also the derivatives *liáupsinti* "to praise" and *l(i)auptsai* "rich, much" (Trautmann 1923: 161). Old Prussian *lūbi* "marriage" can be an independent cognate or Slavic borrowing although a potential Slavic source (Russian *ljub* "love, wish" ?) differs semantically and it is also rather distant in geographical sense. On the other hand, Old Prussian *lūbeniks* "priest" is very probably bor-

rowed from the source of the type of Kashub *lub'en'c* “lover, enamoured” (Toporov 1990: 368–69, 365–6).

10. All Slavic forms represent the full grade **leub^h*–: Old Church Slavonic *ljubъ, -yi* “gratus, dilectus, optabilis, desideratus”, *ljubo* “etsi-etsi, etiamsi-etiamsi, vel-vel, aut-aut, *ljubiti* “diligere, amare, cupere, venerari”, Slovenian *ljúbiti* “to love, fondle, promise, please”, Czech *líbit se* (impersonal) “to please” (**leub^h-ey-*), Old Church Slavonic *ljuby*, gen. *ljubъve* “love”, Russian (dial.) *ljúbost* “enthusiasm, pleasant surprise” etc. (Trubačev, ÉSSJa 15, 167-189; Karlíková & Blažek, ESJS 7, 430–431).

11. There are no evident traces of the root **leub^h*– “to love” in Tocharian. Accepting the existence of the bound preverb *k(ä)*- < **ko(m)*- (Penney 1989: 59-60), a promising candidate appears in AB *kulyp-* “to ask, want, wish, desire” < **kä-lyup-* < **kom-leub^h*–; the presence *-u-* instead of expected *-ä-* has an analogy e.g. in A *pukmäs* (imper. of *kum-* “come”) < **pä-kum-äs* (Van Windekens 1976: 55: *u*-Umlaut); similarly B *pälyca-pälyc* “volatile” < **pleud-* (Van Windekens 1976: 49) can serve as an example of an analogical development for the second vowel. The verb **leub^h*– is prefixed by the preverb **ko(m)*- e.g. in Slavic: Czech *slíbiti*, Serbocroatian *sljubiti* “to promise”.

The presented overview of continuants of the IE root **leub^h*– allows the following conclusions:

(1) The root **leub^h*– is safely attested in Indo-Iranian, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, and probably also in Greek, Albanian and Tocharian. Its presence in Hittite remains unproven.

(2) The semantic dispersion oscillates between expression of positive emotions as “love, joy, praise, luck” (Indo-Aryan, Greek, Albanian, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, Slavic) and negative feelings as “agitation, rage, violence, fatigue” (Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Albanian, ?? Hittite).

(3) In spite of this semantic polarity it is possible to reconstruct the original ‘central’ meaning “condition or emotion of soul”, connecting both the semantic poles.

(4) Accepting the fact that soul or emotions have been usually connected with heart, the Indo-European root **leub^h*– can be compared with Afroasiatic **libw-* or **luby-* “heart, soul” (cf. Blažek 1992: 136-38).

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