A GRAMMAR OF THE HITTITE LANGUAGE

Part 1: Reference Grammar
LANGUAGES OF
THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

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   Part 1: *Reference Grammar*
   Part 2: *Tutorial*
A Grammar of the Hittite Language

Part 1

Reference Grammar

by

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EISEN BRAUNS
2008
To three giants of Hittitology,
in whose shadow we stand

HANS GUSTAV GÜTERBOCK†

EMMANUEL LAROCHE†

HEINRICH OTTEN
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This book originated in supplementary teaching materials developed by the authors for classroom instruction. Several generations have learned Hittite with the help of the outstanding *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* of Johannes Friedrich (second edition: 1960). However, the passage of more than 40 years has inevitably rendered parts of Friedrich’s grammar outdated or incomplete. A number of recent works have tried to address current instructional needs. Our own efforts to procure or produce teaching materials for the classroom led us to conclude that the time had come for a more comprehensive reference grammar of Hittite, along the lines of Wolfram von Soden’s *Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik* (latest posthumous edition in 1995), that could also serve as the basis for an accompanying set of graded lessons for language learners.

No descriptive grammar can ever pretend to be truly definitive. We have done our best to incorporate and synthesize the advances made since the work of Friedrich and to make this grammar as broad and up-to-date in coverage as possible. We ask indulgence in advance for the inevitable omissions and inadequacies. On points where there is no consensus, we have not hesitated to make reasoned choices, while striving to acknowledge different points of view. Our primary goal has been to describe the language systematically as it appears in the extant texts. We have referred to prehistoric factors only where we feel that they help elucidate features of attested Hittite or are of broad interest. We expressly disavow any intent of systematic coverage in this regard.

One of the most dramatic changes in Hittitology since 1960 has been our enhanced ability to establish a relative chronology not only of texts (recognized since the earliest days of the field) but also of individual copies of those texts, often written many years after the text’s composition. We have sought to give full recognition to established findings in this area, but our initial intention of assigning Old, Middle, or New Hittite status to all cited forms in the paradigms proved to be overly optimistic. Many issues about the dating of texts and manuscripts remain unresolved. We have therefore limited ourselves to marking consistently only examples assured as Old Hittite by their appearance in copies from the Old Hittite period (OS = Old Script). We have otherwise been selective in making what we take to be valid generalizations about the date of various phenomena in appropriate passages in the grammar. Further refinements must be left for the future, including in installments of the ongoing major lexica.

The tutorial is a series of graded lessons arranged in a typical fashion. Major morphological categories are introduced a few at a time, along with a limited but representative sample of the lexicon. Each lesson has illustrative sentences suitable for practice in translation. In order to avoid inventing more Hittite sentences than absolutely necessary, we have insofar as possible used for the exercises Hittite sentences that actually occur in
the texts in either their original form or slightly adapted. We have keyed the tutorial to
the reference grammar and have provided extensive notes for the exercise sentences, es-
pecially on matters of syntax, but we have designed the tutorial primarily for classroom
use with an instructor who knows the language. Although some readers may be able to
use the tutorial for self-instruction, we cannot give assurance that such a method will
produce satisfactory results.

Our enormous overall debt to scholars past and present should be apparent through-
out. We are indebted to colleagues too numerous to mention for their prompt sending of
copies of published and unpublished works and responses to queries. We wish to thank
in particular Professors John A. Brinkman, Benjamin Fortson, Theo van den Hout, Jay
Jasanoff, Jared Klein, Norbert Oettinger, and Elisabeth Rieken for reading all or part
of an earlier draft of the grammar and offering innumerable helpful suggestions and
criticisms. The present version has been immeasurably improved due to their efforts.
Nevertheless, since we were not able to follow all their suggestions, they cannot be
accountable for whatever errors, omissions, or infelicities remain. For these we alone
are responsible. We would also like to thank Mr. Aaron Butts of Duke University for
working through an earlier draft of the tutorial and suggesting changes in it, and the
LANE series editor, Professor Gonzalo Rubio, for further helpful suggestions. Last but
not least, both authors are grateful to Winifred Hoffner for the hospitality, patience, and
unfailing good humor which she has shown to us during the long and sometimes trying
gestation period of this book and for standing together with us as loyal, long-suffering
Chicago Cubs baseball fans!

The Authors
Christmas, 2005
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONAL MARKINGS

In general, and unless otherwise noted in the remarks below, we follow the system of abbreviation used in the *Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CHD). For further details, see below under “Bibliographical Abbreviations.”

As we describe in more detail in the Introduction, the Hittite language can be regarded as developing in three stages: Old Hittite (ca. 1650–1450 B.C.), Middle Hittite (ca. 1450–1350), and New Hittite (ca. 1350–1190). As in the CHD, we employ the sigla OH, MH, and NH for Old, Middle, and New Hittite, and following a slash (/) indicate the date of the copy with OS, MS, and NS for Old, Middle, and New Hittite Script.

Text datings follow the format of the CHD (e.g., OH/MS, etc., rather than the German system of using “ah” and “mh” to denote the date of the individual copy). OS used by itself implies OH/OS, NH by itself implies NS. But the datings themselves may differ from those of earlier printed CHD volumes. Wherever possible, we seek to conform to the datings of the copies now used in the on-line *Konkordanz* of the Mainz center for Hittitological research.

In citing Hittite text references, joined pieces published in separate places are noted as KUB 24.5 + KUB 9.13 obv. 31 or just as KUB 24.5+, which implies that there is a join but does not specify its identity.

The slanted equal sign (=) in Hittite transcriptions indicates a boundary before a clitic element. Since there is no convenient transliteration for the marker wedges that Hittite scribes prefixed to forms exhibiting foreign or unusual elements, we follow the CHD practice of using a graphic representation of the one- or two-wedge variants: ˚ and ¬.

Unlike verbs in the Semitic languages, Hittite verbs with third-person subjects are indifferent to the biological gender of their subjects. To avoid ugly renderings such as ‘he/she/it . . . -s’ in our translations, when the actual gender of the subject is unknown, we have arbitrarily used the masculine pronoun ‘he’.

In the paradigms the following conventions are followed.

Parentheses within forms may mark optional modes of writing the word: e.g., -az(a) means that the ablative ending can be written either -Ca-za or -Ca-az; annaz(a) means that the ablative of anna- ‘mother’ can be written either an-na-az or an-na-za; wa(l)aḫzi indicates that this form can be written either wa-al-āḫ-zi or wa-la-āḫ-zi; paḫḫu(e)naš signals the existence of spellings paḫḫuenaš and paḫḫunaš; a(u)wari(y)aš signals the possible spellings a-u-wa-ri-ya-aš, a-u-wa-ri-aš, a-wa-ri-aš, etc.; ḫuiš(u)wanza signals the existence of ḫu-iš-wa-an-za as well as ḫu-i-šu-wa-an-za. This applies also to optional plene spellings (e.g., pēḫutezi). The same convention is used with transliterated forms: šar-re-(e)-ez-zi.

Parentheses may also occasionally mark a speech element lost through a regular sound change but restored in our broad transcription to aid lexical and/or grammatical
cal identification: e.g., Old Hittite at-ta-aš-ša-an ‘his father’ (acc.) will be transcribed atta(n)ššan; la-a-am-ma-a-mi-it as lämmà(n)mit; Old Hittite an-da-ma-pa, when the form contains the clitic pronoun -mu, will be transcribed anda=m(u)=apa (§1.72, p. 32; and §28.100, p. 378). Likewise we clarify instances of “simplified spellings” (§1.10, p. 12), where a nongeminate consonant represents two identical consonants straddling a clitic boundary, by supplying one of the two identical consonants within parentheses (e.g., iš-ki-še-et will appear as iški(š)šet; at-ta-aš-mi-iš ‘their father’ as attaš(š)miš).

A parenthesized letter or syllable may also indicate alternative interpretations of a single writing (e.g., kar(a)pzi means that kar-ap-zi could be interpreted as either /karptsi/ or /karaptsi/); annall(i)eš indicates that an-na-al-li-eš (or an-na-al-li-e-eš) could also be transliterated an-na-al-le-eš (or an-na-al-le-e-eš).

Bolded forms indicate that the form is attested in OS, but may or may not occur in later periods. The bolding is OS-inclusive, not OS-exclusive.

Bolded forms with parenthesized letters (e.g., huiš(u)wanza) require that the alternate writings huišwanza and huišuwanza both occur in OS, not that one is OS and the other from a post-OS copy. Instances of the latter scenario require a second recording in the paradigm (e.g., nepiši, nepiš, not *nepiš(i)). But as with all bolded forms, a writing huiš(u)wanza leaves open the possibility that one or both of the variant writings also occurs in post-OS.

In rare cases (see §1.72, p. 32) a parenthesized letter indicates a phoneme lost through a phonotactic change: huišwat(μ)apa means that the form huišwatarmapa arose through deletion of the μ vowel before the suffixed particle -apa. Similarly na-pa (for n(μ)=apa) in §28.100 (p. 378) the conjunctions n(μ), ſ(μ), t(a) in §29.1 (p. 389), ištama(n(μ))šan ‘his ear’, tuzzi(n)=man ‘my army’ in §6.5 (p. 139).

Entire forms marked by parentheses indicate those occurring rarely in the texts.

Forms in the paradigms of mi-conjugation verbs marked by a following † are hi-conjugation intrusions. Forms in the paradigms of hi-conjugation verbs marked with † are mi-conjugation intrusions.

When translating ancient texts or individual ancient words, we use pairs of single quotation marks (‘. . .’). When quoting from a modern publication, however, we employ pairs of double quotation marks (“. . .”).

General Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>abl.</th>
<th>ablative</th>
<th>Akk.</th>
<th>Akkadian</th>
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<tr>
<td>abbr.</td>
<td>abbreviated, abbreviation</td>
<td>all.</td>
<td>allative</td>
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<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant (in CV, CVC, VC)</td>
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<td>act.</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>CLuw.</td>
<td>Cuneiform Luwian</td>
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<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>col.</td>
<td>column</td>
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<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb</td>
<td>coll.</td>
<td>collective</td>
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<td>conjunction</td>
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<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>dative-locutive</td>
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<td>dative</td>
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<td>dupl(s).</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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<td>Gilgamesh Epic (CTH 341)</td>
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<td>marks the PN of a male person</td>
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<td>Telipinu</td>
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<td>Tel. pr.</td>
<td>Telipinu proclamation</td>
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<td>translation, translated (by)</td>
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<td>Tudḫaliya</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>vowel (in CV, CVC, VC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>versus</td>
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</table>
Abbreviations and Conventional Markings

x in transliteration indicates an illegible sign
x non-subscripted x stands for an indeterminate number
x subscripted following a sign value indicates a value not yet assigned a number in official sign lists
× within Sumerograms the multiplication sign × precedes sign element inscribed within another. See §1.14 (p. 15).
= equivalences in dupls., lexical texts, etc.
≠ marks clitic boundaries
§ section (of this or other books)
* prefixed to unattested forms
(... ) within a Hittite word encloses omissible part of word (see above, pp. xvii–xviii)
[... ] encloses phonetic interpretations
[... ] encloses material lost in text break
[... (....) ] (....) encloses material restored from a duplicate
< derives or develops from
> becomes/develops into
⟨...⟩ encloses material accidentally omitted by the scribe
⟨⟨...⟩⟩ encloses material omitted from main text but restored from a duplicate
⟨⟨...⟩⟩ encloses material to be omitted
/.../ encloses phonological/phonemic interpretations
\ single-wedge marker
\ double-wedge marker

Bibliographical Abbreviations

In-text bibliographical citations are in the Author-Date form (“Wilhelm 1992”) except for a restricted number of reference works (e.g., CTH, HE, HED, HW, HW², HZL) which are so well-known and commonly used that it seemed inadvisable to refer to them in the Author-Date style, and others which, while not quite so standard as the above, we had occasion to refer to very frequently: AHP and LH. Journal abbreviations occur only in the comprehensive bibliography that closes this work.

AA Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
ABoT Ankara arkeoloji müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy tableleri
AGI Archivio Glottologico Italiano
AfO Archiv für Orientforschung
AHP Melchert 1994
AHw von Soden 1965–85
AIPHOS Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves
AM Annals of Muršili, edited in Goetze 1933a
ANET Pritchard 1969
AoF Altorientalische Forschungen

1. It is generally impossible to capture phonetic detail for Hittite. We have therefore mostly limited our interpretations of its sound system to matters of contrast, marked by /.../. We have resorted to phonetic interpretations, given in [...] only where the distinction seemed especially salient. All such interpretations are provisional.
### Abbreviations and Conventional Markings

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>ArAn</td>
<td>Archivum Anatolicum</td>
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<td>ArOr</td>
<td>Archiv Orientální</td>
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<td>AuOr</td>
<td>Aula Orientalis</td>
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<td>Belleten</td>
<td>Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten</td>
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<tr>
<td>BiOr</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Orientalis</td>
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<td>Bo</td>
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<td>Inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets excavated from 1968 to the present</td>
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<td>HS</td>
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<td>IM</td>
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<td>IncLing</td>
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<td>Journal of Ancient Civilizations</td>
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<td>JANER</td>
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<td>JNES</td>
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<td>KBo</td>
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<td>KIF</td>
<td>Kleinasiatische Forschungen</td>
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### Abbreviations and Conventional Markings

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<td>Or NS</td>
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INTRODUCTION

The Hittites and Their Language

0.1. The people we now call “Hittites” lived almost four thousand years ago in the central highlands of what is today the Republic of Turkey.¹

0.2. The story of the rediscovery of the Hittite writing system, language, and civilization has been told often. In its main lines it runs as follows. Stone blocks found in Syria at the end of the 19th century with hieroglyphic inscriptions chiseled into them were correctly connected to the people known from the Hebrew Bible and the Neo-Assyrian annals as “Hittites.” At that time scholars could not know that the language of these inscriptions was not Hittite proper but a closely related language now called “Luwian.” Yet the assumption that these inscriptions related somehow to the ancient Hittites was correct. Similar inscriptions on rock reliefs in central Anatolia led explorers and archaeologists to impressive ruins near the village of Boğazköy. Official excavations begun there in 1906 under the direction of Hugo Winckler and Theodore Makridi revealed a great city dating from the time of the New Kingdom pharaohs of Egypt and the Kassite dynasty of Babylonia.² Several huge archives of clay tablets inscribed in a variety of cuneiform writing very similar to the contemporary Amarna archives found in Egypt were discovered. Although many tablets were composed in Akkadian and could be read immediately, confirming the excavators’ suspicion that they had found the capital of “Ḫatti,” the vast majority were written in the native language of the Hittites.

Decipherment

0.3. Two tablets in this native language had been found decades earlier in the Amarna archives, representing correspondence between the Egyptian pharaoh and the king of a land called “Arzawa” (later revealed to be located in southwestern Anatolia). A Norwegian scholar, J. A. Knudtzon, claimed the two Arzawa letters were written in a previously unknown Indo-European language (1902). His claim came under heavy criticism from specialists in Indo-European languages. In the second volume of the edition of the Amarna tablets O. Weber maintained that—according to a letter sent to Weber—Knudtzon had eventually lost confidence in his own discovery,³ leading to the inaccurate

¹. For coverage of the Hittites, their culture and history—written for the general reader—see any one of the following: Bittel 1970; Klengel and Klengel 1975; Macqueen 1986; Gurney 1990; Hoffner 1994, 1997a; Bryce 1998, 2002; de Martino 2003; Hoffner 2003a.
². See Güterbock 1995b for the history.
assertion by others that Knudtzon had retracted his claim to decipherment. Working
with a much larger corpus of well-preserved documents in the “Arzawa language” from
Boğazköy, a Czech Assyriologist named Bedřich Hrozný demonstrated convincingly
that Knudtzon’s allegedly retracted theory was in fact correct and published the first ade-
quate grammatical sketch of what became known henceforth as the “Hittite” language
(Hrozný 1915, 1917).

0.4. The language now called “Hittite” 4 was the principal administrative language
of the ancient kingdom of Ḫatti, attested in documents from the state archives in its
capital city, Ḫattuša, and from a few other sites (see in detail §§0.6–0.10). According
to the currently most widely accepted chronology these texts date from the 16th to
13th centuries B.C. Our limited written sources leave us almost wholly ignorant about
the status of Hittite as a spoken language in terms of place, time, and social classes or
population groups. 5

0.5. Hittite is a member of the Anatolian sub-branch of the widespread Indo-European
family that includes Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and most of the modern languages of Eu-
rope. Other Indo-European languages of ancient Anatolia include Luwian, Palaic, Ly-
cian, Lydian, and Carian. Hittite shows the typical features of an older Indo-European
language: it is both synthetic, showing significant use of derivational suffixes to form
words, and inflecting, marking the role of most words in a sentence by a system of end-
ings (word-final suffixes). The historical relationship of Hittite (more correctly of the
Anatolian sub-branch) to the rest of the Indo-European family is a matter of continuing
debate, but this issue lies beyond the purview of the present descriptive grammar.

The Text Corpus

0.6. Hittite cuneiform tablets and tablet fragments, most of them recovered from the
royal archives of the capital city, Ḫattuša, near the modern town of Boğazkale (‘gorge
castle’), number well over 30,000. This town earlier bore the name Boğazköy (‘gorge
village’), which, before the introduction of standardized writing of contemporary Tur-
kish, appeared in archaeological and philological literature of the 20th century as “Boghaz-
köy,” “Boghzköy,” “Boghz Keui,” etc. Although the official name of the town today is
Boğazkale (‘gorge castle’), it is customary in scholarly literature to continue to spell the
name Boğazköy (sometimes spelled without the Turkish ğ as Boghazköy), and we will
do so in this grammar. The vast majority of the excavated tablets are conserved today in
Turkish museums in Ankara, Istanbul, Boğazköy, and Çorum. Other sizable collections

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4. The alternative name “Nesite” is rarely used, although the Hittites’ own designation for their lan-
guage was nelašili, nešumnnili (in the language of (the city of) Neša’ (also known as Kaneš, see Güterbock
1958). For orientation in the subject of the various names used in ancient and modern times for this people
and their language see Güterbock 1959.

5. For recent discussions of this problem see Wilhelm 2002b, Melchert 2005b, and van den Hout
2006.
are found in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, the British Museum, and the Louvre, with much smaller holdings in various academic institutions or museums in America, England, Europe, and the Middle East, as well as in private holdings.

0.7. Most known Hittite cuneiform texts were found at sites in central Turkey (Boğazköy, Alaca Höyük, Maşat Höyük, Ortaköy [Çorum], Kuşaklı, Kayalıpınar). A much smaller number were found in the tablet archives of ancient peoples of the Mediterranean littoral (Syria and Egypt)\(^6\) who had diplomatic relations with the Hittites.

0.8. Although throughout the nearly 100 years of discovery and publication a very large corpus of Hittite texts and fragments has been published, there still remains a substantial number of tablets in Turkish museums awaiting publication. And although it seems unlikely that any additional large source of clay tablets will be found in Ḫattuša, beginning in 1990 a cache of more than three thousand tablets has been excavated at Ortaköy (ancient Šapinuwa) in the Çorum Province of Turkey (Süel 2002). The archive of Šapinuwa dates from the Middle Hittite period (ca. 1400–1350). Once published, it should shed valuable light not only on this relatively poorly understood period in the history of the Hittites but also on a crucial period in the development of their language between the Old and New Hittite periods. In 2005, during excavations directed by Müller-Karpe at Kayalıpınar near Sivas, some Hittite, Hurrian, and Akkadian tablets were found. Hand-copies of them are being prepared by Elisabeth Rieken. Although it seems likely that in the coming decades additional small archives will be found at other provincial centers of the Hittite heartland, the weight of textual evidence will continue to be the large harvest of tablets from the capital city.

Modern Resources for Study

Cuneiform Editions

0.9. Of the excavated tablets, most of those from Boğazköy have been published as facsimile editions (drawings) in the following publications: 60 volumes in the series Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (abbr. KUB), 45 volumes in Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (abbr. KBo), 4 volumes in the Turkish series Istanbul arkeoloji müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy tableilleri (abbr. IBoT) and a handful of other volumes in smaller series.\(^7\) The task of publishing facsimile editions of Hittite cuneiform texts from the Boğazköy excavations is in the hands of the Boğazköy Archive of the Academy of Sciences of Mainz, Germany, whose former director was Heinrich Otten and whose current director is Gernot Wilhelm. This center for research maintains a wide range of research

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\(^6\) Syria: Alalakh, Ugarit, and Emar; Egypt: Amarna.  
\(^7\) Ankara arkeoloji müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletleri (ABoT), Hittite Fragments in American Collections (HFAC), Fragments hittites de Genève (FHG), Fragments hittites du Louvre (FHL), Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character in the British Museum (HT), Kuşaklı-Sarissa (KuSa), Verstreute Boghazkői-texte (VBoT).
resources, some available only to scholars visiting the site at Mainz (such as the comprehensive lexical files), and some available online at the Hethitologie Portal Mainz, including the online edition of Silvin Košak’s *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* (see further below, p. 7), digitized photos of some tablets, a collection of personal names, a bibliography, and the beginnings of a set of digital editions of texts (“Digitale Publikation von Texten der Hethiter [DPTH]”).

0.10. Approximately 116 tablets or large fragments from the now completed excavations at Maṣat Höyük (ancient Tapikka) were published by Alp (1991a, 1991b). We can therefore expect no additional tablets from Maṣat. A smaller number of tablets from the ongoing excavations at Kuṣakli (ancient Šarišša) directed by Andreas Müller-Karpe have been published by Gernot Wilhelm (1995, 1997, 1998, 2002a). Scattered individual tablets from Emar, Alalakh, Ugarit, and El-Amarna have been published in excavation reports and journal articles.

Commentaries

0.11. Since the early days of Hittitology in the 20th century, Hittite compositions of many textual genres have been reconstructed from the tablets and presented in transliteration, with critical notes, commentary, and (often) lexical indices. The earliest such series was *Boghazköi Studien*, edited by Ferdinand Sommer and published in Leipzig, Germany, in which the following important editions appeared: Hrozný 1917; Sommer 1920, 1922; Weidner 1923; Sommer and Ehelolf 1924. A second important series, *Hethitische Texte*, also published in Leipzig and edited by F. Sommer, is a subdivision of the more comprehensive series *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*. Today there exist at least three significant series of this type in Germany and several in Italy. The largest and best known of the German series is *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz; abbr. StBoT), currently edited by Gernot Wilhelm.

Sign Lexicon

0.12. The authoritative sign lexicon for Hittite texts is *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989; abbr. HZL), compiled by two experts in the field, Christel Rüster and Erich Neu. Rüster assisted Heinrich Otten for many years in producing excellent hand-copies for the KBo series. Neu produced some of the standard guides for the dating of Hittite cuneiform texts on the basis of paleography. The volume not only contains the complete known repertory of signs but virtually all known variant forms of the signs, arranged under each entry in roughly chronological order. Under each sign entry are listed all known examples of its meaning as a logogram (see §1.5, p. 10;

8. A new series of text editions in Italy is the Series Hethaea (Italian University Press), which in turn is a subseries of *Studia Mediterranea*, edited by Onofrio Carruba.
§§1.37–1.44, pp. 22–24) and its use as a component of multisign logograms (Sumerograms and Akkadograms) and logographically written proper names that contain the sign in question. Of particular value to beginners, at the back of HZL are alphabetized lists of Sumerograms and Akkadograms with German and Turkish translations, logographically written proper names (divine names, personal names, geographical names), tables of common CV, VC, and CVC signs, and of easily confused signs.

**Grammars**

0.13. For more than forty years, the best instructional grammar of Hittite has been Johannes Friedrich’s *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960; abbr. HE). Less satisfactory, but written in English, is the grammar by Held, Schmalstieg, and Gertz (1987). Very brief surveys also exist, such as Kammenhuber 1969b, Luraghi 1997a, Francia 2005, and Rieken 2005a. There is a grammatical sketch of the Middle Hittite texts from Maşat by Hoffner (forthcoming a). From the comparative Indo-Europeanist perspective an early influential work was Sturtevant 1933, which appeared in a revised and enlarged second edition as Sturtevant and Hahn 1951. Later significant systematic works from this perspective are Kronasser 1956, 1966, and Ivanov 1963.

**Dictionaries**

**Hittite Language**

0.14. The best concise coverage of the entire Hittite vocabulary is still Johannes Friedrich’s *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (first edition; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1952; abbr. HW), with its three supplements, reprinted posthumously under a single cover (Friedrich 1991). Although this work was last updated (in the third supplement) in 1966, it is marked by a careful, cautious, and accurate approach and is a model of conciseness. It provides a German translation of all words whose meanings were known to Friedrich, a selection of inflected forms, a brief bibliography of studies of the word’s meaning, and sometimes a proposed etymology. A more recent Hittite-German word list that covers the entire alphabet is Tischler 2001. But although this is more up-to-date than HW, it lacks many useful features of Friedrich’s earlier work, such as the inflected forms, the bibliographies, and the list of Hurrian vocabulary.

0.15. Two projects have been underway since the 1970s to produce complete dictionaries of Hittite on the scale of Wolfram von Soden’s *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* and the Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The first is the revised and augmented second edition of Johannes Friedrich’s *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, begun under the direction of Annelies Kammenhuber of the University of Munich, Germany, and continued now by Inge Hoffmann. This dictionary (abbreviated as HW²) began its coverage with A and has now partially completed the letter H in...
The important multivolume work by Jaan Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (7 vols. to date; Berlin: Mouton/de Gruyter, 1984–; abbr. HED), is now more than halfway through the alphabet (A–N) and is useful for more than etymological considerations. Puhvel conscientiously lists all inflected forms of words included in his corpus, gives translations of selected passages in which the inflected forms occur, and has useful semantic discussions. HED provides no dating of the forms and thus cannot show diachronic development within the attested languages. A second ongoing work, Johann Tischler’s *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* (14 Lieferungen to date; Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1977–), focuses primarily on etymology.

**Luwian Language**

The latest glossary of the cuneiform Luwian texts is Craig Melchert’s *Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Self-published, 1993; abbr. CLL), which includes all words attested in the corpus edited by Frank Starke (1985) and gives selected coverage of Luwian words appearing in Hittite contexts. Melchert’s lexicon may be obtained in PDF format from the author. Some Hieroglyphic Luwian words are listed and glossed in HW and its three supplements in the appendix “Nachbarsprachen.” But the usefulness of glossaries and word-lists for Hieroglyphic Luwian published prior to Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies, and Neumann 1974, which changed the readings of several high-frequency signs and thus revocalized many words, is limited. Among these earlier works is Meriggi 1962, which was once a standard tool. Even Laroche 1960, which in many respects still remains a crucial tool, suffers in this respect. The new corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian texts (Hawkins 2000) contains a very useful partial index of Luwian
words, as do the vocabulary lists at the back of three recent introductory grammars of Luwian (Werner and Lüscher 1991; Plöchl 2003; Payne 2004), but a complete dictionary is still lacking.

Hurrian Language

0.18. An up-to-date Hurrian glossary is badly needed in view of the many newly available texts. The latest complete glossary published is by Laroche (1978–79), which must be supplemented by tabulations and lists in new publications, such as the Hurro-Hittite bilingual “Song of Release” edited by Erich Neu (1996). Neu’s death in 1999 deprived us of his planned companion volume, which would have contained a complete glossary of this extremely valuable text. Other valuable sources on grammar include André-Salvini and Salvini 1999; Wilhelm 1992a, 1992b, 1992c; and Giorgieri 2000. For vocabulary, see Neu 1996, Catsanicos 1996, and the list of Hurrian words in the back of the introductory grammar by Ilse Wegner (2000).

Sumerograms and Akkadograms

0.19. An older listing of Sumerograms and Akkadograms in Hittite texts can be found in HW 264–315 and its three supplements. An up-to-date replacement is HZL 304–69, in which each logogram is accompanied by the number of the sign in the repertoire under which it is booked, as well as a German and a Turkish translation. Their results are also incorporated by Johann Tischler (2001) in his appendix of Sumerograms. Not restricted to examples attested in Hittite texts are the complete dictionaires of Akkadian, AHw and CAD, as well as the concise CDA.

Text Catalogues and Name Collections

Hittite Cuneiform Texts

0.20. No one can adequately keep up with Hittite textual evidence without a catalogue of text compositions. This is particularly so, because one not only has to identify and locate all the known compositions but must also reconstruct texts from myriads of joins and duplicates. In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s the leading authority in this field was the French Hittitologist Emmanuel Laroche, whose magnum opus was his catalogue of Hittite texts, published originally in installments in the journal Revue hittite et asiatique and subsequently produced in a revised and enlarged second edition as Catalogue des textes hittites (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971; abbr. CTH). Laroche later supplemented this (“Catalogue des textes hittites, premier supplément” Revue hittite et asiatique 30 [1972]: 94–133). But more than thirty years have passed since the last update of this work, and Laroche’s death precluded any further revision by him. Currently it is necessary to supplement CTH with the online additions at the web site maintained by Billie Collins (“Hittite Home Page,” currently at Emory University) and the online version of S. Košak’s Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte (currently at Universität Würzburg; hereafter abbreviated Konk.).
0.21 Introduction

Toponyms

0.21. The first significant collection of toponyms in Hittite texts was published by Hayri Ertem (1973). The great Tübingen Atlas of ancient Western Asia has produced a series of valuable volumes cataloguing toponyms from the major text corpora and time periods. The volume covering the Hittite empire is by Giuseppe del Monte and Tischler (1978), with a supplement (1992). It contains not only the text references but translations of the immediate context of the more significant toponyms and a relatively complete bibliography of studies in which a location for the toponym in question has been proposed.

Personal Names


Divine Names

0.23. For many years, the only systematic and comprehensive collection of divine names was Laroche 1947. For some reason, although he published supplements and, eventually, revised editions of his collection of personal names, Laroche never attempted to revise his collection of divine names. The new comprehensive collection by Ben H. L. van Gessel (1998–2001) has the advantage of completeness and great detail. Every attested occurrence is listed, together with bibliography on each deity. But unlike Laroche’s work, van Gessel’s does not group the various deities according to their ethnic provenience, nor is there much discussion of the deities whose names are catalogued. For this one must consult the recent comprehensive volumes on Hittite religion by Volkert Haas (1994) and Maciej Popko (1995).
Chapter 1
ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONOLOGY

The Cuneiform Writing System of the Hittites

1.1. The Hittite texts were written by professional scribes on clay tablets that were impressed with a stylus and dried in the sun and, to a lesser extent, on metal and on wax-covered wooden writing boards (referred to in the texts as gulzattar or, logographically, GİŞ-LE-U₅ [= Akk. lēʾu]). Although it is unclear what script was used on the writing boards, none of which have survived, the script used on clay and metal tablets was cuneiform.¹ The cuneiform (from the Latin word for ‘wedge-shaped’) system derives ultimately from Southern Mesopotamia, present-day Iraq, where it was devised by the Sumerians for writing their own language and adapted centuries later for writing Akkadian, a Semitic language. In addition to cuneiform writing on clay tablets, the Hittites occasionally utilized a hieroglyphic script.² During the earliest phase of their kingdom’s history, the Old Hittite period, officials used this hieroglyphic script to inscribe stamp and cylinder seals. Much later, during the so-called New Hittite (or Empire) period, kings began to use this system for carving royal inscriptions on rock faces or stelae. These royal inscriptions were composed in Luwian (Hittite luwili; for this designation see §19.15, p. 292), a language closely related to Hittite.³

1.2. Before the advent of the Old Assyrian merchant colonies at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., there was no writing in Anatolia (Kammenhuber 1969b: 161–62). Once the Old Assyrian writing system arrived, it was employed not only by the Assyrian merchants but also on occasions by the local Anatolian rulers (Balkan 1957; Kammenhuber 1969b: 162).

1.3. The exact time and the precise source from which the Hittites obtained the cuneiform writing system and applied it to the recording of their own IE language is unknown.⁴ Since Assyrian trading colonies existed in central Asia Minor (Cappadocia)

¹. For a surviving metal tablet see Neve 1987: 405–8 and Otten 1988, with English translations by Beckman 1999: 114–24 and Hoffner 2000. A silver tablet sent from Hatti to Egypt, containing the text of a treaty between the two countries, is described in the Egyptian translation of that tablet, which appears both on the walls of the temple of the god Amon at Karnak and in the Ramesseum; see the English translation by John A. Wilson (ANET 201).
². On the origins of this script in Anatolia see Mora 1991 and Hawkins 2003.
³. On the Luwians and their language see now Melchert 2003d.
⁴. A good summary of the present state of our knowledge on this subject can be found in HZL 15–16.
as early as ca. 1950 B.C. and left behind written documents composed in cuneiform, one might have expected that the Hittites obtained knowledge of the cuneiform writing system from them. But even a cursory comparison of Old Assyrian and Old Hittite cuneiform writing reveals that (1) the shapes of the signs (palaeography), (2) the selection of logograms (Sumerograms), and (3) the choice of signs for the expression of a given syllable (orthography) are all quite different. For example, Old Assyrian uses the ʰ sign for the syllable ʰit, while Hittite scribes used the ʰ or ʰ sign. It is therefore generally assumed that Ḫattušili I (ca. 1650–1600), during his military campaigns in North Syria, captured scribes who were using a form of the late Old Babylonian syllabary, and these captives formed the nucleus of the first scribal academy at Ḫattuša.

Orthography

Writing Conventions

1.4. Because we have no living speaker of the Hittite language, acoustic recording, or transcription of Hittite words in an ancient contemporary alphabetic script, we have no way of knowing the precise sounds of the language. We gain access to Hittite phonology and morphology only through the filter of the conventions the ancient scribes employed when they wrote on clay using the cuneiform syllabary.

1.5. The cuneiform syllabary from its earliest stages in Mesopotamia consisted of configurations of one or more wedges comprising what are called “signs.” Signs on Hittite tablets are written left to right, with spaces between words. Signs are functionally distinguished as phonetic (or perhaps better syllabic) and logographic. Logograms are signs or combinations of signs that designate a particular word in the target language (e.g., the noun ‘king’, the adjective ‘large’, or the verb ‘to sit down’). Logograms in Hittite texts consist of words from the Sumerian and Akkadian languages; the former are called Sumerograms, the latter Akkadograms. Sumerograms in Hittite texts (apart from the information given by occasional Hittite phonetic complements; see §1.37, p. 22) usually fail to indicate the grammatical case of the noun or adjective and the voice, tense, number, and gender of the referring noun.

5. Establishing an absolute chronology for the Hittite kings, and even for broad periods of their kingdom, has proven both difficult and controversial. Since this is not a history textbook, we will use only approximate dates when it becomes necessary to identify a period of Hittite history.


7. For general treatments of the subject of writing systems in the ancient Near East see Hawkins 1979, 1986; Morpurgo Davies 1986.

8. Logograms can serve either to represent spoken words or as “determinatives” to classify semantically an immediately following (much less commonly, a preceding) word; see §§1.39–1.44 (pp. 23–24).

9. Sumerian case markers (Thomsen 1984: 88–109) were not employed by Hittite scribes. For example, the Sumerogram LUGAL ‘king’ (without added Hittite ending) can stand for subject, agent, direct or indirect object, or possessor, as can the adjective GAL ‘great’. When a Sumerogram stands in a case other
or person of the verb, whereas Akkadograms usually indicate all of these. Akkadograms consist of one or more signs read with the normal phonetic values (UL ‘not’, A-BU ‘father’, A-WA-TUM ‘word’). Sumerograms often consist of a single sign and not infrequently are read with a value different from the sign’s syllabic value in Akkadian or Hittite; for example, the sign 🌐, read KA in Akkadian and ka in Hittite is read INIM in both Babylonian and Hittite texts, when it is the Sumerogram meaning ‘word’. But Sumerograms also can consist of two or more signs (𒈗𒈙 DUMU.MUNUS ‘daughter, girl’).

1.6. Each cuneiform sign has a syllabic value. The repertoire of phonetic signs consists only of signs of the following structural types. Hittite scribes (unlike later Babylonian and Assyrian scribes) never used a single sign to represent CVCV other than in logograms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>e.g., a, e, i, u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consonant + Vowel</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>e.g., ba, da, pé, ti, lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel + Consonant</td>
<td>VC</td>
<td>e.g., ab, eš, il, ut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonant + Vowel + Consonant</td>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>e.g., bar, kap, kán, kir, ḫar/ḥur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.7. When we transliterate, we write the most appropriate values of the individual signs, connecting those belonging to a single word with hyphens (e.g., a-ša-an-zi ‘they are’). Most Hittite words in this grammar are not transliterated but presented in broad transcription. When we use broad transcription, the hyphens are removed and adjacent repetitions of identical vowels are simplified (e.g., a-ša-an-zi > ašanzi, na-at > nat, but ši-uš > šituš). Adjacent identical consonants are not simplified but remain geminate (ap-pa-an-zi > appanzi). Stop-final VC signs with voiced-voiceless possibilities (AD/AT, AB/AP, AG/AK, etc.) conform to the voice character of the following CV. For example, AD-ta-aš > attaš ‘father’, not *adaš. If the VC sign in question is word final, it is written voiceless (e-ša-AD > ešat ‘he sat down’). Neither transliteration nor broad transcription pretend to reflect the precise pronunciation of Hittite words, only an approximation.

1.8. What is called plene writing (see also §1.46, p. 25) occurs when a vowel already represented in a CV or VC sign is redundantly expressed by an adjacent V sign, e.g.,

than subject or direct object, it is usually marked with an Akkadian preposition (see §31.37, p. 441) (e.g., ṣa LUGAL ‘of the king’, ANA LUGAL ‘to/for the king’, EŠTU GIB.BANŠUR ‘from the table’). An exception is the use of the sequence of noun plus its genitive complement KUR (ṢA) LUGAL ‘land of the king’, where the genitive marker ṣa is not obligatory.

10. For example, only the presence of a Hittite verbal ending attached as a phonetic complement to the end of the Sumerogram DIN ‘seize’ can indicate whether the subject is ‘I’, ‘you’, ‘he’, ‘she’, or ‘they’.

11. Thus A-BU ‘father’ is normally subject, A-BA is direct object, A-BI is indirect object or possessor. Similarly with ‘hand’: QA-TUM subject, QA-TAM direct object, QA-TI object of preposition (Akkadian genitive case); see §31.20 (p. 436). See chapter 31 (pp. 430ff.) for a brief survey of Akkadian grammar. We say “normally” because in Hittite contexts the Akkadian case forms are occasionally used erroneously. Furthermore, an Akkadogram occasionally lacks the case ending altogether, resembling the construct state of the Akkadian noun (on which see §31.23, p. 437).
word-initial as *e-es-ta = čišta or *u-up-zi = *ūpzi, word-final as *pa-ra-a = parā, or word-
internal as *ma-a-an = mān or *i-da-a-lu-uš = idāluš. Vowels written plene are indicated
in broad transcription with macrons (ā, ē, ī, ū). Much less common is a hyper-plene
writing, where a word begins with two a-signs: *a-a-an ‘warm’, a-a-bi ‘ritual pit’. There
is one example of non-initial hyper-plene writing, -u-ū-, found in the sg. nom.-acc. neut.
šu-u-ū and sg. acc. com. šu-u-ū-un of the adjective šuu- ‘full, filled’, alongside ordinary
plene spellings šu-u and šu-u-un (see the paradigm in §4.57, p. 104). The hyper-plene
spelling here probably points to a stem /suwu-/ with an unusual sequence /-uwu-/ (see
Goetze 1954: 404 n. 13 and AHP 54–55 and 115). The /w/ fills a hiatus produced by
loss of a PIE laryngeal (see Watkins 1975: 378 and Oettinger 1976a: 39 n. 72). That the
hyper-plene spelling indicates a preserved hiatus /su_u-/, as per Watkins and Oettinger,
cannot be entirely excluded (see §1.142, p. 48). A mere long vowel /su:-/ (Berman
1972b: 188–89) would not account for the hyper-plene spelling (see also the discussion
of Weitenberg 1984: 136–40). There are no known Hittite words consisting solely of a
hyper-plene vowel, only descriptions of sounds heard in nature, such as i-i, as a hunter’s
imitation of the repetitive cry of a bird or animal (§24.11, p. 320).

1.9. Hittite scribes normally spelled single (non-geminate) intervocalic consonants
as (C)V-CV (te-pu ‘few’, a-pi-ya ‘here’). Rare exceptions to this rule are significant
in that they often mark a clitic boundary. For example GUD-un-aš-ta (not *GUD-u-na-
aš-ta) and UDU-un-aš-ta (not *UDU-u-na-aš-ta) in KUB 30.10 obv. 15 signal a clitic
boundary between the accusative singular noun (GUD-un ‘ox’, UDU-un ‘sheep’) and the
following clitic local particle -ašta.

1.10. Scribes write double (geminate) consonants intervocally as (C)V-VC-CV
(na-at-ta ‘not’, a-ap-pa ‘back, again’) or CVC-CV (kat-ta ‘down’). However, along-
side regular spellings for geminate consonants we also find shorthand (or simplified)
spellings. One type omits the VC sign: GIŠ lu-ti-ya-az for lu-ut-ti-ya-az ‘window’. For
shorthand spellings of geminates omitting the CV sign see §1.12.

1.11. Since Hittite (as well as Mesopotamian) cuneiform has no sign for a conso-
nant without a vowel, it is impossible to write initial or final sequences of two or more
consonants or internal sequences of three or more consonants without using at least one
“empty” (i.e., unpronounced) vowel. As an example of an initial sequence, /smen-/ ‘to
forfeit’ must be spelled ša-me-en- or še-me-en-, and /spikusta-/ ‘pin’ must be spelled

12. The consonants in question are those underlined in this and the following paragraph.
13. Other examples of nongeminate writing of geminates are: nu-kān passim (see AHP 14); ar-mi-zī-š KBo 13.86 rev. 2; a-ša-na-wa-an-za KBo 4.6 obv. 14; a-ša-u-i-it KBo 11.1 rev. 18; a-šu-u KBo 8.47 obv. 6; a-da-na KUB 30.63 v 20; ḫa-za-aš-ta KUB 12.62 rev. 2 (second example); ḫa-a-šu-uš KUB 15.34 iii 40; ḫa-ti-li KUB 7.3:16; “Ḫa-tu-ši-dingir-lim KUB 26.68 i 5; [ḫ]a-zī-wiš-āš KBo 41.152:12; ki-še-na-aš-ša-an KBo 3.27 obv. 3; ki-ša-an KUB 39.71 iv 16; pa-ḫur KBo 13.58 iii 17; ša-ra-a-zi-ya-ah-ta KUB 19.67 i 15; ši-wa-ti KBo 39.76 + KBo 41.64 ii 13; tu-zi-aš KBo 41.64 ii 13; tu-zi-ya-aš KUB 2.1 i 23; wa-ši-ya-at KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 2. On the nongeminate writings of postvocalic pres. sg. 3 verbal ending -zi
see Yoshida 1998.
Še-pi-ik-ku-uš-ta, ši-pi-ik-ku-uš-ta- or ša-pi-ik-ku-uš-ta-. Kuryłowicz (1958), followed by many others, cites ma-li-id-du- and mi-li-id-du- as evidence for an initial sequence /ml-/.

Examples of a final sequence are: kar-aš ‘cut!’ for /kars/, wa-ar-aš ‘reap!’ for /wars/, wa-al-aḫ ‘hit!’ for /walh/, ša-an-ḫa or ša-an-ḫa ‘seek!’ for /sanhl/, and ki-iš-sar-ta ‘by the hand’ for /kissard/.14 As an example of a medial triconsonantal sequence, /harša-wants/ must be spelled ḫar-aš-pa-wa-an za-.

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ya-za (abl.), ša-ra-az-ya-az, ḫa-az-i-ú, ke(-e)-ez-ya (for kezzi+ya), iš-pa-an-tu-uz-aš-šar (KBo 22.198 i 1′) (for ispantuzziaššar); thus also the interesting pres. sg. 3 forms of mi-verbs: i-e-mi-ya-az-ya-kán (KBo 10.37 ii 26) (for wemiyazziyakaš), [t]i-i-e-ez (KBo 34.90:8) (for tityezi in dupl. KUB 15.34 i 43), ḫu-u-it-ti-ya-az (KBo 13.194:7) (for ḫūittiyazzī), kap-pu-u-e-ez (KUB 58.105 ii 12′) (for kappuezzi). Cases of this type occur too frequently to be scribal omissions and too irregularly to be cases of syncope (on syncope see §§1.76–1.78, pp. 32–33; §1.83, p. 35).

Transcriptional Conventions

1.13. Syllabically written Hittite, Luwian, and Hurrian words are always written in lowercase italic letters (Hittite e-eš-zi ‘he is’, Luwian zi-la-ti-ya ‘in the future’, Hurrian al-la-ni ‘the Lady’), Akkadograms in upper case italic letters (A-WA-TUM ‘word’), and Sumerograms in upper case non-italic letters (LUGAL ‘king’). Signs forming a part of a Hittite, Luwian, Hurrian, or Akkadian word are connected to each other and to an adjacent Sumerogram with hyphens (at-ta-aš ‘father’, A-BU-YA ‘my father’, DINGIR-LIM ‘god’, LUGAL-uš ‘king’, ṛTup-pi-ṭškur ‘Tuppi-Teššup’).

1.14. Signs forming a single Sumerian word (KU.BABBAR ‘silver’) are usually connected by a period. But there is no uniform system among Hittitologists regarding the use of the period to connect component signs of Sumerian nouns or expressions. In some cases one finds two-word transcriptions such as EN SISKUR ‘offerer’ (lit., ‘lord of the offering’, Akk. bēl niqê), yet in other cases one-word transcriptions such as DUMU.LUGAL ‘prince’ (lit., ‘son of the king’, Akk. mār šarrī) are used. The scribes themselves do not seem to have left what is called “word space” between the component signs in either case. An argument could therefore be made that, following the example of the scribes, we should write EN.SISKUR and DUMU.LUGAL.—that is, always as a single compound rather than two words. But this creates an awkward situation for the plurals of several of these common compounds, where the plural marker occurs between the first and second components, creating ugly forms such as DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL. In order to avoid this, we shall transcribe DUMU.LUGAL in the singular but DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL in the plural. Although strictly speaking this is inconsistent, it is a reasonable accommodation and allows us to continue with the standard transcription for Sumerograms found in most of the existing tools in the field of Hittitology (such as the HZL). There are also different approaches for transcribing the word ‘enemy’ (adjective and noun). Most treat the LÚ element as a determinative and transcribe LŪ.KUR, while the CHD transcribes it as a compound LŪ. KUR. In this grammar we transcribe LŪ.KUR in the singular but LŪ. MEŠ KUR in the plural. In only a few cases a Sumerogram consisting of two or more signs has a reading which is not the sum of the readings of its components: KU.LUD is to be read KISLAH ‘threshing floor’, QA.ŠU.DUG is to be read SAGI ‘cupbearer’, MUNUS.EM.LI as MUNUS. ENSI. We also follow the CHD in writing KU. LI.GI ‘gold’ (without prejudice as to its probable Sumerian pronunciation) instead of GUŠKIN. Sumerian scribes created sign complexes in which one sign was inscribed inside another. The reasons for this pro-
procedure need not concern us here, but the Sumerian pronunciation of such groups was usually not a sum of the components: KA (‘mouth’) with inscribed A (‘water’) was read as the verb NAGA ‘to drink’. Whenever the Sumerian pronunciation for a sign-complex of this sort is known, the sign-complex is transcribed with that value (e.g., NAGA). If there is uncertainty about the pronunciation, the complex is written as KAXA, with the framing/container sign first, followed by the inscribed/contained sign second, the latter preceded by a multiplication sign. Most such complexes occurring in Hittite texts have known pronunciations: KAXA = NAG or NAGA ‘to drink’, KAXINDA = KU ‘to eat’, KAXIM = BUN ‘thunder’, KAXUD = ZU9 ‘tooth’, KAXME = EME ‘tongue’. Only a few complexes of this kind used in Hittite do not have known pronunciations, but at least one occurs rather commonly: KAXU ‘mouth’. In the earliest period of Sumerian writing, the component signs in words did not always have to be in order. By the time of the Hittite scribes, this was no longer the case, but a few relics remained from the early period of writing in Mesopotamia. Thus, the Sumerogram for ‘poor man’, MAŠ.EN.KAK, represents the old Sumerian writing of an early loan from Akkadian, *maška’en (later Akk. muškēnu). Sumerian scribes sometimes indicated plurality by simply repeating the sign of the pluralized item: thus, KUR ‘land’, but KUR.KUR ‘lands’. Examples of this writing convention are still found in Hittite texts, but since the Hittite scribes had lost the rationale for this convention, they redundantly added a plural suffix as well (e.g., KUR.KUR.MEŠ). In some cases, instead of transcribing the sign twice, scholars transcribe the pair with the same roman letters but with a different identification number: SISKUR (representing a single sign), in contrast with SISKUR (representing SISKUR+SISKUR).

**Homophony**

1.15. The cuneiform syllabary contains many signs of identical phonetic value (e.g., there are several signs each for the syllables a, i, e, u, ba, aš, šu, kan, etc.). Signs with identical syllabic values are called homophones. In order to distinguish homophones in transliteration, Assyriologists and Hittitologists mark them with accents or subscript numbers. For example, unmarked ba in transliteration indicates the sign first established as having the /ba/ value, bá (with acute accent) the third, ba4 the fourth, and subsequent values are all indicated with subscript numbers. The accent mark always rests on the vowel or, in case the sign has two vowels, on the first (ÉRIN, ÉSAG, DÀRA, BÁHR). In reading and writing Hittite in transliteration, it is very important to distinguish homophones. Some homophonous values of signs in the Mesopotamian forms of the syllabary are not used for writing Hittite. For example, the “number one” value of /pi/ is the sign GEŠTU (HZL #317), which in Hittite texts, when it is not a logogram, is always to be read wa. The sign most commonly

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16. This practice was initiated in Hittitology by HZL (1989) and has become the new standard. The older practice, following an earlier Assyriological method, placed an acute accent on the second vowel (SİŁA) for the second value, a grave accent on second vowel (SİŁA) for the third, an acute accent on the first vowel (SİŁA) for the fourth, a grave accent on the first vowel (SİŁA) for the fifth.
used for the value /pi/ (or /bi/) is the sign transliterated bi or pí. Similarly, Hittite scribes preferred the “number two” signs for /kan/, /par/, /pat/ (also read /pit/), and /tuh/. But in most cases the signs used are the “number one” variants. Very few homophonous signs are used interchangeably in Hittite. In the case of the homophonous signs šu and šú, the latter is used almost exclusively in logograms (‐šú ‘his/her/its’) or proper names (’Kaš‐šú‐ú). In the case of ur and úr, the former is much more common than the latter. In the following three pairs, the first sign can also have the i‐containing value given in parentheses, while the second sign has only the e‐containing value: ḫe (ḫi) and ḫé; ze (zi) and zé; né (ni) and ne. In very late texts the syllabic value /eš/, which normally is represented only by the sign eš, can also be expressed by the sign meš (which then has the transcriptional value eš15, for which see §1.35, p. 21).

Polyphony

1.16. Some cuneiform signs have more than one phonetic value, that is, they are polyphonic. Some CV type signs whose initial consonant is a stop can have either a voiced or voiceless interpretation: Bu can be bu or pu. Signs of the types VC and CVC do not indicate whether the final stop is voiced or voiceless (b or p, d or t, g or k). For example, the sign AB can be read ab or ap, ID as id or it, Ug as ug or uk. Moreover, when writing Hittite, the scribes do not even use contrastively those CV signs with initial stop that distinguish voicing in the Akkadian syllabary: a‐ta‐an‐zi and a‐da‐an‐zi ‘they eat’, ta‐ga‐a‐an and da‐ga‐a‐an ‘on the ground’, ad‐da‐as and at‐ta‐aš ‘father’ (§§1.84–1.86, pp. 35–36). Nevertheless, when transcribing syllabically‐written Hittite words, Hittitologists normally transliterate the obstruent according to the value of the cuneiform sign most favored by the tradition of Hittitologists. Usually the favored transliteration is that which uses the number one value (pa, not bā; du, not tū; ga, not kā). Exceptions to this pattern are the preferred transliterations utilizing the voiceless stops such as pí or pé (instead of bī), tēn (instead of din or den), pār (instead of bar), pādl/t (instead of be), tág/k (instead of dag/k). CV signs possessing a number‐one value of both voiced and voiceless nature, e.g., Bu = bu or pu, are normally rendered with the voiceless stop. Hittitologists are divided as to how they transliterate signs in the Sumero‐Akkadian syllabary intended to express the Akkadian emphatic velar q in combination with a vowel (primarily qa, since /qi/ and /qu/ were rendered in the

17. We use the terminology “voiced” and “voiceless” in this book, although we are aware that for Hittite other scholars prefer the terms “fortis” and “lenis” or “tense” and “lax.” See AHP 13–21 and Luraghi 1997a: 3 with n. 1.

18. In Hittite, all CV signs in which the C is a stop (/bl/, /pl/, /dl/, /tl/, /gl/, /kl/) were probably pronounced voiceless at the beginning of words (§1.86, p. 36). In that sense we are not speaking of real polyphonic values in spellings such as ga‐an‐ki and ka‐an‐ki ‘he hangs’. Nor in the interest of phonetic realization do we transliterate ga‐an‐ki as kā‐an‐ki (or kā‐an‐gi),

19. The above rules are ideals. Most scholars have their own personal preferences or habits in transcription. This is particularly notable in the case of proper names: some write *Ku‐mar‐bi, others *Ku‐mar‐pi, some *Te‐li‐pi‐nu, others *Te‐li‐bi‐nu.
contemporary Akkadian syllabary with the kI and kU signs). Because Hittite possessed no such consonant, many scholars prefer to transliterate QA as ka₄ and transcribe²⁰ it as k (e.g., HZL), while others (including the CHD) prefer to avoid the subscripted value and rely on users to know that qa in transliterated Hittite does not represent an emphatic velar. Because the signs Vg-gV, V-k-kV and Vq-qV all equally represent /VkV/ in Hittite, or something like this, and V-gV, V-kV and V-qV represent /VgV/, it is obvious that the function of a transliteration of Hittite is not to show precise pronunciation but to code the individual cuneiform signs in roman script, choosing where possible from common alternative values those which most nearly approximate what we think was the pronunciation. For this purpose, for example, it makes no difference whether one transliterates NA₄ za-ap-za-qa-ya KUB 51.43 i 9 as NA₄ za-ap-za-qa-ya or NA₄ za-ap-za-ka₄-ya, because both according to the rules of Hittite spelling (see §§1.84–1.85, p. 35, and §1.7, p. 11) and from the writing of this word in alphabetic Ugaritic and Hebrew as spsg we can tell that the consonant in question was /g/. Instead of employing in this case the transcriptional value ga₅ for QA, which is attested in Akkadian and listed in HZL but rarely if ever used by Hittitologists, we would advocate the use of the ‘unmarked’ value qa. We have chosen to employ the CHD procedure in this grammar. Readers will see the letter q used both in transliteration and transcription of Hittite, Luwian, and Hurrian words, and should not assume that this indicates the existence of emphatic velar phonemes in those languages.

1.17. The stops which occur at the end of VC or CVC signs, when they occur word-final, are written as voiceless: ḫu-uda-ak ‘promptly’, e-ep ‘seize!’, e-et ‘eat!’

1.18. One sign in Hittite is used with both a CV value and a quite different CVC value: the ɾI sign is usually read ri, but in certain environments, especially in writing derived nouns in -(a)t(i)alla- (see §2.32, p. 57), it must be read -tal-: see ú-na-at-ta-la-an-pát ‘the merchant himself’ KBo 6.3 i 13 (OH/NS) with duplicate ú-na-at-ta-al-la-an-pát KBo 6.2 i 6 (OS). The value tal of the ɾI sign is also used word-initial in the verbs tailiya- and talḫāi-.²¹ A few signs with primary CV values in Hittite are used in either logograms or proper names with a differing CVC value: pa has the HAT value in the geographical names HAT-TU-ŠA, HAT-TI, etc.; šI has the value LIM in Akkadograms.

1.19. Signs of the type CVC can have more than one reading. Seven signs each have alternate CVC values that differ significantly: pár can be read as maš, kal can be read as dan, kur can be read as madit, tar can also be read as ḫaš in Hittite words and as KUT in Akkadograms such as AS-KUT ‘I fell silent’, kir can be read as piš or paš, ḫarḫur can be read as mur (although the mur value is largely restricted to the royal name Muršili and the geographical name Amurru), and the BAD (pát) sign can be read as MIT in the Akkadogram MA-MIT (Akk. māmitu ‘curse’).

²⁰. On the distinction between transliteration and transcription see §1.7 (p. 11).
1.20. Sometimes, however, the consonants of a CVC sign are stable and the difference is only in the internal vowel. CiC signs routinely also have the value CeC (pêl/pit, šer/šir, ker/kir). But other vowel differences also exist: har and hur are the same sign, as are pât and pêlî, pâr and pirx, and possibly kat and kitû and kar and kirû. In the 13th century the sign DIN (\(\text{\textsc{a}}\)), usually read tên, acquired the value /tan/, which HZL (sign #330) represents without an assigned number as tan\(\text{\textsc{a}}\) (see §1.35, p. 21).

1.21. Rarely scribes would attempt to disambiguate a CVC sign’s internal vowel by adding a CV sign of unambiguous vowel immediately preceding it or a VC one following it. In such cases we transliterate the sequence using a superscript as follows: e\(\text{\textsc{s}}\)šer (i.e., ešer) ‘they were sitting’.

1.22. In cases where the difference is also in the consonants, scribes used the same disambiguating methods, writing pi\(\text{\textsc{a}}\)-šker ‘they used to give’ KUB 29.25:4 = Laws §119 copy aa (OS), where the superscripted kile sign guides the reader to select the ker value of the following sign in preference to its piš value, pâr\(\text{\textsc{a}}\)-na KUB 35.68:8’ and Maš\(\text{\textsc{a}}\)-hu-i-lu-wa(-an) KUB 14.15 iv 37’, 38’ to distinguish pâr and maš, and Ma-id-dan\(\text{\textsc{u}}\)-na-mu-u-wa-aš KBo 4.12 obv. 22 to distinguish dan from kal.

1.23. But other examples of preposed CV or postposed VC signs seem to have no disambiguating value, because the adjacent CVC signs had only one known syllabic value in Hittite writing: kar\(\text{\textsc{d}}\)-dim-mi-ya-az ‘anger’ KUB 24.4 rev. 10, pur\(\text{\textsc{a}}\)-ur-puruš KUB 9.17. i 23, kat\(\text{\textsc{a}}\)-re-eš ‘female musicians’ KBo 32.2 rev. 9’, KBo 42.85 i 3, pé-ner er KBo 4.2 ii 20, tûḫḫueššar tûḫ uḫ-ša ‘he uses tûḫḫueššar.’ Because in most of the cited cases the practice seems unnecessary, one wonders why it was done. In cases where it occurs only once or twice, one could surmise scribal error.

22. For the proposal of kitû see Goetze 1927: 60 and Sturtevant and Hahn 1951: 13 n. 8. HZL #173 cautiously writes this value (as well as kirû) within parentheses in view of Otten (1973: 23), who questioned the use of kitû (especially in OH) in view of the observation by von Soden and Röllig (1991: 13) that the value /kit/ for the gâd sign does not occur in Akkadian texts before the first millennium. Otten agreed with the recommendation of Sommer and Falkenstein (1938: 69 n. 3) that the assured value /kat/ be used regularly in Hittite, and the a/i variations thereby occasioned be explained in other ways within Hittite. The verb pi\(\text{\textsc{i}}\)-škar ‘they used to give’ KUB 38.3 i 17 (NH) might be read pi\(\text{\textsc{i}}\)-š-kerv to harmonize with the normal writings pi\(\text{\textsc{i}}\)-š-ker and pi\(\text{\textsc{i}}\)-š-ke-er, but doing so might mask a rare and important variant form. See Neu 1989a on the third-person plural preterite active ending -ar.

23. In transliteration a subscripted x (not the multiplication sign but the letter “x” representing the algebraic symbol for “unknown number”) denotes a demonstrable phonetic value that has not yet received a standardized numerical value in HZL or the Akkadian syllabaries.

24. nu aruhza kuēš e\(\text{\textsc{s}}\)šer ‘And those who were sitting outside (. . . came in the gate-building)’ KUB 41.1 iv 9. The form was incorrectly explained as a late intransitive (‘sitzen’) to the causative verb ašēš-l ešēš- ‘to seat’ by Jakob-Rost (1972: 50–51, 74, followed by HED E/I 209 and HW\(^2\) A 386b).

25. This example courtesy of T. van den Hout.

26. The last two examples courtesy of S. Košak.

27. The first three examples were called to our attention by N. Oettinger.
But in examples such as tuḫḫueššar túḫuḫša, which occurs fairly often, scribal error is an improbable explanation.  

1.24. Word-final -m was lost in the case endings of Akkadian nouns and adjectives during the historical period of Hittite (see §31.20, p. 436). But words were sometimes still written conventionally with final -CVm signs (e.g., -TUM, -TIM, -TAM, -LUM, -LIM, -LAM, etc), and even -Vm (e.g., GISKĀ-AN-NU-UM), although the -m was no longer pronounced in concurrent Akkadian. Extrapolating from this practice, NH scribes felt free to use CVm signs for /CV/ in writing Hittite words, not only in word-final position (e-eš-tum, read e-eš-tu₄ for /e:stu/ ‘let be’), but also in other cases (iš-dam-ma-aš-mi for /istamasmi/ ‘I hear’). See also use of the KAM sign in ar-kam-mi- ‘lyre’ (and ar-kam-mi-ya-ya-la- ‘lyre-player’), which alternates with (a-)ar-ga-(a)-mi- but never with *ar-ga-am-mi-. Spellings -CVm-V- in NS are thus not always reliable indicators of a genuine geminate /-mm-/l. Even some -Vm-mV- spellings in NS are suspect. Note NS du-um-me-e-ni and even tum-um-me-(e)-ni for consistent OS and MS tu-me-e-ni or du-me-(e)-ni ‘we take’. It is very unlikely that the /-m-/ in words such as this became geminate from OH to NH. Such complications make it difficult to determine the reality of geminate /-mm-/ in a number of words.

1.25. Rarely one finds cases of a sign sequence CVC₁-C₁V (other than CVm) in which C₁ is not to be understood as geminate. This is the case with the ṭūš sign in wa-aš-tul-lali-, alternating with wa-aš-dłu-lali-, but never *wa-aš-tuldu-ul-lali (see §4.66, p. 108). Other possible examples include nahšaratt- ‘fear’ (written in sg. nom. as na-ahša-ra-az, na-ahšar-az, and in a blended writing na-ahšar-ra-az, but never written *na-ahša-ar-ra-az).

1.26. The vowel of each CV-type sign is usually specific. But some CV signs whose vowel is i often have a second reading with e:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>BI</th>
<th>pí</th>
<th>pé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GI</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td>hi</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KI</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LI</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>le</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NI</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>né</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RI</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>re</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. tuḫ-huḫša might have the same function as wa-al-aḫ-ta (/walhta/), to indicate /tuḫša/.
29. Reading cuneiform signs of the type CVC as CV₂ recognizes a scribal convention that derives from the Sumerians, the inventors of cuneiform, where the final consonant of nouns written CVC (e.g., GUD “ox”) is repeated when followed by suffixes beginning with a vowel: GUD-da (read gu₄-da for /guda/) ‘of the ox’, although this is not to be understood as gemination.
1.27. For some of the above /Ce/ sequences, a second sign with value restricted to consonant + e is equally or even more common: ḫē (𐊫𐊱𐊱) is more common than ḫe (Ḫbrevebelowsmall NE) for /hel/; ne (Ḫbrevebelowsmall NE) is more common than né (ni) for /hēl/. On the other hand, mi and me are different signs, as are ši and še, and ti and te.

1.28. Almost all i-containing VC signs can also have an e value (see also §1.63, p. 29):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IB</th>
<th>eb, ep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ib, ip</td>
<td>ed, et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>id, it</td>
<td>eg, ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>im</td>
<td>em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ir</td>
<td>er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>iz</td>
<td>ez</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.29. Exceptions: eš and iš are different signs, as are el and il, en and in. One VC sign that can be read with any vowel is ḫ, read aḫ, eḫ, iḫ, or uḫ.

1.30. Aside from the AH sign (aḫ, eḫ, iḫ, or uḫ), no CV or VC type sign used in Hittite fails to distinguish between vowels other than e and i. The vowel categories a — el — u are always kept distinct in such signs. This is in contrast to contemporary Akkadian usage, where the pi sign (Hbrevebelowsmall HZL #317), read syllabically only as wa in Hittite, has the possible readings wa, we, wi, and wu.


1.32. Where there is doubt about the vocalic identity of a given ambiguous sign, the scribes often added clues. pé or pí followed immediately by -e is almost always to be interpreted as pé-e, only rarely as pí-e. /karpye:tsi/ could be spelled kar-pí-ez-zi but usually as kar-pí-e-ez-zi (with an extra e) to disambiguate the writing of the following iz/ez sign. Similarly, we find pí-i-e-eta ‘allotment.’ Even šieššar ‘beer’, which uses the unambiguous ši sign, is often further disambiguated by the writing ši-i-eš-šar, to prevent a mistaken reading *šeššar. See the remarks on “plene writing” in §1.8 (p. 11), §1.46 (p. 25), and §4.19 (p. 87).

1.33. There appear to be a few instances of sequences spelled Ci-e with an unambiguous Ci sign that must nevertheless be read as /Ce:/—mi-e-ni KUB 29.9 i 11, 15
Nevertheless, we should be extremely cautious in appealing to this possibility in questionable cases. For example, ti-i-et in the duplicate KBo 3.36 obv. 24’ shows that ti-e-et in KBo 3.34 ii 19 (OH/NS) is a form of tiye- (‘stepped [to Aškaliya, saying’]), not of te- (‘said’). What used to be considered a pronominal stem ši-(i)-e- but now is correctly recognized as the number ‘one’ (see Goedegebuure 2006) should not be read as /se:-/ (see already Neu 1997: 147).

**Multivalence**

1.34. Many signs in the Hittite cuneiform syllabary are multivalent. That is, they have logographic as well as syllabic (or phonetic) values. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign Name</th>
<th>Sumerographic value(s)</th>
<th>Akkadographic value</th>
<th>Hittitographic value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>A ‘water’</td>
<td>A in A-NA ‘to’</td>
<td>a in a-ri ‘he arrives’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>DINGIR ‘god’ or AN ‘sky’</td>
<td>AN in LÚ-BA-ZA-AN-NU ‘city administrator’</td>
<td>an in ma-a-an ‘when, if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EN</td>
<td>EN ‘lord’</td>
<td>EN in UŠ-KE-EN ‘he bowed’</td>
<td>en in ku-en-zi ‘he kills’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>GA ‘milk’</td>
<td>MA-AD-GA-LA-TI ‘districts’</td>
<td>ga in e-ga-aš ‘ice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GÂN</td>
<td>GÂN ‘field’, IKU (unit of measure)</td>
<td>GÂN, KÂN</td>
<td>gân, kân in hi-in-kân ‘plague’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KA</td>
<td>INIM ‘word, matter’</td>
<td>-KA ‘your (sg.)’</td>
<td>ka in ka-a-aš ‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MI</td>
<td>GEš ‘dark’ or ‘night’</td>
<td>MI in MI-IM-MA ‘whatever’</td>
<td>mi in mi-li-št ‘honey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAR, KUD</td>
<td>TAR, KUD ‘to cut (off)’</td>
<td>KUD/I in AS-KUT ‘I fell silent’</td>
<td>tar in tar-ah-zi ‘he conquers’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**New Values**

1.35. In only a few cases the Hittite scribes appear to have introduced a new phonetic value to an existing cuneiform sign. Because their word for wine (Sumerian GEŠTIN) was wiyanaš, they gave to the GEŠTIN sign (𒇾ائهم) the value /wi/, which we transliterate as wi₃ (see HZL #131). In texts written in the 13th century, the MEŠ sign (𒇾امى or 𒇬مى), which normally stands for the Sumerian plural marker must occasionally be read as phonetic eš₃ (see HZL #360A and §1.15, p. 16 here), and the sign DIN (𒇥دين), usually read ten, acquired the value /tan/, represented without an assigned number as tanₓ (see §1.20, p. 18). The sign that has the logographic value ZIZ ‘wheat’ (𒇭زى) and in most other contemporary cuneiform systems the syllabic value aš has the syllabic value tàš
in Hittite (see HZL #241), as well as occasionally in Akkadian texts from El Amarna and Ugarit (see Labat 1988: 155, sign #339). It was not therefore a Hittite innovation, unless it spread from Ḫattuṣa to Syria and Egypt.

1.36. Hittite scribes utilized ligatures of the 𐄂 (wa, we, wi, wu) sign with the vowel signs a, e, i, and u subscripted to render sounds in the Hurrian and Hattic languages that were nonexistent in their own language (probably labial fricatives such as [f] or [v]). These graphic innovations are conventionally transcribed with subscripted vowels thus: = waa, ḫwe, ḫwi, ḫwu, or ḫwu (see HZL ##318–26). This contrasts with the customary writing of initial /we/ and /wi/ as ú-e- and ú-i- (rarely u-i-) and post-initial /we/ as -u-e or -u-i- and /wi/ as -u-i or -u-i in native Hittite words. The scribes also used spellings in which pV (or bV) alternated with wV to indicate the fricative sounds in Hattic and Hurrian words.

Logogram Pronunciation

1.37. We assume that logograms in Hittite contexts were normally pronounced by Hittite scribes with their Hittite equivalents, both when reading a tablet aloud and when dictating. The Sumerogram LUGAL (‘king’) was pronounced with the Hittite word for ‘king’ ḫaššuš, MUNUS.LUGAL-aš ‘queen’ as ḫaššuššaraš, ḫTU-uš ‘sun(god)’ as ḫštanuš, and GAL ‘large, great’ as šalliš.30 Words could be written with Sumerograms to which the final syllable (often containing the all-important inflectional ending) was indicated as a phonetic complement: LUGAL-uš ‘king’ (subject case [nominative], singular), LUGAL-un (direct object case [accusative], singular), GAL-iš ‘great’ (subject case [nominative], singular), DU-zi (= Hitt. iyazi) ‘he does’ (present tense third person singular), etc. Not to be read in Hittite are apparent logograms in a few proper names, which are rebus writings, such as: m.GIDRU-ŠI-DINGIR-LIM, to be read using Akkadian values as mḪattušili.31 Some personal names of Hittite officials are Akkadian in origin, such as mḪATTU-UŠ-ŠA an HKM 22:9, to be read with Akkadian values as mMār-ešrē HKM 31:20 ‘son of day twenty’ (i.e., boy born on the 20th day of a festival; see Alp 1991a: 78–79).

1.38. When a single word or phrase contains Sumerograms, followed by both Akkadian and Hittite phonetic complements, the resulting form can be bewildering: DINGIR-
**LIM-iš 'god'** uses Sumerian **DINGIR 'god'** followed by the end of the Akkadian equivalent noun **ilum 'god'** (albeit in the genitive case, **ilim**), followed by the last syllable of the Hittite noun **šiuniš 'god'** (§4.50, p. 100). Such hybrid writings are few in number, even if those few words occur frequently.

### 1.39. Some Sumerograms prefixed (much less commonly suffixed) to nouns are determinatives. They are class markers, identifying the noun in question (whether that noun is written in Hittite, Sumerian, or Akkadian) as belonging to a particular semantic class:\(^{32}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sumerogram</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DUG</td>
<td>ceramic or stone containers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIŠ</td>
<td>trees or objects entirely or partially made of wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUR.SAG</td>
<td>mountain names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŠD</td>
<td>river names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KI</td>
<td>appended to place names, but also to the logogram <strong>URU 'city'</strong> in <strong>URU.KI</strong>, see §9.51 (p. 167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUR</td>
<td>country names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÜ</td>
<td>designations of male persons, excluding personal names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUŠ</td>
<td>reptiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUNUS</td>
<td>designations of female persons, including personal names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUŠEN</td>
<td>bird names; generally not prefixed, but appended to the word it modifies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA₄</td>
<td>minerals or objects of stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAR</td>
<td>green plants; always appended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TÜG</td>
<td>textiles or garments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URU</td>
<td>city names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URUDU</td>
<td>objects entirely or partially made of copper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Single vertical wedge)</td>
<td>personal name of a male individual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1.40.** In transliteration (but not in the cuneiform writing itself) these determinatives are superscripted (e.g., **URU.Nerik 'the city Nerik', ḫarašMUŠEN 'eagle'**). Sometimes what appears at first to be a determinative is rather a logogram: **KUR URU Ḥalpa 'land of (city) Aleppo'** (not **KUR URU Ḥalpa**), **LÜ TĒMÌ 'message'** (literally ‘man of the message’) (not **LÜ TĒMÌ**), **LÜ MEŠEDI 'guard’** (lit., ‘man of the spear’) (not **LÜ MEŠEDI**). In the last two cases the virtually consistent retention of the Akkadian genitive ending -i on the second noun betrays its function in Akkadian as a genitive.

**1.41.** Proper names regularly bear determinatives. Thus, mountain names (and names of mountain deities) have prefixed **HUR.SAG**, river names (and names of river deities) have prefixed **ŠD**, names of springs and spring deities have prefixed **TÜL** (or **PŮ**), city

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32. A complete repertoire of these determinatives can be found in HZL.
names have prefixed ūru. Names of deities other than mountain, river, or spring deities have a prefixed dingir (‘god’) sign, which, however, is rendered as a superscripted lowercase d: Teššub. Male and female personal names have prefixed signs that are rendered by superscripted m and f: (mnemonic for ‘male/masculine’ and ‘female/feminine’) Ḫattušiliš, Puduḫepaš. The m sign is a single vertical wedge usually representing the numeral ‘one’. The f sign elsewhere represents the word munus ‘woman’ or the syllabic value šal.

1.42. A few determinatives are placed not in front of their nouns but after them: MUŠEN ‘bird’ in ḫarašMUŠEN ‘eagle’, KI ‘place’ in ḫalpaKI ‘Aleppo’, SAR appended to the names of herbs or vegetables (e.g., ḫaḫḫašittin SAR). See §31.10 (p. 432).

1.43. We follow the CHD system, where the Sumerian plural suffixes meš, h.I.A, and didli are superscripted as determinatives only when the noun that precedes them is Hittite, Luwian, Hurrian, or Akkadian, but not when it is Sumerian, since then the Sumerian plural marker is to be read as part of the Sumerogram. If we do not write a Boğazköy Akkadogram MA-AD-GA-LA-TI ‘watchposts’ (the plural of MADGALTU) as MA-AD-GA-LA-TI or the plural of English ‘land’ as ‘land’s, then neither should we write a Sumerogram KUR.KUR.H.I.A as KUR.KURH.I.A (contra HE §6d). Sometimes the plural marker interrupts a syllabic writing, such as ḫal-kiH.I.A-us ‘crops’. For the unusual placement of determinatives on compound nouns see §2.60 (p. 63).

1.44. While the suffixed plural markers (meš and h.I.A) are equally common in all periods, the suffixed plural marker didli is rare after Old Hittite, and when it does occur, it is redundantly combined with another plural marker (didliH.I.A). While no regular rule for the selection of one of these three Sumerian plural markers has been discovered, there is a marked tendency to use meš with nouns denoting persons and h.I.A with other objects. Prefixed determinatives (as class markers) are less frequently used in OH than in MH and NH.

Phonology

Individual Phonemes (Vowels and Consonants)

1.45. It is important to distinguish between the supposed ancient pronunciation (to the extent that we can reconstruct it) and the conventional pronunciation employed by

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33. So in the CHD. Many Hittitologists prefer an upper case D: Teššub. Occasionally, a noun denoting an object, when it is to be thought of as deified, will also bear the dingir determinative: e.g., ḫašša- ‘(deified) hearth’.

34. For this reason many other Hittitologists prefer the superscripted roman numeral “one” for the first (Ḫattušiliš) and upper case SAL or MUNUS for the second (MUNUS Puduḫepaš).

35. But also prefixed: MUŠEN ḫara(n)-, especially in OS texts; see Neu 1983: 53 for examples.

36. This suggests that, early on, the meaning of didli was lost to Hittite scribes, as was the kam in UD.(numeral).KAM (§9.51, p. 167).
modern scholars. The following description applies to the ancient pronunciation unless explicitly stated otherwise. The cuneiform writing system has a limited ability to express the phonemes of the Hittite language.

**Vowels**

**Plene Writing and Vowel Length**

1.46. The so-called plene writing (e.g., pa-a-, ti-i-, šu-u-, te-e-, etc.; see §1.8, p. 11) offered a means of expressing vowel length, but we cannot be certain that plene writing always indicates length (as opposed to stress) or that non-plene writing always denotes short vowels. Many scholars assume the existence of both short and long vowels in Hittite, but there is no consensus on their distribution or on the phonemic status of long vowels (see Melchert 1992 and Kimball 1999, both with copious references to other views). Melchert (1984b: 162) adduces three additional reasons for plene writings:

1. to show e-coloring of the vowel with ambiguous Cē/i and ē/i signs;
2. to mark the position of the accented syllable (e.g., sg. nom. te-e-kán vs. gen. ták-na-a-aš (§4.71, p. 110);
3. in the case of all monosyllables except clause-initial conjunctions (nu, ta), to avoid writing a word with only one sign (da-a ‘take!’, i-it ‘go!’). Other reasons may include: (4) rarely to indicate interrogative intonation (§27.2, p. 348); and (5) to distinguish real vowels from mere graphs, as in pa-ra-a (/pra/), where the first a is merely graphic, and UrU Da-la-a-wa /Tlawa/ (in later Greek letters Τλῶς), and UrU Pa-la-a /Pla/ (see Βλαηνή and Παφλαγωνία). Most of the Hittite words cited in this grammar are cited in “broad transcription,” not in transliteration. In broad transcription, the plene writings cited above are indicated with macrons: tēkan, taknāš, dā, īt, parā, UrU Dalāwa, UrU Palā.

1.47. In the noun pairs uttar versus uttār and ḫuidar versus ḫuidār, the difference in vowel length marks a contrast between singular and plural (§3.20, p. 71). The single word nu-u-wa ‘still, yet’ is differentiated from the combination of conjunction nu and clitic -wa (nu-wa) consistently by the plene writing of the former. But other examples of what appears to be the same word or form with longer and shorter spellings—for example, še-er and še-e-er ‘above’ and pa-an-zi and pa-a-an-zi ‘they go’—are not different words but different spellings of the same word. Such variant spellings in the same document sometimes arose when a scribe who preferred the short writings copied a document whose scribe preferred the long ones. In some cases, there may be a diachronic dimension: še-e-er is the OS writing of what in later periods was written short še-er (§6.6, p. 140).

37. Although ni can be read either ni or né, št is not read *še in Hittite-language texts. Thus, while the i in OH dative-locative ut-ni-i vs. nominative-accusative ut-ne-e ‘land’ might be for disambiguating the vowel, there can be no such motivation for dative-locatives iš-ši-i ‘mouth’ and ḫa-aş-ši-i ‘hearth’. Some sort of length or stress must be indicated in the latter cases.
1.48. Hittite seems to have distinguished four vowels (a, e, i, u), each of which could be long or short. Despite the claim of Eichner (1980: 156) and Hart (1983: 124–30), there is no basis for assuming a Hittite vowel /o/, spelled with the sign ㅗ (reflecting prehistoric diphthong *Vu), distinct from /u/, spelled with the sign 우 (reflecting prehistoric *u). Both 우 and 우 are used to spell reflexes of *u and *Vu-diphthong (Melchert 1992: 186–87; Kimball 1999: 79–80). See now Rieken 2005b for the possibility of a secondary split of pre-Hittite */u/ (from all sources) into phonetic [o] and [u], probably with marginal phonemicization of /o/.

Vowel Alternations

e and i

1.49. Despite the ambiguity of certain e- or i-containing cuneiform signs, the two vowels were certainly distinct phonemes in Hittite (Otten and Souček 1969: 56; Melchert 1984b; 1992).

1.50. Many words containing the vowels e or i show no fluctuation over time:

Words with Stable e


1.52. Word-internal: še(-e)-er ‘above, over’, te-ez-zi ‘he speaks’ and te-et ‘he spoke’, ú-e-te-et ‘he built’, ku-(e-)en-zi ‘he kills’ or ku-(e-)en-ta ‘he killed’ never alternate with forms in i (e.g., *št-i-ir, *ti-iz-zi, *ṭi-i-te-et, *ku-(i)in-zi, etc.).

1.53. Word-final: ku-(i)-e ‘which’ (pl. neut.), a-pé-e ‘those’ (pl. neut.), ut-ne-e and ut-né-e ‘land’ (nom.-acc. neut.) — versus ut-ni-i (d.-l.) — pé-e in pé-e ḫar(k)- ‘to present’, and le-e ‘let not’. The contrast of the plural ke-e ‘these’ with (neuter) singular ki-i ‘this’ is stable through OH, MH, and early NH, breaking down only in late NH.

38. While many words are spelled consistently with either u or ú, there are also many cases of alternate spellings, even in the same manuscript. Examples include: ḫu-ubá-ni-ik-zi KBo 6.2 i 13 and 16 (OS), iš-nu-u-ri KBo 6.34 i 32 vs. iš-nu-u-ri KUB 41.26 i 26, ḫu-u-ri-iš KUB 13.5 iii 5; vs. ḫu-u-ri-iš KUB 13.18 iii 6, mu-ug-an-zi KBo 10.20 iii 43 vs. mu-ug-an-zi KBo 3.7 i 13, pu-ǔ-ų KBo 3.7 iv 10 etc. vs. pu-ǔ-ų KBo 26.20 iii 24, pu-ǔ-ų-an-zi KUB 36.35 i 8 vs. pu-ǔ-ų-ša-an-zi KUB 20.5 iii 7, pu-ǔ-ų-ša-an-zi KUB 32.13 ii 18 and 40, pu-ų-ų KUB 6.46 iii 51 vs. pu-ų-ų-ży KUB 21.1 iv 39, u-re-e-na-an-da KBo 11.10 iii 26 vs. u-re-e-na-an-ta KBo 11.72 iii 13.

39. There are extremely rare mixed spellings such as ku-i-en-zi, ū-i-e-eš ‘we’ KUB 30.36 ii 8. On ti-e-et with dupl. ti-i-et (allegedly ‘he said’) see §1.33, p. 21. On ku-i-en-zi see Melchert 1984b: 78.
Words with Stable i

1.54. Word-initial: iyatar ‘proliferation, fertility, abundance’ and its cognate forms, ilan- ‘step(?), iš-ša-al-li ‘spittle’, i š i š-o (the oblique stem of aiš ‘mouth’), išiyahu- ‘to trace, track, spy out’, iši(k)ya- ‘to anoint’, iššu-ra- ‘kneading trough, doughpan’, i-it ‘go!’ (in deliberate disambiguity from e-et ‘eat!’), §1.56), i-da-(a)-lu ‘evil’, iška-(iya) ‘to anoint’, iškiš ‘back’, išiyaḫḫ- ‘to trace, track, spy out’, išk ‘(iya)’, išnura- ‘kneading trough, dough-pan’, i-it ‘go!’. OH spellings ya-an-zi ‘they do/make’ and ya-an-ni-iš ‘they set out’ of what later is consistently written i-ya-an-zi and i-ya-an-ni-iš suggest that these words begin with y, not i. The consistent spellings iš-tV- and iš-kV- without alternate spellings *šV-tV- or *šV-kV-, for words with etymological initial sequences *st- and *sk- argues that these contain a real “prothetic” vowel, as in foreign words beginning with sequences loaned into Turkish istasyon ‘station’ (Oettinger 1979: 416–17 against AHP 31–33). 40

See further §1.137 (p. 47). The situation for *sp- is complicated. It is likely that consistent iš-pa-an-t° ‘night’ also shows a real prothetic i-, while šašelši-pi-ik-ku-uš-ta- ‘pin’ has preserved /sp/- (see §1.11, p. 12). For the special case of ši(-ip)-pa-an-d° to libate’ (also with consistent i-vocalism) beside iš-pa-an-d°, see Forssman (1994).41

1.55. Word-final: The sg. d.-l. ending on nouns in OH is always -i rather than -e. In MH and NH, this is also almost always the case. For some exceptions in -e see §1.61.

1.56. There is contrast between e and i, as seen in e-et ‘eat!’ and i-it ‘go!’, as well as in clitic -še ‘to him/her/it (dative)’ and the dative-locative of the clitic possessive -ši ‘in his/her/its . . .’ (Otten and Souček 1969: 56). The last example is only found in OH; see the next section.

Words with Fluctuation between e and i

1.57. Certain words changed e to i, or vice versa, within the attested history of Hittite: (i-)iš-ša-a > e-eš-ša-i ‘(s)he performs’, i-ku-na- > e-ku-na- ‘cold, cool’, i-ni > e-ni ‘that (one),42 i-ni-iš-ša-an > e-ni-iš-ša-an ‘thus’,43 ke-e > ki-i ‘these’ (pl. nom. com. and pl. nom.-acc. neut., §7.3, p. 143). The present first-singular ḫi-conjugation ending is often -ḫé in OS, but in post-OH always -ḫi. The first two examples

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40. But Eichner’s reading i-iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-du in KUB 6.46 i 39 (1992: 80) has not stood the test of Singer’s collation (1996: 54 ad B i 38), which showed [X N]NDAGUR,RA A-NA =TU AN-I accented from the line following iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-du inserted by the scribe between [hu-u-ma]-an-ke-iš and iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-du, all of which the copyist Weber misunderstood and miscopied. There is, therefore, no example of plene writing of this “prothetic” vowel in Hittite.

41. There is no proof for prothetic i- with initial *sm-. The equation of Palaic šameri- with Hittite išmeri (Čop cited in AHP 155) is quite uncertain. Furthermore, even if the equation were valid, it would not affect our understanding of the Hittite pronunciation, which must be determined exclusively on the basis of inner-Hittite spellings.

42. There is still no certain example of either ini or eni in OS.

43. There is no certain example of eniššan in OS, whereas all certain examples are in NS. However, iniššan occurs as late as in NH letters (KBo 18.86:29).
may reflect a phonetic change (Melchert 1984b: 153–56; but see Rieken 1996: 294–97), and the last two instead reflect a morphological replacement (-še > -ši after the nominal dative-locative ending -i; -he > -hi after -mi, -ši, -zi, etc.). The other changes are surely real, but their conditioning is not fully explained. On the limited appearance of -iš for pl. nom. com. -eš in NH see now Sidel’tsev 2002, especially p. 72.

1.58. Some words show a fluctuation that cannot be explained as a development from earlier to later phases of Hittite. The examples cited in the preceding paragraph show that there were at least some real changes in the distribution of /e/ and /i/ from OH to NH. The examples also raise the possibility, however, that NH copyists misunderstood the patterns they found in older texts and introduced errors and even unreal creations. Because much of our evidence consists of NS copies of texts of uncertain date and compositional history, in the following cases (and many others) we cannot determine the status of the variations in e- and i-spellings. One should always be prepared to find isolated examples of e for i or vice-versa. See §1.65, p. 30.


1.61. Word-final i/e vacillation: pres. sg. 2 mi-conjugation ending is usually -ši, but see ar-ša-ni-e-še ‘you envy’, and wa-ar-iš-ša-at-te ‘you help’.45 In substantives one finds sporadic word-final e for i in NH (or NS) in the sg. d.-l. of a-stem nouns (eš-ḫé, iš-dam-ma-ne [§4.2, p. 80], pé-e-te, an-tu-ah-še; Neu 1979a: 187–88) and of the consonantal stem adjective ḫu-um-an-te ‘to all’ (see Hoffner forthcoming: §45) and of u-stem adjectives (§3.24, p. 74; §4.43, p. 98; a-aš-ša-u-e KUB 31.127 iv 1, compare also i-da-la-u-e KUB 29.1 iii 11 (OH/NS) and ḫul-u-e KUB 21.5 iii 66, pa-an-ga-u-e KUB 31.42 ii 22, te-pa-u-e-wa-mu KUB 33.106 ii 5, Weitenberg 1984: 319 §844).46

44. All examples are late: KUB 6.46 iii 61 (Muw. II), KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 i 8, KUB 30.16 + KUB 39.1 i 12.
45. wa-ar-iš-ša-at-te for /warrissa-/ is another example of the system of scribal shorthand discussed in §1.12, p. 13.
46. In the sg. d.-l. of u-stem nouns and adjectives the stem vowel u tends (already in OH) to color the d.-l. ending vowel i to e. This is so common as to resist interpretation as an anomaly. See Neu 1979a: 187–88, Weitenberg 1984: 319. Weitenberg is cautious and claims that the formation is not prior to Muw. II.
Also in the vocative of *u-stem nouns and names: LUGAL-u-e (MS), LUGAL-e, 4UTU-e (Weitenberg 1984: 314 §833). For vocatives in *e, see §3.28 (p. 74). Also voc. at-ti-me ‘O my father’ for expected *at-ta-mi, iš-tar-ni-šu-um-me KUB 26.81 i 7 and iv 9, vs. iš-tar-ni-šaum-mi, act. pres. sg. 1 verb ḫa-me KUB 22.25 + KUB 50.55 rev. 12; and NS dative-locatives like pé-e-te and pé-te for pé-di. There is not yet any consensus on just which of these orthographic variations represent real linguistic alternations and which are merely unusual or “nonstandard” spellings. Under these circumstances, prudence suggests that we should transliterate such cases according to the most frequent values for the signs used, as done above. It would be premature to impose our individual judgment by transliterating at-ti-mì or pé-tì, implying that we know for certain that Hittite scribes employed the respective signs with these values. However, as in other cases, such as the representation of glides (see §1.31, p. 20) or the interpretation of ambiguous eli signs (see §1.64), we and other scholars do not hesitate to make judgments in broad transcription. One should therefore be prepared to encounter “normalized” spellings such as pēti for pé-e-te, to which we will always attach a warning that it is smoothed over and indicate precisely what signs are used.

1.62. Similarly, there sometimes occur, even in carefully written texts, examples of what are called “broken writings” (e.g., -me-in or -mi-en): te-eš-šu-um-me-in for teššummin (Otten and Souček 1969: 13), ḫu-ul-lu-mi-en for ḫullumen KUB 23.21 obv. 29, and examples such as ku-uš-ša-ni-eš-ši-it in Laws §157, copy p, where we must understand kuššaniššit. Unless one thinks such writings actually reflect hiatus (§1.142, p. 48), one has to assume that only one of the two indicated vowels is valid and make a judgment as to which is intended. Once such a decision is made, some scholars indicate the decision by using rarer transcriptional values: -mi-in or -me-en, while others prefer to reserve the interpretative stage for broad transcription, transliterating -me-in but transcribing the sequence as ḫullumen and always indicating to the reader the nature of the spelling. In this grammar we follow the second procedure. In neither case should one assume that Hittite scribes regularly used me with the mì value or in with the envalue.

1.63. Many cuneiform signs of the type vowel + consonant in which the vowel is i may also be read e (see §1.28, p. 20). Thus, in words spelled with such signs, both vowels must be attested in plene writing (e.g., e-ek- and *i-ik-, e-ep- and *i-ip-, e-et- and i-it-, e-eš- and i-iš-; §1.8, p. 11 and §1.46, p. 25) in order for the words to count as examples with fluctuation. The following words which are represented as fluctuating in the ‘bound transcriptions’ of Friedrich HW, are not yet attested with a plene i vocalization: ekt- ‘net’ (e-ek-ta-, never *i-ik-ta-), ekdu- (e-ek-du, but never *i-ik-du), GIS eppiya-

But in view of three cases of OH/NS and two of MH/NS, we would hesitate to exclude its beginning in the pre-NH period.

47. The same caution needs to be observed in the case of rare necessary values such as eš, for meš (e.g., in 1 fo- eš), which must not be invoked arbitrarily but only in restricted environments (pl. nom. com. of nouns or adjectives) and in absolutely clear cases in late NH.
(e-ep-pi-ya-, never *i-ip-pi-ya-), e-er- (in e-grade form e-er-te-ni of the verb ar- ‘to arrive’), e-er-ma-an ‘illness, disease’, e-ez-za-an ‘chaff.’ The pret. pl. 3 verbal ending -er, even when written -i-er, must be read *i-er. When this ending is written with CVC signs, it must be read -šer (not šir), and -ker (not kir), just as final ñ in the pret. and imp. pl. 2 must be read -tén, rather than -tin. For the legitimate syllabic values in Hittite of the ñ sign see §1.20 (p. 18).

1.64. For persons unaware of the complexity of the writing system it is also confusing that many Hittitologists use the i value of ambivalent eli signs as the “unmarked” value—i.e., the default reading—whenever there is no plene vowel to disambiguate, e.g., pi-ra-an (which could just as well be interpreted as pé-ra-an; so Melchert 1984b and CHD P s.v.). Of the major dictionaries in progress at present, both HW2 and HED use the so-called unmarked i value. The CHD, on the other hand, insists on an “interpreted” transliteration (*-šet transliterated as -še-et, not -še-it). Many words whose writings always contain one of these signs and that never use plene writing are uncertain as to their vocalization.

1.65. The cases of vocalic stability appear to refute the idea that e and i merged completely in Hittite at any period (pace Kimball 1999: 73–79). The picture, however, is admittedly complex and to some extent confusing. We must allow for the possibility that different phonological rules applied at different stages in the language and that texts composed in one period but recopied many years later present an artificial and unreliable picture of the phonology.

eli and ai

1.66. Some of the alternations between eli and ai noted by HE §13 reflect morphological replacements in NH. For the replacement of kappeuzzi and kappuet by kappuwāizzzi and kappuwāiit see Oettinger 1979: 336. Both paišta and pešta ‘he gave’ are replacements of paš, and nešḫut/nišḫut ‘turn yourself’ is replaced by našḫut (see Jasanoff 2003: 183). Quite different are the problematic examples of etymologically well-founded e rarely written ai (HE §13b) or ae: a-ept-a KBo 5.6 i 11 for a-ept-za ‘he seized’, ma-eq-qa-uš KUB 26.1 iii 58 for ma-eq-qa-uš ‘many’, ap-ep-e-ez-zi- alongside [ap-p]a-iz-zi-an and [ap-p]a-iz-zi-uš-ša, and ḫe(n)k-lḥai(n)k- (Neu 1974: 41 with notes).

a and e

1.67. Most alternations of a and e in nouns and verbs reflect so-called ablaut, for which see §3.37 (p. 78).

1.68. There was a historical progression of thematic mi-conjugation verbs with forms such as i-ez-zi and i-e(ez)-zi in OH and early MH to i-ya-(az)-zi in late MH and NH (Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965). Forms such as i-ez-zi, ti-ez-zi, pé-eš-ši-ez-zi, etc., were not pronounced differently from i-e(ez)-zi, ti-e-ez-zi, pé-eš-ši-e-ez-zi, etc. The second set of spellings is merely a more explicit writing of the first set, for the sign ź
can be read as iz or ez. If members of the first set really were pronounced /itsi/ and /titsi/, one should be able to find *i-im-mi, *ti-im-mi (or *ti-i-mi) and *pé-eš-ši-mi, *pé-eš-ši-ši, *pé-eš-ši-nu-un forms in the same OH paradigms.\(^{48}\) The appearance of a nominative-accusative plural com. i-stem ending -iyaš beside -iēš in New Hittite appears to show a similar change (§3.16, p. 71).

1.69. The variation in first- and second-plural endings -weni/-teni and -wanil-tani is the result of early differences in the position of the stress: -wanil-tani were the outcomes when the endings did not receive stress, while -weni/-teni were the stressed outcomes. The latter endings then spread at the expense of the former.\(^{49}\) Pairs like apteni and eptani are particularly suggestive of a pattern resulting from different accent placement.\(^{50}\)

\(a\) and \(u\)

1.70. The clitic second-singular pronoun has two allomorphs, -tta and -ddu. The latter is regularly selected when immediately followed by the particles -z(a) and -šan (Hrozný 1917: 127–28; HE §40; Luraghi 1997a: 25; see §5.14, p. 135). The fact that similar-sounding ta-eza (‘and’ + reflexive particle) remains unchanged shows that this change was not phonological but “morphophonemic” (i.e., applying only in the case of particular morphemes).\(^{51}\)

**Combinatory Vowel Changes**

Vowel Assimilation

1.71. Eichner has proposed that the form of the sg. d.-l. of pedan ‘place’, written péli-di, is always to be read /pidi/ where the first /i/ in place of expected /e/ is to be attributed to the influence of the following /i/ of the ending (briefly 1973: 84 n. 5; in more detail, 1980: 143–48, especially n. 65). Eichner would also compare mi-li-it ‘honey’ < *melit (compare Luwian mallit). The presence of pé-e-di beside péli-di (even in the same ms., as in KBo 3.4 iii 28 and 33) suggests that the latter can and should be read as /pedi/ and leaves the proposed rule in doubt.

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48. Melchert 1984b: 54–55. The pres. pl. 3 forms of the mi-conjugation, such as i-en-zi ‘they do, make’ and u-en-zi ‘they come’ for the more common i-yā-an-zi and u-wa-an-zi, are probably pre-NH but are not clearly older than the more common forms.

49. AHP 137–38, crediting Warren Cowgill for the analysis. For the view that -wani and -tani are due to Luwian influence see Rosenkranz 1952: 13–15; Carruba 1966a: 41; 1966b, 1968. Otten and Souček (1969: 78), however, showed from OH evidence that these endings are not due to Luwian influence.

50. In the analysis cited in n. 49 Melchert assumed that the difference in stress placement was morphologically conditioned and carried no functional significance. It is possible, however, that pairs like paimeni and paiwani ‘we will go’ (see §12.41, p. 209) reflect differing sentential intonation, indicating modality: interrogation, subjunctive ideas, etc., semantic features expressed in other IE languages through the subjunctive and optative moods, significantly missing from Hittite (§11.3, p. 180; §23.10, p. 314).

51. There are no regular alternations between \(i\) and \(u\). For a few sporadic cases of uncertain status see AHP 178.
Elision

1.72. When the conjunctions *nu* and *šu* are followed by a clitic beginning with a vowel other than /u/, the vowel of the conjunction is elided: *nu-äš > n-äš, nu-at > n-at, nu-ë > n-ë, nu-äšta > n-äšta*, etc. (Ungnad 1920). This rule also applies to the clitic pronoun -mu- ‘me’: *ųšāwatar=mu=apa* (OH/MS), *ųšana=mu=apa* (OH/MS), *kina=mu=apa* (OH/MS), *anda=mu=apa* (OH/NS), *nu=mm(u)=äštad* (OH/MS); see CHD -mu a, b 4; HE §38a; and in this grammar, §28.110 (p. 382). That this rule is morphophonemic is shown by the fact that it fails to occur in other *u + a* sequences: *ēpw=an* KUB 23.68 obv. 24 (MH/NS), *karāš* KBo 4.14 ii 13 (NH), KUB 60.86 obv. 5* and karūw=at KUB 14.14 rev. 18*, or in takku=añ Law §27, takku=an Law §28, etc.

1.73. When the clitic conjunction -ma ‘but’ is followed by another clitic beginning with *u*, the *a* of -ma is elided: *tā-a-i-mu-ūš-za* (§ tu=a=mu=š=za) KBo 20.32 ii 9, i-en-zimu-ūš ‘But they make them’ (< *ienzi*-ma=ūš) KBo 16.78 i 10, *lu-ukkat-ta-mu-ūš-kān* (< lukkatta=ma=ūš=kun) KBo 27.165 rev. 15* (MS). nam?-mu-ūš-(za-kān) KUB 7.1 ii 11 is not an example of *namu(ma)+(a)+uš* (see CHD L–N 391).

1.74. The initial -a- of the local particles -apa and -ašta is elided after the dative singular clitic -se- or -ši-: *nu-ūš-se-pa < nuššē=apa* KUB 36.110 obv. 11 (OS), or *nu-uš-ši-iš-ta < nuššii=šta* HKM 116:30 (MH/MS). This rule is morphophonemic, as shown by its failure to apply in the case of the local particle -an and the non-geminant clitic conjunction -a: *nu-uš-se-an* Law §78 (OS) and a-pē-e-a KUB 36.100 rev. 4 (OS). It also does not occur in na-at-ši-at (see §30.19, p. 411), where the same morpheme -ši is involved.52

1.75. For the morphologically conditioned deletion of various stem-final vowels before vowel-initial suffixes see §2.2 (p. 51).

Syncope

1.76. Sequences -(i)ya- and -(a)wa- in many cases contract, respectively, to -i- and -u-. Forms such as *ti-in-ti-eš* (IBOT 1.36 ii 48 [MH/MS], for normal *ti-ya-an-te-eš*, *hū-šši-la-li-it-ta-at* (ibid. iii 39, for normal *šši-la-li-ya-at-ta-at*), and *šu-šši-ta-an* (ibid. ii 41), for *šu-šši-ta-an*) show syncope, as do *šišši-in* ‘well’ KUB 31.105:4 and passim (for *šaša*< *šašiyan*, sg. neut. of stem *šašiyan*), *appezzin*< *appezziyan* ‘subsequently’, *dapin* (see dapian, §8.10, p. 152), *terin* (see teriyan), and *šušišiyan* (sg. neut. < *šušišiyan*-, §15.13, p. 239), and imperfectives of stems in -ye/-ya- (*ilallye-*, *wemiške-*, *wemye-*, etc.). See further the occasional contraction of the NH pl. nom.-acc. com. i-stem ending -išāš to -iš (see §4.19, p. 87). Possibly also in stem-final position in the imp. 2 *hūiti*< *hūitiya-* (Oettinger, pers. comm.). Additional examples include *liljundāi-* ‘to pour’ (see part. *liljuwant- ‘poured’), *miyalunte- ‘to be old’,...

52. Since *na-at-ši-at* occurs only in text copies from late NH, it is possible that the elision rule seen in the cases with -ašta and -apa, neither of which survived in the living language of late NH, had ceased to operate by the time this repeated pronoun construction was coined.

53. Perhaps attested in restored *[la?-a]zzi-iš* KUB 43.31 left col. 9 (OS) (van den Hout 1991: 198).
Orthography and Phonology 1.78

miḥuntaḥḫ- ‘to make old’ (see miyāḥ(u)wandaḥḫ- ‘to make old’) all from *miyāḥwant- ‘old’ (Melchert 1984b: 53, 58, 133), šanḫunta ‘roasted things’ from šanḫuwant-. But there are many examples where the contraction fails to occur, and neither the chronological distribution nor the precise conditioning for the syncope (in terms of accent or word length) is clear. For a recent discussion of the problem see Rieken (2001), where cases are also cited that may reflect processes other than syncope: (1) possible examples of ablaut (see §3.37, p. 78) such as antuwaḥḫa-lantuḫša- ‘human being’, waštuḫšuḫšul- ‘sin’, or warāninurāni ‘burns’; (2) multiple stems for the same word such as laḫuwa-i and laḫuwa-i ‘pours’ (see §§13.17–13.18, p. 222).54 Some examples may show either syncope or something else: urīwanwarant-lwarwanrant- ‘blazing (fire)’; kunnan→ka-anuwarant ‘bead’, pl. d.šeknuššeknuwaš ‘robe’, ulkiššara-lwalkiššara- ‘skilled’, etc. In addition, it is possible that the genitive singular of personal names Nunnuš and Taruḫšuš reflects syncope instead of a genitive singular *-s ending. See also §1.79.

1.77. Syncope is also seen in OH naššu . . . naššu-sama ‘either . . . or’ > post-OH naššu . . . naššma (see §29.59, p. 405), and may be assumed for the protoform *aššatama > OH aššma (see below, §7.16, p. 146).55

1.78. It is uncertain whether any alternations of ue-u or ui-u are also to be attributed to syncope. One possible case is karāli- for karu(w)iši-.56 Ablaut (see §3.37, p. 78) is more likely in OH ḫušu-wa-an-da-an and ḫušu-uš-wa-an-da-an for later ḫušḫwant- ‘living, alive’ (see EHS 37–38; Otten and Souček 1969: 57 for the forms). Here an original ‘zero-grade’ adjective has been renewed under the influence of the related verb ḫuššiš- ‘to be alive’. In examples such as kueralkura- ‘field’ and tuektatukka- ‘body, limb’, there is no good basis for choosing between syncope and ablaut. Even less clear is the alternation in wilan-lulin- ‘clay’. Some apparent alternations reflect rather different stems. The pair ḫuinu- and ḫunu- ‘cause to run’ are based on the respective weak stems ḫuy- and ḫu(w)- of the base verb ḫuwai- ‘to run’ (see Melchert 1984b: 52).57

54. This also seems the most probable explanation for memiyanī vs. memini, sg. d.-l. of ‘word’ (§4.75, p. 112). Text chronology shows that memiyanī occurs later than memini, so that syncope seems unlikely.

55. There are no sure examples of apocope. One possible instance is the form na-at for na-at-ta ‘not’. The form na-at in šanattanšissiš-kizzuwan na-at(ta)hu-e-(ēš)-nu-ui-ut ‘and my father did not spare (?) Kizzuwa’ KBo 3.28 ii 19 (OH/MS) in view of the many sign omissions in the immediate context is almost certainly a case of an accidental omission of the ta in na-at-ta (so Laroche 1973: 187, 189). nakkuš nat [šarnik]zi KBo 6.2 iv 54–55 (Laws §98 copy A, with var. in copy B nakkuš UL šarnikzi) might be a genuine example, if we interpret copy A as the NH scribe of copy B did: ‘it is a loss; he shall not make compensation’ KBo 6.2 iv 54–55 (OS) (see CHD nakkuš, which takes this as two clauses). But one cannot exclude the interpretation of Hoffner in LH 95–96, 197, reading na-at as n-at with –at referring to ’ét-ri kuit harcki. The example [. . .] / nat arawazzizi [. . .] does not bow’ KUB 45.6 KUB 3.8 ii 21–22) may show genuine apocope as well. n(a)-at(aw)-wa-az KUB 43.31 left col. 7 (OS?) (which is a variant of (*u)-ut,wa-az KUB 58.48 iv 3 [OH/NS]; CHD natta a 1’ a’) may either show syncope of expected na-at-ta-wa-az or be an additional example of an old shorter variant of natta, nat ‘not’.

56. ka-ra-u-li-ul-su-ma-zA DINGIR.MEŠ-uš / quam-at ZAG-aš ašašta KBo 32.13 ii 26–27.

57. The stems uda- and wida(i)- simply belong to two different verbs meaning ‘to bring’. Only the second (like peḫute- and uwat-ı-) takes as its objects living beings capable of self-propulsion (see CHD P 352
Diphthongization ("Breaking")

1.79. In certain cases, words with original $u$ come to be spelled with *uwa*: e.g., *paḫḫu* ‘fire’ appears as *paḫḫuwar*, *kurške*-58 ‘to cut’ as *kuwarške*-, etc. For further examples see Rieken (2001: 372–74), who plausibly suggests that these cases show a genuine sound change whereby the *u* develops into a diphthong.

Vowel Insertion ("Anaptyxis")

1.80. It is reasonably certain that some original sequences of consonants were broken up in pre-Hittite by secondarily inserted vowels (see English *athlete* pronounced [æθəlit]). However, the limitations of the cuneiform writing system in spelling consonant sequences (§1.11, p. 12) make it hard to distinguish with certainty genuine inserted vowels from those that are merely graphic, and there is no consensus on this issue.59 The discussion here is limited to those cases where it is likely that addition of suffixes to roots leads to genuine vowel insertion.

1.81. Insertion of *i* or *e*. An *i* or *e* is inserted between a root ending in a labial or velar stop or in -ḫ- and the suffix -ške-: *appi/eške-*, *šarninkleške-*, *šanḫileške-*. The vowel is consistently *i* in OH, but spellings with *e* begin in MH, and in NH one finds both *i* and *e* with some frequency (Melchert 1984b: 108, 134). There is a similar insertion before the pret. sg. ending -š (Oettinger 1993: 41): *akkšiš* to *akk* ‘to die’ and *išiyaḫḫšiš* to *išiyaḫḫ*- ‘to denounce’. Likewise in pret. sg. 3 *takkišša* and other forms of *takš*- ‘to fashion’. The behavior of roots ending in a dental consonant is more complex. In MH we find pret. sg. 3 *ḫatteš* to *ḫatt-* ‘to pierce’, with insertion, as in the previous examples (Oettinger 1993). However, the usual treatment when -ške- is added to a root ending in a dental stop is insertion of *-i-* after the [s]: *azzikkše*- to *elad*- ‘to eat’ (< /ad-ske-/) and *zikke*- to *dai*- ‘to put’ (< /d-ske-/).60 This development is also sometimes seen after roots ending in other dental consonants: alongside *tar-aš-ke*- (/tarske-/) to *tar-* ‘to say’ we also find *tar-ši-ik-ke*- with inserted *-i-. Likewise for the addition to *ḫanniš*- ‘to dispute, to judge’ we find both *ḫanniške*- (with *i*-insertion before the *s*) and *ḫaššikke*- (< *ḫann-ske*- with *i*-insertion after the *s* and assimilation (see §1.120, p. 43). For possible anaptyxis of *i* in the origin of the instrumental ending see §3.35, p. 77.

1.82. Insertion of *u*. Some verbs whose attested stem in Hittite ends in -a- (§13.9, p. 218) or -e- (§12.23, p. 199) originally had variants without the final vowel. When these appear before suffixes beginning with -w- (pl. 1 -wen(i); verbal noun -war; infi-
tive -wanzi), a u is inserted before the -w-, and the new sequence -uw- is then dissimi-
lated to -um- (§1.126, p. 44). E.g., *dweni > *duweni > tumēni ‘we take’ (OH) to dā-, *tarnwanzi > *tarnuwanzi > tarnu(m)manzi ‘to release’ to tarna-. This insertion may
be viewed as anaptyxis, but see AHP 57 (with references to Eichner 1988 and Bernabē
1983) for other interpretations.

1.83. Insertion of a. There are two probable cases of syncope followed by anaptyxis
to resolve an internal sequence of three consonants of which the middle one is r. In the
first example kutruweneš ‘witnesses’ by syncope became *kutrweneš, which then re-
solved by anaptyxis to kutarweneš (ku-tar-y-ē-ni-eš KUB 23.78b 9’) (Oettinger 1982b:
164). In the second example etriyant- ‘(well-)fed, fattened, robust’ by syncope became
*etryant-, which then resolved to etaryant- (e-tar-y-an-[a-an] KUB 12.63 obv. 16)
(Melchert 1997b).61

Consonants

Contrasts in Stops

1.84. Sturtevant (1933: 66–67), following a suggestion by Mudge, first argued that
there is a phonemic contrast in Hittite between single and double (“geminate”) stops in
intervocalic position.62 Further research has fully confirmed this analysis. While there
are a few examples of inconsistent spellings (e.g., occasional i-ya-ta-ri for regular i-ya-
at-ta-ri), most morphemes are written consistently with either single or double stops.
Patterned exceptions actually confirm the contrast (see AHP 14), while many others
may be explained as “simplified spellings” (see §1.9, p. 12, and §1.12, p. 13). One can
even cite a small number of semantically contrasting minimal or near-minimal pairs:
apā- ‘that’ (with rare sg. acc. com. apān) vs. app- ‘to seize (part. sg. nom.-acc. neut.
appān), padān ‘of the feet’ vs. paddan ‘dug’ (sg. nom.-acc. neut.), šekan ‘cubit’ vs.
šekkan ‘known’ (part. sg. nom.-acc. neut.).

1.85. In general Hittite intervocalic single stops reflect PIE voiced and voiced aspir-
ate stops, while geminate stops continue PIE voiceless stops (Sturtevant 1933: 66–67),
and explanations have been found for most apparent exceptions (AHP 16 and Kimball
1999: 261–64, with references to Čop, Eichner, and others). There is no consensus as
to whether the phonetic contrast in attested Hittite is one of voicing or of some other
feature such as “fortis” vs. “lenis” or “aspirated” vs. “unaspirated” (see AHP 16–18
with references to a variety of opinions). For the sake of simplicity we here describe
the contrast in stops as one of voicing, but we do not mean thereby to take a definitive
stance on this issue.63

61. That the attested spelling variants both represent a sequence [trw] with non-syllabic [r] is highly
unlikely but cannot in principle be excluded.

62. Compare the similar conventions for writing Hurrian stops in syllabic cuneiform (Wegner 2000:
39–40).

63. Whether or not the stops spelled as geminate in Hittite were voiceless, they seem to have been so
heard by Ugaritic scribes: see alphabetic writings of Hittite names such as Šu-ap-pi-lu-li-u-ma (jpllm).
1.86. Orthography and Phonology

It is likely that the phonemic contrast in Hittite stops existed only word internally. It was neutralized in word-initial and word-final position (see AHP 18–21 and Luraghi 1997a: §1.1). Since the device of marking the contrast by single vs. geminate spellings was only used consistently intervocically, it is difficult to prove the contrast for internal sequences of stop plus another consonant, but a handful of examples suggest that it probably applied there: see /-dr-/ in *appatriye- ‘to commandeer’ < *appātar ‘seizing’ spelled *ap-pa-ta-ri-ez-zi and *ap-pa-at-ri-ez-zi Law §76 (OS and NS, respectively) vs. /-tr-/ in *ḥatrešš(n) ‘crossroads, intersection’ < *ḥatta- ‘to cut’ spelled *ḥa-at-(ta)-re-eš-n⁰.

Inventory of Consonants


Stops

1.88. There are four series of stops in Hittite—bilabial, dental, velar, and labiovelar—all of which can be voiceless or voiced when intervocalic. The following table of Hittite stops is adapted from Luraghi 1997a: §1.2.1. As in Luraghi’s table, capitalized voiceless stops represent cases where the voicing opposition is neutralized, and forms that end in a hyphen represent stem forms. The # sign represents the word boundary.

/p/: *a-ap-pa* ‘back, again’, *šu-up-pí* ‘pure’

/l/: *a-pa-a-aš* ‘that one’

/#P/: *pé-e-ri-ya-aš* ‘of the house’, *pa-ra-a* ‘forth, forwards’

/P/#: *e-ep* ‘seize’ (sg. imp.).

/l/: *kat-ta* or *ka-at-ta⁶⁴* ‘down(ward)’, *at-ta-aš* or *ad-da-aš* ‘father’, *e-eš-tu* ‘let him be’

/dl/: *i-di* or *e-di* ‘on this side’, *wa-a-tar* ‘water’

/#/T/: *ta-a-ru* ‘wood, tree’, *tu-uk* ‘you’ (sg. acc. or dat.)

/T/#: *ke-eš-ša-ri-it* ‘by the hand’ (instrumental case), *e-et* ‘eat’ (sg. imp.), *i-it* ‘go’ (sg. imp.)

/k/: *tu-e-eg-ga* ‘body’, *lu-uk-ke-et* ‘he set fire to’, *ša-ag-ga-ah-ḥi* ‘I know’

/l/: *la-a-ki* ‘he bends’, *la-ga-(a-)an* ‘bent, inclined’

/#/K/: *kat-ta* ‘down(ward)’, *ke-eš-šar* ‘hand’, *ki-iš-ša-an* ‘thus’, *ku-ui-ša-ta* ‘bride-price’

/K/#: *la-a-ak* ‘bend’ (sg. imp.), *ša-a-ak* ‘know’, *zi-(i-)ik* ‘you’ (sg. nom.), *am-mu-uk* ‘me’ (acc. or dat.), *ḫu-u-da-a-ak* ‘promptly’

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64. The usual spelling is *kat-ta*, but occurrences of *ka-at-ta* (KUB 20.4 vi 4’, KUB 20.43:9’, KUB 58.50 iii 7) and one of *ka-at-ta-an* (KUB 56.46 vi 21) show that the double writing of the dental is secure. HED K 128 (“rarely *ka-at-*”) cites no example.
In addition to signs indicating voiced and voiceless stops, the cuneiform syllabary possessed some that were intended to represent so-called emphatic stops of the Semitic Akkadian language: the velar conventionally represented by the Roman letter q and the dental represented by t. Because even the Babylonians and Assyrians often wrote these consonants with the same signs they employed for the nonemphatic counterparts, we have only one sign in the Hittite syllabary whose number-one transcriptional value contains an emphatic: qa. On the question of how to transliterate qa in Hittite words see above, §1.16 (p. 16).

Affricates

The cuneiform signs conventionally transcribed as containing a z represent a sound (or sounds) with three distinct sources in Hittite. (1) Some cases reflect a sequence /t+s/: the sg. nom. of the common gender t-stem aniyatt- /aniyat-s/ is spelled a-ni-ya-az vs. sg. gen. a-ni-ya-at-ta-aš. (2) In other cases it represents the affricate /ts/ resulting from the dissimilation of a dental stop before another dental stop (see §1.125, p. 44): imp. sg. 3 /e:tsu/ /let him eat/ is spelled e-ez /za/ -du. (3) In still others it represents the sound resulting from prehistoric assimilation of *ty and *ti: suffix -zziya- < *-tyo- in ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-ya- /front, first/ (see §2.53, p. 61) and pres. sg. 3 ending -zzi < *-ti in e-ep-zi /takes/ etc. The first two sources suggest that z stands for a voiceless dental affricate /ts/, and we follow most Hittitologists in adopting this value. Nothing precludes a palatal or palatalized affricate (see the sound of English 'church') for those cases resulting from assimilation. However, there is no evidence for a phonemic contrast between these instances and those reflecting /t+s/.

The affricate /ts/ written with z or zz may have had no voiced counterpart. It occurs word initial, medial, and final: za-aḫ-ḫa-iš /battle/, ú-ez-zi /he comes/, a-ru-na-az /from the sea/, ke-e-ez /on this side/, ne-ku-uz /in the evening time./ But see Yoshida (1998), who claims that original single intervocalic -z- is /dz/ and -zz- is /ts/.

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65. On the absence of intervocalic -V-k-u- for /k/ see the discussion in AHP 61.
66. Also patterning with q and t in Semitic languages is the sibilant ṣ. But in the Hittite cuneiform syllabary, there are no signs for this ṣ that cannot as easily be read as z.
67. That z is representing an affricate /ts/ here is confirmed by the fact that in those cases in clitic sequences when /t+s/- becomes /ss/- and the dental stop is lost, the z-containing signs are not used (see the examples in §1.111, p. 41).
68. Even if the Ugaritic alphabetic place name lwsnd denotes the city name Lawa(z)zantiya (del Monte and Tischler 1978: 237–38), it would constitute evidence that Hittite z was not /ts/ only if Ugaritic had an available affricate /ts/ phoneme. The uncertainty of interpreting Ugaritic ṣ as an affricate /ts/, as it is in Hebrew, instead of an ‘emphatic’, as in Arabic, also makes this evidence unconvincing. The contrast /s/ vs. /z/ in Ugaritic does, however, indicate that the -(z)z- in Lawa(z)zantiya was voiceless.
For the possibility that some instances of \( z \) stand for a voiced fricative [z] see §1.136 (p. 47).

**Fricatives**

1.92. The precise value in Hittite of the sound represented by the cuneiform signs containing \( š \) cannot be determined at present. The cuneiform syllabary as adopted by the Hittites had only two sets of CV and VC signs, used non-logographically,\(^69\) containing sibilants: \( šV/Vš \) and \( zV/Vz \). Having adopted the \( z \)-containing signs for an affricate (§1.90), Hittite scribes had no signs left to indicate a sibilant other than those with \( š \). Therefore the fact that \( š \) indicates a voiceless (alveo-)palatal sibilant (like English sh) in Akkadian says nothing about the quality of the sound in Hittite. The voiceless sibilant of PIE was surely a dental-alveolar /s/, but nothing assures us that it retained that value in Hittite. All that one can declare with certainty is that Hittite had a single /s/ phoneme. It may have been pronounced as dental-alveolar \([s]\), alveo-palatal \([ʃ]\), or even palatal \([ç]\), or some combination of these, according to environment.

1.93. Evidence cited from the transliteration of names in other writing systems is complex. Advocates of the /s/ interpretation point to writings of Hittite royal names in Egyptian Hieroglyphs with the sign representing a folded cloth (Gardiner 1957: 507, sign S 29) and conventionally transcribed by Egyptologists as s+acute accent (on this, see Edel 1948, 1973). However, the royal name Šuppiluliuma—which happens to be the only Hittite royal name that is linguistically Hittite (rather than Luwian, Hurrian, etc.: šuppi- ‘pure’ + luli- ‘pond’ + ethnicon -um(a)n-) appears in Syro-Hittite alphabetic texts as \( ţpilm \). Hurrian names compounded with -šarri and spelled with \( š \)-containing signs at Boğazköy appear in Ugaritic alphabetic texts as \( ţr \). Tropper (2000: 108–13) concludes (p. 113): “Es ist somit wahrscheinlich das ug. /tsx/ doch als nicht-affrizierter, stimmlöser Interdental [τ] gesprochen wurde.” Since Ugaritic cuneiform employed another sign for /s/, it is highly unlikely that the \( τ \) was pronounced /s/. The pronunciation /s/ or /ʃ/ (\( “\text{sin}” \) or “\( \text{shin}” \)) used by individual scholars today for the Hittite sibilant is entirely conventional, and no inferences regarding the Hittite articulation should be drawn from it.

1.94. The cuneiform signs containing \( ḫ \)\(^70\) (that is, \( ḡa, ḡa, ḡi, ḡu, ḡal, ḡar, ḡat, ḡā, etc.\) represent a voiceless velar fricative [x] in Akkadian (like Arabic khalīfah ‘caliph’, Scottish loch, or Hebrew lēkh lēkhā ‘get out of here!’). Hittite \( ḫ(\dot{\text{h}}) \) also probably stands for a velar fricative, but other possibilities (such as a pharyngeal fricative) cannot be excluded.\(^71\) We use /h/ in phonemic transcriptions merely for the sake of typographic

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\( ^{69} \) Obviously they did have /s/ signs used exclusively for Sumerograms: SA ‘sinew’, SI ‘horn’, SU ‘flesh’, etc. These signs eventually comprised the third set of sibilant-containing signs in Akkadian (ŠA, ZA, SA).

\( ^{70} \) For typographic economy some publications use \( h \) for \( ḫ \) and \( s \) for \( š \).

\( ^{71} \) Ancient Ugaritic and ancient and modern Arabic use different written characters to designate the two distinct phonemes realized as velar and pharyngeal fricatives (usually transliterated as /h/ and /ḫ/ respectively). Since a few proper names written in Hittite with \( ḫ \) appear in alphabetic Ugaritic with the velar frica-
simplicity and do not thereby intend any claim regarding its realization. The sequence šḫ is pronounced as [s] or [ʃ] plus the separate strong fricative, not as the single sound [ʃ] of English sh, German sch, or Turkish ş.

1.95. Both ḫ and š show contrasting single and double writing intervocalically: a-ša-an-zi ‘they are’, a-aš-ša-an-zi ‘they remain’, e-ša-an-zi ‘they sit’, and e-eš-ša-an-zi ‘they work, produce’. For the ḫ/ḫḫ contrast, see the minimal pair ša-a-ḫa-an and ša-ḫa-a-an ‘blocked, clogged’ (part. sg. neut.) versus ša-ah-ḫa-an (noun denoting a kind of obligation), as well as a number of words that consistently write intervocalic ḫ: e.g., laḫu(wa)i- ‘to pour’, GĪšzaḫuri-, the verb waḫ- /weḫ- ‘to turn’ and its derivatives waḫatar, waḫeššar, mēḫur (mēḫuni, etc.) ‘time’, the second ḫ in the medio-passive ending -(h)ḫaḫari, -(h)ḫahati, etc.72 The ḫḫ/ḫ contrast is generally thought to reflect a tense/lax or voiceless/voiced distinction (Luraghi 1997a: §1.2.3). The lax/voiced sound of nongeminate ḫ is reflected in the spelling of the Hittite personal and royal name šTuḫalija in Ugaritic alphabetic script as tdġl (where the phoneme written ġ is a lax/voiced counterpart to ḫ, the contrast being [γ] to [x], the same as Arabic ǧ to ǧ; see also Hebrew tidʿal < *tudġal in Genesis 14:1, 9), and in the place name written gt trġnds ‘winepress of T’,73 which as in the city/country name Tarḫuntašša certainly contains the name of the stormgod ʾTarḫunta. If so, note that both cuneiform ḫ and t are reflected as voiced ġ and d.

1.96. The examples of consistent contrasting š and šš, on the other hand, are interpreted as consonantal length (i.e., gemination) (Luraghi 1997a: §1.2.3).

Sonorants

1.97. Hittite sonorants include two nasals /m/ and /n/, two liquids /l/ and /r/, and two approximants or semivowels /y/ and /w/ (European scholars often write these as ı and ı). The phoneme /r/ never occurs in initial position, nor /m/ in final position. The simple nasals and liquids contrast with geminates in intervocalic position: ku-na-an ‘struck/killed’ (part. sg. nom.-acc. neut.), ku-un-na-an ‘righthand’ (adj. sg. acc. com.), a-ra-aš ‘colleague’, ar-ra-aš ‘anus’, ma-a-la-i ‘she agrees’, ma-al-la-i ‘she mills’. Examples:

1.98. /m/: la-a-ma-an ‘name’, ḫa-me-eš-ḫi ‘in spring’, ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš ‘all’ (pl. nom. com.), me-ma-al ‘meal, groats’.


tive ḫ, the velar fricative interpretation is slightly more likely. Also favoring the velar fricative interpretation is the writing of *Tu-ud-ḫa-li-ya as tdġl (see §1.95). But given the mistakes in hearing phonemes from other languages, this argument can only be suggestive, not conclusive.

72. There are, of course, occasional lapses: me-na-ḫa-an-da (KBo 7.14 obv. 7, OS) for normal me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da.

73. See also the place name trġds, with nasal reduction.
For the problem of apparent intervocalic geminate \(m\) in words using CV\(m\)-m\(V\) see §1.24, p. 19.


\(^74\) In preferring the reading në-\(u\)-i-[\(f\)]t to ni-\(u\)-i-[\(f\)]t, the issue is similar to the case of pé/í-di, for which see §1.71, p. 31.
1.108. Rarely, an initial w followed by a vowel is written with ū or u preceding a wV sign: ū-wa-ar-kān-ta-an (warkant-) 'fat', ū-wi₃-te-ni-it 'with water', ū-wi₃-ta-ar 'waters', ū-wa-al-ah-zi 'he strikes’, etc. (see Melchert 1984b: 13, 20–21).

1.109. As indicated above (§1.97), there is a regular contrast intervocally between single and geminate nasals and liquids, and, as expected, most words are stable in showing either one or the other. However, in some instances, words that have a single n, l, or r in the older language unexpectedly show geminate spellings in NH (NS): e.g., ku-en-ner for ku-e-ner ‘they killed’ (see §12.6, p. 190), iš-ḫi-ū-ul-la-aš for iš-ḫi-ū-la-aš ‘of the treaty’, kat-te-er-ra- for kat-te-ra- ‘lower’. This feature is particularly common in verbal substantives with the ending -i: ar-ku-wa-ar-riḪI.A ‘pleas’, minumarrriḪI.A ‘soothings’, etc., but is by no means regular there (compare kururiḪI.A ‘hostile’). For further examples see AHP 165. These late geminate spellings cannot be explained away in the manner of those for m (see §1.24, p. 19). The question of their linguistic reality and possible conditioning remains to be answered.

1.110. For the dissimilation of uw to um and wu to mu see §§1.126–1.127, pp. 44–45.

Assimilation of Consonants

1.111. tš > šš This change, which occurs only when t and š are divided by a clitic boundary, seems to have been a phenomenon of OH, clearly reflected in OS texts, sometimes side-by-side with examples in which the lost dental has been restored. OS rituals show instrumental ka-lu-u-pū-iš-mi-t(a-aš-ta) ‘with their fingers’ or ka-lu-u-pū-iz-mi-it with restored -t-. In OH/NS texts we find further exx.: HE §36c claimed this assimilation on the basis of ku[i]t p[ešta] ta-aš-še šarnikzi ‘whatever (ku[i]t ku[i], neut.) (the first man) gave (for the bride), (the eloper) shall give it (-at) to him as compensation’ KBo 6.3 ii 6–7 = Laws §28a (OH/NS) (HE §36 c: < ta=atše ‘und es ihm’ and na-aš-ša-an KBo 5.2 iv 12 [< nu + -at + -šan]); we see it also in (ʼTarḫunta encountered eight ‘sons of the gods’ on the road,) na-aš-ši ḫinkantat ‘and they bowed to him, (saying: ‘O Tarḫunta, our father! Where were you?’)’ KUB 33.66 + KBo 40.333 iii 8 (OH?/MS); in the OH?/MS festival text from Šarišša KuT 53 ii 15–19 (ed. Wilhelm 2002a: 345) the neuter noun ‘half’ (see §9.42, p. 165) in the phrase ku-it maš-am ḫarzi ‘what half he holds (in his right hand)’ is resumed na-aš-ša-an . . . išt[anani] . . . dāi ‘he puts it (-at) on the altar’; but restored in i 50: [na-a-at-šan]. . . taktšanni < ku+[u]–št[a karšdu nu=war-šat URUL] Agade ʻištar-ḫiš (16) [GIŠTUKUL,ḪI.A-eš iyanda ‘Let him cut down the paini-tree that stands for you (?) in his gate house, and let them make it into weapons of Akkad’ KBo 22.6 iv14–16, see iv 21; ḫuř.ça-ni=kuv=atššan . . . [tak?šaš]anni=kuv=s(a[t] šalu) ‘whether it (is) in the mountain . . . or it (is) in the [.pl]ain’ KUB 43.60 i 5–7, and kad-du-uš-mi-it for kaddut-šmit ‘with their talons’ KUB 43.60 i 17.
1.112. **tn > nn ḫattātār, gen. ḫattannaš** (from *ḫattatnaš*), see §4.106 (p. 128). Since most examples are found in nouns with nom.-acc. in -ātar and oblique stem in -ann- or in their transparent derivatives, the -tn- is sometimes trivially restored by analogy, whence exceptions like iyatnaš (gen. of iyātar ‘abundance’) and takšamiya- ‘to make level’ (< takšatar, takšann- ‘(a) plain’). There is no need or justification for attributing the -tn- in these examples to Luwian influence. -tn- is also preserved in transparent derivatives such as the causatives ḥatnu- ‘to dry (something) out’ to ḥat- ‘to become dry’ and tit(ta)nu- ‘to make stand up’ to tiya- ‘to stand’. Luwian influence is clear in the case of the loanword ḥuitar (gen. ḥuitnaš) ‘wild animals’ and is likely in other examples such as ħarātār ‘offense’ (d.-l. ħaratni, abl. ħaratnazi) and kattawatnalli- ‘plaintiff’. See HE §32 2 and Neumann 1964: 50 with literature, among others. A loanword explanation is possible but unprovable for examples such as mitnaz and wetna- (a wild animal). One clear exception to the rule in a native Hittite word is utne ‘land, country’. For the latest discussion on the derivation of this word and the reason for the nonassimilation, see Oettinger 2000b: 183–84.

1.113. The clitic -a that means ‘also, and’ geminates a preceding consonant, reflecting a prehistoric assimilation of *-C+ha* (see Luwian -ḫa ‘also, and’). After vowels ‘also, and’ appears as -ya. This clitic must not be confused with the postconsonantal clitic -a of OH that does not geminate a preceding consonant. See §§29.24, 29.25 (p. 395).

1.114. Addition of -a ‘and’ to a sg. nom. in -ants/ (spelled -an-za) leads to [-ants.sa], spelled -an-za-(aš-)ša (HE §25b).

1.115. In OH and MH the clitic ‘and’ appended to a logogram was attached to its last consonant (i.e., on the case ending): LUGAL-ša (= ḫaššuš + -a) ‘and the king’. In NH the scribal habit changed: the case ending no longer occurred on the phonetic complement, and the clitic took the form -ya: LUGAL-ya ‘and the king (nom.)’.

1.116. When the clitic ‘and’ occurs on ablatives, the endings -az-zi-ya and -ez-zi-ya are not to be interpreted as *...az=ya or ...ez=ya. The i is rather a genuine reflex in protected non-final position of the earlier ablative ending *-ati > -azzi > -az (§3.32, p. 76): ḥūmandazzi=ya KUB 26.1+ i 27 and ṭum<i>termazzi=ya KUB 22.70 obv. 56, UNazzi=ya (i.e., antuḫšazzi=ya) ibid. 57. There are rare examples of this earlier, longer ablative even in final, unprotected position: kēzzi KBo 4.2 iii 14 and kuēzzi HKM 24:45 (MH/MS), KUB 15.34 iii 43 (MH/MS), KUB 16.39 ii 13, KBo 4.9 vi 6, 10 (for expected kez and kuez) (Sommer and Ehelof 1924: 29).

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75. The aberrant hapax sg. gen. ḫuittaš with its geminate -tr- remains problematic, despite the efforts of Carruba (1966a: 18–19 n. 27). Luwian influence is also possible for the unusual MH variant Ḥa[n]netn[i] for regular Ḥa[n]nešnit (see AHP 272–73 with reference to Čop for an apparent change sn- > -tn- in Luwian; and compare the Southern American English pronunciation [idnt] for ‘isn’t it’).

76. We disagree with the proposed restoration [. . . . ḫu-]i-e-et-na-aš in KUB 1.16 ii 46 (HED H 353), which would assign the only occurrence to date of wetna- to ḫuedar ‘wildlife’.

77. As in kez . . . kezzi=ya.
Some cases of \( z \) before or after a nasal may stand for a voiced fricative \( [z] \) resulting from voicing assimilation of \( s \) (see §1.136, p. 47).

At clitic boundaries \( n \) may assimilate to immediately following \( m \), producing a geminate consonant that is occasionally reduced to a single \( m \):\(^{78} \) ad-dam-ma-an < attan-man ‘my father’ (sg. acc.) KBo 3.44:9; tu-ek-kam-ma-an < tuekkan-man ‘my body’ KUB 30.10 obv. 14, īr.MEŞ-am-ma-an < īr.MEŞ-an-man ‘of my servants’ KBo 3.27 obv. 10; ma-a-am-ma-an < mān-man KUB 30.10 obv. 22; not graphically geminate ša-ah-ha-me-et < šahḥan-met ‘my obligation for šahḥan-services’ KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 ii 19 (Laws §40, OS), la-a-am-ma-a-mi-it < lāman-mit ‘my name’ KUB 1.16 iii 13 (OH/NS).

The assimilation of \( nš \) to \( šš \) at clitic boundaries is fairly common already in OH (Otten and Souček 1969: 57–58): e-er-ma-aš-me-et (< ērman-šmet), er-ma-aš-ma-aš-kán (< ērman-šmaš-šta). The resulting geminate is regularly spelled as such between vowels but is occasionally reduced to \( š \): an-na-aš-ša-an, ké-ra-aš-ši-it, tar-la-aš-ši-it, kar-di-mi-ya-at-ta-aš-ša-an, ḫa-tu-ga/ka-aš-me-et, da-a-ṭu-ṭu-šu-ša-an, ša-aḫ-ḫa-me-et < šaḫḫan-šmaš-šta. The resulting geminate is regularly spelled as such between vowels but is occasionally reduced to \( š \):

An assimilation \( nš \) > \( šš \) is also seen in the -ške-suffix forms of some roots ending in -n-: ku(a)ške- ‘to kill’. Some other verbs showing earlier assimilated forms, such as imperfective stems ḫaššike- (< ḫanna- ‘to judge’\(^{79} \)) and taršike- and tar(a)ške- (< tarna- ‘to let’; Otten 1969: 5 with n. 4), occasionally later developed more “regular,” unassimilated forms: ḫanneške- and tarneške-. The unassimilated sequence \( nš \) is rare in Hittite: a-an-ši ‘he wipes’ (and other forms of this verb anš-), the noun anšaššiwi- ‘corpse(?)’.

An \( n \) can arise where it is etymologically unjustified by remote assimilation to another nasal preceding or following in the word (Oettinger 1994; Kimball 1999: 318–19): ḫaššananza for ḫaššanaz ‘from the family’, tethšananza ‘with thunder’,\(^{80} \) ḫantešnaz ‘from the hole’ for ḫettešnac, naẖšarantan for naẖšaratatt ‘fear’ (sg. acc. of naẖšaratatt), li-in-kán-ta KUB 13.35 i 9 for correct li-in-kat-ta ‘he swore’ (HE §31b); tanantezzi for tannattezzi or tannattešzi ‘it will be laid waste’ (Riemschneider 1970: 32). See further §4.110 (p. 129).

\(^{78} \) Goetze 1930b: 5–6, with many exx.; HE §§31, 36. But the claim for ḫalkim pianzi (with dupl. ḫalkin pianzi) in Laws §112 has recently been rightly questioned by Otten (1990), who argues from a duplicate that ḫal-ki-im should be read ḫal-qi-im, i.e., as an Akkadian genitive.

\(^{79} \) Kept distinct from ḫaške-, the imperfective stem of ḫaš(š)- ‘to give birth’ and ḫačeške-, that of ḫaš(š)-laḥš ‘to open’.

\(^{80} \) For an alternate account of the ablatives in -anza see Jasanoff 1973.
1.122. *mn > mnn > mm*  
*m* is geminated before *n* (spelled -Vm-nV- or -Vm-mV-nV-) and then the sequence -mnn- is often simplified to -mm- (see AHP 152–53 with refs.) and even written -m- (as in šu-mu-ma-ah ‘unite!’ in KUB 29.1 ii 43; see §2.47, p. 60): pl. d.-l. of NINDA šaram(a)n- (a type of bread) is ša-ra-am-na-aš, ša-ra-am-ma-na-aš, and ša-ra-am-ma-šaš (see §4.69, p. 108); with the suffix -uman- (§2.45, p. 60) we find Šutummanaš ‘the man of Šuta’ and tameummaḫḫ ‘to make (of) another’ and tameummešš ‘to become (of) another’ from the adjective tameum(a)n- ‘(belonging to) another’.

1.123. *mn > nn* does not exist in Hittite. The genitive ḫilannaš in Laws §82 and §89 was derived by Friedrich (1959) from ḫilamnaš, genitive of ḫilammar ‘portico’, but by Laroche (1957a: 18–19) from unattested *ḫilatar. The former solution is unlikely, since one would have to assume *mn > mm* and *mn > nn* in the same language during the same time period.

1.124. Possible partial assimilations such as nt > nd are masked by the lack of a means in Hittite cuneiform for showing the voiced-voiceless distinction in the obstruents when they directly follow another consonant (-an-ta- and -an-da- are in free variation).

**Dissimilatory Changes**

1.125. *dt/tt > zt*  
Hittite preserves a PIE rule by which the first of two dental stops is dissimilated to an affricate [ts]. It is by this change, e.g., that /e:d-tu/ ‘let him eat’ appears as [e:tstu], spelled e-ez-(za)-du or redundantly as e-ez-za-aš-du (see §12.3 [p. 187] for further examples). This affricate was also retained even in cases where the following dental stop was itself assimilated to an affricate, producing an unusual geminate affricate. Thus /e:d-tsi/ ‘he eats’ appears as [e:ts.tsi], spelled e(e)-(za)-zi.

1.126. *uw > um*  
A word-internal sequence -uw- is dissimilated to -um-, as seen in the first-plural verbal endings -mani, -meni, and -men and the verbal substantive ending -mar and infinitive ending -manzi (see §§25.2–25.3, p. 330), which take the place of regular -wani, -weni, -wen, -war, and -wanzi in the nu-causative verbs (HE §29a; Otten and Souček 1969: 78–79): warnu- + -weni > warnu(m)eni, in the verb au-/u- ‘to see’ in umeni ‘we see’ and aumen ‘we saw’ (OS), ešḫarnu- + -wāi- > ešḫarnumāi- ‘make blood-red’ (Melchert 1984b: 27), and possibly also in the bird name tarumaki- ‘woodpecker(?)’ from taru- ‘wood, tree’ + waki- (see wak- ‘to bite’) (see also below p. 63, n. 28, §11.22 [p. 186], §§12.44–12.47 [pp. 210–211]). This dissimilation also affects the secondary sequence -uw- in forms like tarnum(m)eni ‘we leave’ < tarn-umeni to tarn(a)- ‘to leave’. For the source of -uw- in these cases see §1.82 (p. 34). Third-plural present forms like arnuwanzi and participles like arnuwant- are not counter-examples, since

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81. This rule is usually characterized as ‘s-epenthesis,” but as per Werian Merlingen and others is more accurately viewed as dissimilation (see Melchert 2003c: 154, with references).
83. Already in OS in a-ú-me-en.
these represent \( \text{arnu} + \text{-anzil-ant} \) without inherent \( \text{-w} \), and the rule does not apply to a secondary \( \text{-w} \) inserted to fill a "hiatus" in a sequence \( \text{-uV} \). The rule also does not apply in secondary sequences of \( \text{-uw} \) occurring at a clitic boundary, thus \( \text{pāndu-wa-z ašandu} \) KBo 3.1+ ii 13 (ed. THeth 11:28–29).

1.127. \( \text{wu > mu idālu-} \) ‘bad’ forms its pl. nom. com. as \( \text{idālaweš} \), but its acc. pl. com. as \( \text{idālamuš} \), and the pl. acc. com. of \( \text{newa-} \) ‘new’ is \( \text{ne-mu-uš} \). Similarly, in texts from MH into the 13th century the pl. acc. of \( \text{šiu-} \) ‘deity, god’ is \( \text{šimuš} \) \( = \text{šiwaš} \) (Neu 1974: 121–22 with notes). Along with HE (§§29, 75, 169, 174) and Otten and Souček (1969: 57), we regard this as a true dissimilatory sound change (“Lautwechsel”) against Neu (1974: 121–22), who maintains that this writing is a “graphic substitute” (“Ersatzschreibung”) and indicates a pronunciation \( /\text{siwus}/ \), not \( /\text{simus}/ \). See other unusual pl. acc. com. forms such as \( \text{zašḫimuš} \) ‘dreams’ \( (< \text{zašḫai}) \), \( \text{laḫḫemuš} \) ‘errands, trips’ \( (< \text{laḫḫa}) \), \( \text{šallamuš} \) \( < \text{šalli} \) ‘big’ (see p. 95, n. 76).

1.128. The opposite of remote assimilation, namely, remote dissimilation (Oettinger 1994: 310–14), occurs in the following examples:

1. \( n-m \ > \ l-m \ lāman \ ‘name’ \ (\text{< pre-OH *nāman}) \), \( \text{lammart} \ ‘hour’ \ (\text{< pre-OH *nammar}) \), perhaps also \( \text{lē} \ ‘let not’ \ (\text{< pre-Hittite *nē}) \) arising from combinations \( \text{lē} \text{-man} \) and \( \text{lē} \text{-mu}. \)

2. \( m-n \ > \ m-l \ irmanant- \ ‘having sickness’ \ (§2.24, p. 56) \ > \text{irmalant-} \ ‘sick, ill’.

3. \( l-l \ > \ l-r \ ḫapalzil \ (\text{kind of stew?}) \ > \text{ḥapalzir} \).

4. \( r-r \ > \ r-n \ *urāri \ > \text{OH ú-ra-a-ni} \) and post-OH \( \text{wa-ra-a-ni} \) ‘it burns’, and \( \text{wa-ra-a-nu} \ ‘let it burn’ \ from the verbal stem \( \text{war-} \) and the medio-passive endings \( \text{-ari} \) and \( \text{-aru} \).

Loss (Deletion) of Consonants

1.129. There are some examples of sporadic loss of stops in the middle of sequences involving sonorants: e.g., \( \text{kišnu}-(2x) \) for \( /\text{kistnu-}/ \) (usually written \( \text{kištanu} \) ‘to extinguish’), \( \text{ḫinnuzi} \) for \( \text{ḫinganuzi} \) \( (/\text{hinknutsi}/) \) ‘makes to bow’, \( \text{ḫamanzi} \) for \( \text{ḫamangazi} \) \( (/\text{hamanktsi}/) \) ‘intertwines’. For further examples, see AHP 166–67. There are too many examples for them all to be due to scribal errors.

1.130. There are genuine examples of sporadic loss of \( /s/ \) before \( /ts/ \): \( \text{a-ar-zi} \) for \( \text{a-ar-aš-zi} \), \( \text{pa-ap-pár-zi} \) for \( \text{pa-ap-pár-aš-zi} \), \( \text{ták-ki-iz-zi} \) for \( /\text{ták-kī-īš-zi}/ \), \( \text{ta-pu-uš-za} \) for \( \text{ta-pu-uz-zu} \). For reasons against assuming this loss in pres. sg. 3 verb forms in \( -e(z)zi \) (Riemenschneider 1970: 65), see Watkins (1973), who showed that these belong to stative verbs in \( -e- \) (§10.11, p. 177).

1.131. There are a few instances that suggest a genuine if sporadic deletion of \( ħ \) next to stop: \( \text{idālawatti} \) beside \( \text{idālawahti} \) ‘you harm’, and \( \text{warput} \) for expected \( *\text{warphut} \) ‘Bathe!’ for which Neu (1968b: 191) compares \( \text{ši-ip-pa-an-du-un} \) Bo 2738 iv 5 (now

84. Goetze 1927: 120 n. 4; Sommer and Falkenstein 1938: 76 n. 1; HE §29b; Melchert 1984b: 22–23.
There was a weak articulation of intervocalic and preconsonantal r, causing sporadic nonrepresentation in writing (HW §30b; EHS 65–70; AHP 125). Intervocalic: pé-an for pé-ra-an ‘before’, TÚG kueššar for TÚG kureššar (a garment), pu-u-ut for purut ‘mud’. Preconsonantal: wagganteš for warkanteš ‘fat ones’, artarti- for artarti- ‘mushroom(?)’. To these one might also add: naḫšarnuške ⸗ wa⸗ an kuieš uritenuške ⸗ war⸗ an kuieš ‘[those who] were frightening [him], those who were terrifying him’ KUB 60.157 iii 7–8, where one expects the third preterite plural ending -er. The loss in this case and in a(r)tarti- may be dissimilatory, but the loss of r before w could also be compared with nw > w (§1.135). This might explain the use of the prop vowel i in kaniriwant- ‘thirsty’ (Elisabeth Rieken, pers. comm.). The appearance of the quotation particle as -wa- before a consonant may be a regularization of the preconsonantal loss of r (see §28.4, p. 354).

Final r was lost prehistorically in final position after an unaccented vowel (Neu 1982; Melchert 1988b; Yoshida 1990: 108–12). Most cases of preserved final -ar reflect original syllabic *r. Old Hittite reflects this contrast in plural paprāta beside singular paprātar ‘impurity’, miyata alongside miyātar ‘prosperity’, ḫatrešša alongside ḫatreššar ‘message’, kušduwāta ‘slanders, false accusations’, sullāta ‘disrespectful acts’; ḫa-an-ne-eš-ša-še-et, [pār-t]-a-a-a-ši-it-wa, ḫa-at-ta-ta-mi-it. Compare also plural UZU happešša (also written UZU.UR.HI.A-ša) alongside singular UZU happeššar ‘body part’. This occurs even when the “final” r is protected by a suffix: ḫattata-⸗ mit ‘my wisdom’ (Sommer and Falkenstein 1938: 179). This loss probably also accounts for the appearance of the quotation particle -wa as -wa- in final position (see §28.4, p. 354) (cf. Goetze and Pedersen 1934: 30–32; Sommer and Falkenstein 1938: 66).

A prehistoric loss of intervocalic *y is still reflected in the oblique forms of i-stem adjectives such as sg. gen. šallaš (see Sommer 1932: 357 with lit., Melchert 1984b: 44–45, and §4.37, p. 94) and in OH medio-passives such as nel(-e)-a ‘turns’ (see §1.142, p. 48).

In certain circumstances n is lost before immediately following h, k, t, w, or z (Kimball 1999: 316–19; see also Goetze 1930b: 5–6, with many exx.; HE §§31 and 36). Ɔ: ša-a-ah (imp.) for ša-an-ah ‘seek’; k: ḫi-kán-ni KBo 3.36 i 9 for ḫinkani, li-ku-wa-an-ni KUB 9.31 i 42 for linkueni ‘we will swear’, ma-an-ni-ku-wa-an IBoT 1.36 i 17 (MH/MS) for manninkuwai ‘near’, pa-ga-u-wa-aš KUB 24.13 iii 23 for pangawaš ‘of the multitude’, LÜ.MESša-ku-ni-e-š KUB 39.71 i 5 as plural of LÜ.sankunni ‘priest’, za-ki-la-tar KUB 42.91 iii 8 for zankilatar ‘compensation’; t: ḫu-u-ma-da-az KUB 13.2 iii 35 (MH/NS) alongside ḫumandaz, u-e-eš-ša-ta HT 1:30 with dupl. u-e-eš-ša-an-ta KUB 9.31 i 37 ‘they clothe themselves’, iš-ḫu-uz-zi-ya-te-eš KUB 9.31 i 39 with dupl. iš-ḫu-u-zi-ya-an-te-eš HT 1 i 32 ‘belted’, ši-ip-pa-ti KUB 6.46 i 60, 64 (NH) for sip-pantti ‘he offers’; also across word boundary: ki-iš-ša te-ez-zi ‘thus he says’ (for kiššan tezzi) (Kümmel 1967: 17); w: ma-a-wa < mān-wa ‘when/if (+ quotation particle)’ KUB...
36.45:2 and passim; 

\[ \text{z: } \text{li-in-ga-zi < linkanzi 'they swear', } \text{ša-an-ža-zi < šanhæntzi 'they seek'}; \ \text{UN.MEŠ-an-na-za < antuḫšammanza (ergative of antuḫšætar) KUB 1.1 i 30. Since these spellings alternate with ones showing the } n, \text{ it is possible that the nasalization was preserved in the preceding } a \text{ vowel and not entirely lost. We cannot decide this question from the orthography.} ^{85} \text{ In any case, the alternate spellings without } n \text{ are too frequent to be emended as scribal errors.} \]

\[ \text{LÚḫalugatallatin < ḫalugatallan-} \text{tin 'your messenger' in VBoT 1 obv. 19 may show the same loss or instead assimilation of } \text{-nt- to } -\text{tt- at a clitic boundary. See for such assimilations §§1.118–1.119 (p. 43) and §6.5 (p. 140).} \]

\[ \text{Epenthesis 1.136. A secondary sequence } [ns], \text{ usually resulting from an earlier syllabic nasal plus } s, \text{ appears in Hittite as } nz, \text{ contrasting with assimilation of original */NnsV/ to } /\text{VssV}/ \text{ (AHP 121): } \text{*nsós > *ansás > anzâš 'us'. Similarly, liquid (I or r) + } s \text{ alternates with liquid + } z \text{ in some cases: } \text{*Gulšēš and (verb) gūš- alongside noun gūži-, nom. gūžatār IBoT 3.101 obv. 4, abl. gūžattānaza; as well as in } \text{maršaštarri- and marzaštarri-,} \]

\[ \text{Pahḫuršēš and } \text{Pahḫuršēš, piršahlhanna and pirzahlhanna, } \text{arzana and } \text{aršana, } \text{nâhzi and } \text{nâhzi \text{ (Carruba 1966a: 36; AHP 121), gûršipī- and } \text{gurzpant-. The status of the } z \text{ in such examples is not clear. It may stand for } [ts], \text{ reflecting epenthesis of } r \text{ in sequences of sonorant plus } s \text{ (AHP 121), or it may represent a voiced fricative } [z], \text{ showing sporadic assimilation of } [s] \text{ to the preceding sonorant. The latter alternative is supported by the alternation of } s \text{ and } z \text{ in } \text{š(a)mankurwant- 'bearded' and } \text{z(a)mankur 'beard' (AHP 94), which appears to show sporadic assimilation of } [sm-] \text{ to } [zm-] \text{ (contra AHP 172). See Oettinger (1994: 322), however, for an explanation of } \text{z(a)mankur in terms of epenthesis.} \]

\[ \text{Other Alternations 1.137. The apparent word-internal alternation of } s \text{ and } z \text{ in } \text{zašḫai- and zazḫai- 'dream' (HE §27 c, with literature) is to be interpreted as showing alternate graphic representations of initial /tsh-/ , i.e., a sequence of affricate [ts] + fricative [x] (Elisabeth Rieken, pers. comm.). Likewise, initial } \text{zašk/g- represents /tsk-/: (1) in the rare imperfective stem } \text{zašk- to } \text{dai- 'to put' (see p. 34, n. 60) without anaptyxis vs. regular } \text{išk-; (2) in } \text{zašgaraiš 'anus' (lit., 'feces-mouth'). In the latter, original initial } \text{*sk- has for some unknown reason become } /\text{sk-} \text{ instead of regular } \text{išk- with prothesis (see } \text{išgašuwant- 'covered with dung'). The same development is seen in } \text{z(a)kkar beside regular } \text{šakkar 'dung' (see AHP 121).} \]

\[ \text{1.138. One occasionally finds } k \text{ for } h \text{ and vice-versa when either is in contact with a sibilant, an interchange that suggests a partial neutralization in this environment:} \]

\[ ^{85} \text{Possible support for the presence of a nasalized vowel may be found in the spelling } \text{ge-em-zu (KBo 5.3 i 24) for } \text{ge-en-zu 'lap; mercy', where an etymological } m \text{ is extremely unlikely (see Weitenberg 1984: 165). The example } \text{hu-in-pa-an (KUB 33.36 iii 4) for usual } \text{hu-im-pa-an suggests the same reduction to a nasalized vowel also before a labial stop.} \]
The sequence *nu* can appear haplographically as *nu* in: *kištanun* KUB 27.67 iii 11 for *kištanunun ‘I extinguished’, *mernun* KUB 13.35 i 28 for *mernunun ‘I caused to disappear’. Such haplography is not, however, limited to *nu*: *kap-pu-u-wa-ar ‘counting’ HKM 21:6 (MH/MS) < *kappuwawar, arkuwar ‘plea’ < *arkuwawar. On haplography at Mašat see Hoffner forthcoming.

Metathesis of *š* and *p* is possible in the passage of Akkadian loan *LÚ_a-pí-ši* (§4.16, p. 86) (Kümmel 1967: 95–96), as well as Akkadian/Hurrian and Hittite *guršip-/gurzip-/gurpiši*- (Kümmel 1967: 105–6). Metathesis of *š* and *r* is attested in the alternation *ašara/i*- and *araša/i*- (HED A 128–29). Forms like OH *e-uk-ši ‘you drink’ alternating with post-OH *e-ku-uš-ši* (/ekwš/) reflect not metathesis but the uncertainty of the scribes as to how to write a unitary labio-velar consonant [kʷ]. See also *tar-uk-zi* for /tarkwzi/, elsewhere written *tar-ku*(uz)-zi.

Consonants. All voiceless obstruents, both glides (*w* and *y*), and all sonorants except *r* occur word-initially (on the neutralization of voicing in word-initial and word-final stops see §1.86, p. 36). The affricate /ts/ and the fricative /s/ appear freely in word-final position; /h/ occurs principally in the imperative second singular of verbs with stems ending in *ḫ*. Word-final /n/, /l/, and /r/ are common; there is no final /m/. The glides /y/ and /w/ occur word-finally if one interprets diphthongs as consisting of vowel plus glide. The nature of the cuneiform writing system makes it difficult to determine the status of consonantal sequences. For a mere attempt to sketch some of the possibilities see AHP 110–14.

Vowels. Most Hittite vowels occur freely in word-initial and word-final position. For possible restrictions see AHP 114. *Hiatus*—i.e., a sequence of two vowels not forming a diphthong—is relatively rare in Hittite. The most common example is the sequence [-e-a-] in cases such as *ne-(e-)a(-ri) ‘turns’ and *kur-e-aš ‘of the lands’. But there is a tendency for this hiatus to be filled with *-y-, and one also frequently finds forms such as *ne-ya-ri* and *ut-ne-ya-aš* (see Melchert 1984b: 46–47, with references). Still another likely case consists of the sequences *-a-(e-)eš* and *-a-*uš* in the pl. nom. and acc. com. of i-stem adjectives with ablaut (§3.37, p. 78), such as *šal-la-(e-)eš* and *šal-la-uš ‘great’. They are probably pronounced as [sal.la.e:s] and [sal.la.us], but absolute proof is not possible. For other, more dubious cases see AHP 115. For the adjective *šu-u*(u-)*uš ‘full’ see §1.8, p. 12.

86. For this and some other examples as reflecting a change *kr > hr* see now Oettinger 2000a.
1.143. It is impossible to determine whether sequences of /i/ and /u/ followed without written glide by a different vowel are always pronounced with an intervening glide as [iyV] and [uwV] or are sometimes pronounced with hiatus as [iV] and [uV]. The spelling ši-eš-ša-ni-it alongside ši-i-e-eš-ša-ni-it for ‘with beer’ (ins.) may represent a genuine alternate pronunciation [si:e:ssniT] alongside [siye:ssniT] or merely another spelling for the latter. Likewise, kap-pu-ez-zi alongside kap-pu-u-(e)-ez-zi ‘counts’ may stand for [kapu.e:tsi] or [kapuwe:tsi], and pa-ri-an alongside pa-ri-ya-an for [pari.an] or [pariyan]. The occasional insertion of a glide in vowel sequences at clitic boundary (e.g., tak-ku-wa-at KBo 6.2 ii 35 [OS] for takku-at or ša-ah-ḫa-ny-a-aš Ḥatt. iv 85 [NH] for šaḫḫani+aš) also does not prove that all such sequences were pronounced with an inserted glide.

Onomatopoeia

1.144. Onomatopoeia is difficult to identify, even in a living language. Nevertheless, there are nouns for natural phenomena (storms), animals, or musical instruments that appear to imitate the sounds made: ḫaršiḫarši- ‘thunderstorm’, akuwakuwa- (name of a small amphibian), šaluwašaluwa- and kallikalli- (names of birds named for the repeated call they make), ḫuḫupal- (percussion instrument; see §2.19, p. 54), galgalturi- (percussion instrument). These examples share the feature of reduplication (§§2.56–2.57, p. 62), a universal characteristic of onomatopoetic words. A few of the reduplicated verbal stems (§§10.3–10.5, pp. 173–174) may therefore imitate the sounds they denote, such as ḫaḫḫarš- ‘to laugh’, tetḫa- ‘to thunder’, and taštašiya- ‘to whisper’. Compare the archer-hunter who utters the repetitive cry ee ee of his prey (§24.11, p. 320, and §1.8, p. 12).

Accent

1.145. Our knowledge of the Hittite accent is quite limited. Some scholars have proposed that plene spellings (see §1.46, p. 25) directly mark the position of the accent (Hart 1980; Carruba 1981). However, we subscribe to the view that plene spellings for the most part directly indicate vowel length. Nevertheless, vowel length may indirectly show the place of the accent in that prehistoric long vowels were preserved and short vowels lengthened under the accent (see, e.g., Kimball 1983; Eichner 1980 150–64). Drawing inferences about the accent in this way faces several problems. First, the use of plene spellings is far from consistent. Second, it is by no means assured that indication of vowel length is the only function of plene spellings (again see §1.46, p. 25). Third, there is no guarantee that the accent in attested Hittite has consistently remained

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87. To further complicate matters, in many instances we also cannot exclude that it is the high vowel that is lacking: either ši-eš-ša-ni-it or ši-i-e-eš-ša-ni-it (or both) could be interpreted as spoken [sy:essniT].
88. For an onomatopoeic verb ‘to whistle’ in Hattic see Singer 2002a.
89. It at least seems clear that, when a word contains two plene spellings, one of the instances cannot reflect the accent: e.g., idālawēš ‘evil’ (pl. nom. com.). Such examples are far from rare.
in the prehistoric position which led to the supposed lengthening effects. In sum, there is a high degree of circularity in the reasoning just described. All statements about the position of the accent in Hittite should be viewed with this caveat in mind.

1.146. There are a significant number of examples in both nominal and verbal inflection where the position of the Hittite accent as reflected by plene spellings matches that reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European and where, consequently, it is widely assumed that Hittite has preserved the inherited accentual pattern. For example, Hittite sg. nom.-acc. tēkan vs. sg. gen. taknāš, sg. d.-l. taknī ‘earth’ (see §4.71, p. 110) appears to continue directly PIE *dhēghōm vs. *dhēgh-’ with mobile accent (for the PIE inflection of ‘earth’ see Schindler 1967). Likewise, ēšzi ‘is’ vs. ašānt- ‘being’ < *h₁ēsti vs. *h₁sōnt- (see Oettinger 1979: 86–98). For the accompanying stem variation known as “ablaut” see §3.37, p. 78). We will call attention to cases on which there is widespread agreement, but readers should not infer that there is any consensus on the position of the accent in general.
Chapter 2

NOUN AND ADJECTIVE FORMATION

2.1. The Hittite lexicon includes the following parts of speech: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numbers, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, and particles. Of these, only nouns, adjectives, and verbs show productive patterns of stem formation.

2.2. Nominal and verbal stem formation in Hittite, as in other older Indo-European languages, generally consists of addition of a derivational suffix to a root or to a stem consisting of a root plus one or more suffixes: e.g., ḫark- ‘to perish’ > ḫark-a- ‘ruin, destruction’ and > ḫark-nu- ‘to cause to perish, destroy’; išpant- ‘to libate’ > išpant-uzzi- ‘libation’ > išpantu-zi-aššar- ‘libation vessel’. However, Hittite also shows significant traces of the PIE phenomenon widely known as the “Caland System” (see Meier-Brügger 2000: 271–72, 2003: 288–91). However it is to be explained historically, this process appears descriptively as derivation by substitution: i.e., the (final) suffix of the base is deleted with the addition of another suffix. This happens most typically when the base is an adjective, and Hittite shows many cases with stems in -u-, -i-, and -ant-.

Examples with -u-: park-u- ‘high’ > parg-ašti- and parg-atar ‘height’, also park-nu- ‘to make high’ and park-ešš- ‘to become high, tall’. Examples with -i-: pali-i- ‘wide’ > pali-ašti-, pali-atar and pali-eššar ‘width’, also pali-ešš- ‘to become wide’; parku-i- ‘pure, clear’ > parku-e- ‘to become clear’ and parku-nu- ‘to purify’. Examples with -ant-: ḡappin-ant- ‘rich’ > ḡappin-aḫḫ- ‘to make rich’ and ḡappin-ešš- ‘to become rich’; papr-ant- ‘impure, guilty’ > papr-e- ‘to be proven guilty by ordeal’. On the model of the examples with -ant-, Hittite also extended this pattern to the suffix -want- (see Melchert 1984a: 80): mišri-want- ‘splendid, perfect’ was reinterpreted as mišriw-ant- before -ant- was deleted in the formation of mišriw-aḫḫ- ‘to make splendid, perfect’. For more examples see the respective paragraphs on specific nominal and verbal derivational suffixes. Since the pattern with substitution was synchronically irregular for (pre-)Hittite speakers, suffix addition—not replacement—being the regular pattern, one also predictably finds examples of the same suffixes with the regular process of addition: ḫatku- ‘narrow’ > ḫatku- ešš- ‘to become narrow’, uktūri- ‘long-lasting’ > uktūri(y)-aḫḫ-

1. Negations (such as ‘not’) and preverbs (such as ‘up, down’) are here subsumed under adverbs, although in the body of this grammar the latter will often be referred to under the more explicit term “preverb.”
2. For verbal stem formation see chapter 10.
3. Our goal here is to describe the situation within Hittite. We make no attempt to distinguish between inherited examples and innovative examples modeled on the former.
2.3 Noun and Adjective Formation

‘to make long-lasting’ nakkī- ‘important’ > nakkı(y)-atar ‘importance, dignity’, mayant-‐ ‘young’ > maya(n)d-atar ‘youth’ and mayant-ahḫ- ‘to make young’.

2.3. Noun and adjective stems can be subdivided into derived and underived. In using the term “underived,” we intend no claim as to the word’s status in pre-Hittite—only that within the historical period of Hittite there existed no more basic form from which the word in question was derived. We also include possible loanwords in this category, since they too bear no Hittite derivational suffix. What follows is a brief orientation to the most important classes of underived stems and a survey of productive suffixes. The last comprehensive treatment of Hittite nominal stem formation is EHS. See also the valuable discussions of selected stem classes in Weitenberg 1984 and Rieken 1999a.

Underived Stems

2.4. The largest class of underived stems ends in -a- (see EHS 165–66). A few of these continue PIE o-stems (Kammenhuber 1969c: 279–80; Szemerényi 1996: 182–85; Meier-Brügger 2000, 2003: F309, F311). The majority of adjectives in PIE were o-stems (Meier-Brügger 2000: 201; 2003: 218), which are continued by Hittite a-stems.


2.8. Assured loanwords among common gender a-stems are relatively few: for example, ḫarzana- < Akkadian arzanna ‘groats’ (Hoffner 1974), ᾬU.SANG.kumra- < Old Assyrian kumru (Otten 1990b) = ᾬGUDU₂ (Hoffner 1996a). Less certain are: ᾬḫatwaya- (a cult functionary), perhaps < Hattic ḫatweš (Soysal 2004: 17, 145, 279, 456), ᾬkippa- ‘reed hut’ < Sumerian (ē.)GL.PAD (see Taracha 2001), and šipa- (a secretion or infection of the eye) < Akk. šipu (see Fincke 2000).

2.9. Because in post-OH many nouns which were originally not i-stems took on i-stem appearance in the nominative and accusative due to the so-called i-mutation (see
§4.17, p. 86), we limit our list of underived -i-stems here to those that show exclusively i-stem inflection.


2.14. Loanwords appearing in Hittite as u-stems are quite rare. Only one example is at all likely, the common gender NINDA taparwašu- (kind of bread) < Hattic.

Derived Stems

2.15. Derived nouns and adjectives consist of a root (whether noun, adjective, verb, or adverb) to which one or more derivational suffixes have been added. The resulting combination constitutes the derived stem, to which the case endings are added (HE §§43–53; EHS 160–343; Kammhuber 1969b: 291–300; Berman 1972b; and Meriggi 1980: §§1–4). The following is a list of the principal suffixes for forming derived stems of nouns and adjectives and examples of the resulting forms. Luwian suffixes that occur in Hittite-language contexts are marked with the notation “Luw.”


2.19. The suffix -al- forms neuter instrumental nouns from verbal bases. Some of these are assuredly native Hittite: ardal- ‘rock-cutting saw’ < ard- ‘to saw’, huḫupal- (a percussion instrument) < ḫup- ‘to make a hollow sound’ (imitative, §1.144, p. 49), išḫiyal- ‘band’ < išḫi(ya)- ‘to bind.’ Others are certainly loanwords from Luwian (see §2.55, p. 62): ariyal- ‘basket’ < ariya- ‘to lift’, winal- ‘staff, club.’ Some cases may be either Hittite or Luwian in origin: e.g., tarmal- ‘hammer.’ Some Luwian stems in -al- are borrowed into Hittite as common gender stems with either a-stem or i-stem inflection: e.g., pappaššala/i- ‘esophagus’.

4. We differ from Kronasser (EHS §96), who interprets several these forms as containing a suffix -ḫa-.
5. Berman (1972b: 115–16) adds further examples, including uncertain ones such as kīta-.
6. On the problem of (MUNUS) ḫazgarai ‘female musicians’ to ḫazgara- and šišai ‘tail’ beside šēša- see Oettinger 1995: 214–15. Also relevant is Rieken 2004a: 535, 540, who only cites Rößle on ḫazkara-. Also see §3.21 (p. 72).


2.22. The suffix -an- forms neuter action/result nouns from verbal bases: ḫenkan ‘death’ (< ḫenk- ‘to allot’), naḫḫan ‘fear’ (< naḫḫ- ‘to fear’), mudan ‘garbage’ (< mudāi- ‘to remove’).

2.23. The roles of the suffix -ant-10 are various and complex (HE §48; Melchert 2000: 58–61). We may distinguish the following attested functions of -ant- as a derivational suffix in Hittite.11 First, it is used to form participles (see §§25.39–25.45,

7. Since both stems palša- and *palši- (sg. nom. KASKAL-iš, derived verb KASKAL-šiyahh-) exist for the base noun, both *palšala- and *palšiyala- (CHD P) are possible. The Hittite noun is formed on the pattern of LÚ.KASKAL = Akk. ša ḫarrāni(m) ‘caravan leader’ (OAss, CAD Ḫ 113; AHw 327a sub mng. 4).

8. The hapax puriyalli- ‘lip cover’ is either a scribal error for *puriyalli or a nonce creation based on puriyalli- due to the superficial influence of real nouns in -ul such as išḫiul.

9. See §4.10 (pp. 83–84), with n. 40, and §4.17 (pp. 86–87).

10. Descriptively, in Hittite we can speak of a single -ant- suffix (hence, “the suffix”). Historically, we posit distinct origins for several of the functions. See, for example, Melchert 2000: 58 n. 20 on the different PIE sources for the Hittite -ant- suffix in its participial and possessive uses.

11. In drawing these distinctions we make no claim regarding the prehistoric source(s) of the -ant- suffix. We analyze forms of neuter noun stems ending in -anza and -anteš not as derivational but as examples of the ergative case. See §§3.8–3.9 (pp. 66–67) and §3.21 (p. 72).
2.24. The suffix -ant- also forms possessive denominal adjectives (HE §48 b 1):12 perunant- ‘rocky’ (< peruna- ‘rock’), (NA)a.ku.want- ‘(roads) covered with shells or pebbles (NAaku-), natant- ‘provided with a drinking tube (nata-), TUG kurešnant- ‘wearing a (woman’s) headdress (TUG kureššar), irmanant- ‘having sickness (irman), ill’. The noun utneyant- ‘population, inhabitants’ could also be a possessive denominal adjective in origin ‘(those) possessing the land (utne-)’. The mountain name ḪUR.SAG Tarlipanta may indicate a mountain on which the berries grew from which they made the dark red tarlipa-drink.

2.25. The suffix -ant- also has a delimiting or “individualizing” function (Melchert 2000: 58–61, 68–69). When it is added to names of the seasons, the reference is to a particular instance (Goetze 1951: 469–70): ẖamešẖant- ‘the (next/following) spring’ vs. ẖamešẖa- ‘spring-time (in general)’.

2.26. In a number of adjective and noun pairs, however, there is no longer any discernible difference in meaning between the base stem and the extended stem in -ant-: aššu- and aššu(w)ant- ‘good, pleasant’, ikuna- and ikunant- ‘cold’, irma- and irmellant- ‘ill’, šuppi- and šuppi(y)ant- ‘holy sacred’, dapi- and dapiyant- ‘entire’, šankuniyaššant- ‘priest’, gaena- and gaenant- ‘in-law’, ẖuẖẖa- and ẖuẖẖant- ‘grandfather.’ In the above cases, both short and extended stems of the adjectives and nouns are still attested in Hittite. There are other examples in which only the extended stem in -ant- has been preserved, but the shorter stem must be presumed as a base of other derived forms: see §2.2 (p. 51).

2.27. A few Hittite stems in -(a)n- reflect the addition of a -t- to a stem in -(a)n- (Oettinger 1982a; 2001b). Here belong such examples as išpant- ‘night’ (see Avestan xšapan-) and kanint- ‘thirst’ (see kanin-ant- ‘thirsty’ with the possessive suffix discussed in §2.24).

2.28. The suffix -ašša/i- forms denominal adjectives denoting appurtenance which may themselves become nouns: Ḫilašši- ‘(demon) of the courtyard (ḫila-), Ṭašdulašši- ‘(demon) concerned with sin (wašṭul-)’, Ištamanašša- ‘(deity) of the ear’, Šakuwašša- ‘(deity) of the eye’, URU Tarḫuntašša- ‘(city) of (the god) Tarḫunta’, etc.


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12. See, correctly, Sturtevant and Hahn (1951: §119). Not all such cases reflect participles of intervening but unattested denominal verbs (against Goetze [1930b: 34–35] and others). See on this point Oettinger 1981. Some examples naturally allow for both possibilities: annanuzziant- ‘wearing a halter’ may be derived directly from KUŠ annanuzzi- ‘halter’ or via an unattested verb *annanuzziya- ‘to fit with a halter’, and TUG kurešnant- ‘wearing a woman’s headdress’ either from TUG kureššar or *kurešnāi- ‘to fit with a k’.
nuntariyašḫa- ‘haste’ < nuntariya- ‘to hasten’, armuwalašḫa- ‘moonlight’ < armuwalāi- ‘to shine (of the moon)’, kariyašḫa- ‘compliance, pity’ < kariya- ‘to comply, accede’, maliyašḫa- ‘agreement, concurrence, approval’ (< CLuw mali-/malāi- ‘to think’; see Hitt. malāi- ‘to approve’). The status of the apparent denominal example luliyašḫa- ‘swampland, moor’ < luli(ya)- ‘pond’ and others with no attested base forms, such as ḥapparnuwašḫa- ‘radiance, halo’, karitašḫa- ‘grass(?), and marruwašḫa- (a stone), is unclear.13

2.30. The suffix -ašti- forms common gender nouns to adjectival bases: dalugašti- ‘length’ < daluki- ‘long’, pargašti- ‘height’ < parku- ‘high’, palḫašti- ‘width’ < palḫi- ‘wide’. See also lu(m)pašti- ‘pain, grief’ without known base. The stem vowels of i- and u-stem adjectives are deleted before this suffix (see §2.2, p. 51).


2.39. A linguistic relic which, when added to nouns denoting human (or divine) males, marks the corresponding female is the derivational suffix -(š)šara-. This suffix distinguishes the pairs haššuš ‘king’ and haššuššaraš ‘queen’, išḫaš ‘lord’ and išḫaššaraš ‘lady’, šuppiš ‘holy/consecrated man’ and šuppeššaraš ‘virgin’ (see HE §50a; Laroche 1966: 302–6; EHS 109, 111, 124, 129; Kammenhuber 1969b: 198, 261, 269, 297; 1993 196–98), and the Hittite words underlying ḫaššuš ‘male slave’ and ḫaššuššaraš ‘female slave’. It operates like the English -ess in pairs such as actor: actress, waiter: waitress, and master: mistress. Compare Luwian nan-i-š ‘brother’ and nan-ašr-i-š ‘sister’ (-ašr-). On this element in onomastics see Laroche 1966: 302–6. The source of this suffix is probably an old word for ‘woman’ seen in Luwian *ašr- (base of the derivatives ašraḫit- ‘femininity’, ašrul(-) ‘female, feminine’). The Hittite word for ‘woman’, however, reflects the PIE root *gwen- as does Luwian wanati- (see Starke 1980). On the putative Hittite kuinna- ‘woman’ see Neu 1990; Carruba 1991, 1993a, questioned by Güterbock (1992; 1995c). Puhvel (HED K 306–8) agreed with Güterbock in questioning the philological basis of Neu’s example of kuinna- ‘woman’ but agreed with Carruba’s identification of the adjective kuwanša- and kuwašša- ‘female’ and reconstructed the Hittite noun ‘woman’ as ku(w)an(a)-.

2.40. For -talla- see -(a)t(t)alla- in §2.32.


2.42. The suffix -ul- forms neuter nouns from verbs (for their inflection see §4.66, p. 107): takšul ‘peace, friendship’ < takš- ‘to join’. The a of the verb stem is deleted before this suffix: waštul ‘sin, offense’ < wašta- ‘to miss the mark, sin’, išḫiya- ‘obligation, treaty’ < išḫiya- ‘to bind’, immiul ‘mixture’ < immiya- ‘to mix’, paršiul ‘crumb’ < paršiya- ‘to crumble’, and šešarul ‘sieve’ < šešariya- ‘to sift’. There is one example from an adjective: aššul ‘goodness, favor, well being’ < aššu- ‘good’, and two from nouns: kazzarnul (a textile) < karza(n)- (weaver’s tool)19 and pahljulur (an implement).

17. See the derived verb gême-aššarešš- ‘to become a (female) slave’ for evidence that the noun underlying gême ‘woman slave’ is derived from that underlying lr ‘man slave’. See LH 43, 139, 185–86, 263.

18. This word is not an i-stem (contra Neu apud Rieken 1999a: 470 n. 2317). The correct reading of KBo 44.142 (183/n) rev. 5 is [. . . x NINDA wa-ge-]eš-šar 10-li, not [. . . še-]eš-šar-u-li.

2.43. The suffix -ula- forms common-gender nouns from various bases: ašandula- ‘garrisoning’, pittula- ‘loop’.

2.44. The suffix -ulli- forms neuter instrumental and result nouns from verbs: ištappulli- ‘lid, stopper’ < ištapp- ‘to stop up’, kariulli- ‘body-veil’ < kariya- ‘to cover’, DUG ḫariulli- (a container), kuškušulli- ‘mortar bowl in which foodstuffs are crushed’ < kuškuš- ‘to crush’, ḥuttulli- ‘tuft, something plucked’ < ḥu(i)ttestiya- ‘to pull, pluck’, paršulli- ‘bread fragment’ < parš(iya)- ‘to break’, and pupulli- ‘ruins’ (from an unclear base). The a of the verbal stem -(i)ya- is deleted before this suffix.


2.46. Personal names were often based upon ethnica (see Laroche 1957b, 1966; Hoffner 1998c). These names can use either the Hittite ethnicon -uman- or the old Hattic -il- + Hittite theme vowel -i-. The royal name Šuppiluliuma certainly contains the toponym URU šuppiluliya + the suffix -uman-, and the following personal names may contain that suffix: Šuppiumun, Artumbnun, Zardumanni, Piriyašauna, Naḫuma. The following contain -il-: Ḫattušili ‘(from Ḫattuša)’, Arinnili ‘(from Arinna)’, Nerikaili ‘(from Nerik)’, Gašgaili ‘(from the Kaška people)’, Ḫupešnaili ‘(from Ḫupišna)’, Katapaili ‘(from Katapa)’, Taḫurwaili ‘(from Taḫurpa)’, Ḫanikkuili ‘(from Ankuwa)’, Ḫimuiili ‘(from Ḫemuwa)’, Karahunili ‘(from Karahun)’.

2.47. This same -uman- suffix is preserved in factitive verbs: tameummaḫḫ- ‘to make different’ (*tameuman- ‘belonging to another’ < tamai-), and šumummaḫḫ- (for *šumumanmaḫḫ-) ‘to make (several objects) one (*šumuman-), unify’ (see Rieken 2000b and §9.62, p. 171). These factitive verbs are derived from the zero-grade form of the

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20. Some examples may be collective plurals in -i of noun stems in -ul-.
21. Also attested is an l-stem paršul-. CHD P 192 s.v.
22. See URU Ḫa-at-tu-[š]um-maš KBo 7.14 rev. 3 (OS).
suffix *-um- with assimilation to -umm- (see §1.122, p. 44), whose geminate is not consistently written.

2.48. The suffix -ur- forms neuter nouns from verbs: aniur- ‘ritual’ < aniyu- ‘to perform’, ḫengur- ‘gift’ < ḫenu- ‘to (pr)offer’. Compare also with unclear bases: kudur- (a body part), kurur- ‘hostility’; for the inflection see §4.80 (p. 114). The a of the verbal stem -i(y)a- is deleted before this suffix.

2.49. The suffix -uzzi- forms common-gender and neuter instrumental nouns from verbs: kuruzzi- ‘tool for cutting’ < kur- ‘to cut’, išpanduzzi- ‘vessel for libating’ < išpa- ‘to libate’. The a of the verbal stem -i(y)a- is deleted before this suffix (išḫuzzi- ‘belt, sash’ < išḫiya- ‘to bind’).


2.51. The suffix -(u)war forms the verbal substantive of most verbs (see §11.20, p. 185).

2.52. The suffix -zil- forms result nouns from verbs: šarnikzil- ‘compensation’, tayazzil- ‘theft’.24

2.53. The suffix -zi(ya)- forms adjectives from local adverbs: ḫantezi(ya)- ‘former, first’, appezzi(ya)- ‘latter, later, last’, šarazi(ya)- ‘higher, uppermost’ (< *-tyo- §1.90, p. 37; paradigms in §4.10, p. 84, and §4.38, p. 96).

2.54. Nouns (frequently divine names) ending in -šepa- or -zipa- (Laroche 1947: 67–68) may contain a derivational suffix or be true compound nouns containing a word šelipa- ‘spirit(?)' that is not directly attested.25 For -(n)zipa- alongside -šepa- see §1.136


24. The pl. acc. [ša]r-ni-ik-zi-lu-us KUB 46.42 4v 6, KUB 46.38 i 7, 10 (NH) indicates that at least šarnikzil- had common-gender forms as well as neuter.

25. The word šIPA/-šIPA- once suspected of being this word (see Laroche 1947: 67–68 and AlHeth 84 n. 250) seems to denote a disease of the eyes or an impairment of vision.
2.55  Noun and Adjective Formation

(p. 47). As a suffix (or in a compound) it occurs in daganzipa- ‘earth’ (< tekan, dagan ‘earth’), taršanzipa- ‘platform’, ḫantašepa- (< ḫant- ‘forehead’), ḫilanzipa- (< ḫila- ‘court’), ḫišanzašepa- (< ḫišant- ‘night’), Miyantagepea- (< miyātar ‘fruitfulness’ [r recall stem]), ḫaškašepa- (< ḫaška- ‘gate’).

2.55. Some of the derivational suffixes listed above are either borrowed from Luwian or created within Hittite by modification of Luwian material. Direct borrowings: (1) abstracts in -aḫit- (Starke 1990: 153–76) and (2) participles in -m(i). Modifications: (3) nouns in -alla- and -alli- from the Luwian adjectival suffix -alla/i- (Melchert 2005b) and (4) ‘agent’ nouns in -(a)t(t)alla- from a reanalysis of the same Luwian suffix -allali- (Oettinger 1986a). The new suffix -(a)t(t)alla- spreads at the expense of the native suffix -ala-. In still other cases, a native Hittite suffix is reinforced by borrowings from Luwian: (5) nouns in -al-,26 and (6) genitival adjectives in -aššali-. In these last two types, it is often difficult to decide whether a particular example involves borrowing or not.

**Reduplicated Nouns and Adjectives**

2.56. Hittite and Luwian vocabulary contains a considerable number of reduplicated nouns, verbs, and adjectives (van Brock 1964; EHS 119–22; and Kammenhuber 1969b: 184, §17, 3). For reduplicated verbal stems see §10.3 (p. 173). Reduplication in both verbs and nouns is a feature of PIE (Beekes 1995: 171; Sihler 1995: 487 §443), but the process is also highly productive cross-linguistically. None of the examples below can be shown to be inherited from PIE. Some are probably formed according to inherited patterns, while others are wholly new.


2.58. A special kind of reduplication is what in German is called *Lallwörter* (EHS 117–19), words derived from baby talk (compare in English *Mama*, *Daddy*, *bye bye* and terms for bodily discharges such as *pee pee* and *poo poo*). It is likely that in Hittite such words as atta- ‘father’ (Luwian ṭātali-), anna- ‘mother’, ḫuḫha- ‘grandfather’, and ḫanneḫanne- ‘grandmother’ belong to this class (see also pappa- ‘father’ in the com-

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26. For this type see Starke 1990: 300–342 and Rieken 1999a: 445–58, though Starke wrongly denies and Rieken underestimates the number of native Hittite examples.
pound pappanekneš ‘brothers having the same father’). And since words for body parts are among the first acquired by young children, it is completely possible that several of those listed in the preceding paragraph owe their form to baby talk.

### Compounded Nouns and Adjectives

#### 2.59. Compounded forms also exist (Güterbock 1955; HE §53 a; Hoffner 1966; Kammenhuber 1969b: 183–84; Neu 1986): dāyuga- ‘two-year-old’ (dā ‘two’ + yuga-, §9.3, p. 153), appašiwatt- ‘future’ (āppa ‘after’ + šiwatt- ‘day’), šallakartātar ‘negligence’ (šalla ‘high’ + kart- ‘heart’ + -ātar), zašgaraš ‘anus’ (zaškar ‘excrement’ + aš ‘mouth’), pattarpalḫi- (a bird name: ‘broad of wing’, pattar + palḫi-), annanekes- ‘sisters having the same mother’ (anna- ‘mother’ + negna- ‘sister’), pappanekneš ‘brothers having the same father’ (pappa ‘father’ + negna- ‘sister’), tuzziyašeššar ‘camp/settlement of an army (tuzzi)’; uru-riyašeššar ‘settlement of a city’27 (second component ašeššar ‘settlement’), and possibly tārumaki₆ᵘˢᵉⁿ ‘woodpecker’ (tāru- ‘wood’/tree’ + wak(a)i- ‘biter’ (analysis by Hoffner 1966),28 with uw > um across word boundary [§1.126, p. 44]). The negation nūman ‘not want(ing) to’ (Hoffner 1982) seems to consist of a negative element (nū?) added to the optative man (see CHD sub both man and nūman; see §26.19, p. 344).

#### 2.60. There are also forms that are better described as “univerbations.” The first type consists of nouns with a modifying genitive: LUbarangiyaš išḫaš, LU-mukešnaš EN-aš, LU-bazzivaš iššeš, BINDA šarannaš hališ, etc. (Neu 1986, esp. his table on p. 116). The second type comprises nouns derived from a preverb + verb combination (HE §53 b): LU-peran ḫuyatalla- ‘he who runs before, helper’, parā ḫandandātar ‘divine power, providence, fate, luck’, LU-antiyant- ‘son-in-law who moves in with his bride’s family’ (< anda iya-), kattakurant- ‘(jug) cut off beneath’, šerkurant- ‘(loaf) cut off above’ (Hoffner 1966). The third type is formed by the combination attributive adjective + head noun: UZU-parkui ḫaštai ‘(cut of meat called) pure bone’, UZU-dānḫašti ‘(cut of meat called) second bone’. That all of these combinations were treated as single words is shown by the fact that, when they are marked by determinatives (§§1.39–1.44, pp. 23–24), the latter appear on the preceding genitive or preverb rather than on the head noun.

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27. Friedrich (HW [1952] 299), who was well aware of the syllabic reading ḫappira- for URU, nevertheless listed this word under the URU Sumerogram because he was uncertain of its syllabic Hittite reading. Kammenhuber (1954: 406) and Kronasser (EHS 291) considered it to stand for *ḫappirirašeššar and took ḫappiri as d.-l. of the normal a-stem ḫappira- ‘city’. Neu (1974: 106–7) and Oettinger (1976a: 46) considered it to be based not on a d.-l. but on an alternate stem ḫappiri(ya)-. Although Neu and Oettinger may be right about ḫappiri(ya)- ‘city’, the interpretation of URU-riyašeššar as *ḫappirirašeššar has now been placed in doubt by KBo 27.12 iii 4, a duplicate to KBo 6.34 iii 29, which instead of uru-ya-še-eš-šar reads [...-ḫu-ri-ya-še-eš-šar! This suggests that underlying URU in this word was a word [...-ḫu-ri(ya)-, not *ḫappiri(ya)-.

28. For wagai- with wakin (tārumaki₆ᵘˢᵉⁿ) in the sg. acc., compare the derived action nouns ḫullanzai- and zaḫḫai- with sg. acc. in ḫullanzin and zaḫḫin. See §4.32 with n. 66 (p. 92).
Chapter 3

NOUN AND ADJECTIVE INFLECTION

3.1. Hittite is an inflecting language, marking the syntactic role of verbs and of nominal categories (such as noun, adjective, pronoun, and some declinable cardinal numbers) by word-final suffixes (“endings”). The inflectional categories of nouns, adjectives, and some pronouns are gender, case, and number.

3.2. Gender. Grammatical gender is evident (and pertinent) only in the nominative and accusative cases. Hittite recognizes two grammatical gender classes, traditionally called common and neuter, alternatively animate and inanimate. Characteristics of the Hittite neuter or inanimate nouns are the same features that characterize neuter nouns in other old IE languages: identical forms in the nominative and accusative cases, and a zero ending in the singular (except in a-stems, where the ending is -(a)n).

3.3. Hittite nouns have no formal feminine gender (EHS 106–7). It remains a matter of debate whether this reflects a prehistoric merger of inherited masculine and feminine into a common (or animate) gender (so Kammenhuber 1969b: 253; Harðarson 1994: 32–39, and others) or an archaic system in which there was no feminine distinct from the masculine (so, e.g., Neu 1969: 237–41). Likewise controversial is the suggestion that adjectives of the type dankui- ‘dark’, parkui- ‘pure’, are formal relics of the PIE feminine that have lost their original connotation as feminines (Pedersen 1938: 35–36; see also Kronasser 1966: 107; Kammenhuber 1969b: 253; Oettinger 1987; and Starke 1990: 85–87). In respect to the lack of a masculine-feminine contrast, the Hittite declension of pronouns and substantives resembles that of nouns such as Latin fēlis ‘cat’ and canis ‘dog’, which can be masculine or feminine according to the biological gender of the animal referent (Sihler 1995: 244). See §2.39 (p. 59) for the suffix used by Hittites to designate females -(s)šara-.

3.4. As in other IE languages, there is a broad correlation in Hittite between the grammatical gender of a noun and the animacy of its referent: nouns denoting living beings—divine, human, or animal—are usually common or animate. But as in other systems, this correlation is an imperfect one, and numerous exceptions exist. Nouns

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1. Including the participles as a verbal adjective.
2. There is a special set of case endings for the pronouns, which show different forms for the gen., abl., ins., pl. nom. com., and neut. (see §5.4, p. 133).
referring to inanimate objects may be common or neuter gender. The determining factor is formal, not semantic: certain suffixes or inflectional types belong to a given gender, regardless of the semantic field to which the referent belongs (see §§2.15–2.55, pp. 53–62, for these suffixes). For example, many body parts are common gender, not because they are an inalienable part of the human being and therefore could be argued to be inherently “animate,” but because they belong to the a-stem class, and only common gender a-stems are productive in Hittite (see §§2.4–2.8 [p. 52], §§4.1–4.5 [pp. 79–82]). Hittite also preserves the inherited neuter u-stem genu- ‘knee’ and the neuter root noun ker/kard- ‘heart’, while lišši- ‘liver’ and ḫaršar/ḥaršan- ‘head’ are also neuter (all these belonging to well-attested neuter inflectional types in Hittite). This formal factor overrides the general tendency of nouns referring to humans and animals to be common gender. Of nouns referring to groups of humans, ērin.meš-t- ‘troops’ is common gender, because productive t-stems are common gender, while antuḫšātar ‘people, humanity’, ḫaššātar ‘family’, aššar ‘assembly’, ḫappiriyaššar ‘population of a city’, and MUNUS.meš ḫazkara(i)- (group of female musicians) are all neuter, because the suffixes -ātar and -eššar form neuter nouns, as does -a(i)- when forming collectives. Of nouns referring to groups of animals, ḫuitar ‘wild animals’ and lašši(ḫu)ššar ‘swarm of ants’ are necessarily neuter because of their stems, although their referents are animate.

3.5. The essentially formal basis of grammatical gender described in §3.3 did not prevent speakers from occasionally employing common gender to mark true “animatization,” based on the undeniable widespread correlation of common gender with animacy of the referent. For example, it can hardly be accidental that genu- ‘knee’, a neuter noun, is inflected as common gender only in the phrase ‘the walking knee’ (sg. acc. iyantan genun KBo 40.25 i 24’), where it is being depicted as an active body part. Similarly, in a ritual passage where a house is to be transformed into a ram, the neuter noun per appears as a secondary common-gender sg. nom. parnaš in one version (KBo 10.45 iv 31), in contrast to the ergative parnanza of the duplicate (KUB 41.8 iv 30). Nouns in -aḫit-, -al-, -ātar, -eššar, etc., are formally neuter or inanimate. Nouns in -ala-, -ašša-, -att-, -ima-, etc., are formally common or animate.

4. Nouns in -aḫit-, -al-, -ātar, -eššar, etc., are formally neuter or inanimate. Nouns in -ala-, -ašša-, -att-, -ima-, etc., are formally common or animate.

5. The noun for ‘troops’ is unknown. One possibility might be tuzziyant-, as claimed by Tischler (2001: 222) and others. For although the sg. nom. ērin.meš-az in KBo 17.1 i 30 (OS) would be an unusual spelling for /-ants/, it is not unparalleled (see §1.135, p. 46, and §3.21, p. 72): li-in-ki-ya-az KUB 30.34 iv 7 (MH/NS) is an ergative (Laroche 1962: 26, 32), and MUNUS.meš ḫazkara(i)/ḫazkara(a) are alternate spellings of the ergative of ḫazgarai- (see Hoffner 1998a: 37–40 and §3.9 below [p. 67]).

6. The same principle applies to nouns referring to plants and to all kinds of manufactured items, such as containers, buildings or parts of buildings, wooden and metal tools, and other semantic fields. For convenient lists see Tischler 2001 under the respective determinatives DUG, ū, giš, URUDU, and so on. Compare the well-known example of the German diminutive suffixes -chen and -lein. Since these form neuter nouns, even diminutives referring to people are grammatically neuter: Mädchen ‘girl’, Fräulein ‘young woman’.

7. See the scribal confusion about the same construction in i-ya-an-ni-ya-an (neut.) ge-nu-an (com.) KUB 9.34 iii 37, ed. Hutter 1988: 38–39, 82–83.

8. This is no more remarkable or significant for the overall system than the fact that grammatical gender affects poetic imagery in modern IE languages (e.g., the moon is typically depicted as a female in Romance...
3.6. Since the “gender” opposition in Hittite contrasts only animate and inanimate, there is no formal distinction between masculine and feminine gender, only a derivational suffix -(š)šara- (§2.39, p. 59) used to form nouns denoting human (or divine) females from corresponding male-denoting nouns.

3.7. For two reasons it is necessary to insist on the unremarkable facts cited in §§3.3–3.5 regarding the relationship of grammatical gender and semantic animacy in Hittite. First, misconceptions about the distinction have prevented a proper appreciation of the role of the ergative case (see §§3.8–3.9 below). Second, Starke (1977: 122–26) has incorrectly claimed that in OH there was a grammatical contrast in the behavior of nouns referring to persons and animals (“Personenklasse”) and those referring to inanimate objects (“Sachklasse”). Specifically: (1) case forms in -i of nouns referring to living beings are allegedly attested in OH only in functions belonging to the dative (recipient, goal, and one from whom something is removed), while case forms in -i of nouns referring to inanimate objects occur only in the function of a locative, expressing location (goal for these nouns being marked in OH only by the allative in -a, and place from which only by the ablative); (2) nouns referring to living beings (“Personenklasse”) never occur in OH in the allative, ablative, or instrumental. If the word attaz in KBo 20.31:1 (OS) is a form of ‘father’, as the context suggests, it furnishes direct counterevidence for the second claim. For further evidence refuting both (1) and (2) see the examples cited in the respective paragraphs on the case syntax of the dative-locative (§16.65, p. 257; §16.68, p. 258; and §16.70, p. 259) and the instrumental (§16.107, p. 269).

3.8. “Split Ergativity.” Case syntax in Hittite for the most part operates according to an “accusative” system typical for an IE language: subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs appear in the nominative, while direct objects of transitive verbs appear in the accusative. However, as established by Laroche (1962), when a neuter noun functions as the subject of a transitive verb, it obligatorily takes the form -anza (sg.) or -anteš (pl.) (see further §3.21, p. 72). He properly labeled this form an “ergative,” although his own characterization of its behavior left ample room for doubt. Garrett (1990b) has since demonstrated that Hittite nominal syntax shows precisely the features expected of a language with a “split ergative” system. “Split ergativity” refers to a situation in which a language uses both accusative and ergative patterns of case syntax side by side, the distribution of which can be conditioned by a variety of grammatical factors. We stress that we insist here only on the validity of the split ergative system for attested Hittite. We take no stand on its historical origin (for an alternative to the view presented by Garrett (1990b), compare Oettinger 2001b: 311–12, with refs., and Josephson 2003a and 2004). Furthermore, the status of ergativity in PIE is...
the verb is transitive or intransitive) and as direct objects in the accusative. But neuter nouns follow an “ergative” pattern: they appear in the “absolutive” case as the subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs, but in the “ergative” as the subjects of transitive verbs.12

3.9. Rejection of an ergative case in Hittite has been based on two invalid objections (for both see, e.g., Starke 1977: 182 n. 24):13 (1) Hittite does not show the features of a typical ergative language such as Hurrian; (2) -anza/-anteš belong to a quasi-derivational -ant-suffix that semantically “animatizes” neuter nouns referring to inanimates (when they are functioning in what is loosely labeled an “active” sense). The first of these objections is irrelevant: since Hittite shows split ergativity, where the ergative pattern applies only to a subset of the nominal system, we would not expect it to show the features of a fully ergative language such as Hurrian. The second claim is simply false. As stressed by Hoffner (1998a: 37–40), the noun MUNUS.MEŠ ḫazkaraiyaza / ḫazkaranza just when it is the subject of a transitive verb confirms that the ending -anza marks ergative case. It is illogical to say that -anza here “animatizes” a noun that is already semantically animate. Nor is the notion of being “active” the determining factor. Grammatically neuter nouns referring to persons or things appear in the nominative-accusative (properly “absolutive”) when they are the subjects of intransitive action verbs: ašeššar šarā tiyazi ‘the assembly stands up’, wātar arašzi ‘water flows’. These and other facts confirm that the selection of the endings -anza and -anteš is grammatically conditioned (by neuter gender and subjecthood of transitive verbs) and has nothing to do with semantic animacy. “Ergative case” is the only proper characterization for such a feature.

3.10. Just as formally defined grammatical gender occasionally is employed to mark genuine animacy of a usually inanimate referent (see §3.5), so, unsurprisingly, the Hittites in a few instances also used the available ergative marker for the same purpose, extending its usage in such cases beyond its proper grammatical sphere. For example, in a ritual context where a house is likened first to a ram and then to a ewe, it appears in one version (KUB 41.8 iv 30, 34) as parmanza as subject of both an intransitive and transitive verb. That the ergative may occasionally function simultaneously as appositional direct address without abandoning its ergative role, as in n=ūš attaš nepišanza EGIS-an tarna ‘O father heaven, turn them back!’ is also unremarkable.

3.11. Case. OH distinguishes as many as eight cases of the noun and adjective in the singular and as many as six in the plural (Forrer 1922; HE §§54–56). They are:

an entirely separate issue, on which see, among others, Villar 1983; Luraghi 1987; Rumsey 1987; Comrie 1998; and Oettinger 2001b.

12. For the sake of simplicity, we elsewhere retain the traditional term “nominative-accusative” for the case that should properly be termed “absolutive.”

(1) vocative, (2) nominative, (3) accusative, (4) genitive, (5) allative, (6) dative-locative, (7) ablative, and (8) instrumental. A ninth case, the ergative (§§3.8–3.9 and §3.21), occurs only with neuter nouns. Dative and locative singular have already merged into a common “dative-locative” form in the singular in OH. The plural in OH contrasts nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative-locative, plus ablative and instrumental (but the last two cases show no contrast between singular and plural). The allative and instrumental, productive in OH and MH, survive in NH only in isolated expressions. The common gender nominative and accusative plural also merge in NH. Hittite nominal cases function like those in other case languages: the nominative marks the subject, the accusative the direct object, the genitive possession, the dative-locative the indirect object or place into which, the ablative place from which, and the instrumental means or accompaniment. The OH allative marks only place to which. For the uses of the cases in detail see chapter 16.

3.12. Number. PIE substantives distinguished singular, dual, and plural (Szemerényi 1996: §7.1.3). Animate nouns contrasted a “count” or “distributive” plural with a collective plural (Eichner 1985). The Old Anatolian languages such as Hittite show only indirect traces of the dual. These scattered examples are treated synchronically as collective plurals. Thus, in the declension of substantives and pronouns (for the latter, see chapters 5–8) Hittite distinguishes only singular and plural number. Inflectional endings of the noun, adjective, and clitic pronoun distinguish singular from plural in OH in all cases but the instrumental (ending -(i)t) and ablative (ending -(a)z). The latter two cases are indifferent to number throughout the history of the language. In post-OH the genitive is identical in singular and plural.

3.13. OH also preserves the PIE contrast between a “count” (or “distributive”) plural and collective plural in common-gender nouns (Neu 1969; Eichner 1985; Neu 1992; Melchert 2000). These collective forms have been previously regarded incorrectly as neuters and their occurrence on substantives of common gender as evidence for heterogenericity in Hittite nouns (for heterogenericity see §15.14, p. 240). These examples do not show alternation in gender but rather a contrast in number: *alpa* ‘bank of clouds’ vs. *alpeš/alpuš* ‘(individual) clouds’, *gul-aš-ša* ‘fate’ (of a person) vs. *Guššēš/Guššuš* ‘the Fates’ (goddesses). See Melchert 2000: 62–64 for further instances. There was originally no such contrast for neuter nouns, which had only the collective plural (Eichner 1985). Hittite did develop several devices for providing a count plural for neuter nouns. One such device was to use the only appropriate endings it had—namely, those of the
common-gender nouns: e.g., *luttaesk* and *luttauš* ‘windows’ for neuter *luttai* ‘window’. For the use of a suffix -ant- to show a count plural of collectives see §9.26 (p. 159). The contrast between collective and count plural appears to have been lost by NH, where one finds only singular and plural, with the plural of neuter nouns marked by the endings of the old collective. For the sake of simplicity, the collective endings are for the most part referred to below as “nominative-accusative plural neuter” except in those cases where they clearly belong to common-gender nouns.

**Inflectional Endings**

**The Basic Scheme**

3.14. The following paradigm shows the basic scheme of noun and adjective endings in Hittite. Extremely rare alternative endings have been omitted, as have all except the most straightforward distributional restrictions. For these see the detailed paragraphs which follow the paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Old Hittite</th>
<th>New Hittite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>-š, -∅16</td>
<td>-eš17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>-n, -an (cons. stems)</td>
<td>-uš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>-∅, -n (a-stems)</td>
<td>-∅,19 -a,20,21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>-anza</td>
<td>-antaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>-aš,23</td>
<td>-an, -aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>-i, -ya (i-stems),24</td>
<td>-aš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. Luraghi (1997a: §2.1.6) adds -aš. But what is attested (as a hapax) is only -iaš (see below, n. 31).
18. For the rules governing the choice see §3.16.
19. With and without lengthening of the vowel of the stem. See §3.20.
20. With consonantal stems.
21. Plural nom.-acc. in -a or -i belonging to certain common-gender forms are collectives.
22. The endings -a and -i are used with consonantal stems and -i with verbal substantives. See §3.20.
23. Also -s in *nekac* (§3.22). Some, including Luraghi (1997a: §2.1.6), claim sg. gen. in -an in OH. We have found no unambiguous case in Old Script. See §3.23.
24. OS examples: *ḫu-lu-ka-an-ya (eša)* KBo 17.15 rev! 20 (OS), *ḫu-wa-ši-ya* KUB 28.75 iii 19 (OS), *ta-ki-i-ya* UBU-ri ‘in another city’ KBo 6.2 i 7 (OS), *lu-li-ya* ‘in a vat’ KBo 6.2 i 56 (OS), *śa-ni-ya ii-it-ti* ‘in the same year’ KBo 3.22:10 (OS), *śa-ni-ya ši-wa-ya* ‘in the same year’ KBo 3.22:60 (OS), *lu-ut-ti-ya* KBo 8.74++ iii 20 (OS), KBo 17.74++ ii 5 and passim (OS?, see Konk.), *Ḫal-ki-ya* (paršiya, in sequence with all other DNs in d.-l.) KUB 41.10 rev. 6 (OS), KUB 28.75 iii 25 (OS).
### 3.15. Singular common.

With the exception of a few nouns with stems in -ar- (see §4.82, p. 115) and possibly a few with stems in -zil- (see §4.65, p. 107, for šarrnikzil), all of which take a zero ending, the sg. nom. common-gender ending is /-s/.

On the cuneiform writing of this /s/ on stems ending in nt and Vt, see §1.11 (p. 13) and §1.90 (p. 37).

### 3.16. Plural common.

The OH ending is -eš. In the MH Maṣat letters, the pl. acc. com. ending -uš begins to be used for the nominative (and the pl. nom. com. -eš for the accusative); see Hoffner forthcoming: §54, §56. The ending -aš also appears on i-stem nouns such as ḫalki- 'grain, crop': ḫal-ki III-aš HKM 19:6 (Hoffner forthcoming: §53). Variable use of -eš and -uš for both pl. nom. com. and pl. acc. com. continues into NH, but by late NH (i.e., the reigns of Ḫattušili III, Tudḫaliya IV, Šuppiluliuma II) a stable distribution is achieved (Melchert 1995). The ending -uš becomes the regular ending for a merged pl. nom.-acc. com. for all stem classes, with the following exceptions: (1) u-stem adjectives generalize -aweš (eliminating the irregular pl. acc. com. in -amuš); (2) stems in -i- (mostly -nt-) use -eš with a few exceptions; (3) the

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Old Hittite</th>
<th>New Hittite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voc.</td>
<td>-e, -i, -∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>-az(a), -za</td>
<td>-az(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>-it, -d/ta</td>
<td>-it, -d/ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. See *labarnai* LUGAL-i KUB 2.2 + KUB 48.1 iii 9, *tabarnai* KUB 44.60 iii 15, *MUNUS* tavannana m KBo 17.88 + KBo 24.116 iii 21 (MS), *Mari* KUB 27.67 ii 45, *Urkī* Eblai KBo 32.19 iii 37 (MH/MS). None of these examples is found in OS. For an explanation of this ending see §3.24.

26. The vocative and allative did not exist in the plural.

27. To the extent that a distinctive allative form in -a occurs in NH compositions, it is an archaisms and not a form of current speech. In NH the allative was replaced by the dative-locative.

28. The -aza ending is secondary and not attested in Old Hittite (OS). The ablative and instrumental are indifferent to number.

29. The ending -za is confined to consonantal stems, e.g., ši-it-tar-zā ‘with sundisks’ and ne-pī-iš-zā ‘from heaven’, ē-er-zā ‘from the house’ (§3.26, p. 74).

30. To the extent that the instrumental occurs in NH compositions, it is an archaisms and not a form of current speech. In NH the instrumental was replaced by the ablative.

31. There is a single exception [ḫa-an-te-ezi-aš ‘first, older’] KBo 22.2 obv. 18. The appearance of -iaš for -ieš could show an isolated early example (OS) of the change cited for MH in this paragraph and in §4.19 (p. 87) for NH i-stems (see also §1.68, p. 31), but an archaisms is also possible, as per Neu (1979a: 192).

32. *nuwešmaš* šig₂-andaš 01-pat peḫḫi ‘I do not give them good ones’ KUB 13.35+ ii 8 (Hatt. III), and *duwarinandaš* in iv 12; *šekkandaš* KBo 23.114 obv. 23, 25 (oracle questions about Urḫi-Teššub).

Common-Gender Accusative


3.18. Plural common. The OH ending is -uš. For developments in MH and NH see §3.16.

Neuter Nominative-Accusative


3.20. On the neuter nominative-accusative plural in general in Hittite see Gertz 1982. In older texts we find a zero ending for neuter plural i-stems and u-stems, such as GES îsparuzzi ‘rafters’ and idālu uddār ‘evil words’ (see p. 103, n. 121, and Watkins 1982). There is no tendency to merge neuter nominative-accusative singular and plural (contra Prins 1997), as shown by the fact that in later texts the zero ending is replaced by -a (ḫaliya ‘corrals’, šarliya ‘š.-loaves’, genuwa ‘knees’, idālawa ‘evils’), which is

33. If our claim is valid, one has to assume scribal corruption of the following passage: kāša-wa ammel tuēggaš-miēš ānta ‘Now my body parts are warming up’ VBoT 58 i 24 (OH/NS), where the plene written -mi-e-eš for the pl. nom. com. possessive clitic and the medio-passive pres. pl. a-a-an-ta point to a plural subject tuēggaš.

34. A possible earlier example occurs in MH/MS: kē-ŠA DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-[š] . . . KBo 16.45 obv. 8, which because of kē cannot be read DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-u-[š]. In any event, instances of this writing of the pl. nom. com. ending would be very rare prior to NH.

35. In view of the unambiguous -iš ending on the nouns, it is possible that the attributive adjectives also had this ending, hence, i-da-la-u-i-š and al-wa-an-zi-ni-iš (reading ES as iš, a value that the sign unquestionably has in late NH).
the regular ending for consonantal stems such as šuppala (see §4.64, p. 106), kudurra (see §4.81, p. 114), iškiša (see §4.89, p. 119) and aniyatta (see §4.94, p. 121). The ending -i is attested principally with the verbal substantives of the type arkuwarriḫ isEqual, šāwarri (see HE §185 b 2), and r-stem adjectives and nouns such as zankikalarti=N isEqual, šuppeššarri isEqual, kururi isEqual, ḫalḫaltumari, ḫuppari, and aniuri (§4.84, p. 117; §4.81, p. 114), but we also find aniyatti alongside aniyatta. Some neuter r/n-stems that regularly take a zero ending also show plurals with deletion of the final -r (e.g., kušduwatḥ isEqual ‘calumnies’; see §1.133, p. 46). A few neuter nouns (principally in -r/n-) also directly continue an archaic PIE pattern by which the plural nominative-accusative was distinguished from the singular by a different ablaut pattern (see §3.37, p. 78): singular wādar (written wa-a-tar) ‘water’, plural widār (written ú-i-da-a-ar) ‘waters, (bodies of) water’, singular uttar ‘word, utterance, matter’, plural uttār (written ad-da-a-ar) ‘words’, singular ḫuidar ‘wildlife’ (written variously: collective ḫu-u-i-tar, ḫu-u-e-da-ar, ḫu-i-ta-ar, but never with plene writing in final syllable), distributive plural ḫuidār ‘beasts’ (written ḫu-i-ta-a-ar, ḫu-i-da-a-ar, ḫu-u-i-ta-a-ar, always with plene writing in last syllable; for the forms see HED H 353–54). In all three of the above examples, a collective idea is either possible or explicit in the singular, and an individualizing idea is required for the plural. In the word a-aš-šu-u ‘goods, possessions’, the old plural of the adjective a-aš-šu ‘good’, the plene writing of the final syllable reflects the original presence of a laryngeal (*-uh) (see Watkins 1982 and AHP 86, 131, 184).

### Ergative

#### 3.21. As described in §3.8 (p. 66), when a neuter noun appears as the subject of a transitive verb, it takes an ergative case ending: -anza in the singular (rarely written -az, §1.135 [p. 46]) or -anteš in the plural. In cases where there is a difference between the nominative-accusative and oblique stem in the base neuter noun, the ergative endings are regularly attached to the oblique stem: ḫaštiyanza < ḫaštai-/ḫaštiy- ‘bone’, [ẖuw]alliššananza < ḫuwa-lišš(n)- ‘?’, paḫḫuenanza < paḫḫur/paḥḫu-en- ‘fire’, linkiyanza/linkiaz and linkiyanteš < lingai-/linkiy- ‘oath(-deity)’ (§3.10, p. 67). There are rare exceptions: GIŠ luttanza < luttai-/luttiy- ‘window’. Ergatives built to a collective stem are known in the case of [MUNUS MEŠ ]ha!-az-ka-ra-a-i-ya-za, [MUNUS MEŠ ]ha-az-qa-ra-i-ya-za, [MUNUS MEŠ ]ha-az-ka-ra-an-za ‘female temple musicians’ built to the collective ḫazkarai (for which see Hoffner 1998a), and possibly linkiyanza and linkiyanteš ‘oath-deity/-deities built to the collective kuie MA-ME-TE MEŠ (*lingai) dapianda KBo 16.98 iv 21 (CHD L–N 64 “pl. neut. nom.”) of lingai- ‘oath’. One must be careful to distinguish the ergative endings -anza and -anteš on neuter nouns from the homophonous sg. nom.

36. aniyatta is attested already in OS (see Neu 1983: 15–16 n. 74), while aniyatti is attested only in post-OS.

37. Although in this case the ergative singular ending -a(n)za was selected, in all occurrences the verbs of which the noun is the subject are plurals, showing that the plurality of the referent was kept in mind (see again Hoffner 1998a).
and pl. com. endings of common-gender stems in -ant- (whether these endings are historically related is a separate question, on which see p. 55, n. 11). One must further distinguish the ergative ending -anza when it is spelled without the -n- as -az(a) (see §1.135, p. 46) from the ablative ending (see §3.33, p. 77).

**Genitive**

3.22. **Singular.** For the genitive singular in PIE the endings: -es/-os/-s are posited (Sihler 1995: 248; Szemerényi 1996: 160; Meier-Brügger 2000: 183, 2003: 196). For the Hittite sg. gen. only the ending -aš (from PIE *-os) is widely attested, although there is a rare use of -aš with nekuz in the set phrase nekuz melḫur ‘at twilight time’ (originally *‘time of twilight’) (see Rieken 1999b: 84 with n. 400). Other forms such as ud-az (= šiwaz) ‘in/on the day’ may not be genitives but nominatives. The genitive personal names =Nunnuš and =Taruḫšuš and the DN =Tašammaz of the old language (so Neu 1979a: 185–86 with n. 22) may be relics of such a gen. in -aš (opposed by Melchert 1984a) but pose problems that cannot yet be resolved. See also §4.44 (p. 98) and §4.50 (p. 100) (=sīunzanna- < /siuns/ + /anna-/?).

3.23. **Plural.** In OH there existed a distinct form for the pl. gen., marked by an ending in -an < PIE *-ōm (Laroche 1965; Kommernhuber 1969c: 304–5, 311, 313). It occurs on padānn-a GİR.GUB ‘stool of the feet’ (OS), šiunan antuḫšiš ‘people of the gods’ (OH/NS), šeš.MEŠ-n-a NIN.MEŠ-n-a ištarna ‘among brothers and sisters’ (OH/NS), LÚ.MEŠ hāpiša parna ‘to the house of the ḫ.-men’ (OH/MS), DUMU.MEŠ-an parna ‘to the house of the (royal) children’ (OS), and DINGIR.MEŠ-n-an-a ištarna ‘but (-al-ma) among the gods’ (OS), arāḫzena ša LÚ.KUR KUR-TIM ‘the lands of the surrounding enemies’ (OH/NS). As shown by Laroche (1965: 33–41), some examples of this ending must be interpreted as plurals, and all OH occurrences can be so read. Despite repeated claims, there are no assured OS examples of -an marking genitive singular (LUGAL-an aški in Laws §187 may be ‘to/in the gate of the kings’, see p. 98, n. 89). Apparent examples of -an as a singular in post-OS copies of OH archetypes either are not genitives (see Laroche) or may be errors. One example from a MH text might be explained by a plural conception of the sky, analogous to the plural form in the Semitic languages (Akkadian šamû, WSem šmm): nepišaš [(DINGIR.MEŠ taknaš DINGIR.MEŠ)] ‘the gods of the heavens, the gods of earth’ KUB 26.6.6’–7’ (the duplicate KBo 8.35 ii 10 reads nepišaš DINGIR.MEŠ; cited CHD L–N 448 as either sg. or pl. gen.). Beginning already in OH we find a competing pl. gen. ending -aš, which becomes the only genitive ending in NH. It is impossible to determine whether this ending reflects a merger with the dative-locative plural or the genitive singular.

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38. The first example refutes the claim (Kammenhuber 1969c: 254–55 [§30.2c and 304–5 [§42]]) that the ending was limited to semantically animate nouns.

39. Laroche’s own conclusion (1965: 40) that -an originally had a collective meaning has no basis in fact, as his analysis of the attestations shows, but rests entirely on his erroneous prehistoric analysis of the pronominal pl. gen. ending -enzan. His claim of a prehistoric collective value for -an is refuted by the exclusively plural meaning of the cognate endings Lycian -e and Lydian -av.
Dative-Locative

3.24. Singular. In Hittite the dative and locative, which were formally distinct in both singular and plural in PIE (in sg. dat. *-ei, loc. *-i; in pl. dat. *-bh(y)os, *-mos, loc. *-su, see Szemerényi 1996: 160–61; Meier-Brügger 2000: 183, 2003: 196–97), have merged, ending in -i in the singular, -aš in the plural. The only sg. d.-l. ending in OS is -i. This is the regular ending throughout Hittite. In MH and NH we also find rarely -e: [h]ūmantē-ya HKM 88:5 (MH/MS), KUB 13.2 iv 10’ (MH/NS), and the u-stem forms a-aš-ša-u-e and i-da-la-u-e cited above in §1.61 (p. 28). In the case of a-stems, the stem-vowel is usually deleted before the d.-l. ending -i, but in a few cases we find the ending added to the stem in -a-, producing an ending -ai (e.g., labarnai). This rare ending is a sporadic innovation and does not represent an archaism (so, correctly, Neu 1979a: 188). In some cases it can plausibly be explained as influenced by an immediately preceding i-stem attributive adj. ending correctly in -ai: šallai ūšannai ‘to the great family’. In other cases the a-stem vowel was not deleted in a foreign word or foreign name: URU Ẽblai, ḪMammāi, ḪAprūtai, labarnai, and MUNUS Ẽtawannai (so again Neu 1979a: 188, followed by Miller 2004: 141).

3.25. From a pre-Hittite IE locative in *-wel-on-t-i was derived the infinitive in -wanzi, while the supine in -wan may have been derived from the endingless locative *-wel-on (Laroche 1970: 41–42; Neu 1979a: 189). For another view, deriving the Hittite infinitive from an old ablative, see p. 185, n. 36.

3.26. A zero ending (an “endingless locative,” also posited for PIE by Meier-Brügger 2000: 183; 2003: 196, but not by Szemerényi 1996: 160) also exists for a small group of nouns (Neu 1980, with additions by Oettinger 1982c): šiwat ‘on the day’, dagan ‘on the ground’, nepiš ‘in heaven’, ē-er (*per) ‘in the house’, lamman ‘in/on the name’ (see p. 109, n. 142), keššar ‘in the hand’ (see p. 116, n. 183), and possibly also tapuwaš ‘on the side/rib’ (see p. 118, n. 190) and šš-er (*ker) ‘in the heart’. See below in §3.32 for ablative forms built on the endingless locative, an archaism (Neu 1980): ē-erza (versus parnaz, §3.32, p. 77; §4.115, p. 130), possibly also nepišza (versus nepišaz, §3.32 and §4.89 [p. 119] with n. 197), and ketkarza and tapušza, whose archaic status is shown by the fact that they are attested only as adverbs. For examples and uses see below in chapter 19. The few examples of the dative-locative of u-stems like giš-ru are probably merely scribal errors but in any case do not reflect anything archaic in PIE terms.

3.27. The plural always had only one ending (-aš) throughout the Hittite period.

Vocative

3.28. The vocative proper exists only in the singular. Plural entities are addressed using appositives, often but not always in the nominative (see §16.16, p. 245). A voc.

40. Forms of the dative-locative of the i-stem adjectives šuppai and šallai are not examples of this archaic ending but can be explained in terms of the behavior of i-stem adjectives (see §4.37 and n. 71, p. 94).
(sg.) ending in zero is posited for PIE (see Szemerényi 1996: 160; Meier-Brügger 2000: 183–84; 2003: 196). In Hittite, most common nouns and adjectives (including a few u-stems)\(^{41}\) the vocative appears as the bare stem (i.e., it has an ending in zero). Compare: (a-stems:) \(\text{išḫā-mi} \) ‘my lord’, \(\text{iškur-ta atta-[šu]mni} \) ‘O Tarḫunta, ou[r] father’, (u-stems:) \(\text{Mukišanu} \) ‘O Mukišanu’, \(\text{Ištanui šarku Lugal-ue} \) ‘O Ištanu, pre-eminent king’. In OH, u-stem appellatives and names take the ending -\(\text{i/-e}\): \(\text{dIštanui} \) ‘O Sungod’, \(\text{Lugal-ui} \) (*haššui) ‘O king’ (Neu 1979a: 179; Eichner 1974b: 234–35).\(^{42}\) In at least two cases, a-stem nouns have a vocative in -\(i\) with the a-stem vowel deleted before it: \(\text{atti-[me]} \) ‘O my father’ and \(\text{[riteria-[ni]-mi]} \) ‘O my brother’ (= *negni-[mi] from negna-).\(^{43}\) For a possible third instance (\(\text{lali} \) ‘O tongue’) see p. 81, n. 25, for an alternative explanation. With i-stems the evidence is inconclusive: \(\text{dIštanu [šarku]} \) ‘O Ištanu, great king’, \(\text{dAla} \) \(\text{waimi [-aš namma zaḫḫiškeši]} \) ‘O Alawaimi, don’t fight them any longer’. The enclitic possessive pronouns, which show \(\text{-i/-e}\) vocalization in the vocative: \(\text{išḫā-mi} \) ‘my lord’, \(\text{[alia][xaš-nam-ma-zAHHIŠKEŞI]} \) ‘O Alawaimi, don’t fight them any longer’. The use on vocatives of the clitic possessives in -\(\text{met/-mit}\): \(\text{dIštanu [-met]} \) ‘O my Sungod’, \(\text{en=[met]} \) ‘O my lord’, \(\text{dumum=[mit]} \) ‘O my son’, \(\text{wappum=[mit]} \) ‘O my river bank’), which only occur in MS or NS copies of older texts is based on a misunderstanding of the clitic possessives by copyists who no longer had these as a living part of their language. Such writings do not represent a real usage of any period (see Otten 1973: 55; and §6.11, p. 141). Consonantal stems seem to show both the bare stem and the -\(i\) ending: \(\text{Wišūriyanta} \) ‘O Wisuriyant!’ (read \([wisuriyant/d]\)), but \(\text{pedanti} \) ‘O place!’ and \(\text{Kū.BABBAR-an-ti} \) ‘O Silver!’\(^{43}\)

\(3.29\). No unambiguous example of a vocative form of a neuter substantive is yet known in Hittite. To serve as the vocative of the neuter nouns \(\text{pedan} \) ‘place’, \(\text{nepiš-} \) ‘sky’, and \(\text{Kū.BABBAR-an-ti} \) ‘O Silver!’\(^{44}\) or instead of the vocative they used an appositional direct address, such as in \(\text{n-[uš attaš nepišanza [en]-tarna} \) ‘O Father Sky, release

\(\text{\footnotesize 41. This fact seems to undermine Luraghi’s attempt (1997a: §2.1.6.2) to distinguish u-stems in naming constructions (e.g., \text{rụtutu šum-su} ‘Tuttu is his name’) from u-stem vocatives, since both use the bare stem.}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize 42. See, however, with -\(\text{e}\): \text{dIštanui} \) ‘O Sungod, my lord!’ KUB 31.127 i 1, and}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize 43. Although the break before the form in question might be restored as [\ldots \text{DUMUI=-IŠ}]-\text{KUB 31.127 i 1, KUB 36.18 ii 7 and the form in question understood as a dative concluding the preceding clause.}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize 44. These forms show the vocative ending -\(\text{i}\) with stems in -\(\text{ant}\) either directly or indirectly: directly, if one interprets pedanti- and Kū.BABBAR-an-ti as contemporary examples of the “individualizing” suffix -\(\text{ant}\) (see §2.25, p. 56); indirectly, if one views them as vocatives corresponding to ergatives in -\(\text{anz}\). Regardless of its prehistoric source (on which see the refs. in n. 11, p. 66), sg. erg. -\(\text{anz}\) that marks a subject matches formally the sg. nom. com. of a stem in -\(\text{ant}\). Thus, in cases of genuine personification, speakers could have analogically created vocatives in -\(\text{anti}\) by analyzing ergative -\(\text{ants}/\) as -\(\text{ant}+\) and adding the productive -\(\text{i}\) to the presumed stem -\(\text{ant}\). The absence of assimilation makes it extremely un-}
them’ KUB 15.34 iv 32, where the ergative case ending (-anja) on the neuter noun nepis- is appropriate, since the neuter noun here takes a transitive verb. In the case of Silver, the form addresses a person bearing that name, not the metal itself (see Hoffner 1988b: 163–64). The ‘place’ addressed by the vocative pedanti is to be thought of in some sense as capable of understanding and responding to the address and therefore “animate.” Of the situation in PIE, Szemerényi (1996: 159) writes: “In the neuter, nom. voc. acc. of the same number are not distinguished.”

3.30. Neu (1979a: 178) and Luraghi (1997a: 15 §2.1.6) claim a vocative plural ending -eš but give no example to substantiate it. Nominative pro vocative occurs in rare instances in the singular but so far not in the plural. They may have in mind an example of appositional direct address (§16.16, p. 245), distinct from the true vocative (§16.13, p. 244).

Allative

3.31. Old Hittite had in the singular a noun case ending in -a indicating motion ‘to’, ‘toward’, or ‘into’. The allative is exclusively the case of ‘whither, to what place’, not ‘where, in what place’ (so, correctly, Otten and Souček 1969: 62–63; incorrectly, Kammenhuber 1979a). This case was discovered by Forrer (1928), who called it the “Richtungskasus.” It is sometimes called the “directive” (Laroche 1970; Brixhe 1979; Kammenhuber 1979a; Luraghi 1997a) or “terminative” (Starke 1977; Held, Schmalstieg, and Gertz 1987). The CHD III/1 (1980) p. xvi introduced the term allative as a deliberate pendant to its opposite, the ablative. So long as the case in -a is kept distinct from the dative-locative in -i, it is of little consequence which of the several proposed names one gives it. In this grammar, we use the term allative. On the history of research, see Starke 1977: 131–35. From the allative form of the heteroclitic action nouns in -ātar is derived the infinitive in -anna (§4.107, p. 128; see also Laroche 1970: 41–42; Neu 1970: 55 n. 30). Many scholars think that common local adverbs such as anda, arḫa, parā, and šarā, which express directed movement, originated as allatives (see Laroche 1970; Neu 1974: 67; Starke 1977). Perhaps beginning already in OH (Otten and Souček 1969: 62–63; Neu 1979a: 189–90) and intensifying in MH, the allative forms in -a (but not the infinitives or local adverbs) were replaced by forms in -i. In NH speech, the allative no longer existed, although allative forms continued to be copied by NH scribes from older archetypes.

Ablative

3.32. The ablative and instrumental cases do not distinguish singular and plural. The usual ablative ending is -az, with occasional post-OH spelling variant -aza (see Melchert 1977: 443–47). The alternative post-consonantal ending -za (not -aza) is archaic (see likely that the vocatives in -anti are archaisms of any sort (see the arguments of Carruba [1992: 86] against Garrett [1990b: 275]).
§3.26 and §4.115 [p. 130]) and thus far found only in É-erza ‘from the house’, nepišza ‘from heaven’ (OS), šittarza (§4.84, p. 117), and the frozen ablative in the local adverbs tapušza ‘to the side’ (§19.11, p. 291, §20.28, p. 300; compare GiB-laz ‘to/on the left’, kunnaq ‘to/on the right’), ketkarza ‘at the head’ (§3.26; §7.19, p. 147), andurza ‘inside’ (§16.92, p. 265, §19.5, p. 289), arahza ‘outside’ (§19.5), āppa par(š)za ‘backwards’ (Neu 1980). The endings -az (following vowels) and -za (following consonants) are almost in complementary distribution in Old Script manuscripts (Melchert 1977). But already in these oldest manuscripts -az begins to encroach on -za in the consonantal stems. There are occasional instances of the use of the Akkadian preposition ḫu- from followed by the inflected ablative form of the noun: ḫu- kur Lu-ú-ya-az ‘from the land of Luwiya’ KBo 6.2 i 42 = Laws §20 (OS), on which see LH 31 with n. 48.

3.33. There is a rare ablative ending -anza: assured examples include GiB-luttanza KBo 8.42 obv. 2 (OS), luttianza KBo 21.95 i 11, išhananza KUB 39.102 i 1, paprananza, and uddananza KUB 12.58 iv 26–27. However, some alleged examples (e.g., ūannešnanza, ḫuťianza, and tuppianza cited by Melchert 1977: 449–50) are instead ergatives (for uddananza in both functions see §4.101, pp. 124–125). Since the ergative ending may also appear as -az(a) (see §1.135, p. 46), caution is needed in interpreting forms with endings -anza, -az, and -aza.

3.34. For the variant ending -(a)(z)zi that regularly appears before the clitic -ya ‘also, and’ and rarely in word-final position, see §1.116 (p. 42).

Instrumental

3.35. The instrumental, like the ablative, does not distinguish singular and plural. Alongside the prevailing instrumental ending -it or -et, we also find a rare ending -dlit(a): ganut and genut < genu- ‘knee’ (see p. 101, n. 111), šakuit and šākuwat < šākuwa-‘eye’, kiššarit and kiššarta ‘with the hand’, ištaminat and ištamanta ‘with the ear’, we-danda and wetenit ‘with water’, šaganda ‘with oil/grease’, uddanta ‘by the word’. See also kadl-du-ut ‘with (the eagle’s) talons’ KUB 43.60 i 17. It is plausible that the simple dental without preceding i was the earliest Hittite instrumental ending (Neu 1979a: 190), with the i developing by anaptyxis (§§1.80–1.81, p. 34) in the environment of a preceding dental. One also finds this ending with the demonstratives: apedanda ‘with that, therewith’ (HED A 87), kedanta ‘with this’ (see Melchert 1977: 458). For an example in a unique infinitive form see p. 185, n. 36. The unique form iēšnat in namma alwanzenan i-e-ēš-na-at dingir.mah-aš ıwa[r . . .] [. . .]-anda ‘Then let them [. . .] the sorceror with iēšsar, like the Mother Goddess’ KBo 21.12 rev.? 23–24 (for sg. nom.-acc. iēšsar see KUB 9.39 ii 2 and 8.39 2, 4, 5) is probably an imperfect attempt to replace an older instrumental i-e-ēš-ni-it with an ablative i-e-ēš-na-az. It is not evidence for an instrumental ending -at.

45. KUB 23.72 + rev. 15 (Mita text, MH/MS).
**Stem Variation**

3.36. In most cases the *stem*, consisting of a root or a root plus one or more suffixes, to which inflectional endings are attached, is invariant in Hittite. In some instances, there is variation in the stem, not always reflecting the PIE morphological feature *ablaut*, on which see §3.37. In nouns and adjectives, such variation usually contrasts the singular nominative and accusative (sometimes only the singular nominative) with all other forms of the paradigm, but other patterns also exist. It is difficult to prove, but likely, that in a few nominal paradigms the variation in the shape of the stem is accompanied by a shift in the accent (see on this issue §1.46, p. 25). In the demonstrative pronouns, there is also a contrast between the stem of the nominative and accusative versus the other cases see (§7.3, p. 143).

3.37. Ablaut. Hittite nominal (and verbal) inflection shows some traces of the PIE morphological process of vowel alternation called *ablaut* (also *apophony* or *vowel gradation*). Most PIE roots and suffixes were defined by the sequence of consonants they contained. PIE roots are conventionally cited with an *e* vowel, but in inflected words a root or suffix could appear with short *e* or *o* (full grade), long *ē* or *ō* (lengthened grade), or no vowel (zero grade). It was common in PIE for different parts of a single paradigm to show different ablaut grades (e.g., nominative-accusative versus the other cases, or singular versus plural). Inflectional classes that show such alternations are labeled ablauting (such as i-stem nouns; see sg. nom. wešiš — pl. nom. wešaēš). As in other IE languages, in Hittite the appearance of ablaut has been changed due to prehistoric sound changes and the tendency to generalize one ablaut grade throughout a paradigm. Details will be left to the description of the individual inflectional types.

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46. There was a strong correlation in PIE between the position of the accent and the ablaut pattern, and it seems virtually certain that the vowel alternations of ablaut were originally phonologically conditioned. But by the time of PIE, ablaut was a morphological process: a given morphological category had a particular ablaut. This is still seen in the “strong” verbs of modern Germanic languages such as English and German: present *sings/singt*, past *sang/sang*, past participle *sung/gesungen*. For a general overview of PIE ablaut see Sihler 1995: 108–24; Meier-Brügger 2000: 135–42; 2003: 144–52.

47. There was also ablaut in a limited number of inflectional endings (e.g., see §3.22 [p. 73] on the three PIE forms of the singular genitive ending).

48. In roots or suffixes that contained one of the sonorant consonants *m, n, l, or r*, the sonorant became syllabic (see the sound of English *bottom, button, bottle, butter*) in the zero grade when between two consonants or between consonant and word boundary. Likewise, the glides *w* and *y* became respectively *u* and *i* in the same position.

49. For the definitions and terminology of PIE inflectional types now popular in the field see, e.g., Meier-Brügger 2000: 188–201; 2003: 201–18. No attempt can be made here to describe the historical development of these types in Hittite. For many of the consonant stem nouns see Rieken 1999a.
Chapter 4

NOUN AND ADJECTIVE DECLENSION

\textit{a}-Stem Nouns

4.1. Of the Hittite nouns and adjectives with vocalic stems, those with stems in \textit{a} equal in number the total of those in \textit{i} and \textit{u} combined. They form the largest and most regular Hittite stem-class. In this class, substantives and adjectives decline identically, in contrast to the \textit{i}- and \textit{u}-stem classes. For \textit{a}-stem nouns in the Old Anatolian languages see Kammenhuber 1969b: 193–94, 279–80 and Meriggi 1980: §§5–40.

Common-Gender \textit{a}-Stem Nouns

4.2. The following are paradigms of \textit{a}-stem common-gender nouns (HE §§64–65). Forms in bold type are in OS. Forms in parentheses are less common variants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘human being’\textsuperscript{1}</th>
<th>‘father’</th>
<th>‘mother’</th>
<th>‘lord’</th>
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<tr>
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<td>annaš</td>
<td>išḫaš, išha\textsuperscript{3}</td>
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<td>attan, addan</td>
<td>annan</td>
<td>išhān</td>
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<tr>
<td>voc.\textsuperscript{5}</td>
<td>atta,\textsuperscript{6} atti\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>išhā, išha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1} The stems antuwaḫḫa- and antuḫša- are largely suppletive in OH (perhaps due to ablaut grade, according to Rieken 2001: 190–91; see here §1.76, p. 33): the former in sg. nom., the latter elsewhere. The stems begin to compete in MH, and in NH the latter has almost completely displaced the former.
\textsuperscript{2} The rare form antūwaḫza (KUB 12.44 iii 7), sg. nom. by context, if correct, is presently inexplicable (HW\textsuperscript{2} A 118–19 “wertlos”).
\textsuperscript{3} This form is found in OS only with attached clitics.
\textsuperscript{4} The rare writing an-tu-u-uḫ-ša-an occurs in the NH fragment Bo 3379 8’ (StBoT 19 50).
\textsuperscript{5} Another \textit{a}-stem vocative: ne-eg-na ‘O brother’ (see Hoffner 1988a).
\textsuperscript{6} iškūr-ta [a]t-ta-ša[n-mi] ‘O Tarḫunta, our father!’ KUB 33.66 + KBo 40.333 iii 8, ed. Groddek 1999: 38, 40, 46.
\textsuperscript{7} at-ti-me ‘O my father!’ (KBo 12.70 rev.! iii 10, see CHD sub marnan A and parganu-).
### 4.2 Noun and Adjective Declension

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<td><em>antuḫšaš, ṣantuḫši, ṣantuḫše 9</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
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<td><em>antuḫšaz, ṣattaz annaz(a)</em> 12</td>
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<td>abl.</td>
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#### Numerically Indifferent

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| acc. 20| *antuḫšuš, ṣantuḫši, ṣantuḫšēš* 21 | *

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#### Plural

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. 20</td>
<td><em>antuḫšuš</em> 19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes

8. *an-du-udḫ-ša-aš* KBo 17.1 + KBo 25.3 i 23 (OS); *an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš* KUB 31.127 + ABoT 44 i 37 (OH/NS).

9. *an-tu-uḫ-še* KUB 43.58 i 52 (MS), KUB 44.61 rev. 7, 19. For dative-locative in -e see §3.24, p. 74 and §1.61, p. 28. *an-tu-uḫ-še* is not yet attested in OS.

10. Always written non-plene (e.g., *iš-ḫi-iš-ši*) when enclitic pronoun is attached.

11. *iš-ḫa-aš-ši* KUB 24.9 i 51 (TH 2:28 i 57) with var. *iš-ḫi-eš-ši* KUB 41.1 i 10. See also *unuwašḫi* in KUB 36.74 iii 6, 7.

12. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-az* ‘together with (its) inhabitants’ BrTabl. i 88 (Tudḫ. IV), *an-tu-uḫ-ša-az-zi-ya* (with clitic -ya ‘and’, see §1.16, p. 42; §3.34, p. 77) BrTabl. i 89 (Tudḫ. IV). Also attested in the writing *unuwašḫi* (NH). Correct LH 270, where sg. acc. *unuwašḫi* is incorrectly labeled “abl.”

13. Other *a*-stem sg. ins.: *tešḫit* ‘by means of a dream’, *patet* and *unuwašḫi* ‘by foot, on foot’, *unuwašḫi* ‘with decoration’, *zapzikit* ‘with glazed dinnerware’, and *lalit* ‘with the tongue’.


15. Other *a*-stem pl. nom.: *ḫašši, ṣanazaššē, kakkapiš, pappanikneš, tukeš*, and *wallēš* in -eš or -iš, and *kakapuš* (*irḫuš ‘borders’ KBo 5.13 i 27) in -uš.

16. *an-tu-uaḫ-ḫe-eš* KBo 3.60 ii 16 (OH/NS) is possibly sg. nom. by context, although seemingly pl. nom. in form; *an-tu-uḫ-ši-iš* KBo 3.1 i 22 (OH/NS), [an-tu-uḫ]-š-eš HKM 50.5 (MH/MS).

17. *unuwašḫi* BrTabl. ii 48. For other examples of *a*-stem nouns with late NH pl. nom. in -uš see above sub §3.16, p. 70.

18. See §4.17, p. 86.

19. *iš-ḫe-e-eš* KUB 30.68 obv. 6, KBo 19.88,4’, *iš-ḫe-e-eš* KBo 3.46 obv. 38. There are no examples of pl. nom. *iš-ḫe-iš* or *iš-ḫi-iš* to match at-ti-iš, an-ni-iš, etc.


21. HKM 89.15 (MH/MS) is accusative by context. *šuilleš* in 89:19 seems also to be pl. acc.

22. *iš-ḫa-[aš?-]-aš-ma-aš-ša-an* (išḫaš-aršmaššan) KBo 3.1 i 21 (OH/NS).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'tongue'</th>
<th>'ear'</th>
<th>'roof'</th>
<th>'sea'</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>lālaš</td>
<td>ištaminaš, ištamaš</td>
<td>šuḥhaš</td>
<td>arunaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>lālan</td>
<td>ištamanan</td>
<td>šuḥḥan</td>
<td>arunan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voc.</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>šuḥhaš</td>
<td>arunaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>lālaš</td>
<td>iš-dam-ma-ne, ištamanı</td>
<td>šuḥḥi</td>
<td>aruni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>lāli</td>
<td>iš-dam-ma-ne, ištamanı</td>
<td>šuḥḥaš</td>
<td>arunaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>lāli</td>
<td>iš-dam-ma-ne</td>
<td>šuḥḥaš</td>
<td>aruni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerically Indifferent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>EME-az</td>
<td>ištamanaz</td>
<td>šuḥḥaza, šuḥḥazi<em>ya</em></td>
<td>arunaz, arunaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>lālit</td>
<td>ištaminit, ištamanta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>lāleš</td>
<td>ištamanęš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>lāluš</td>
<td>ištāmanuš</td>
<td>šuḥḫuš</td>
<td>arunuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coll.</td>
<td>lāli</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>šuḥḫaš</td>
<td>arunaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>EME.la-aš</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>arunaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>šuḥḫaš</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. For the development of the word for ‘ear’ see Oettinger 2003: 147–51. The word was originally a common gender n-stem of the type of išḫiman- (see §4.74, p. 111), as still reflected in the archaic instrumental išḫimanta. For the most part, however, the word came to be inflected as a common gender a-stem išḫalimana-. There is no syllabically written neuter form of this noun išḫanan in KUB 14.13 i 18–20, as HED E/I 458 claims. But such a neuter singular *išḫan may stand behind the spelling geštu-an KUB 8.83 4–5 (OH/MS), back-formed from a collective iš-ta-aš-[mi-it] ‘your (pl.) ears’.

24. ištamanęš=kan KUB 55.20 + KUB 9.4 i 4, cited by HED E/I 458 as genitive, is nominative by context.

25. For the repeated direct address form la-a-li la-a-li ‘Tongues! Tongues!’ KBo 20.59:16’ and EME.la-a-li KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 22 (the latter with apparent neuter agreement) as collectives, see Hoffner 2003b: 621. Alternatively, la-a-li could be a sg. voc. in -i (compare atti=me ‘O my father’), on which see §3.28, p. 75, and §16.14 (p. 244).

26. iš-dam-ma-ne-eš KBo 10.45 ii 26. For sg. d.-l. in -e see §3.24 (p. 74). The writing -dam-ma- may not imply geminate m; see §1.24 (p. 19).

27. The unique writing iš-ta-aš-ni KUB 55.20 i 5 is due to a scribal error (read iš-ta-aš-[mi-]-ni with Neu apud Rieken 1999a: 406 n. 2042).

28. Among a-stem allatives: laḫḫa ‘to/on a campaign’ (OS), ḫapā ‘to the river’, zag-na ‘to the right’.

29. a-ru-na KUB 36.110 iii 21 (OS), and fairly frequently in OH/MS or OH/NS.

30. The abl. šuḫza (OS) belongs to another stem šuḫ(h)-: see Rieken 1999a: 65–66.

31. See §3.35 (p. 77).

32. šuḫ-na KUB 36.89 rev. 4 (NH) see HED A 179.
4.3 Noun and Adjective Declension

4.3. For the stem, gender, and paradigm of keššar, keššara- ‘hand’ see §4.82 (p. 115).

4.4. For the vocatives see §3.28 (p. 74).

4.5. The common a-stem noun pada- ‘foot’ is mostly written with the logogram ġîr. But some syllabic forms exist: pl. acc. pa-a-tu-ul[š] KBo 25.46:3, pl. gen. pa-ta-a-an KBo 17.74 i 9 (OH/MS), pa-ta-a-n(a) (= patân=a) KBo 20. obv.? (4), 19 (OS), [p]a-ta-a-ta-an KUB 34.120:6 (OH/NS), KUB 44.36 ii 14 (OH/NS), d.-l. pa-ta-a-aš(-ša-aš) KBo 17.15:10 (OS), ins. pa-te-et KUB 51.20 rev. 5 (NS) and ġîr.Ḫ.L.A-it (*pate/iti) in KBo 10.2 ii 19 (OH/NS).34 The extremely common a-stem noun ‘son, child’ is always written logographically35: sg. nom. DUMU-(l)uš, sg. acc. DUMU-(l)an, sg. gen. DUMU-(l)aš, sg. d.-l. DUMU-li, pl. nom. DUMU.MEŠ(-eš), pl. acc. DUMU.MEŠ-uš, pl. gen. DUMU.MEŠ-aš, pl. d.-l. DUMU.MEŠ-aš.

Neuter a-Stem Nouns

4.6. Neuter a-stem nouns are much less common (HE §64), because only common gender a-stems are productive in Hittite. Examples are: pada- ‘place’, ega- ‘ice’, and yuga- ‘pair, yoke’. For ġîśeya- (an evergreen tree) see below, §4.70 (p. 110).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘place’</th>
<th>‘ice’ 36</th>
<th>‘yoke’ 37</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>pedan,</td>
<td>ekan</td>
<td>yugan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>pēdaš,</td>
<td>ekaš</td>
<td>yugaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>pēdi,</td>
<td>eki</td>
<td>yuki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerically Indifferent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>pēdaz(a),</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>pedaz(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yukit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>pēdaš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>pēdaš,</td>
<td>pedaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. The Hittite a-stem has replaced an original root noun, whose alternating accent is probably still reflected in the differing position of the vowel length in the pl. acc. versus the pl. gen. and d.-l. See §1.146 (p. 50).

35. The suggestion that pulla- is the syllabic reading for ‘son’ (Hoffmann 1992) is unconvincing; see CHD P sub *pulla-.


4.7. More common than neuter singular nouns are those inflected only in the collective (neuter) plural, indicating items consisting of aggregates of components: ʰḥaramma (a kind of stew), ᵇgalamma (a part of the door), ʱʰsuppa ‘consecrated meat’, ʰʰkùṣata ‘bride price’, tarrusha (a leather part of the harness). This latter type can be identified by the fact that there is no clear sg. nom.-acc. form in -an. Only attested in the nominative-accusative are ḥaramma, galamma, piyētta, pūrana, and tarrusha. The other two nouns have the following limited paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘consecrated meat’</th>
<th>‘bride price’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>šuppa</td>
<td>kūṣāta, kūšāta, kūšāta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>šuppa(ya)š</td>
<td>kūšataš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.8. On vocatives of neuter substantives see §3.29 (p. 75).

**a-Stem Adjectives**

4.9. For primary (i.e., underived) a-stem adjectives see §2.7 (p. 52). See also those in -ala- (§2.20, p. 55), -alla- (§2.21, p. 55) and -iya- (§2.35, p. 58). Other examples can be found in the lists provided by Reichert (1963: 65–74) and Jie (1994: 6–21).

4.10. The paradigm of a-stem adjectives (HE §65):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘empty’ 39</th>
<th>‘external’</th>
<th>‘right-hand’</th>
<th>‘earlier, former’ 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>arahzenaš 41</td>
<td>kunnaš</td>
<td>annallāš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>t/dannattan</td>
<td>arahzenan</td>
<td>ZAG-an</td>
<td>annallān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>t/dannattan</td>
<td>arahzenan</td>
<td>kunan</td>
<td>annallān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>t/dannattan</td>
<td>arahzenaš</td>
<td>ZAG-naš</td>
<td>annallāš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>dannatti</td>
<td>arahzeni</td>
<td>kunni, ZAG-ni</td>
<td>annalli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>arahzena</td>
<td>ZAG-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38. ʰʰsuppa is a lexicalized form of the archaic collective plural of šuppi- ‘sacred, consecrated’; see §4.37 (p. 94).

39. The adjective dannatta- ‘empty’ is exclusively an a-stem. The forms dan-na-at-št-š-te-eš and danna-at-te-lš in KUB 36.89 rev. 41–42 belong to a noun ‘desolation, wilderness’ (Haas 1970: 155), not to the adjective, and a noun is also appropriate for the example dan-na-at-ti-š in KUB 21.29 i 12 (Hatt. III).

40. An i-stem annallī- also exists, for which the sg. neut. annalli, the sg. acc. com. annallīn and the plural form annallīš (annallīš KUB 38.34:7, KUB 40.2 rev. 8, and annallīš HT 4:13) are attested. See §2.21 (p. 55) and §4.17 (p. 86).

41. We do not distinguish the signs żi and żé in the bound transcription of this word, since żi can also be read ze.
### 4.10 Noun and Adjective Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'empty'</th>
<th>'external'</th>
<th>'right-hand'</th>
<th>'earlier, former'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>araḫzenaza</td>
<td>kunna, ZAG-a(z)</td>
<td>annallaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.42</td>
<td>kunni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

| nom. com. | araḫzenaš | araḫzenaš,43 araḫzenaš | ZAG-niš         | annall(i)eš, annallš |
| acc. com.44 | — 43     | ZAG-nuš           |                 |                    |
| n.-a. neut.| ḫantezziyaš | ḫantezziyaš |                 |                    |
| gen.      | alwanzenaš | ḫantezziyan     | appezziyaš      | arawaš45          |
| d.-l.     | alwanzenaš | ḫantezziyaš     | appezziyaš      | arawaš            |
| all.      | alwanzena  | ḫantezziyaš     | appezziyaš      | arawi             |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'bewitching'</th>
<th>'first'</th>
<th>'last'</th>
<th>'exempt, free'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>alwanzenaš</td>
<td>ḫantezziyaš</td>
<td>appezziyaš</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ḫantezziyan</td>
<td>appezziyan</td>
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<td>ḫantezzian</td>
<td>—46</td>
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<td>appezziyan</td>
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<td>appezziyaš</td>
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<td>ḫantezziyaš</td>
<td>appezziyaš</td>
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<td>alwanzenaš</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>alwanzenaš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

42. Other a-stem sg. ins.: ne-e-[i] and ni-[i]-[i].

43. Written a-ra-aḫ-zé-né-e-eš (with the ni sign) and transcribed araḫzenies by HED A 134. araḫzenaš in the NH examples uni araḫzenaš KUR.KUR in KBo 3.4 i 26 and kē araḫzenaš KUR.KUR.MEŠ ibid. i 28 (for the word order see 18.25, p. 284) cannot be pl. acc. com. as often assumed, as shown by the modifiers uni and kē. If we are not dealing with a misspelling for araḫzena in both places, the construction might be that of a genitive ‘land(s) of the outside’, perhaps modeled on takšulaš utnē ‘lands of peace’.

44. For the a-stem adjective newa- the pl. acc. ne-mu-uš reflects the shift *newuš > nemuš (see §1.126, p. 44).

45. a-ra-u-aš KBo 22.62 + KBo 6.2 iii 22 = Laws §56 (OS), a-ra-u-wa-aš KUB 8.41 iii 12 (OS).

46. From the sg. nom.-acc. neut. of appezziya- was formed the adverb appezziyan (from OS) / appezzin 'afterwards' (see §1.76, p. 32; §19.6, p. 290).

47. Other a-stem sg. ins.: ne-e-[i], and ni(or né)-u-i[i].

48. See p. 70, n. 31.
4.11. The oblique case forms (gen., abl., ins.) and the pl. nom. and acc. of ḫantezziya-, appezziya-, and šarazziya- would be indistinguishable from those of the shorter, i-stem forms, of these words, ḫanteẓzi-, appezzi-, and šarazzi- (§2.53, p. 61; §4.38, p. 94).

**i- and u-Stem Nouns**


4.13. There is a strong parallelism between the inflection of i- and u-stems in Hittite in terms of where and how they show ablaut. Where the former have -i-, -iy-, and -ay-, the latter have, respectively, -u-, -uw-, and -aw-. In contrast to the a-stem class, substantives and adjectives of the i- and u-stem classes for the most part decline differently. Substantives regularly have an invariant stem in -i-/u- (respectively, -iy- and -uw- before -a-). Adjectives, however, show ablaut (see §3.37, p. 78), usually showing -i-/u- in the nominative and accusative singular, but -a(y)/-aw- in the nominative and accusative plural and in the oblique cases. There are exceptionally some substantives with ablaut and some adjectives without it.

49. Only in the broken context of KUB 33.62 ii 4', where Haas (1994: 713) and Glocker (1997: 34) take it as sg. acc. com. The reconstruction of the context and grammatical interpretation proposed by these scholars is quite uncertain. The form could also be a sg. nom.-acc. neut.

50. KUB 19.2:47 (NH).
4.14. There are ten times as many common gender i-stem nouns as neuter i-stem nouns. Several productive derivational suffixes end in -i-: -alli-, -ašti-, -ili-, -ri-, -ulli-, -uzzi- (see §2.21–2.49, pp. 55–61)

4.15. The nouns āpi- ‘ritual pit’, erḫui- ‘basket’, and zakki- ‘latch’ entered Hittite from Luwian, whence they retain remnants of a Luwian t-stem in the sg. d.-l. erḫuiti, zakkiti, āpiti, and abl. āpitaz (Starke 1990: 198–200, 211–12, 221). The Luwian nouns with nominative-accusative singular in -aḫi are also t-stems (see DLL 132 §5). They are usually inflected as i-stems in Hittite (common gender or neuter), but with the -t- often in the oblique cases (see the paradigms in §4.23). Luwian influence is also seen in the abl. ending -ati occurring on the noun aulati (§4.23).

4.16. Many nouns borrowed from Hurrian end in i, the i-vowel often being a part of a Hurrian suffix: -šḫi- (aḫrušḫi-, ḫubrušḫi-), -ḫi-, -ki-, -ški-, -ugari-, -uri-, -arti-, etc. Loanwords from Hurrian or Akkadian mediated through Hurrian enter Hittite as i-stems: tuppi- ‘clay tablet’ < Akk. ṭuppu, šankunni- ‘priest’ < Akk. šangû < Sum. sanga (with possible stem influence from Hurrian as the intermediary of the loan?), aganni- (a container) < Akk. agannu, ḫapiš- (incantation priest) < Akk. ašipu (with metathesis, §1.140, p. 48), atupli- (a garment) < Akk. utuplu, ḫalzi- ‘region, district’ < Akk. ḫalsu, ḫazzizzi- ‘ear’ < Akk. ḫasīsu, kakkarī- (a kind of bread loaf) < Akk. kakkaru, nura(n)ti- ‘pomegranate’ < Akk. lurindu (*nurindu), etc.

i-Mutation

4.17. Complicating the picture of the i-stem noun is the phenomenon of so-called i-motion (or i-mutation). Most (but not all) Luwian nominal stems insert an obligatory -i- between the stem and the case endings of the nominative and accusative of the common gender, singular and plural (Starke 1990: 56–93). In the case of a-stems, the -a- of the stem is deleted before the -i-. Derivatives show that the -i- is not part of the stem. The result, however, is in effect a paradigm with -i- in some forms and -a- in others. When the Hittites began to borrow Luwian nouns and suffixes (see §2.55, p. 62), they not only imitated the Luwian usage in loanwords but also carried it over in some cases to native Hittite words. In paradigms of such nouns, the -i- forms tend to be found in the common gender nominative and accusative, and the -a- forms elsewhere (Rieken 1994: 43–47). This entailed not only creating new -i- forms to old a-stems (pl. nom. com. MUNUS.MEŠ katrīēš to MUNUS katra- ‘female musician’, attiēš to atta- ‘father’, pl. acc. com. anniuš to anna- ‘mother’, gimriuš to gimra- ‘field’, sg. acc. com. GI natin to nata- ‘reed’), but also by “reverse i-mutation” new -a- forms to old i-stems (sg. gen. GÂ ḫulugannaš.

51. For these derivational suffixes in Hurrian see the grammatical treatments of Hurrian, such as Speiser 1941; Bush 1964; Neu 1988b; Girbal 1990; Wilhelm 1992a; and Wegner 2000: 47–52, 75–77.
and abl. GIŠḫulugannaz to GIŠḫuluganni-, which in OH is a simple i-stem without mutation [see sg. d.-l. GIŠḫuluganniya, abl. GIŠḫulugannia]). Predictably, however, there was some confusion, most notably in stems with suffixes containing -l(l)-: e.g., for ‘former’, we find the stems annala-, annalla-, annali-, and annalli- (Rieken 1994: 49–50). In cases where a noun is poorly attested, especially in OH, we cannot always be certain whether the stem is originally in -a- or -i- (e.g., palša- and palši- ‘way, road’). Our convention with nouns showing i-mutation is to write the stem as -a/i- (e.g., nouns with stem -ašša/i-).

4.18. In i-stems the inflectional endings combine with the stem as follows (see also Neu 1985): (1) endings which consist of simple consonants or zero are affixed directly to the i; (2) case endings which begin with an a-vowel are affixed to the longer stem in -iy- or -ay-. Case endings that begin with an e or u vowel (pl. nom. com. -eš, pl. acc. com. -uš) are affixed directly to the i-stem: ḫal-ki-e-eš, ḫal-ki-uš. A glide may have existed in speech, but no special spelling (such as *ḵal-ki-i-uš) indicates this.

4.19. NH i-stem common-gender nominative-accusative plurals in -i(y)aš (e.g., ḫalkiaš) show that examples spelled ambiguously (§1.26, p. 19) as -Celi-e-eš (e.g., ḫal-ke-li-e-eš and tu-uz-ze-li-e-eš) are to be read as -Ciēš, not -Cēš (see §1.32, p. 20). In NH there is also occasional contraction of -iēš to -iš (e.g., pl. nom. com. ḫalkiš and tuzziš; see nn. 54 and 56, p. 88), producing a pl. nom.-acc. com. ending identical to that of the sg. nom. com. (see §1.76, p. 32; and Melchert 1995: 271–72).

4.20. The allative of the i-stems ends in -iya, and the sg. d.-l. ends in -i or -i. Forms with the ending -iya also occasionally appear in post-OS texts in a dative-locative function.  

4.21. Rare forms of the nominative singular such as tu-uz-zi-aš (instead of the normal i-stem noun tu-uz-zi-iš ‘army’) may be analogical formations with the stems in -iya- (for the paradigm of iya-stems see §4.10, p. 84).

4.22. On the endings of the plural nominative in late NH see §3.16 (p. 70).

Common-Gender i-Stem Nouns

4.23. Paradigms of common-gender i-stem substantives with non-ablauting stem:
### 4.23 Noun and Adjective Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'grain'</th>
<th>'army'</th>
<th>'artery(?)\footnote{sacrificial animal}'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ḫalkiš</td>
<td>tuzziš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>ḫalkīn, ḫalkin, ḫalki, ḫalkī</td>
<td>tuzzi̇n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ḫalkiyaš</td>
<td>tuzzi̇yaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>ḫalkiya, ḫalki</td>
<td>tuzziya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>ḫalkiyaz(a)</td>
<td>tuzzi(y)az</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>ḫalkīt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ḫalkiēš, ḫalkiš</td>
<td>tuzziēš, ḫalkiyaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>ḫalkiš, ḫalkiyaš, ḫal-ki-(e)-eš, ḫal-kių̇-aš</td>
<td>tuzziš, tuzziyaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coll.</td>
<td>ḫalkių̇</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ḫalkiaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>ḫalkiaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'lip'</th>
<th>(a type of priest)</th>
<th>(a type of priest)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>pūriš</td>
<td>purapšiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>pūrin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>pūri, pūṛiya</td>
<td>purapši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>pūriyaz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>pūrit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>pūriēš</td>
<td>purapšiēš, purapšiuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>pūriuš, pūriuš</td>
<td>purapšiuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td></td>
<td>patiliš, patiliyaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>pūrya</td>
<td>purapšeyaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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54. See §4.19. An additional rare pl. nom., ḫalkiš, was cited without reference in HW 47. Perhaps nu ḫal-ki-iš išḫiyanteš KUB 15.11 ii 6 was meant. This form is not registered in HED H 37.

55. ḫal-kių̇-aš in HKM 19:6 (MH/MS); see HED H 37 and Hoffner forthcoming §53. See §3.16 (p. 70).


57. ḫal-kių̇-aš in HKM 19:10 (MH/MS) is pl. acc. (HED H 38 and Hoffner forthcoming §57).
### Noun and Adjective Declension  4.23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘latch’</th>
<th>‘observation post’</th>
<th>‘spring, water source’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>zakkiš, zakkeš</td>
<td>auriš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>zakkin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>zakki(y)as</td>
<td>auri(y)as, a(u)war(y)as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>zakkiti, zakkiya</td>
<td>auri, auriya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>auriyaza</td>
<td>altaniyaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>auriēš, auriuš</td>
<td>aldanniš, altanniš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>zakkiuš, zakkeš</td>
<td>auriuš, auwariēš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coll.</td>
<td>za-ak-ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>auriyaš</td>
<td>altanniš, aldanniš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘belt, sash’</th>
<th>‘anger’</th>
<th>‘ritual pit’</th>
<th>‘fleece(?)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>isḫuziš</td>
<td>karpiš</td>
<td>škēšriš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>isḫuzzin</td>
<td>karpin</td>
<td>škēšrin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td></td>
<td>apiaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>karpi</td>
<td>aπiya, aπiti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>aπiyaz, aπidaz(a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>karpiuš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>isḫuzzi(y)aš</td>
<td>apiyaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coll.</td>
<td></td>
<td>aπi</td>
<td>škēšri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
<td>apiyaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58. See §4.15 (p. 86).
59. Late NH in BrTabl. III 44.
60. Attested in KUB 13.1+ i 19 (MS).
### Neuter i-Stem Nouns

#### 4.24. Paradigm of neuter i-stem substantives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘stela’</th>
<th>‘libation’</th>
<th>‘clay tablet’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>ḫuwāši</td>
<td>IŞpandu(z)zi</td>
<td>tuppi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td></td>
<td>tuppianza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ḫuwaš(y)aš</td>
<td>IŞpantuzzi(y)aš</td>
<td>tuppi(y)aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>ḫuwašiya,</td>
<td>IŞpanduzzi, išpantuziya</td>
<td>tuppi, tuppiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>ḫuwašiya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tupp(y)az, tuppiazza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>ḫuwaši&lt;BR&gt;A</td>
<td>TUP-PA&lt;BR&gt;A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td></td>
<td>TUP-PA&lt;BR&gt;A-aš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘basket’</th>
<th>‘garbage pit, dump’</th>
<th>‘bridge’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>ērḫūi, ērḫui,</td>
<td>ḫušši&lt;BR&gt;ii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>erḫui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>erḫūiyaš</td>
<td>ḫuššiliyaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>erḫūiti&lt;BR&gt;i</td>
<td>ḫuššili, ḫuššiliya,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḫuššulli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>ūrḫuyaz, ūrḫūiyaz</td>
<td>ḫuššiliaz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>Ūrḫűit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>armizzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
<td>armizziyaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

62. This sg. nom.-acc. shows apparent confusion with stems in -il (see §4.65, p. 107). Note also the sg. d.-l. below with a different stem ḫuššulli-. The limited evidence makes it hard to determine the original inflection of this noun.

63. The form *er-u-i-ti* KUB 38.25 i 16, 21, transliterated as *er-⟨ḫu⟩u-i-ti* (i.e., scribal error) in HED E/I 283, is rather a real form, showing a Luwian sound change (see AHP 258) in this loanword from Luwian.

4.26. In addition to tuppianza (listed above), ergatives of the neuter nouns šannaṣ pilî- / sud-li ‘void’ and UZU appuzzi- ‘fat’ exist in the forms sud-li-an-za (see CHD sub šannapili-) and UZU appuzziyanza.

4.27. Perhaps dual or collective in origin: elzi- ‘scales’, ḫulali- ‘distaff’.

4.28. Paradigm of i-stem substantives with ablauting stem:64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘spear(?)’</th>
<th>‘pasture’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>wešiš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>mārin</td>
<td>wešin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>māriyaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>wešai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>mārait</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>mārieš</td>
<td>wešaēš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>māriuš</td>
<td>wešauš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.29. The stem of allative ḫmakziya KBo 22.186 ii 8 cannot yet be determined, since no case form exclusive to an i-stem is yet attested.

4.30. Paradigm of the mixed r- and i-stem noun ḫalḫaltumar(i)- ‘corner’.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all. or d.-l.</td>
<td>ḫalḫaltumari65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerically Indifferent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>ḫalḫaltumaraza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ḫalḫaltumarīṭēš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. coll.</td>
<td>ḫalḫaltumār, ḫalḫaltumāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ḫalḫaltu(m)mariyaš, ḫalḫaltumaraš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>ḫalḫaltumariyaš, ḫalḫaltumaraš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

64. Largely based upon Neu 1985: 259–60.
65. KBo 4.1 obv. 19 (so HED H 20); the form A-NA 4 ḫal-ḫal-di-un-mari-ya KUB 7.41 i 7 (analyzed as sg. d.-l. ḫalḫaldummariya in HED H 20–21 and HW2 H 29) is uncertain, because at the beginning of a new sentence the -ya could be the conjunction ‘and’.
4.31. The noun ḫalḫaltumār- ‘corner’ was originally a neuter r/n-stem (see §4.112, p. 130), but underwent a complex series of secondary developments. First, the neuter noun generalized the r-stem (seen in the collective ḫalḫaltumār, sg. d.-l. ḫalḫaltumārī, and ḫalḫaltumārāš and ḫalḫaltumārāz). Second, the alternative collective ḫalḫaltumārī was created (§3.20, p. 72). Finally, ḫalḫaltumārī was taken as the base for creating an i-stem count plural (see Melchert 2000: 65–66).

**ai-Stem Nouns**

4.32. For the derivation of stems in -ai- see §2.18 (p. 54). Since the oblique stem of these nouns is identical with that of ordinary non-abluting i-stem nouns (§4.23, p. 88), examples of the latter inflection also occur, such as sg. acc. šaklin, ḫullanzin, and zaḥḥin.66 On the other hand, the older common gender i-stem tuḥhui- ‘smoke’ (OH/MS tuḥhuiš, tuḥhuin) acquires a new stem tuḥhuwai- (NS tuḥhuwaiš, tuḥhuwain). Nouns in -ai- show ablaut in the stem (see §3.37, p. 78; HE §68a: Weitenberg 1979, 1984): the original pattern had -ai- (also spelled -ae-) in the nominative and accusative and -i- (-iy- before -a-) in the oblique cases. But there is a tendency to generalize -ai- (-ay- before -a-), so that it appears in the oblique cases as well, hence zaḥḥait, lingaṭaš, etc.

4.33. Common-gender action nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘battle’</th>
<th>‘oath’</th>
<th>‘curse’</th>
<th>‘quarrel’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>zaḥḥaiš</td>
<td>lingaiš</td>
<td>ḫurtaiš</td>
<td>ḫalluwaiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>zaḥḥain, zaḥḥin</td>
<td>lingain, lingaen, lingaen</td>
<td>ḫurtain</td>
<td>ḫalluwain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td></td>
<td>linkiyaš, linkiyaz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>zaḥḥiyaš</td>
<td>linkiyaš, lingayaš</td>
<td>ḫurtiyaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>zaḥḥiya</td>
<td>linkiya, lingai, lenqai, lingae</td>
<td>ḫurtiya, ḫurtai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>zaḥḥiyaz(a)</td>
<td>liedenkiyaz(a)</td>
<td>ḫurtiyaz</td>
<td>ḫalluwayaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>zaḥḥait</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>lingaiš</td>
<td>ḫurdaēš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>lingaṭaš</td>
<td>ḫurtaš</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

66. Compare zaḥḥain ~ zaḥḥin ‘battle’ and ḫullanzain ~ ḫullanzin (VS 28.26 rev. 9) with šaklain ~ šaklin ‘custom, right’.

67. On the status of these ergatives formed to a common gender noun (or possibly to the collective of such a noun) see §3.10 (p. 67). The rare example of a sg. neut. apāt-wa niš dingir-lim KUB 26.92:7 reflects a sporadic back-formation from the pl. collective lingae (see the similarly back-formed sg. neut. šumanzanon to common gender šumanザ(n)-, as per Melchert 2000: 64 n. 34).
### 4.34. Neuter nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘bone(s)’</th>
<th>‘window(s)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>ḫaštae, ḫaštai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ḫašti(y)aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coll.</td>
<td>ḫaštai, ḫaštæ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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68. Attested as ḫa-aš-ti-i-aš in KBo 20.8 rev. 7 (OS).

69. ḫašti(y)aš and acc. luttāuš are “count plurals” (see §3.13, p. 68).

70. Both ḫaštæ and luttāuš (in all their spelling variants) reflect prehistoric collectives. All clear attested cases of ‘window’ are functioning as singulars. It is often hard to tell whether one should translate ‘bone’ or ‘bones’ for ḫaštæ.
4.35. An aberrant form of *zašḫai-* ‘dream’ is pl. acc. zašḫimuš, which behaves as though the stem were *zašḫiu-*; see pl. acc. šimuš from /siw-us/ to šiu- ‘god’. See §1.126 (p. 44), §4.45 (p. 98), and §4.50 (p. 100).

### i-Stem Adjectives

4.36. The i-stem adjectives (with a few exceptions) show ablauting stems, taking the zero grade in nominative, accusative, instrumental, allative, and sometimes dative-locative\(^{71}\) singular, and the full grade ai or au in all other cases (HE §71, Kammenhuber 1969b: 194–95, 280–81; Neu 1985). The (stem +) endings for the i-stem adjective are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>-iš</td>
<td>-aeš or -aiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-auš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>(older) -a, (secondary) -aya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>(older) -aš, (secondary) -ayaš</td>
<td>(older) -aš, (secondary) -ayaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>-ai, -i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>-iya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Numerically Indifferent**

<p>| | |</p>
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<thead>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>(older) -az, (secondary) -ayaz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.37. The forms in -aya- show a secondary restoration of the intervocalic y, which was lost prehistorically (see §1.134, p. 46, and Sommer 1932: 357 with literature), either in Proto-Anatolian (Melchert 1984b: 44–45) or in pre-Hittite (AHP 130). The forms that have been claimed (e.g., HE §15a) to show syncope (§1.76–§1.78, pp. 32–33) — šallaš < *šallayaš, šallaz < *šallayaz, šuppa < *šuppaya — are actually older than those showing the secondary restoration. The regular system of ablaut given in §4.13 (p. 85) is sometimes altered by influence from the i-stem nouns, and adjectives in -ui- are further affected by the inflection of stems in -iya-.


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71. Hence forms like šupper from šuppi- + -i, beside šuppai from full grade šuppai- + -i.
### Word Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘large’</td>
<td>šalliš, šalleš&lt;sup&gt;72&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>šallaēš, šalleš, šallauš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šalli, šallin</td>
<td>šallaš, šallayaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘holy, pure’</td>
<td>šuppiš, mekkiš</td>
<td>šuppiš, šuppaš, šuppa&lt;sup&gt;73&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šuppi</td>
<td>šuppi, šuppai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘much, many’</td>
<td>mekkiš</td>
<td>mekkayaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>šallayaz</td>
<td>šuppaz(a), šuppayaš(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>šalli</td>
<td>šalli, šallayaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voc.</td>
<td>šalli, <em>šalli (GAL-li)</em></td>
<td>šallaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>šallaš, šallayaš</td>
<td>šallayaš, šallayaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>šallai, šalli</td>
<td>šallai, šalli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>šalla</td>
<td>šallaš, šallayaš, šallauš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Šuppiš, Šuppaš</td>
<td>Šuppiš, Šuppaš, Šuppa&lt;sup&gt;73&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes

72. See §1.58 (p. 28).
73. In Šuppa pedi KUB 30.42 iv 22 the allative Šuppa is functioning as a dative-locative in a post-OH text.
74. me-ek-ke-eš belongs to the stem mekk-, as the CHD points out. It should therefore not be read me-ek-ki-eš (see §4.41, p. 97).
75. Analogical to substantives.
76. In the rare form šal-la-mu-uš KBo 27.11 obv. 2 (NS) and a semi-logographic Šal-la-mu-uš KBo 12.89 iii 11 (MS?) the m is secondary, analogical to the stems that take this ending regularly; see §1.127 (p. 45) and §4.45 (p. 98).
77. Written pár-ku-i, pár-ku-ū-i, and pár-ku-ū-i. What was read by Archi (1979: 45–46) as pár-ku-i in KBo 22.1:6 (OS) should be read me-ma-i (see CHD mi(ya)ḫu(wa)nt- 2b).
### Noun and Adjective Declension

#### 'rough, dense' | 'pure' | 'dark'

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>parkuwai</td>
<td>dankuwāi, dankui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td></td>
<td>dankuwa⁷⁸</td>
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</tbody>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>warḥūwayaz</td>
<td>parkuwayaz(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
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<td>parkuwāit</td>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>warḥuwaēš, warḥūš, warḥūēš</td>
<td>parkuwaēš, parkuēš, parkuwaēš, parkuwaēš, parku̇ēš</td>
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<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>warḥuwaš</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>warḥuwa, warḥuwaya</td>
<td>parkui, parkue, parkuwa, parkuwa, parkuwaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>parkuwayaš, parku̇yaš</td>
<td>tankuwaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'white, bright' | 'wide' | 'old, former'

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<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>ḫarkiš</td>
<td>palḫiš⁷⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>ḫarkin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>ḫarki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ḫarki</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>karūiliyaš(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td></td>
<td>karūiliš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
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<td>palḫāēš, palḫāeš, palḫaēš, palḫiēš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td>karūiliuš, karūiliaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>ḫarga, ḫarki</td>
<td>palḫi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
<td>karūiliyaš, karūiliaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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4.39. The adjective ḫatuka-/ḫatuki- ‘awesome, frightening’ has singular nominative and accusative a-stem forms, but all other case forms appropriate to an i-stem: sg. nom. com. ḫadugaš, sg. acc. com. ḫatugan, sg. nom.-acc. neut. ḫatugan, d.-l. ḫatugai, abl. ḫatugayaz, pl. nom. com. ḫatugaeš, ḫadugaeš, acc. com. ḫatugaus. The bolded forms, which occur in OS, show that these competing stems existed already in OH.

4.40. The adjective daluka-/daluki- ‘long’ is so far unattested in OS copies. It has a late NH a-stem sg. nom. com. form (gīd.a-aš), several oblique case forms appropriate to an i-stem (dalugai, dalugayaz, talugaš, talugauš, talugay[a]), several in MS, and an atypical pl. d.-l. form dālugawaš (MH/NS), which resembles the corresponding form of the u-stem adjectives (see §4.51, p. 101). The unambiguous a-stem forms are NH or NS. And dalugawauš, if it is not an error, is probably from the NH scribe. The oldest occurrences (talugaš, talugay[a], all MS) point to an i-stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>ḫadugaš</td>
<td>talugaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>talugauš, dalugaeš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>dalugaš³²</td>
<td>talugay[a]³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>talugaš³⁴ dalugaus³⁵</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>dalugāi³⁶</td>
<td>dālugausahaan³⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>dalugayaz³⁸</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.41. The adjective meki- ‘much, many’ also has a k-stem in OH (§4.60, p. 105) that exhibits the following forms (see CHD L–N s.v.): sg. acc. com. me-e-ek-kán, me-e-kkán, sg. nom.-acc. neut. me-e-ek, pl. nom. com. me-e-ek-eš, me-e-ek-e-eš, pl. acc. com. me-e-ek-ku-uš. These forms are often erroneously cited as forms of the stem meki- in Hittite grammars (see Sturtevant and Hahn 1951: §148a; HE §71; and Held, Schmalstieg, and Gertz 1987: 16).

u-Stem Nouns

4.42. The inflection of u-stem and au-stem nouns is analogous to that of the i- and ai-stems (§4.18, p. 87; see Weitenberg 1984 and Neu 1985). The ablaut rules (§3.37, p. 78) are the same: (1) endings which consist of simple consonants or zero are affixed directly to the u, (2) case endings which begin with a vowel are affixed to the longer stem in -u(w)- or -aw-.

80. KUB 27.67 ii 40, iii 44 (MH/NS), marked as suspect with ‘!’ in HW 206.
81. KUB 26.1 iii 15 (Tudḥ. IV).
82. da-lu-ga ti-tar VAT 7481 iv 6 (OH/late NS). Sg./pl. neut. as adverb talūga KBo 10.7 ii 27, 31.
83. KUB 17.10 iii 29 (OH/MS).
84. The form in KUB 17.10 iii 33 (OH/MS) in broken context could be pl. gen., pl. d.-l., or pl. acc.
85. KBo 10.24 v 9 (OH/NS).
86. dalugayaz M[(U.KAM-Za)] KUB 15.17 i 5 (NH).
4.43. Several irregularities must be pointed out: (1) in the sg. d.-l. in NH, an ending -e emerges as an alternative to -i (§1.61, p. 28; §3.24, p. 74)\(^{87}\) and (2) the pl. acc. com. is -amuš, which comes from *-awuš by the rule in §1.127 (p. 45). With substantives: ḫeyamuš ‘rains’, kēlamuš ‘?’, wappamuš ‘banks’. With adjectives: āššamuš ‘dear’, ḫalluwamuš ‘deep’, itālamuš ‘evil’, pargamuš ‘high’, šargamuš ‘preeminent’, šūwamuš ‘full’ (OS), daššamuš ‘heavy’, etc.

4.44. Some authorities affirm the existence of a sg. gen. in -š (e.g., Neu 1979a: 185–86 with n. 22; and Weitenberg 1984: 315 §836). Others (e.g., Melchert 1984a) have declared themselves unconvinced by the sparse evidence.\(^{88}\) For discussion of possible cases of the sg. gen. in -š, see §3.22 (p. 73) and §4.50 (p. 100).

4.45. In zašḫimuš ‘dreams’ (< zašḫai-) Tunn. iii 51 and šallamuš (also written -lamuš; both < šalli-) ‘great’, the -m- before the ending -uš is secondary; see §4.35 (p. 94) and n. 76 (p. 95).

4.46. The stem + endings for the u-stem (non-ablauting) substantive are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>-uš</td>
<td>-ueš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>-uš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-uwa (older -u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>-uwaš</td>
<td>-uwaš, -uwan(^{89})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>-uwa(^{90})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>-ui</td>
<td>-uwaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Numerically Indifferent**

| abl.       | -uwaz    |
| ins.       | -ušt, -ut\(^{91}\) |

Common-Gender u-Stem Nouns

4.47. Paradigms for sample u-stem common gender nouns:

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\(^{88}\) For emending the contextually genitive LÚ ṣḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪUḪU_HEX K 138.

\(^{89}\) It cannot be determined for certain whether LUGAL-<haššuwan (HHw 46 “des Königs”) or plural ‘of the kings’. Because the Hittite genitive ending -an derives from a PIE pl. gen. *-ōm, we have listed it here as plural (on the pl. gen. -an see §3.23, p. 73).

\(^{90}\) See itaššuwa KBo 18.151 rev. 19 (OS), ū.šal-ša (welluwa) in §4.46, genuwa in §4.51 (p. 101).

\(^{91}\) For kad-du-ut ‘with (the eagle’s) talons’ KUB 43.60 i 17 (OH/NS) see §3.35 (p. 77). See kad-duš-mi-štit ‘with their talons’ also in i 17 (Watkins 1995). The latter form incorrectly interpreted as nom.-acc. neut. in HED K 138.
### Noun and Adjective Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-ablauting</th>
<th>ablauting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘meadow’</strong></td>
<td><strong>‘rain’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘king’</strong></td>
<td><strong>‘river bank’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēlluš</td>
<td>ḫeuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wellun</td>
<td>ḫēun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voc.</td>
<td>voc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wappu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēlluwaš</td>
<td>wēwawas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>d.-l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēlli</td>
<td>wēlli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ľ.Śal-wa</td>
<td>ľ.Śal-wa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Numerically Indifferent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>abl.</th>
<th>ins.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wēlluwaz, wellūwaz</td>
<td>ľ.Śal-it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Plural

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫuš</td>
<td>ḫuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēllu</td>
<td>wēllu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coll.</td>
<td>coll.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wellu,</td>
<td>welluwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LUGAL-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>d.-l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēlluwaš, welluwaš</td>
<td>LUGAL-MEŠ-aš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Ablauting

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘river bank’</strong></td>
<td><strong>‘rain’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫeuš</td>
<td>ḫeuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫēun</td>
<td>wappun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voc.</td>
<td>voc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wappu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫewawas, ḫewawaš</td>
<td>wappawaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wappawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>d.-l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wappui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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92. The alleged syllabic writing of the sg. nom. ḫa-aš-šu-uš claimed by Güterbock (1957, in KUB 31.100 rev. 9–10; thereafter cited in HW Erg. 2 12) is shown by the parallel passage KBo 24.57 i 7–8 to be pl. acc. of ḫašš- ‘ashes’ (see Puhvel, HED H 210).

93. See namma ḫaššī dapši ḫa-aš-š [a-aš lamni] 1 ⸿ṣu šipanti KBo 13.165 iii! 6–7, restored following KUB 30.41 iv 5.

94. See §4.42 and §1.61 (p. 28).

95. Other u-stem pl. nom. com. forms: ʷtarnueš, ḫuppianueš.

96. Weitenberg (1984 182–83) considers this noun neuter in MH/MS (u-e-el- lu KBo 5.7 = LS 1), with a transfer to common gender in NH. See other collective forms u-e-el- lu VBoT 58 i 10 (OH/NS), u-el- lu KUB 17.8 iv 27 (pre-NH). u-e-el- lu-wa in KUB 8.41 (StBoT 25 #109) ii 16.

97. See p. 98, n. 89.

98. Also ablauting is (TAG)šeknu- (full grade šeknau-). On the ablauting suffix -nu/-nau- see Weitenberg 1984: 221–22.


100. For this unusual vocative of a noun denoting an inanimate object see §3.29 (p. 75).
### 4.48 Noun and Adjective Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Declension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>wappuwaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>ḥeawit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ḥeweš, ḥeyaweš, ḥemuš, ḥe-e-u-uš&lt;sup&gt;101&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ḥeweš, ḥeyaweš, ḥemuš, ḥe-e-u-uš&lt;sup&gt;101&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>ḥe-e-ú-uš, ḥe(y)amuš wappamuš&lt;sup&gt;102&lt;/sup&gt;, wappuš&lt;sup&gt;103&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.48. Weitenberg (1984: 270–71) regards warku(<i>i</i>-) and wašku(<i>i</i>-) as secondary <i>u</i>-stems developed from primary <i>i</i>-stems. For the source of the <i>i</i>-stems see Starke 1990: 180–81.

#### 4.49. The noun ḥēu- ‘rain’ already in OH has an ablauting paradigm of the type shown by the adjective idālu-, but this is far too early to be the result of analogy with the <i>u</i>-stem adjectives (Kammenhuber 1969b: 281; Neu 1985: 260 §2.1). The noun wappu- ‘river bank’ has an OH/MS ablauting form wappamuš (<i>*wappawuš</i>), but its other forms show a transfer to the non-ablauting class.

#### 4.50. The noun šiu- ‘god’ has a complex inflection.<sup>104</sup> From a stem šiu- (<i>*dyēu-</i>) are formed: sg. nom. šiuš<sup>105</sup> and sg. acc. *šiun.<sup>106</sup> A stem šiw- (<i>*diw-</i>) is the base of pl. acc. ši-mu-uš (also written DINGIR.MEŠ-mu-uš) (<i>*šiwuš</i>; see §1.127, p. 45). The oblique cases are formed from a stem šiun- that was abstracted from the OH sg. acc. *šiun: sg. gen. šiunaš, d.-l. šiuni, pl. gen. šiunan, šiunaš, ins. šiunit.<sup>107</sup> This stem also came to be used for the nominative and accusative singular, with the addition of “<i>i</i>-mutation” (see §4.17, p. 86), thus sg. nom. *šiuniš (DINGIR-LIM-iš), acc. *šiunin (DINGIR-LIM-in). A rare sg. gen. in /s/ (see §3.22, p. 73, and §4.44, p. 98) built to this longer stem may also be found in the OS compound noun MUNUSšiunzanna- (<i>/isyuns/ + /anna/</i>) ‘god’s (or gods’) mother’, written logographically in OS either in the Sumerian and Akkadian order of constituents as MUNUS.MEŠ.AMA.DINGIR(-LIM) or in the Hittite

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<sup>101</sup> The form ḥemuš is expected for pl. acc. from /he:w-us/ (see §1.127, p. 45), attested in secondary use as a pl. nom. A pl. acc. /he:us/ could easily be analogical after other <i>u</i>-stems, where the pl. acc. is the same as the sg. nom. (e.g., wappuš), but the plene spelling in -<i>u-uš</i>-<i>u-uš</i> remains unexplained.

<sup>102</sup> Pl. acc. com. wa-ap-pa-mu-uš KUB 33.10 ii 11 (OH/MS).


<sup>105</sup> In the sg. nom. of the OS noun(!) forms šiunššummiš ‘our god’ and šiunššmiš ‘their god’.

<sup>106</sup> Preserved in with final <i>n</i> assimilated to the following sibilant in ši-un(n)=šummin ‘our god’ (common noun, <i>not</i> a proper name).

<sup>107</sup> For a similar development of the stem <i>Zνv</i>- in Greek ‘Zeus’ and in the interrogative-indefinite <i>ταν</i>- (<i>τινα</i>, <i>τινος</i>, <i>τινι</i>) from older accusative singulars see Sihler 1995: 338. The form ši-<i>u-na-an</i>, beginning a clause in an OS text, could already be an example of this development, if it is not, as Neu (StBoT 26:168) tentatively suggests, šiun + local particle -<i>an</i>. 
order as $M^U\{\text{NUS: MEŠ}\}$-DINGIR.AMA. See Neu (1983: 169 n. 501, 224) for the OS forms. If the above analysis is correct, which is uncertain, the representation of the /ns/ in /syuns/ as nz could reflect the secondary nature of the sg. gen. in /syun+s/ (see §1.136, p. 47, even though the n here was never syllabic).\textsuperscript{108}

Neuter u-Stem Nouns

4.51. Paradigms for the (non-ablauting) u-stem nouns of neuter gender, genu- ‘knee’ and giš$tāru$- (giš-ru) ‘tree, wood’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>genu\textsuperscript{109}</td>
<td>giš$tāru$, giš-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>giš-ruwanza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>genuwaš</td>
<td>giš-ruwaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>genuwa</td>
<td>giš-(ru)i, (giš-ru)\textsuperscript{110}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerically Indifferent

| abl.    | genuwaž           | giš-ruit         |
| ins.    | genu, ganut\textsuperscript{111} | |

4.52. The phonetically identical singular and plural forms of the nominative-accusative of the neuter noun giš-ru (*$tāru$) are sometimes distinguished graphically in the texts by means of the plural determinative: giš-ru (sg.) and giš-ru\textsuperscript{\textsc{h}l.a} (pl.).

\textit{au}-Stem Nouns

4.53. Hittite shows a small class of nouns with stems in -$au$- whose inflection is entirely parallel to that of nouns in -$ai$- (see §4.32, p. 92; and Weitenberg 1979), except that the generalization of the “full-grade” stem is more nearly complete, with only the noun $harnau$- ‘birthing stool’ showing a few traces of ablaut (see §3.37, p. 78). There is only one common-gender noun attested, $harnau$- ‘birthing stool’. Neuter nouns include $harganau$- ‘palm, sole’, šiš$ḥau$- ‘sweat’, and giš$tanau$- (a tree). Most of these nouns are poorly attested. The only plural attested thus far is the count plural $harganawiš$ (KUB 33.66 ii 3).

\textsuperscript{108} For šiunzanna- as showing syncope from *$siunas$-anna- see Watkins 1974: 105. For further discussion of the difficult šiunzanna-šiwanzanna- see also Rieken 1999a: 37 n. 160. We take šiwanzanna- to be a case where older -$u$- undergoes “breaking” to -$wa$-; see Rieken 2001 and here §1.79 (p. 34).

\textsuperscript{109} The alleged common-gender form ge-$nu-uš$ abstracted from genuššuš, ginušši, ginuššin (see HW 107; and Held, Schmalstieg, and Gertz 1987: 16) has been explained by Eichner (1979) as a false analysis of genušši.-

\textsuperscript{110} A rare form: KBo 4.2 i 30, 35.

\textsuperscript{111} This form (KUB 12.63 obv. 26, MS) is an archaism showing zero grade of the root (on ablaut see §3.37, p. 78; for ganut as an instrumental see §3.35, p. 77).
4.54  Noun and Adjective Declension

4.54. Paradigms for au-stem nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘birthing stool’ (com.)</th>
<th>‘poplar’ (neut.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ḫārnāuš(^{112})</td>
<td>AMESPACE Š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>ḫarnāiūn</td>
<td>amespace Š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ḫarnāuwaš, ḫarnuwaš(^{113})</td>
<td>amespace Š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>ḫarnāwi, ḫarnawi(^{114})</td>
<td>amespace Š</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**u-Stem Adjectives**

4.55. The normal stem + endings for the u-stem adjective are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Singular</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>-uš</td>
<td>-aweš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>-iūn</td>
<td>-amuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u (older), -awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>-awaš</td>
<td>-awaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>*-awa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>-awi, -awe(^{115})</td>
<td>-awaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-awaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-awit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.56. Substantivized adjectives sometimes show ablaut (§3.37, p. 78) and sometimes not: e.g., āššuwaz and āššawaz ‘with goods’ in the NH composition Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (Weitenberg 1984: 322–23).

4.57. Paradigms for the u-stem adjectives (all ablauting except ḫallu- and dampu-). For other forms see šarku- ‘exalted’ (ablauting), tepšu- ‘insignificant’ (ablauting), and alpu- ‘sharp’ (non-ablauting).

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\(^{112}\) The sg. nom.-acc. neut. form ḫārnāu is a secondary creation, surely due to the fact that all other au-stems are neuter. The hapax sg. acc. ḫārnāiūn is an error due to confusion with the substance ḫurnai-. See Puhvel, HED H 175.

\(^{113}\) KBo 17.65 obv. 15 (MH?/MS).

\(^{114}\) KBo 17.65 rev. 1 (MH?/MS).

\(^{115}\) See §1.61 (p. 28) and §4.43 (p. 98).
### Noun and Adjective Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'good'</th>
<th>'high'</th>
<th>'bad'</th>
<th>'raw, uncooked'</th>
<th>'all, entire'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>āššūš</td>
<td>parkuš</td>
<td>idāluš</td>
<td></td>
<td>pankuš, panguš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>āššun</td>
<td>parkun</td>
<td>idālun</td>
<td></td>
<td>pankun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>āššu</td>
<td>parku</td>
<td>idālu</td>
<td>īušu, īuešu</td>
<td>panku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>āššawaš</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>$\text{HUL-uwu}$</td>
<td></td>
<td>pangawaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>āššawei, āššawe</td>
<td>pargawi</td>
<td>$\text{idālawi}$</td>
<td>$\text{HUL-uwawā}$</td>
<td>pangawi, pangawe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Numerically Indifferent

|       |        |        |       |                 |               |
|-------|--------|--------|-------|                 |               |
| abl. | āššawaza | pargawaz |  $\text{idālawaz(a)}$, $\text{HUL-uwawā}$ |  $\text{Huešawaz(a)}$, $\text{Huešawaz}$, $\text{Huešawaz}$, $\text{Huešawaz}$, $\text{Huešawaz}$, $\text{Huešawaz}$, $\text{Huešawaz}$ | pangawez       |
| ins. | āššawet | idālawit |                  |                  | pankuit       |

### Plural

|       |        |        |       |                 |               |
|-------|--------|--------|-------|                 |               |
| nom. com. | āššaweš | pargaweš | idālaweš |  $\text{Huešaweš}$, $\text{Huešaweš}$, $\text{Huešaweš}$ | pangawesz      |
| acc. com. | āššamuš | pargamuš, pár-ga-u-aš, pargaweš | idālamuš |                  | pargawesz      |
| n.-a. neut. | āšša, āššu | pár-ga-u-wa, parku | idālawa, idālu |                  |               |
| gen. |                  |                         | idālawaš, $\text{HUL-uwawā}$ |                  |               |
| d.-l. | pargawaš | idālawaš |  $\text{Huešawā}$ |                  |               |

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116. *pár-ku-wa-aš* KUB 10.11 i 11 (HW 161) for expected *pargawaš* does not exist, since the form in question is from *parku*- 'pure'.

117. Forms like $\text{HUL-uwu}$ KBo 4.14 iii 17 need not imply *idāluwaš*, since the complement can represent the final signs of *i-da-a-la-u-wa-aš*.

118. *pár-ga-u-i*. A form *pár-ga-u-e-i* is also attested once (KBo 3.8 iii 10), a conflation of *pár-ga-u-i* and *pár-ga-u-e*. All currently attested sg. d.-l. forms are NH or at least NS.

119. The hapax *i-da-a-la-az uddānaz* KUB 15.42 ii 9 (HW and HED) may be a mistake for *i-da-a-la-⟨u⟩-az*. There is no phonological explanation for the form as it stands.

120. *pár-ga-u-e-ēš* KBo 4.4 iv 30 (NH).

121. For pl. nom.-acc. neut. see *i-da-a-la ud-da-a-ar . . . a-aš-šu ud-da-a-ar* ‘bad things . . . good things’ KUB 33.68 ii 11-12 (OH/NS). Examples of pl. attributive adjective *idālu* are cited in Weitenberg 1984: 211–12 (§531). For these and the substantivized collective pl. āššu ‘goods, property’ (OS) see §3.20 (p. 71).

e-Stem Noun

4.58. The noun *utne-* ‘land, country’ has an ablauting paradigm in OH, with *utnē* in the nominative-accusative, both singular and plural, and a weak stem *utni(y)*- in all other cases (see Neu 1974: 109–14). These weak stem forms (e.g., *utniyaz*) were preserved in NH copies of OS originals. But in later Hittite *utnē-* was generalized as the stem for the entire paradigm, with a -y- often inserted before endings beginning with an -a- (see §1.142, p. 48). In the OS sg. d.-l., *utnē-i* contracted to *utnē*, thus becoming indistinguishable from the sg.-pl. nom.-acc. For preservation of *tn* see §1.112 (p. 42).

123. Paradigm (for which see Weitenberg 1984: 140) given in transliteration instead of broad transcription because of the unusual spellings (§1.8, p. 11).
124. KBo 6.5 iv 26; for interpretation as /te:pawis/ see LH 55 n. 174.
125. *ḥalluwaš* KUB 31.71 iii! 9 (late NH).
126. One would expect *ḥalluš* (non-ablauting) or *ḥallamuš* (ablauting). The attested forms are irregular. See discussion of the similar form *šuwamuš* in §1.8 (p. 11).
Consonantal-Stem Nouns and Adjectives


4.60. Hittite nouns and adjectives show only a limited number of consonants or consonant sequences in stem-final position: ḫ, l, n, r, š, and (n) t. In OH, however, alongside the more common adjectival stem mekki- ‘much, many’ there existed a k-stem mekk- (see §4.41, p. 97; and CHD sub mekki-). For possible traces of additional stems in velars see Rieken 1999a: 61–66, to which we may also add NINDA tūnik (sg. nom.-acc.), NINDA tūningaš (sg. gen.), whether or not it is an inherited word, and see n. 30 (p. 81) and n. 37 (p. 82). There are no bl/p-stems, and the only m-stem is giem- ‘winter’, attested in the sg. d.-l. gi-e-mi ‘in winter’ (Rieken 1999a: 77–78). Other PIE root nouns with bilabial stop stems have migrated to the vocalic stem class (see Goetze 1937 and HED H 115 [on ḫapa- ‘river’]).

4.61. The following derivational suffixes (for their meanings, see chapter 2) end in consonants: -aḫit-, -al-, -an-, -ant-, -att-, -ātar, -eššar, -t-, -ul-, -ur-, -want-, -war, and -zil.

Ḫ-Stem Noun

4.62. One ḫ-stem noun is known, the neuter išqarūḫ (a vessel). Representative declined forms are: sg. nom.-acc. iškaruḫ, iškariḫ (both MS), sg. d.-l. išqarūḫi (NS), ins. iškaruḫit (MS).

L-Stem Nouns

4.63. On l-stem nouns see Rieken 1999a: 419–98. According to HE p. 54 §79, all l-stem nouns are neuters (see also Kammenhuber 1969b: 297–300). This is clearly the case for stems in -al and -ul (Rieken 1999a: 445–72). The situation is less clear for those in -iel (Rieken 1999a: 473–94). There are no l-stem adjectives, unless takšul belongs to this class.
### al-Stem Nouns

**4.64.** For nouns formed with a suffix -al- see §2.19 (p. 54). Other nouns ending in -al are: ḫaḫḫal ‘brushwood(?)’, underbrush(?), memal ‘meal, flour’, ḫuḫupal (musical instrument),127 šuppal ‘domestic animal’, tawaral (a kind of bread), katral (a metal harness piece), šiyattal ‘blade(?), kuratal (a container), tawal (an intoxicating beverage), māl (perhaps ‘intelligence, cleverness, skill’). On puriyal (perhaps for puriyalli) ‘lip cover’ see §2.21 with n. 8 (p. 55). In memal(l)- (and probably ḫaḫḫal(l)-) the geminate -ll- is original, but because this was simplified to -l- in word-final position in the nominative-accusative, there was a tendency to generalize -l- (see Rieken 1999a: 71–73). The single example with a geminate in tawal- is probably in imitation of memall-, but we cannot be sure because the origin of the word is quite unknown. The geminate in pl. nom.-acc. ḫuḫuppalli is part of a separate phenomenon whose status remains unclear: see §1.109 (p. 41). Paradigms for the stems in -al:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Com.</th>
<th>‘brushwood(?), underbrush(?)’</th>
<th>‘meal, groats’</th>
<th>(a beverage)</th>
<th>(musical instrument)</th>
<th>‘cattle’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>šuppalas128</td>
<td>tawal</td>
<td>ḫuḫupal</td>
<td>šuppal, šuppalan</td>
<td>ūḥupali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.-A. Neut.</td>
<td>ḫuḫhal</td>
<td>mēmal</td>
<td>tawal</td>
<td>ḫuḫupal</td>
<td>ūḫupali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ūḫupalan</td>
<td>ūḫupali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ḫuḫhalas</td>
<td>mema(l)laš</td>
<td>tawalaš</td>
<td></td>
<td>ūḫupali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.-L.</td>
<td>ḫuḫhali</td>
<td>tawali</td>
<td>ḫuḫupal</td>
<td>ūḫupali</td>
<td>ūḫupali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Numerically Indifferent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abl.</th>
<th>memallaz</th>
<th>tawalaz</th>
<th>ūḫupalaz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>ḫuḫhallit</td>
<td>mema(l)lit</td>
<td>tawalit, (tawallit)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.-A. Neut.</th>
<th>ḫuḫhali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ūḫhallaś</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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128. On the problem of the alternative a-stem forms of šuppal-, including sg. nom. com. šuppalas, see Melchert 1993a: 111.

129. šuppalam=a ḫanneššar KUB 31.127 + ABoT 44+ i 43 (OH/NS).
e/il-Stem Nouns

4.65. Nouns ending in -e/il, including those with a derivational suffix -zil, are: ḫurkil ‘unnatural sex act, incest’, alil ‘blossom, flower’, ḫuruitil (kind of stew), dammaššuel (variety of pear tree?), šuil ‘thread’, pa(h)šuil (kind of fodder), tayazzil ‘theft’, šarnikzil ‘compensatory payment’, gazzimuel (a leather part of the harness), ḫapalzil (kind of stew?). ḫapalzel is sometimes dissimilated to ḫapalzir. On the problem of apparent common-gender forms to some stems in -i/el see Melchert 2001, but compare also Rieken 1999a: 482–83 and 490–91. The forms with suffix -zil are older than those with -zel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘blossom’</th>
<th>‘thread’</th>
<th>‘unnatural sex act, incest’</th>
<th>‘compensatory payment’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>alilaš130</td>
<td></td>
<td>ṣarnikzil131,132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>alil,133 alel</td>
<td>šuil, šuel</td>
<td>ḫurkil, ḫurkel</td>
<td>ṣarnikzil,131,132 ṣarnikzel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>alilaš</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫurkilas134,135</td>
<td>ṣarnikzilaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>alili</td>
<td>šuili</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerically Indifferent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>alilaz</td>
<td>ḫurkilaza</td>
<td>ṣarnikzilaz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>šuilit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ṣarnikziluš135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>alili136A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ul-Stem Nouns

4.66. Nouns ending in -ul (for examples see §2.42, p. 59). An NH alternate common-gender a-stem aššula- exists for aššul ‘favor, well being’, with sg. nom. aššulaš and sg. acc. aššulan. NH forms of the sg. gen. aššulaš and the sg. d.-l. aššuli could just as well belong to it as to the older neuter l-stem. A noun takšul means ‘peace, alliance’.136

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130. Because of the multivalence of the 1st sign, all post-OS forms with endings beginning with a vowel (a-li-la-āš, a-li-li, a-li-la-az) could also be read alelaš, aleli, alelaz.
131. In OS contexts (all in the Laws) this sg. nom. form is ambiguous as to its gender. Explicit common-gender evidence is post-OH.
132. See [mān šarnikzel kuiš ‘If (there is) any restitution’ in KUB 14.8 rev. 30 (Murš. II).
133. Since alel is untested prior to NS, whereas alil is found in OH/MS, it is probable that alil was the OH form of the word.
134. ḫur-ke-la-āš and ḫur-ke-la-za are also possible readings.
135. On this late NS form as evidence of animacy see Melchert 1997a: 713.
136. According to Neu (1979b), both kurur and takšul are nouns, not adjectives.
4.67. There are also a-stem nouns in -ula-, such as ašandula- and pittula-. See §2.43 (p. 60).

### n-Stem Nouns

#### Neuter n-Stem Nouns


4.69. The a in the final syllable -an of some n-stems does not appear in their oblique cases:140 laman ‘name’ (gen. lamnaš, not *lamanaš), šaraman (a kind of bread) (abl. šaramnaz), kuššan ‘wage’ (d.-l. kušni), tēkan ‘earth’ (gen. taknāš), wilan ‘clay’ (gen. wilnaš).141

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘sin’</th>
<th>‘obligation’</th>
<th>‘well being’</th>
<th>‘peace, alliance’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>waštul, wašdul</td>
<td>išḫiul</td>
<td>aššul</td>
<td>takšul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ušṭulaš, wašṭulaš, wašṭullaš</td>
<td>išḫiulaš</td>
<td>aššulaš</td>
<td>takšulaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>wašduli, waštulli</td>
<td>aššuli</td>
<td>takšuli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>wašṭullaz, wašdulaza</td>
<td>išḫiulaza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>wašdulit, waštulit</td>
<td></td>
<td>takšulit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>waštul\textsuperscript{HR,A138}</td>
<td>išḫuli</td>
<td>takšul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

137. The forms transcribed wašṭullaš, wašṭulli, and wašṭullaz are written wa-aš-túl-la/i-, which the sign sequence -túl-la/i- may not require the positing of a geminate l, as *wa-aš-dtu-ul-la/i- would (§1.25, p. 19). See also §1.97 (p. 39) and §1.109 (p. 41).

138. wa-aš-du-ul-la KUB 18.9 ii 15 in broken context is most likely wašdull-a with -a/-ya ‘and’ and is no evidence for a pl. nom.-acc. waštulla.

139. The stems karzan- (a weaver’s tool) and qaštanzan- ‘?’ inflect in Hittite as neuter n-stem pluralia tantum, with forms parallel to šaraman- (pl. nom.-acc. karza, oblique stem karzan-). For competing accounts of the prehistory of karzan- see Eichner 1973: 98 n. 78 and Rieken 1999a: 391–92.

140. This alternation does not reflect ablaut but the fact that the prehistoric syllabic *-n of the nominative-accusative appears as Hittite -an, while *-n- of the oblique cases is preserved. See n. 48 (p. 78).

141. In addition, wilan ‘clay’ shows an unusual sg. d.-l. ú-li-ni-i.
### 4.70. Paradigms for the neuter *n*-stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>‘tax or obligation’</th>
<th>‘name’</th>
<th>‘kind of bread’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>šaḥḥān</td>
<td>laman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>šaḥḥānaš</td>
<td>lamnaš</td>
<td>šaramannaš, šaramnaš, šarammaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>šaḥḥānī</td>
<td>lamni, lamman</td>
<td>šaramni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>šaḥḥānaz(a), šaḥḥanza</td>
<td>ŠUM-za 143</td>
<td>šaram(ma)naz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>šaḥḥānī</td>
<td>lamnit</td>
<td>šaramnit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>šaḥḥāni</td>
<td></td>
<td>šaram(ma)na, šaramma, šarāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>šaḥḥānaš</td>
<td>lamnaš</td>
<td>šaramnaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>‘wage, fee’</th>
<th>‘plague’</th>
<th>‘oil’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>kuššan, kuššan</td>
<td>ūinkan, ūenkan</td>
<td>šagan 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ūinganaš</td>
<td>šagnāš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>kuššani, kušni, kuššani</td>
<td>ūegani, ūingani, ūeganni</td>
<td>šagni 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>kuššanaz, kušnaz</td>
<td>ūinganaz(a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>ūaganda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>ku-uš-ša-ni 148</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

142. The so-called endingless locative (Neu 1980). The form *la-am-ni-i* belongs to the heteroclitic noun *lammar* ‘moment, hour’.

143. See §31.23 (p. 437).

144. The variant *šaramma* results from *šaramna* by assimilation (see §1.122, p. 44). Here the regular ending *-a* has been added to the stem *šaram*- The variant *šarāma* is an archaism (see Gertz 1982: 298, 305).

145. ša-ga-an KBo 38.68 obv. 8.

146. ša-ag-ni KBo 32.14 iii 11 (MH/MS).

147. ša-gan-da KBo 22.2 obv. 2 (OS).

148. This form in *-i* is a collective, not a count plural, just as in English *wage* and *wages* are used interchangeably.
4.71. Paradigm for neuter *n*-stem *tekan* with ablaut (§3.37, p. 78):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nom.-acc.</th>
<th>gen.</th>
<th>d.-l.</th>
<th>abl.</th>
<th>ins.</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Singular** | *tekan* | *taknaš, taknāš* | *taknī, takān* | *taknā* | *
| nom.-acc. | *tekan* | *taknaš, taknāš* | *taknī, takān* | *taknā* | *
| gen. | *taknaš* | *taknī, takān* | *taknā* | *
| d.-l. | *taknā* | *taknā* | *
| abl. | *taknā* | *taknā* |

4.72. Alternating vowel length in this paradigm as well as ablaut grades suggest word stress on the plene position (AHP 185); see §1.8 (p. 11) and §1.146 (p. 50).

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149. This word shows a mixture of *n*-stem (*eyanaš, eyani, eyanit*) and *a*-stem forms (*eyaš, eya, eyaz*). Because it is found in OS only in the nom.-acc. for *eyan*, which could be either (see §4.6, p. 82, for the *a*-stem neuter paradigm), diachronic priority can be established for neither stem.

150. This word as attested shows a mixture of *n*-stem and *a*-stem forms. It is found to date only in NH or NS texts.

151. Sometimes written *e-a-an*.

152. All nominative-accusative forms written *e-ya* we take as plurals, even if in some cases they function as collectives denoting a single object. The form *e-i-e* is problematic. What appears to be I + E graphically is probably a scribal lapse for graphic I + A, i.e., *i-ya*/.

153. This word is conventionally written *tekan*, *taknaš* in broad transcription. Both *te-kān* and the endingless locative *da-ga-an* with their single writing between vowels suggest that the velar was voiced. The nature (in Hittite) of the initial stop (*d* or *t*) is uncertain.

154. AHP 185, 187, 361.

155. An identical form *tagān* (OS) or *dagan* occurs also in the compound noun *daganzipa*- (*dagan* + *šipa*) ‘earth-genius’ > ‘earth’. See §1.136 (p. 47).
Common-Gender n-Stem Nouns

4.73. All common-gender n-nouns in Hittite except one (§4.78, p. 113) show a pattern in which the sg. nom. ends in -aš (without -n-!), while all other cases have a stem containing -n-. In many instances the latter stem is invariant -an-, but some nouns show ablaut (see §3.37, p. 78), with variants -en- and -n- as well as -an- (see Oettinger 1980; Neu 1981b: 350–51; Oettinger 1982b: esp. 175–77; Melchert 1983: 3–12; and, above all, Oettinger 2003, largely superseding the previous treatments; but compare the different analysis by Rieken 2004b).

4.74. Nouns belonging to the type with sg. nom. -aš, oblique in -an/-en/-n-, include: arkamman- ‘tribute’, alkištan- ‘branch’, ḥāraŋ- ‘eagle’, memi(y)an- ‘word, thing’, ʾišḫima/-en- ‘cord’, and the ethnicon suffix -um(a)n- (for the last item, see §2.45, p. 60). Only the last two show a vocalic alternation e/a. There is a tendency in all these nouns to adopt the inflection of the a-stems—in two directions: based either on the sg. nom. or on the oblique stem. Thus one finds sg. acc. ḥāran beside ḥāraŋan, and, in fact, only arkamman, memi(y)an, and Ṣuppiluliuman, as if the stems were ḥāra-, arkamma-, memi(y)a-, and Ṣuppiluliuma-. On the other hand, one also finds sg. nom. alkištanaš, ʾišḫimanaš, and Ṣutummanaš ‘man of Šuta’, as if the stems were alkištana-, ʾišḫimana-, and Ṣutummana-. The inflection of stems in -uman- is further complicated by the loss of the -a- in the oblique stem (see §4.69, p. 108) and the phonetic changes this produces (see §1.122, p. 44). For further examples of forms of -uman- see §§2.45–2.47 (p. 60).

4.75. Paradigms for animate nouns with sg. nom. in -aš and oblique stem in -an-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘eagle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

156. This type reflects a PIE paradigm where the sg. nom. lacked not only the -n- but also the regular sg. nom. ending -s. See Latin homō, hominis ‘human being, man’. Hittite has added the regular ending -s to the sg. nom.

157. Possibly also ʾišḫištanaš- ‘lamp’, which seems to have developed secondarily in NH a geminate n, perhaps remodelled on the basis of Luvian loanwords in -anna/i-.

158. [3šalḫištanaš at KUB 33.117 iv 11.

159. Sg. acc. ḥāraŋan is OS; ḥāran does not occur before MH and is a back formation, analogical to sg. nom. ḥāraš.
4.76  Noun and Adjective Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'eagle'</th>
<th>'tribute'</th>
<th>'cord, rope'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>išḫimanaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td></td>
<td>išḫimanit, išḫimanda, išḫimanta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ħāraniš¹⁶⁰</td>
<td>išḫimāneš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>arkammuš, argamanuš</td>
<td>išḫimanuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td></td>
<td>arkammanaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the adverbial derivative ‘like an eagle’ shows the n-stem: ħāranili. For the instrumental forms išḫimanda and išḫimanta see §3.35 (p. 77).

4.76. The noun memi(y)an- ‘word’ also has a variant stem memin- seen in the forms memini and meminit (see n. 54, p. 33). The unique paradigm of ‘grape cluster’ may reflect mixture of two different paradigms (an i-stem mūri- and a derived stem mūri(ya)n-) or simply mūri(ya)n- with contraction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'word'</th>
<th>'grape cluster'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>memi(y)aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>memi(y)an¹⁶¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>memiyanaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>memini, memiyani, memieni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerically Indifferent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>memi(y)aṇaζa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>memi(y)anit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>memiyanuš, memiyaneš, memiyaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>memiyanaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>memiyaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁶⁰ See §1.57 (p. 27), §3.16 (p. 70).
¹⁶¹ memi(y)an is also attested in NH as a secondary sg. nom.-acc. neut.
¹⁶² From KUB 43.23 (rev. 21), which we consider to be OS, contra Konk., which lists it as MS.  

4.77. The noun meaning ‘witness’ originally had a stem in -walen- with sg. nom. in -waš, like the nouns in §4.74 (p. 111) (Oettinger 1982b), and is likewise subject to leveling as an a-stem kutruwa-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>kutruwaš163</td>
<td>kutruwaš, kutruwaš, kutruš,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kutruwaneš, kutruweneš, kutarweneš165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>kutru</td>
<td>kutruwaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.78. The Hittite word for ‘woman’ (MUNUS- n-), which is descriptively an n-stem, shows a unique paradigm with the addition of -s in the sg. nom.166 If Neu (1990) and Carruba (1991; 1993a) are right, the underlying Hittite word was kuinn(a)-. But there are objections worth considering (Güterbock 1992, 1995c).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>MUNUS-za, MUNUS-aš167 MUNUS-iš168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>MUNUS-nan, MUNUS-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>MUNUS-naš, MUNUS-aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>MUNUS-ní, MUNUS-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>MUNUS-MEŠ-eš, MUNUS-MEŠ-iš, MUNUS-MEŠ-uš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>MUNUS-MEŠ-uš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>MUNUS-MEŠ-aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>MUNUS-MEŠ-aš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.79. A small class of common-gender nouns has a stem in -anzan- (Melchert 2003b). Examples include: ղաšlanzan- (a kind of tree), իստանզա- ‘soul, mind, will’, լահ(ը)անզա- ‘shelduck’, and (ը)տատձան- ‘(bul)rush’. These nouns closely resemble those in §4.75 in having a sg. nom. in -anzaš without -n-, while the rest of the cases are based on a stem -anzan-. But they also have a sg. nom. in -anza without the final -š. Once again, there is a tendency to remodel this alternating paradigm as an a-stem, either after the sg. nom. (thus MS sg. gen. alanzaš as if to alanza- or NS pl. acc. la(ը)hanzuš

163. KBo 15.25 obv. 35 nu-za zik 4UTU-aš kutruwaš ēš.
164. In kutrūšš-a (var. kutruwašš-a) EGG-an iyanteš ašandu KUB 13.4 ii 36–37 the form kutruš is pl. nom., not sg.
165. ku-tar-ă-e-ne-ĕš KUB 23.78B ii 9. See on this writing §1.83 (p. 35).
166. On suggestions for the Hittite word underlying MUNUS (earlier reading SAL) ‘woman’ (either *g(u)wen-, or *g(u)wan-), see Neu 1990; Carruba 1991; Güterbock 1992; Carruba 1993a; Güterbock 1995c; Weitenberg 1995: 337; HED K 306–8; and Rieken 1999a: 39–42.
167. As shown by the spelling MUNUS-na-aš KUB 8.66 iii 3 and 10, MUNUS-aš is a secondary a-stem based on the oblique forms (see §4.74, p. 111).
168. MUNUS-iš KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 27.
as if to \( \text{la}(\text{h})\text{hanza} \); even \( \text{la}\text{h}\text{anziuš} \) [late NS] as if to *\( \text{la}\text{h}\text{anzi} \)- or after the other cases (thus NS sg. nom. \( \text{ištanza} \) as if to \( \text{ištanzana} \)). The noun \( \text{šumanzan} \)- also back-forms a neuter singular based on the collective plural \( \text{šumanza} \).

**r-Stem Nouns and Adjectives**

4.80. Of the \( r \)-stem nouns (HE §80; EHS; Kammenhuber 1969b: 287), those in -\( ur \) (§2.48, p. 61) are all neuters, with the exception of \( \text{NA}\text{šekur} \) ‘rock sanctuary’, which has common gender agreement (\( \text{kūn} \text{NA}\text{šekur} \) but as yet no unequivocal common gender inflection. There are only two nouns in -\( er \): \( \text{hašduer} \) ‘brushwood’, an old collective, is inflected as a neuter, while \( \text{hašter-} \) ‘star’ is common gender and adds an -\( s \) in the sg. nom., producing \( \text{haštērz} \)\( (a) \). The sg. nom. \( \text{mUL-aš} \) and the stem form \( \text{URU} \text{mUL-raš} \) suggest that a secondary \( a \)-stem \( \text{hašte/ira-} \) arose as it did in the case of \( \text{keššar} > \text{keššara-} \) (§4.82). Stems in -\( ar \) include nouns of both genders and adjectives.

4.81. Paradigms of nouns in -\( ur \) and -\( er \):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘soup, stew’</th>
<th>‘ritual’</th>
<th>(a body part)</th>
<th>‘brushwood’</th>
<th>‘star’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>( \text{paršūr} )</td>
<td>( \text{aniur} )</td>
<td>( \text{kudur} )</td>
<td>( \text{hašduēr} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>( \text{paršūraš} )</td>
<td>( \text{aniuraš} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>( \text{paršūrazzi}^{172} )</td>
<td>( \text{aniuraz} )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{hašduerraza}^{172} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>( \text{paršūrit} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>( \text{aniuri}^{174} )</td>
<td>( \text{kudur(ra)} ), ( \text{kudur\text{r}I\text{LA}} )</td>
<td>( \text{hašduer} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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169. Inflected forms of \( \text{NA}\text{šekur} \) are virtually non-existent. Most examples are part of place names where the word is written in the stem form. The final wedge (-\( aš \)) on the pl. nom. form \( \text{NA}\text{šekur}\text{rI\text{LA}}-\text{aš} \) cited by HED H 289 is clearly indicated in the copy with a circle of dots as partially erased. Without immediate context, it is a toss-up whether in KBo 17.62 + KBo 17.63 iv 4 to read \( \text{NA}\text{šekur-aš} \) with unusual syllabification or \( \text{NA}\text{šekur} \) with unusual syllabification or \( \text{NA}\text{šekur} \) (\( \text{SAG.} \))\( \text{aš} \) (with Beckman 1983b: 38–39), and nothing in that context suggests the need for a plural form.


171. The earliest examples of sg. nom. \( \text{mUL-aš} \) are in MS manuscripts.

172. See §1.116 (p. 42).

173. On the geminate sonorant see §1.109 (p. 41).

174. \( \text{a-ni-ū-ri} \) is incorrectly registered as sg. d.-l. in HED 1:70.
4.82. In the case of nouns in -ar we must distinguish between original r-stems and secondary ones. Of original r-stems, neuter nouns in -ar such as ḫappar- ‘purchase, sale’ have an invariant stem and require no further comment. The PIE r-stem polysyllabic animate nouns are generally transferred to the a-stem class in Hittite (Rieken 1999a: 261–68); e.g., agent nouns in -tara- (< PIE *-tor; see §2.41, p. 59). There is one exception, the word for ‘hand’ (Weitenberg 1995: 334; Rieken 1999a: 261–62), which is once attested with the inherited asigmatic sg. nom. com. keššar-šiš ‘his hand’. This is also the only r-stem noun to show traces of ablaut in its stem. The alternation of e, i, a, and zero between the šš and the r of the word for ‘hand’ probably indicates that no vowel stood in that position and the word contained a consonantal sequence ssr (so AHP 29). In the earlier stages of Hittite the word for ‘hand’ had the following paradigm (HE §80b): sg. nom. ke-e-šar, sg. all. ki-iš-ra-a, sg. d.-l. ki-iš-ri or ke-e-šar (§3.26, p. 74), ins. ki-iš-šar-ta, ki-iš-šar-at. In OH the vowel in the first syllable of sg. nom. keššar was stressed e, but in the other forms of the paradigm was unstressed i (AHP 101). In the later language, ‘hand’ became a common gender a-stem noun, as others of its class (e.g., the agent nouns in -tara-) had previously done. The only forms diagnostic of this later a-stem are the sg. nom. examples: kišširaš, keššeraš, and kešširaš. Late NH pl. acc. kiššariuš shows the same intrusive i found in anniuš (< anna- ‘mother’), gimriuš (< gimra- ‘steppe, grassland’), šittariuš (< šittara-), and laḫanziuš (< laḫanza [a bird]), on which see §4.2 (p. 79), §4.17 (p. 86), §4.79, and §4.84.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘hand’</th>
<th>‘purchase, sale’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>keššar, kišširaš, keššeraš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>kiššeraš, kišširan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>ḫappar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>kiššaraš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

175. See n. 178 for the form ḫappariuš. Against HED H 125 (following Laroche), the hapax ḫa-ap-pí-iř in KBo 12.70 rev. 14 (NS) is a back formation based on ḫappirāi- beside ḫapparāi-. See Rieken 1999a: 318 n. 1549, following Kimball.

176. On this correct interpretation of keššar-šiš see Weitenberg 1995: 334, with references. Contrary to Kamenhuber (1969b: 281, 287, 310), it is not keššar-šiš, but rather the form šu-aš-š-e-et of the NH parallel text that is erroneous.

177. For the orthography ki-iš-šar-at see §1.11 (p. 12) and §1.12 (p. 13).

178. We follow LH 121, 207–8, 276, which takes ḫa-ap-pa-ri-uš in Laws §146 (aa ii 11) as a different stem, ḫappari(ya)- ‘sale price’ and rejects the view that this is to be read as [ẖant]ezziyaš ḫappari-uš wāši ‘he shall buy them at the price of the first (man)’, proposed by Neu, StBoT 18 107 and followed by HW² H 215–16 and HED H 125–26.

179. ki-iš-ši-ra-aš VBoT 58 i 39 (OH/NS).

180. ki-še-ra-aš-ša-an (*kiššeraš-ša-an ‘his hand’) KBo 3.27 obv. 3 (OH/NS), ki-iš-še-ra-an KUB 11.34+ IBoT 4.54 iv 6 (OH/NS), KBo 24.45 obv. 31.
### 4.83 Noun and Adjective Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘hand’</th>
<th>‘purchase, sale’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiššāri, kiššari, kišširi, keššar</td>
<td>ḥappari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiššārā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiššāraz</td>
<td>ḥapparaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keššarta, kiššarta, ki-iš-šar-at, kišrūt, kiššerit, kišširit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiššariš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiššeruš, kiššariuš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kišraš, kiššaraš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kišraš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.83. Due to a pre-Hittite change involving final sequences of *-Cros/m* (Melchert 1993a), a number of common-gender nouns (šittara-, ḥuppara-) came to have sg. nom. and sg. acc. forms in -ar although their stems were in -ra-. Contrary to Neu (1982–83: 125–26), there is no evidence that there was any gender alternation in any of these stems in OH. The anomalous sg. nom. and sg. acc. com. forms in -ar, however, were replaced in later Hittite by a-stem forms in -araš and -aran.186

4.84. The paradigms of šittar ‘sun disk’ and ḥuppar (a vessel) follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘sun disk’ (com.)</th>
<th>(a vessel)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>šittar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>šittarlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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181. *ki-iš-ša-ri-i* StBoT 8 i 28 (OS), *ki-iš-ša-ri KUB* 13.20 i 18 (MH/NS), *ki-iš-ša-ri-ši-mi* ‘in(to) their hand’ StBoT 8 i 20 (OS), *ki-iš-ši-(a-ri-iš-ši)‘ in(to) his hand’ KUB 11.1 ii 5 restored by KUB 11.6 i 4 (= THeth 11:24 i 70) (OH/NS), *ki-iš-ša-ri-mi* KBo 3.1 ii 22, KBo 3.23 i 4 (OH/NS).


184. KBo 8.42 rev. 4 (OS or OH/MS).


186. In the case of the word for ‘horn’, the response to the above sound change was the creation of two separate paradigms: a neuter a-stem šawitra- and a neuter r-stem šāwatar (Melchert 1993a: 105–6).

187. See *še-me-e-na-aš ḫu-u-up-pa-aš šu-u-uš* KBo 20.8 rev. 4 (OS); *ke-e-da-ni-ma* ḫu-up-pa-ra-aš kat-ta ki-it-ta KUB 33.59 iii 8–9 (OS).
4.85. Paradigms for r-stem adjectives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘hostility’</th>
<th>‘full, complete’</th>
<th>‘ominous’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td><em>kurur</em></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššaraš,</em></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššaran</em></td>
<td><em>kallaran</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td><em>kurur</em></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššar</em></td>
<td><em>kallar</em>¹⁸⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td><em>kururaš</em></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššaraš</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td><em>kūruri</em></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššari</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerically Indifferent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššara</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššari</em></td>
<td><em>kallarit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td><em>kurur</em></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššaruš</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššaruš</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td><em>kurur,</em> <em>kururi</em>¹⁹¹</td>
<td><em>šakuwaššaruš</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td><em>kururaš</em></td>
<td><em>šakuwaššari</em></td>
<td><em>kallar,</em> <em>kallāra</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.86. We follow Neu (1979b; 1983: 97 with n. 354) and others in analyzing *kurur-* as a noun secondarily used as an adjective. The adjectives in -ar (e.g., *šakuwaššar,* *kallar*) have the same history as the nouns described in §4.83.

**s-Stem Nouns**

4.87. For the PIE origins of the inflection of Hittite s-stems see Rieken: 1999a 171–83; Beekes 1995: 185–86; and Sihler 1995: 305. In Hittite most s-stem nouns are neuter, the exceptions being *hāš* ‘soap’ and *handaiš* ‘heat’. The following nouns belong to the s-stem class: *aiš* ‘mouth’, *ankiš* (a kind of plant), *handaiš* ‘heat’, *ḥapuš* ‘reed stalk(?)’.

¹⁸⁸ [ . . . k]al-la-ar KUB 12.43:4’ (MS?; OS according to Konk.).
4.88  Noun and Adjective Declension

penis(?)’, ḫaš ‘soap’, ḫupallaš ‘scalp(?) or skull(?)’, ḫiskiš ‘back’, ḫatriš ‘reckoning’ (see HED K 298), nepiš ‘sky, heaven’, purpuriš (a vessel), kalmuš ‘lituus, crook’ maldaniš ‘mushroom(?).’, dannaš (a kind of bread), zaškaraš ‘anus’ (< zaškar ‘excrement’ + aiš ‘mouth’). aiš ‘mouth’ and the compound zaškaraš containing it are the only s-stem nouns that show ablaut. The noun ḫu(wa)lliš(ša)/ ḫuwalliš(ša)n- ‘pine cone’ shows both an s-stem, an extended stem -šn- (see §4.90 with n. 202, p. 120), and a shorter i-stem (HW 74, HED H 424).

4.88. Paradigms for s-stem nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>‘mouth’</th>
<th>‘side’¹⁸⁹</th>
<th>dannaš-bread</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>aiš</td>
<td>tapuwaš</td>
<td>dannaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>ṭāpuwašanza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>iššaš</td>
<td>tapuwaššaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>išši, aišši</td>
<td>tāpuwaš(?)¹⁹⁰</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>išša</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerically Indifferent</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>iššaž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>iššit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>KAXU-ḪLA-UD¹⁹²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>tapuwaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘lituus’</th>
<th>‘heat’</th>
<th>‘soap, ash’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>ḫandaiš¹⁹³</td>
<td>ḫāš, ḫaššaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫaššan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁸⁹. The adverbs tapuša ‘to the side’ and tapušza ‘beside’ were originally the allative and ablative of this s-stem.

¹⁹⁰. The second tu-a-pu-u-wa-aš form in KUB 9.4 i 9, which HW 213 assigned to the genitive, is contextually a dative-locative (probably singular). Perhaps it is an endingless locative.

¹⁹¹. KUB 2.8 i 34. The forms NINDA tannaza and dannaza do not belong to his word; instead they are sg. nom. to stems in -ant-.

¹⁹². KUB 14.4 ii 10 (NH). This example is not evidence for heterogeneity in this word but rather a sporadic example of the use of a common-gender form for a count plural in early NH (see §3.13, p. 68).

¹⁹³. Although no inflectional aspect of this word shows it to be common gender, it must be such. Neuter nouns cannot serve as subjects of transitive verbs (see §§3.8–3.9, pp. 66–67), whereas ḫandaiš does so: mān-(n) ḫandaiš wallzi zig=an ekunimi dai KBo 3.23 i 5–6 (NS), with restoration from KUB 31.115 (NS).
### 4.89. Noun and Adjective Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘lituus’</strong></td>
<td><strong>‘heat’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>kalmuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>kalmušaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>kalmuši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>kalmušaz, kalmušati (Luw.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>kalmušit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>ūššuš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One group of nouns has members with secondary common-gender stems in the nominative and accusative extended by a thematic vowel *a*: *iškiš(a)-* ‘back’, *nepiš(a)-* ‘sky’, *atešš(a)-* ‘axe’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘back’</strong></td>
<td><strong>‘sky’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>[nep]išaš, ḫN-aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>iškišaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>iškiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>nepišanza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>iškišaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>iškiši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>iškiša</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

194. If *kalmušiyaš* KBo 34.175:6’ belongs to the paradigm of *kalmuš*, it resembles *kardiyaš* to *kard*-'heart' (see §4.116, p. 131), but it may also belong to a derived adjectival stem *kalmušiya*- ‘of the lituus’.

195. Against Rieken (1999a: 192), the form *a-te-eš-ša-na-aš* in KUB 9.31 i 27 is not “hopelessly corrupt” but merely a sg. nom. used in a list despite its syntactic role as a direct object, for which there are parallels. This secondary sg. nom. com. to a stem *atešš(a)-na-* shows that this noun originally belonged to the type of *s*-stem with an *-n-* in the oblique cases; see §4.90 (p. 120). Only the extended stem in *-ššn-* can explain the consistent geminate *-šš-* in this word, which cannot be explained by accent: see AHP 150–51.

196. *ne-e-pi-iš* (OS), *ne-pi-iš* (OS and later), *ne-pé-eš* only in NS; see CHD L–N 448. Plene writing of the initial syllable is common in OS.


198. *ne-e-pi-ša* (OS), *ne-pi-ša* (NS).
4.90. Another group shows an -n- extension in the oblique cases: ḫaḥriš(n-) ‘lung’, ḫataλkiš(n-) ‘hawthorn’, ḫaddareš(n-) ‘intersection, fork’, ḫu(wa)liš(n-) ‘pine cone’,202 kippiš(n-) ‘stool, camp-chair’, takšėš(n-) ‘assemblage’, tunnakkiš(n-) ‘inner chamber’, dandukiš(n-) ‘humanity, the human race’, uppiš(n-) ‘what is sent’ (AHP 150–51; Rieken 1999a: 386–404).203 Later, members of this group were regularized by being fitted into the heteroclitic r/n-stem class with new nominative-accusative forms such as tunna(k)kešsar (KUB 25.15 rev. 4, 15; KBo 30.69 iii 4), etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'inner chamber'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.91. While PIE simple t-stems are rare (Beekes 1995: 178), those in -nt- are not. Due to the wide use and productivity of a derivational suffix -att- used to form action nouns, the number of t-stem nouns in Hittite is fairly large (Pedersen 1938: 40–41; Krollnasser 1956: 129–31; EHS 254–56; Kammenhuber 1969b: 196; Rieken 1999a: 83–170). The only neuter t-stems in Hittite are those in -itt- (see §4.95, p. 122).

4.92. The combination of t/d with an immediately following š (as in the sg. nom. com.) is represented by the graph z in Hittite cuneiform (see §§1.90–1.91, p. 37). If an-

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199. ne-e-pî-iš-za KUB 43.23 rev. 15 (OS) and ne-pî-iš-za KBo 3.22;2 (OS). The alternate interpretations of the latter as sg. gen. (Otten 1951: 40 and EHS 327) and as endingless loc. + particle -za (see n. 9, p. 363 and §3.26, p. 74) are unfounded.

200. KBo 29.199:7’, cited in HED A 227–28 in unpublished form as “atteššēš-ma ZABAR 97/b r. 7.”

201. This form may be pl. gen. (see §3.23, p. 73, and CHD L–N 448).


203. For the stems karzan- and qaš hanzan- included in this class by Rieken (1999a: 391–92) see n. 139 (p. 108).
other consonant immediately preceded this /ts/ in final position, it was necessary to write it in cuneiform as -za, with an unpronounced a. This situation is especially common with stems in -nt-, where the final sequence of three consonants /nts/ was written -vnt-za.

4.93. Common-gender t-stem nouns include one PIE root noun, the word for ‘year’ (wēlitt- < *wētt-), and several nouns derived with a suffix -t-. Of the latter only kar(a)itt- ‘flood’ < *gr(o)it- shows partially preserved ablaut (§3.37, p. 78). Others have generalized the o-grade: kašt- ‘hunger’ < *g(h)os-t- (but e-grade is reflected in the derivative kištuwant- ‘hungry’), šaš-t- ‘sleep, bed’ to šeš-/šaš- ‘to sleep’, and kutt- ‘wall’ < g̑h(o)ut-t- (see HED K 298).204 The noun ḫalmaššuit- ‘throne dais’ is a loanword from Hattic. There is also a productive class of nouns with the suffix -att-, for which see §2.31 (p. 57).

Simple t-Stem Nouns

4.94. Paradigms of common-gender t-stem nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>‘anger’</th>
<th>‘task, ritual’</th>
<th>‘famine’</th>
<th>‘year’</th>
<th>‘day’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>kardimiyaz, kartimmiyaza</td>
<td>aniyaz</td>
<td>gāšza, kašza</td>
<td>*welizza, MU.KAM-za</td>
<td>UD.KAM-az, UD-az, šiwaž?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>kardimiyattan</td>
<td>aniyattan</td>
<td>kaštan</td>
<td>*welittan, MU-an</td>
<td>UD-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>kardimiyattaš</td>
<td>aniyattaš</td>
<td>*welittaš, MU.KAM-aš</td>
<td>2Šiwaţaš, UD-aş, šiwaţ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>TUKU.TUKU-atti, kartimmí(y)atti</td>
<td>aniyatti</td>
<td>kašti</td>
<td>witti, we/itti</td>
<td>šiwaţi, šiwaţ, šiwaţ, 209 UD-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*šiwaţaţ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

204. A derived t-stem nekus- ‘evening’ is attested only in the set phrase nekus meḫur ‘evening time’, where nekus is judged to be an old genitive < *nek-”t-s (Rieken 1999a: 84 with n. 400, following Schindler).

205. The word for ‘year’ reflects a PIE e-grade, but there is evidence for both e- and i-vocalism in the Hittite word: ǔ-e-et-ta-[an-da-an-ni] KBo 3.22:64 (OS) vs. ǔ-i-it-ti KUB 29.32:2 and KUB 4.72 iv 2. Spellings like pl. gen. ǔ-e/it-ta-an are therefore ambiguous. See on this problem AHP 144–45.


207. Against taking a-ni-at-še-et (OS) as evidence for secondary neuter gender see Rieken (1999a: 107), who emends to a-ni-ya-at-(iwa)-še-et. For the possibility that aniat as attested is a correct collective plural and an archaism see AHP 87.

208. Interpretation as nominative or genitive is possible (see Neu 1983: 15–16 n. 74; Starke 1990: 458 n. 1666, Rieken 1999a: 102–3).

209. See also the second member of the OH a-ni-ši-wa-at ‘today, henceforth’ (Rieken 1999a: 104).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'anger'</th>
<th>'task, ritual'</th>
<th>'famine'</th>
<th>'year'</th>
<th>'day'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerically Indifferent</td>
<td>MU.KAM-za</td>
<td>UD,(KAM)-až</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'flood'</th>
<th>'joy'</th>
<th>'fear'</th>
<th>'wall'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>karaįz, kariz, gerèzza</td>
<td>dušgaraz(a)</td>
<td>nahšaraz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>tušgarattan, dušgaratan,</td>
<td>nahšarattan</td>
<td>kuttan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>tuškarattaš</td>
<td>kuttaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>karaįti, karitti</td>
<td>dušgaratti</td>
<td>nahšaratti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerically Indifferent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>duškaratta(z)za</td>
<td>nahšarataza</td>
<td>kuttaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plural |          |        |       |
| nom. com. | garitteš, garittiš | nahšaratteš | kutteš |
| acc. com. | nahšaradduš | kudduš |
| d.-l. | nahšarattaš | kuttaš |

4.95. Neuter $t$-stems are represented by militt- 'honey' and šeppitt- (a cereal). Neither noun occurs in the plural.

211. MSpr. obv. 6 (Murš. II).
212. KBo 4.8 ii 22 (Murš. II).
213. IBoT 1.36 i 59 (MH/MS) with CHD L–N 344. Rieken (1999a: 115) argues against the interpretation as ablative of *nahšar-.
214. karatti KUB 36.110:18 (OS), karit[i] KBo 22.6 i 27 (OH?/NS).
nt-Stem Nouns and Adjectives

4.96. Common-gender nouns in -nt- include one root noun, kant- (a cereal, ‘oats’?), one probable old participle, ḫuwant- ‘wind’, and several types of stems derived with a suffix -(a)nt- (for these see §§2.25 and 2.27, p. 56). For the ergative case in -anza/-anteš, see §3.8 (p. 66).

4.97. Adjectives in -nt- for which no shorter bases can be found in Hittite are ḫūmant- ‘all’ and ṣam(m)iyant- ‘small’. For derived adjectives with a suffix -ant- see §2.24 and §2.26 (p. 56) and for those with a suffix -want- see §2.50 (p. 61). Hittite participles, which are also formed with a suffix -ant- (§§25.39–25.45, pp. 339–340), may sometimes be substantivized.

4.98. Paradigms of Stems in -nt-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'night' (noun)</th>
<th>'all' (adj.)</th>
<th>'living' (adj.)</th>
<th>'captured' &gt; 'captive'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>išpanza</td>
<td>ḫūmanza</td>
<td>ḫuiš(u)wanza, ḫuišwanza</td>
<td>appanja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>išpandan</td>
<td>ḫūmandan</td>
<td>ḫuiš(u)wandtan, ḫuišwandan</td>
<td>appantan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫūman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>išpandaš</td>
<td>ḫūmandaš</td>
<td>ḫuišwantaš</td>
<td>appantaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>išpanti, išpandi</td>
<td>ḫūmantiti</td>
<td>ḫuišwanti</td>
<td>appanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>išpandaz</td>
<td>ḫūmandaz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫūmantit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫūmanteš,</td>
<td>ḫuiš(u)wanteš,</td>
<td>appanteš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫūmanduš,</td>
<td>ḫuišwanduš</td>
<td>appanduš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫūmanduš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫūmandaš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫūmandaš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

217. Other nt-stem plural nominatives are: im. ilma-uš (*ḫuwanduš) ‘winds’ KUB 24.1 iv 16 (Murš. II).
218. Perhaps this is rather a collective in -i.
4.99 Noun and Adjective Declension

**r/n-Stem Nouns**

4.99. PIE “heteroclite” stems have the peculiarity of taking a suffix in the nominative-accusative different from the one used in the rest of the cases. The only widespread type (the so-called *r/n* stems) has a suffix ending in *-r* in the nominative-accusative and a suffix ending in *-n* in the rest of the cases. This class is known in other old IE languages (Beekes 1995: 187; Sihler 1995: §§290–92; Szemerényi 1996: §7.3.4). In Hittite it is a large and productive class (Hrozný 1915: 24–25, 1917: 64–65; HE §81; Kammenhuber 1955b = Kammenhuber 1993: 1–10; EHS 278–321; Oettinger 1986b: 11–15). All *r/n*-stem nouns are neuter. No adjectives belong to this class.

4.100. There are five groups of nouns which exhibit this *r/n* alternation in their declension: (1) words built directly to the root, (2) derivatives in *-ātar*, (3) derivatives in *-eššar*, (4) derivatives in *-āwar*, and (5) derivatives in *-mar*.

**Non-Derived r/n-Stem Nouns**

4.101. Group 1: Archaic words (some inherited from PIE) built directly to the root (often no longer recognizable), with and without ablaut (see §3.37, p. 78), some with mobile accent (see §1.8, p. 11; §1.46, p. 25; and §1.145, p. 49):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘word’</th>
<th>‘water’</th>
<th>‘time’</th>
<th>‘blood’</th>
<th>‘fire’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.-a.</td>
<td>uttar</td>
<td>wātar</td>
<td>mēḥur</td>
<td>īšḥar, išḥar, īššār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>uddananza</td>
<td>wetinanza, witenanza</td>
<td>īšḥananza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>uddanaš, uttanaš</td>
<td>witenas</td>
<td>meḫunaš</td>
<td>īšḥanāš, išḥōnaš, īšnaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>uddani, (uddāni)</td>
<td>weti, witeni</td>
<td>meḫuni, meḫueni</td>
<td>īšḥani, išḥani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


220. Note that the *ḥ* in this word is omissible (see §4.102). It is not due to a scribal error.

221. The vast majority of *weten-*, *witen-*, etc. spellings have *e* in the second syllable (*-te-*). Spellings such as *ū-i-ti-ni-it* KBo 23.1 iv 24 are exceedingly rare. The initial syllable *wi- or we-* is inevitably spelled with *ū-eli-*, once *ū-wi-*, but not *u-eli-. On the alternation of initial *ū-i- / ū-e-* in this word see Kammenhuber 1969: 199 with anterior literature.
### Numerically Indifferent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'word'</th>
<th>'water'</th>
<th>'time'</th>
<th>'blood'</th>
<th>'fire'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>$uddanaz(a)$, $uddananza$_{222}</td>
<td>$wetenaz(a)$, $wetenazza$, $witenaz(a)$</td>
<td>$elššanaz$, $elššanza$, $elššananza$</td>
<td>$paḫḫu(e)naz(a)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>$uddanit$, $uddanta$_{223}</td>
<td>$witanta$, $wetenit$, $witenit$, $witinit$, $wedanda$, $widand/ta$</td>
<td>$elššanta$, $elššanda$, $elššanit$_{224}</td>
<td>$paḫḫu(e)nit$</td>
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</tbody>
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### Plural

#### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n.-a.</th>
<th>$uttār$, $uddār$$_{225}$</th>
<th>$widār$, $witār$, $wedār$, $uwitār$_{226}</th>
<th>$meḫurri$_{ḪI.A, 227}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>$uttanānteš$, $uddananteš$</td>
<td>$wetenanteš$</td>
<td></td>
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<td>gen.</td>
<td>$uddanaš$, $AḪI.A-aš$</td>
<td>$meḫunaš$</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>$uddanāš$, $uttanaš$</td>
<td>$uwitenaš$<em>{228}, $wetenaš$</em>{229}</td>
<td>$meḫunaš$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'hour' 'neck(?)' 'urine' (body part)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.-a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
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<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
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<tr>
<td>all.</td>
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### Numerically Indifferent

<table>
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<th>$kuttanaz$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>$kuttanit$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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222. See §3.33 (p. 77).
223. For the instrumentals in -d/-ta after a resonant (uddanta, wedanda, iššanda) see §3.35 (p. 77) ud-da-an-ta is attested in KUB 30.10 obv. 18 (OH/MS).
224. Listed in HW² 2:121a without refs.
225. The form $uddāra$-met 'my words' KBo 3.28 ii 20 (OH/NS) appears to show double marking of the plural (for the ending -a compare kallāra in §4.85, p. 117) and the gemination seen with neuter nominative-accusative plurals in -i (see §1.109, p. 41). The reality of this isolated form in a late copy is open to question.
226. The non-plene spelling of the second syllable in the plural 'waters' is unusual. $u-e-ta-ar$ KBo 12.100 rev. 6 may be Luwian (see the immediate context). But $u-e-ta-ar$ KBo 25.2 ii 8 is not only Hittite but Old Script! See also $u-i-wi-ta-ar$ in KUB 13.3 iii 23.
227. This final -i on the neuter plural is more common in the verbal substantives (arkuwarri$_ḪI.A$, minumarri$_ḪI.A$) and in the non-heteroclitic consonantal stems (kurur > kururi$_ḪI.A$, ḫuḫupal > ḫuḫupalli$_ḪI.A$, kurtal > kurtalli$_ḪI.A$, alel > aleli$_ḪI.A$) than on r/n-stems. But see zankilatarri$_ḪI.A$ in §3.20 (p. 72). On the subject of this final -i on neuter nouns see Prins 1997: 56–61.
228. KUB 13.3 iii 37.
229. KUB 39.71 i 24.
4.102. Note that the ḫ in ēšḫar is omissible in NH. Friedrich (HE §28 b) explained this as due to a weakly articulated ḫ, which may even have been omitted dialectally. HW²E 121 includes only one example, e-eš-šar (in its NH paradigm), and attributes it to a scribal error. HED E/I 313 acknowledges several forms without ḫ and considers them to be due to a secondary development. AHP 71 indicates that the phenomenon is pre-Hittite, not independent in Hittite (see also Rieken 1999a: 303). AHP 71 considers gen. ēšnaš old, with nom. ēššar analogical to it. The i in išḫan- (see also išḫarwant-, išḫaškant- ‘bloodied’, išḫanittara- ‘blood relative’ [see Singer 1999], and išḫarnumāi- ‘to bloody’) is explained as a prothetic vowel that originated in the oblique forms of the collective plural and spread to the nominative-accusative (Melchert 1984b: 109 n. 66, citing Schindler). The alternation paḫḫur/paḫḫuen- in the word for ‘fire’ shows ablaut, but the single example meḫueni for meḫuni is merely analogical to paḫḫueni. It is quite uncertain whether the variants paḫḫuwar and šeḫuwar represent ablaut or not. Ablaut is definitely shown by the alternation in the word for ‘water’ between wātar, widār, wedan-, and the set of variants witen/-wetan/-wetin-. The alternation of i and e in witen/-wetan- is explicable as i < *e in the unaccented root syllable (Rieken 1999a: 292–93). Of these doublets Rieken claims that the former occurs in the older texts.

4.103. Instrumental in -ta. Note too that in three out of the four rln-stem nouns whose instrumental is attested (uddanta, išḫanda, wedanda), the archaic ending -d/ta is found either instead of or alongside of the normal ending -it. On the form išḫimanda (< išḫima(n)-) see Oettinger 1982a: 235 §2.4. See also §3.35 (p. 77) and p. 185, n. 36.

Derived Nouns with Suffix -ātar

4.104. Group 2: Derived nouns in -ātar (Sturtevant and Hahn 1951: 98 §159; EHS 291–97) show -tar in the nominative-accusative, where -ar reflects a PIE syllabic *r (see n. 48, p. 78) and -tm- or assimilated -nn- in the other cases. They include many abstracts or words for states or status (see §2.33, p. 57), as well as some concrete nouns (§4.105). Hittite has also borrowed a few nouns from Luwian with a suffix -(t)tar/-tn-, such as ḫuitar ‘wildlife, fame’ and karš(a)ttar ‘segment’ (Starke 1990: 455–56 and 560–64). These inflect like the nouns in -ātar, except that they never show assimilation of -tm- to -nn- (see §1.112, p. 42).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘impurity’</th>
<th>‘reverence, respect’</th>
<th>‘servitude’</th>
<th>‘sorcery’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
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<td>nakkıyātar</td>
<td>li-nātar</td>
<td>alwanzātar</td>
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<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>papranmania</td>
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<td>gen.</td>
<td>paprannaš</td>
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<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>papramni</td>
<td>nakkıyanni</td>
<td>li-anni</td>
<td>alwanzanni</td>
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<td>abl.</td>
<td>papramnaz(a), papranmanza</td>
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<td>li-nanaz</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>[nakk][y]annit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘impurity’</td>
<td>‘reverence, respect’</td>
<td>‘servitude’</td>
<td>‘sorcery’</td>
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<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>paprāta</td>
<td></td>
<td>alwanzāta</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘growth’</th>
<th>‘insolence’</th>
<th>‘life’</th>
<th>‘journey’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>šullātar, šullatar</td>
<td>ūsiwatar, laḥḥiyatar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>miyannaš</td>
<td>ūsiwannaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>šullanni</td>
<td>ūsiwanni</td>
<td>laḥḥiyanni</td>
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<td>Numerically Indifferent</td>
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<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>šullannaz(a)</td>
<td>ūsiwannaza</td>
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<td>ins.</td>
<td>ūsiwannit</td>
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<td>Plural</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>miyata</td>
<td>šullāta⁴⁰</td>
<td>laḥḥiyatar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘fine’</th>
<th>‘wildlife’</th>
<th>‘segment, parcel’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>zankilatar</td>
<td>ḫūtar, ḫuetar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>ḫuinanza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ḫuinnaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>karšaddani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerically Indifferent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>ḫuitnit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>za(n)kilatarᴴᴵᴬ,</td>
<td>ḫuitār, ḫuidār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zankilatarriᴴᴵᴬ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.105. The plural forms of nouns in this class are especially rare because they almost never denote concrete, countable objects, but either states (e.g., nakkiyātar) or classes of animate entities (ḫuitar ‘fauna, game’, antuḫšātar ‘humanity’). Some words that originally denoted a status developed into designation for concrete instances of the status. Thus šiuniyātar ‘deity’ developed into a term for a cult emblem or image, and ḥu-nātar (*pišnātar) ‘manhood’ > ‘manly deed, exploit’ > ‘military campaign’. In the meaning ‘military campaigns’ we find the plural form ḥu-natarᴴᴵᴬ KBo 12.38 ii 14 (NH). For the ending -i on plural neuters see §3.20 (p. 71). Forms without final -r are archaisms and represent originally distinct pl. nom.-acc. forms (Neu 1982; Melchert 1988b). These again represent concrete instances: e.g., ḥaṭṭāda/hhattata ‘wise thoughts’, alwanzāta ‘acts of sorcery’, paprāta ‘acts of impurity’, kušduwāta ‘instances of slander’.

230. [š]u-ul-la-a-ta 78/w 3’ (NS).
išḫaššarwata ‘lordly acts(?)’, iyata tamēta ‘instances of growth and proliferation’ (= ‘things that grow abundantly’, see HED E/I sub iyatar), etc.

4.106. Almost all nouns in this class show an assimilation of -tn- to -nn- (see §1.112, p. 42), the earlier forms of the oblique cases of the -ātar nouns, *-atnaš, *-atni, *-atnaz, assimilating to -annaš, -anni, -annaz. But there are some exceptions, such as sg. d.-l. ḫaratni to ḫarātar. Compare also the derivatives iyatniyant- ‘abundant’ < iyātar ‘growth’ and takšatiya- ‘to make level’ < takšātar ‘plain’.

4.107. Although some verbs form their verbal substantive with the suffix -ātar (§11.20, p. 185), only their sg. nom.-acc. and sg. gen. are attested. These same verbs form their infinitive in -anna, originally the allative of the verbal substantive in -ātar.

Derived Nouns with Suffix -eššar

4.108. Group 3: Derived nouns in -eššar (for examples see §2.34, p. 58; Sturtevant and Hahn 1951: 98–99 §160) show -ššar in the nominative-accusative, where -ar reflects a PIE syllabic *r (see n. 48, p. 78) and -ššn- (see §4.109) in the other cases. As with the -ātar class, the concrete -eššar nouns have overt plural forms: uppeššarḪI.A ‘gifts’, mukiššarḪI.A ‘invocations’, ileššarḪI.A ‘omens, portents’, UZU-peššarḪI.A ‘limbs, body parts’, TÚG kureššarḪI.A ‘women’s headdresses’, ḫalkueššarḪI.A ‘items provided for the cult’, DIḪI.A (ḫanneššar) ‘cases’, and KAḪI.A (šieššar) ‘portions of beer’. Verbs derived from these nouns employ the oblique stem (see §10.10, p. 176).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘judgment’</th>
<th>(a woman’s headdress)</th>
<th>‘impurity’</th>
<th>‘thunder’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
<td>ḫanneššar</td>
<td>kureššar</td>
<td>papreššar</td>
<td>tetheššar</td>
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<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>ḫannišnanza231</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>ḫannešnaš,  hanniššanaš</td>
<td>kurešnaš</td>
<td>tethišnaš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>ḫa-an-ne-ḫiš-ni,  ḫannešni, ḫannaššani</td>
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<td>paprešni</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>ḫannešnaz</td>
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<td>tethešna(n)za</td>
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<td>ins.</td>
<td>ḫannešnit,  ḫannešnit232</td>
<td>kurešnit, kurišnit</td>
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<td>DLḪI.A</td>
<td>kureššarḪI.A</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

231. Also ḫunḫunešnanza (from ḫunḫu(n)eššar) and annaššananza (from annaššar KUB 43.75 obv. 20).
232. This form is a hapax, with no clear explanation. For one possibility see AHP 273, citing Čop.
The regular form of the suffix, -eššar/-eššn-, is spelled consistently with -eš- in original texts of all periods (Melchert 1984b: 90, 128, 140). Variant spellings with -iš- are to be viewed as indicated in §§1.57–1.62 (pp. 27–29). Since many nouns in -eššar are closely associated with verbs, they can also assume the vocalism of the verbal stem: e.g., ḫannaššar ‘judgment’ (beside the usual ḫanneššar) after ḫanna- ‘to judge’. There are also a few nouns in -aššar built to unknown roots, such as annaššar (part of a building?). Spellings of the oblique stem in -e/iš-ša-nV- are to be read with an empty vowel as [-essnV-], where -ša- is used to indicate explicitly the geminate [-ss-].

4.110. Note also the examples of secondary nasalization (see §1.121, p. 43) in tetḫešnanza (for *tetḫešnaza) and ḫantešnaz (for *ḥantešnaz). Nasalized ablatives, e.g., tetḫešnanza ‘with thunder’, can be confused formally with ergatives such as ḫannišnanza ‘the judgment’ (see §4.107). Only the context will reveal which form is intended.

Derived Nouns with Suffix -āwar

4.111. Group 4: Stems in -āwar, denoting concrete physical objects (Sturtevant and Hahn 1951: 99 §161; HE §85). The oblique stem is -aun-, including gen. -aunaš ([pa]-ar-ta-ú-na-aš KUB 36.49 i 8, OS(?)). All the following are neuters: ašāwar ‘fold, pen’, karāwar ‘horn(s)’, partawar ‘wing, feather’. For the plural forms without -r as archaism see §1.133 (p. 46) and §4.105 (p. 127).
Derived Nouns with Suffix -mar

4.112. Group 5: Nouns with stems in -mar (HE §§86, 185), not to be confused with the verbal substantives in -mar, for which see §11.20 (p. 185) and §11.22 (p. 186). All neuters: ḫilammar ‘gate building’, tiyammar ‘cord’, ḫarnammar ‘yeast’, arpanmar (a pastry), *ḫaršummar ‘headwaters (of a river)’. For ḫalḫaltumar, which is not heteroclitic but retains the stem r in inflection and shows an i-stem count plural form (ḥalḫaltumaruēš), see §4.30 (p. 91).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>nom.-acc.</th>
<th>tiyammar</th>
<th>ḫarnammar, ḫarnamma&lt;sup&gt;233&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>hilammanza</td>
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<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>hilammaš</td>
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<td>all.</td>
<td>hilamna</td>
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<tr>
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<td>hilamni</td>
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<td>hilamnaz</td>
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<tr>
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Plural

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<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
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<td>haršunnaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.113. The claim that the form hilannaš (sg. gen.) in Laws §82 and §89 belongs to ḫilammar can only be valid if one believes in a shift of mn > nn in Hittite. See §1.123 (p. 44). Verbs derived from these nouns employ the oblique stem: ḫarnamniya- ‘to cause a ferment, stir up, excite’ (< ḫarnammar ‘ferment, yeast’).

Verbal Substantives

4.114. Most verbs form their verbal substantive with the suffix -war (§11.20, p. 185), which sometimes appears as -mar, as described in §§11.22 (p. 186). But with very rare exceptions cited there, only the nom.-acc. and sg. gen. (in -w/maš!) are attested. Verbs with verbal substantive in -war likewise form their infinitive in -wanzı, originally the abl.-ins. of the verbal substantive in -war (see p. 185, n. 36).

Irregular Consonant-Stem Nouns

4.115. The following is the paradigm of the word *pēr ‘house’ with oblique stem parn-, but also (only) in the sg. gen. a special form periyaš (Hoffner 1995c). Note also the sg. d.-l. pēri and abl. *pērza (é-erza) built on an endingless locative *pēr.

233. The second form (ḫa-ar-na-am-ma from KUB 7.1 i 26) is spelled like a plural (§1.133, p. 46), but a plural of ‘yeast’ (kinds/pieces of yeast?) seems difficult to maintain. This may be another case of the “weak r” (on which see §1.132, p. 46).
4.116. The PIE neuter root noun for ‘heart’ appears in Hittite with sg. nom.-
acc. Šλ-er (*kēr) ‘heart’ and oblique stem kard- (except for the sg. gen., where we find only kardiyāš).236

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>nom.-acc.</td>
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<td>karditiyaš</td>
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<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>karta, Šλ-ta</td>
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<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>kartaz</td>
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<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>kardit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

234. The form pé-e-r[?]-ya-aš iš-ḫe-eš (the only trace of the disputed
sign is a single horizontal wedge head which could be either the only horizontal in ri or the upper one at
the beginning of ra) in KUB 51.56:4’ duplicates š-aš ke-ri,meš-tim in KUB 29.1 iii 41. The reading pé-e-
ri[?]-ya-aš iš-ḫe-eš] proposed by Hoffner (1995c) was objected to by Rieken (1999a: 306 n. 1471) because
the parallel between gen. kardiyāš built to the oblique stem is not an exact parallel to *pēriyaš built to the
nominative-accusative stem. But since the stem pēr- is already securely attested in the oblique cases (d.-l.
pē-e-ri, Š-l-ri, abl. Š-l-za), and because there is no reason from the duplicate KUB 29.1 to expect pēri pēr[an
. . . ], which Neu suggested to her as an alternative restoration of KUB 51.56, we would prefer to their res-
stitution either pēriyaš išḫeš or pēraš išḫeš (pending results of collation of the trace).

235. §3.26 (p. 74).

236. It is the appearance of the i only in the genitive (so also in HLuwian) that is noteworthy. The
alleged sg. gen. kartaš cited by some scholars (among others, Sihler 1995 and Rieken 1999a: 52 n. 238; see
below), is debatable. Its existence is claimed on the basis of an analysis of the form kar-ṭa-aš in VBoT
58 i 13 as kartašma (allative kartašma was proposed by HW 103 and favored by Hoffner [by letter to
Rieken, cited Rieken 1999a: 52 n. 238]). The matter is further complicated by the apparent duplicate KBo
25.107, which reads [. . . . . . a]ppuzzi kartašma instead of Škartašma. It is best not to claim a
genitive kartaš until the reading and interpretation of VBoT 58 i 13 and its apparent duplicate can be re-
solved to everyone’s satisfaction.

237. An endingless locative in kerti (that is itself an aberrant locative form (see CHD L–N 291 sub min- C section
a (citing Neu) and Rieken 1999a: 52–53).
Chapter 5
PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Distinctive Features of Pronominal Stems and Endings

5.1. It is a characteristic of IE languages that the pronominal paradigms exhibit certain differences from the nominal and adjectival ones (Kammenhuber 1969b: 207). Pronouns have some distinctive declensional endings and often show more than one stem form (see Sihler 1995: 384–85; Szemerényi 1996: 203 §8.1; and Rieken 2002). This is particularly true of the independent personal pronouns, where a different stem distinguishes the nominative from the other cases: nom. *e̱g̑h₂ ‘I’ versus acc. *me ‘me’. In Hittite we see this in ūk ‘I’ (nom.) versus amm- ‘me’ in the other cases, zik ‘you (sg.)’ (nom.) versus tu- in the other cases, or wēš ‘we’ (nom.) versus anz- ‘us’ in the other cases. The clitic forms of the same pronouns may show the non-nominative stem of the accented form (-mu, -tu) or yet another stem (-naš, -šmaš).

5.2. In the relatives and interrogatives (see chapter 8) the nominative and accusative often share one stem, while the other cases show a different one: kuiš ‘who’ (sg. nom. com.), kuin ‘whom’ (sg. acc. com.) versus kue(da) (see §8.2, p. 149). Compare also the adjective tamai- ‘other’ (§8.10, p. 152), which has the forms tamaiš (sg. nom. com.), tamaš (sg. acc. com.) but oblique forms tamel (gen.), tamedani (sg. d.-l.), tamedaz (abl.). See §9.7 (p. 154) and §9.11 (p. 156) on numbers which employ the typical pronominal endings -ēl and -edani.

5.3. Pronouns are often strengthened by means of particles: French ce, celui, celui-ci. Latin ego-met, nōs-met (Szemerényi 1996: 202). The -ila in zikila ‘you yourself’, ukila ‘I myself’, and apāšila ‘he himself’ is such a particle, confined to the nominative forms (see §18.7, p. 279), as is the -i on the pronoun aši, uni, eni (see §§7.10–7.16, pp. 144–146).

1. Also called “accented personal pronouns” (Luraghi 1997a: 24).
2. In Hittite only the ‘you (pl.)’ accented pronoun shows a single stem šum- for all grammatical cases (§5.8).
3. In the case of the demonstrative pronouns ka- ‘this’ and apa- ‘that’, the normal forms of the sg. nom. and acc. com. (kāš — kān and apāš — apān) do not share the same stem. The less common late variants kān and apān were perhaps formed on analogy with kuiš, kuin. See §7.3 (p. 143), §7.7 (p. 144).
5.4. There are case endings which are peculiar to pronouns (see also §7.4, p. 143). In the PIE pronominal systems the neuter nominative-accusative singular often had a final dental stop (see Kammenhuber 1969b: 309 §45, 1; Sihler 1995: §374, 2; Szemerényi 1996: 204–5), which matches apāt ‘that’, kuit ‘what’, and the clitics -met ‘my’, -tet ‘your’, and -šet ‘his’. In the sg. nom.-acc. neut. OH had ki (‘this’) without the final dental, but apāt (‘that’) with it. The genitive singular and plural use the ending -el (see §7.8, p. 144): ammēl ‘my’, tuēl ‘your’, apēl ‘his/her’, anzēl ‘our’ (pl.), kēl ‘this one’s’, kuēl ‘which one’s, whose’, while in OH and MH the genitive plural uses -enzan in the accented pronoun (šu(m)menzan ‘your [pl.]’ §5.10, p. 134) and demonstratives (kinzan and kēnzan ‘of these’, apenzan ‘of those’). In late Hittite, -ell- served once as the basis for a possessive stem apella- ‘belonging to him/her/it’: a-pé-el-la-az KUB 14.4 iv 23, an example of the degenitival adjectival class which existed already in OH (on which see Hoffner 2006, as well as §6.2, p. 137, and §9.61, p. 170). Sometimes insertions appear between stem and endings: CLuwian zāštali- ‘this (very)’ (CLL 281) with inserted -št-, and Hittite sg. d.-l. kēdani (i.e., ke+dan+i) ‘this’, not *ke-i. The ablative, in addition to the ending -az, also uses simple -z (as in kēz and apēz). In the instrumental of the demonstratives, the ending /d/, written -da (§3.35, p. 77; see ape+dan+da), takes the place of -it. The ending -e of the common-gender nominative plural (kē ‘these’, apē ‘those’) reflects a pronominal ending *-oi inherited from PIE (see Sihler 1995: 386 §374, 5). Hittite also shows an ending -e in the pronominal neuter nominative-accusative plural (kē ‘these’, apē ‘those’, kue ‘(the ones) which’). In the personal and the enclitic possessive pronouns there is no formal difference between ablative and instrumental (both cases in -edaz in the accented personal pronoun, both in -elit in the enclitic possessives), whereas in the demonstratives the endings differ (abl. -ez/-edaz, ins. -edanda).

5.5. True personal pronouns (i.e., those of the first and second person) show no grammatical gender (i.e., animate vs. inanimate), presumably because in speech situations both speaker and addressee were assumed to be living beings, that is, inherently ‘animate’.

5.6. In Hittite the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun apā- ‘the aforementioned (one)’ (see chapter 7) also functions as the accented pronoun for the third person (‘he, she, it, they’). There is no formal differentiation of apā- when it is used as a personal pronoun from when it is used as a demonstrative pronoun. For its forms see §7.3 (p. 143).

**Accented (Independent) Personal Pronouns**

5.7. The accented first-person and second-person singular pronouns do not have case endings in the nominative, dative-locative, or accusative. The endings -ēl, -enzan, and -edaz of the genitive and ablative are shared with other pronouns (§5.4).

5.8. The following is the paradigm of the independent personal pronouns:
5.9. Alleged forms of the independent personal pronouns with -a extensions (e.g., ú-ga, ú-uq-qa, zi-ga, zi-iq-qa; see, e.g., HE §96 and Kammenhuber 1969b: 209–10, 250) do not exist. All such sequences represent the pronoun + the clitics ‘and’ or ‘but’ (Houwink ten Cate 1973b; Neu 1997; and chapter 29 here).

5.10. Old Hittite (OH) employs as nominatives only the forms úk, wēš, zik, šumēš, apāš, and apē, whereas in MH and NH various dative or accusative forms have come to be used as nominatives, and in two cases (úk and šumeš) the reverse also has taken place. In OH ammuk, anzāš, and šumāš serve only as datives or accusatives. We have already seen (§3.14, p. 69; §3.16, p. 70; §4.2, p. 79; §4.10, p. 83; etc.) that this mutual contamination of nominative and accusative cases in the plural is common among nouns and adjectives. Since in the first- and second-person pronouns (ammuk, tuk) the dative and accusative forms are identical, šumeš (originally nominative), which first was extended to the accusative, soon was extended further to the dative (KUB 26.12 ii 25). Similarly úk is employed as both accusative and dative in the late NH period. The form šumenzan is OH (but not yet in OS), while šu(m)mel is so far attested only in NH, modeled on ammel, tuel, and anzel. On the other hand anzel ‘our’ is attested already in OS (see n. 8)

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4. Post-OH.
5. Rarely this form has a long i, e.g., zi-i-i-ik KBo 25.112 i 5; ii 12, 13, 19, 20; iii 3, 4, 8, etc. (OS); and zi-i-g[a-an] KBo 5.9 iii 8 (Murš. II).
6. The forms with geminate m are all post-OS.
7. KUB 12.43:4” (MS?; OS according to Konk.). A rare variant form šu(m)menzan-a occurs in KBo 3.27 obv. 15 (OH/NS), see CHD P sub pankur.
and is therefore not an NH innovation (contra Sommer and Falkenstein 1938: 77 and HE §97b). Plural *apenzan ‘their’ always contrasts with singular *apel ‘his, her, its’.

Enclitic Personal Pronouns

5.11. More on the unaccented/clitic personal pronouns can be found in §18.3 (p. 277) and §30.19 (p. 411).

5.12. In addition to accented (or independent) personal pronouns, the old Anatolian family of IE languages possessed a set of clitic forms that fill the role of direct and indirect objects of the personal pronouns. The Hittite forms are:

First- and second-person forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st-person acc.-dat.</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>-naš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd-person acc.-dat.</td>
<td>-ta, (-du)</td>
<td>-šmaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third-person forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>-aš</td>
<td>-e (OH/MH), -at (MH/NH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-uš (OH/MH), -aš (MH/NH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>-e (OH/MH), -at (MH/NH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>-še (OH), -ši (MH/NH)</td>
<td>-šmaš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.13. These enclitic pronouns can only occur in certain locations in the clause and in relation to other clitics on the same word. For this see §§30.15–30.21 (pp. 410–412). For the rules governing occurrence of the enclitic third-person subject pronoun see §§18.13–18.19 (pp. 280–283).

5.14. The enclitic -mu loses its u-vowel in a morphophonemic change when immediately followed by -ašta or -apa (§1.72, p. 32, and CHD -mu a). Geminate writings -Vm-mu rarely occur in OH/NS texts (CHD -mu a). Enclitic -ta is written regularly with

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8. The secure attestation of *anel ‘our’ in the OS Zalpa text (UMMA LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM ašma anel[1 MUNUS],lugal IMIU KAmiš 30 MUNUS,DU/MU 1-sū bāštu KBo 22.2 obv. 12–13 OS) makes extremely unlikely the theory of Forrer (1922, 1926: 17) (transliteration of Bo 2423 = 2 BoTU 10 = KBo 3.27), rejected by Sommer and Falkenstein (1938: 75), revived by Kammenhuber (1969b: 209–10) and Neu (1997: 140–41), and rejected with additional evidence by CHD mān 1 a 2, -mi- d 11, pankir 2 a) that there was in OH a first plural independent genitive pronoun *ammenzan, formally parallel to šumenzan ‘your (pl.)’. The true expected first plural genitive *amnenzan, if it ever existed, was already replaced by anzel in prehistoric times.
the TA sign. There are only a handful of exceptions, in which the DA sign is used. The particle -ta also regularly occasions a geminate writing of a following -kan (written -ták-kán), unlike the other dative-accusative clitic pronouns ending in a vowel: -mu-kán, -šel/-ši-kán. The allomorph -tu (usually written with the DU sign, rarely TU) regularly occurs when this pronoun is immediately followed by either the clitic particle -z(a) or -šan (§1.70, p. 31). The form -še is the OH form, replaced later by -ši. The initial consonant is written singly following a consonant or logogram but geminate following a vowel in -ta, -še, and -ňaš, but not in -mu (see above in this paragraph for rare exceptions in NS). The clitic -šmaš occurs following vowels, -šamaš following consonants or logograms.

5.15. The first- and second-person pronoun forms (-mu, -ta, -ňaš, -šmaš) can be either dative or accusative, while the third-person forms -še, -ši, and -šmaš can only be dative: -mu ‘me (acc.), to/from me (dat.)’, -ta ‘you (acc.), to/from you (dat.)’ (with the -du allomorph occurring before -za), -ňaš ‘us (acc.), to/from us (dat.)’, -š(a)maš ‘you (pl. acc.), to/from you’ (dat.); whereas: -šel/i ‘to/from him, her, it’, -š(a)maš ‘to/from them.’

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9. On the free variation in principle of TA/DA and TU/DU see §1.16 (p. 16), §1.85 (p. 35).
Chapter 6
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

6.1. Of the old Indo-European languages of Anatolia, only Hittite and Luwian clearly attest enclitic possessive pronouns. OH and MH expressed the possessive relationship by suffixing to the noun a possessive pronoun (‘my’, ‘thy’, ‘his/her/its’, ‘our’, etc.). In later MH and throughout NH this construction was first supplemented and then replaced by an analytical one, using the genitive independent pronouns ammel ‘my’, tuel ‘your’, apel ‘his’, ‘her’, ‘its’, anzel ‘our’, and šumel ‘your’ (for the functions of which see §18.4, p. 278): apel waštul ‘his sin’ (MH), ammel aššul ‘my greeting’ (MH), tuel kür-i ‘your land’ (MH). An even later development during the final century of NH was the declinable possessive pronoun tue(da)- ‘your’, as in: ūl=war=an=kan tuetaza memiyanaž kuenner ‘did they not kill it (the bull) at your word?’ KUB 8.48 i 12 (Gilg.), tuedaš aššiyantaš pēdaš Ḫakmiš (and) Nerik ‘in your favorite places, Ḫakmiš (and) Nerik’ KUB 36.90 obv. 16–17, nu=za kē KUR.KUR LÜ.KUR INA MU.10.KAM ammēdaz šu-az tar(a)ḫḫu[m] ‘I conquered these hostile lands in ten years with my (own) hand’ KBo 3.4 iv 45–46; see Francia 1996b: 212–13. In NS texts, logographically written nouns and their possessive suffixes (e.g., Ḫum⸗wär⸗aš⸗kkan ṣurnaḫa ‘your land’) do not indicate the form of the Hittite possessive. If the text is an NS copy of an OH or MH original, it is possible that the Akkadian possessive suffix covers an enclitic possessive pronoun. But if the text is an NH composition, it probably covers a genitive independent pronoun.

6.2. The rare form apellaz KUB 14.4 iv 23 suggests the existence of a small class of degenitival adjectives, including this possessive pronoun apella- (and the analogous kuēlla- ‘whose’ [cuius], p. 282, n. 21), built to the genitive form apel (see Hoffner 2006 and §5.4, p. 133, and §9.6.1, p. 170). Since apel existed to express ‘from it’, it is likely that in the sentence nu ḪUNUS.LUGAL ammuk DAM=YA DU MU=YA ANA Ḫšara [ḫu[rza]]kket nu=naš=kan anda šipanzaket nu=kan DAM=YA apellaz BA.Ūš ‘And the queen kept [cursing me, my wife, and my son before (the goddess) Ḫšara, and kept making offerings against us, and my wife died from the (actions) of that one (i.e., the queen)’ KUB 14.4 iv 22–23 the form apellaz, instead of just being a meaningless alternative to apel (HW2 sub apā-2 5.4.g “durch jene,” and de Martino 1998: 38 with n. 141), actually meant ‘from (that) of her’ (so Sommer and Falkenstein 1938: 93 n. 1, 1947: 87; Houwink ten Cate apud Josephson 1967: 1239 n. 18; Kammenhuber 1969b: 214 “durch

6.3. Possessive Pronouns

The following is the paradigm for the enclitic possessive pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>‘my’</th>
<th>‘thy’</th>
<th>‘his’</th>
<th>‘our’</th>
<th>‘your (pl.)’</th>
<th>‘their’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>-miš,</td>
<td>-tiš,</td>
<td>-šiš,</td>
<td>-šummiš</td>
<td>-šmiš</td>
<td>-šmiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-meš</td>
<td>-teš</td>
<td>-šeš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>-man,</td>
<td>-tan,</td>
<td>-šan,</td>
<td>-šumman</td>
<td>-šman,</td>
<td>-šman,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-min</td>
<td>-tín</td>
<td>-šin</td>
<td>-šummin</td>
<td>-šmin,</td>
<td>-šmin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>-met</td>
<td>-tet</td>
<td>-šet,</td>
<td>-šummet</td>
<td>-šmer,</td>
<td>-šmer,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-šît</td>
<td>-šummit</td>
<td>-šmit</td>
<td>-šmit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Otten 1959: 180 and 1973: 35; Neu 1974: 65–66, 119, 128; and Francia 1995. The identity of šummi- as the pl. 1 possessive was not yet known to Friedrich (HE), Kammenhuber (1969b), and Rosenkranz (1978), who considered it a variant of šmi- ‘your (pl.)’ or ‘their’.
4. Not so far attested as *-me-eš, but only with “broken” writings -mi-eš and -me-iš (see CHD sub -mi-), both of which could be interpreted as -miš (using HZL’s transcriptional method, -miš and -mi-iš).
5. Although the more common, and expected, form is -ti-iš, the by-form -te-eš is attested in nu warsulaš-te-eš ammel katta uwaru ‘Let your (sg.) war sluš appear to me’ KUB 36.44 iv 4 (OH/MS), nu telu warsulaš-te-eš pâšgataru ‘And let your war sluš go’ VBoT 58 i 10–11 (OH/NS), and *en.lû-aš attaš-teš kur-e 4 ḫuğuldumari tu[ke]ṭat škiššitt[i] (iv)an harzi ‘Your (sg.) father, Enil, has put the land (namely) the four corners in your hand alone’ KUB 31.127 + ABoT 44 + i 22–23 (OH/NS). Also ek-za-te-eš ‘your net’ KBo 3.21 ii 16. Note that all examples are in post-OH copies.
6. The example of -šaš in KBo 25.72 right col. 16 (OS) is uncertain.
7. The NH -šin is found in at-ta-aš-ši-in (‘attan-šin) KUB 34.19 iv 8 (OH/NS) (see StBoT 9:56–57), en-(iš-)ši-in-ma KBo 6.4 iv 6 (NH) (see LH 54 n. 168 and en-šû in identical construction in iv 8, 10), la-at-ti-en-š(i-[in]) KUB 17.18 iii 14 (cited CHD latti- i c). We follow Eichner’s analysis of ge-nu-ši-in (1979), which therefore does not contain the clitic pronoun (see §15.13, p. 239, and p. 101, n. 109).
8. 4TUŠ-šum-ma-an in KUB 43.53 i 17 (OH/MS) probably preserves without modernization the reading in an OS archetype.
9. The i vocalization of the sg. acc. -šumin (instead of expected *-šumman) is a striking lack of concurrence with the other OS sg. acc. com. forms -man, -tan, -šan, and -šman, but it must be correct, if *šiššumin in KBo 3.22 (OS Anitta) is really the noun + possessive ‘our deity’ and not just a proper name that happens to sound like the words ‘our deity’, and if 4TUŠšummin ‘our sun’ (referring to the king) KBo 20.67 + KBo 17.88 iv 17 (OH/MS?) reflects an OS original’s spelling.
10. Whenever this ending must immediately follow an unassimilated consonant in its noun’s ending (this normally occurs only in the neuter and with complemented adverbs of the type pēraššamet [for perans-šamer] and EGIR-an-šamer), since cuneiform writing cannot represent a sequence of three consecutive consonants without some empty vowel, the enclitic possessive ending -šmi- will be written -ša-mi- or -še-mi-.
6.5. Both the substantive and the enclitic possessive pronoun are declined (for rare exceptions in NH see §6.9, p. 141) and agree in number, gender, and case: kiššari⸗mi ‘in my hand’ (lit. ‘in the hand’ + ‘in my’), tuzziyaš⸗miš ‘my army’ (sg. nom. com.), kardiyas⸗taš ‘of thy heart’ (lit. ‘of the heart’ + ‘of thy’), atti⸗ši (lit. ‘to the father’ +

11. On the forms in -e/it see §6.11 (p. 141).
12. Attested in at-ti-me ‘O my father’ KBo 12.70 rev.! 10b (CHD -mi- e 2’a’).
13. KUB 33.66 + KBo 40.333 iii 8.
14. There are no cases of a possessive -man ‘my’ used with a genitive singular in OS and thus no assurance of the reality of such a usage (pace Kammenhuber 1969b: 212, 1969c: 33; Rosenkranz 1978: 71–72).
15. Including with adverbs, such as kat-ti-šu-mi HKM 57:21 ‘to you (pl.)’.
16. In pár-nam-ma ( = para-na-mma), see CHD sub *mi-.
17. For allative -ta, see §16.85 (p. 264).
18. Attested in pár-na-aš-ša ‘to his house’ (see CHD P sub per, parr-), iš-ša-aš-ša ‘into his/her mouth’ KBo 3.38 obv. 4, kur-e-aš-ša ‘to his land’ KUB 23.11 iii 22, an-ta-ša-aš-ša ‘to her loins(?)’ KUB 36.44 iv 12, and ħu-um-ma-aš-ša ‘to its sty . . . to its pen’ KBo 26.136 obv. 18–19.
19. Attested in pár-na-aš-ša ‘to his house’ (see CHD P sub per, parr-), iš-ša-aš-ša ‘into his/her mouth’ KBo 3.38 obv. 4, kur-e-aš-ša ‘to his land’ KUB 23.11 iii 22, an-ta-ša-aš-ša ‘to her loins(?)’ KUB 36.44 iv 12, and ħu-um-ma-aš-ša ‘to its sty . . . to its pen’ KBo 26.136 obv. 18–19.
20. It-ph-e-ra-aš-ši-it KBo 17.3 i 26 (OS).
21. See a-re-eš-me-eš (*areš-šmeš) ‘your colleagues’ in KBo 6.3 iii 22 = Laws §55 (OH/NS).
22. See LÚ.MEŠ ka-ra-ššu-aš-ša ‘and their k.-men’ in KBo 6.2 iii 14 = Laws §54 (OS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>voc. ṁi</th>
<th>ṁe</th>
<th>-me</th>
<th>-mi</th>
<th>ṁe</th>
<th>-me</th>
<th>-mi</th>
<th>ṁi</th>
<th>ṁe</th>
<th>-me</th>
<th>-mi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>-maš</td>
<td>-taš</td>
<td>-šaš</td>
<td>-šummaš</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>-mi, -mit</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-ši</td>
<td>-šummi</td>
<td>-šmi ( -šumi)</td>
<td>-šmi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-ša</td>
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</table>

Numerically Indifferent

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<tr>
<th>abl.-ins.</th>
<th>-mit</th>
<th>-tit, -tet</th>
<th>-šet, -šit</th>
<th>-šmit</th>
<th>-šmit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>-met, -mit</td>
<td>-tit</td>
<td>-šet, -šit</td>
<td>-šmet, -šmit</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Plural

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>-muš</td>
<td>-tuš</td>
<td>-šuš</td>
<td>-šummuš</td>
<td>-šmuš</td>
<td>-šmuš, -šumuš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>-met, -mit</td>
<td>-šet, -šit</td>
<td>-šumet</td>
<td>-šmit, -šmet, -šummit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>-man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>-taš</td>
<td>-šaš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.6 Possessive Pronouns

‘to his’), īštarni⸗šmi ‘in your (pl.) midst’, areš⸗šmeš ‘your (pl. nom.) companions’, šarḫuwandaš⸗šuš ‘her unborn child (lit. ‘her innards’, acc. pl.).’ For more examples of this kind of agreement see §15.3 (p. 235). Final n in the substantive regularly assimilates to the first consonant of the possessive pronoun (see §§1.118–1.119, p. 43). Compare the following singular accusative forms: ħalugatalla(n)⸗šin ‘your envoy’, īštamana(n)⸗šan ‘his ear’, tuZZI(n)⸗šan ‘my army’, arḫa(n)⸗šan ‘his border’, pantuḫa(n)⸗šan ‘his bladder’.

6.6. In OH (OS), the singular and plural nominative-accusative neuter forms show consistently -et: me-e-ni-im-me-et, ša-ah-ḫa-me-et, ša-aaḫ-ḫa-me-et (more than 40 exx.), with only rare exceptions (šu-up-pa-aš-mi-it StBoT 25 #13 iv 18’, i-da-a-lu-uš-mi-it StBoT 26 #151 ii 4). The ablative-instrumental shows regularly -it: ša-aaḫ-ḫa-me-it StBoT 25 #3 i 18 and dupl. StBoT 25 #4 i 13, ka-lu-lu-pi-iz-mi-it StBoT 25 #4 iv 30 (plus 6 more exx.), with two exceptions: ka-lu-lu-pi-iz-me-el[t] StBoT 25 #3 iv 34 and [(ki-šša-ra-az-s)še-e-it StBoT 25 #12 i 12. The use with adverbs (adpositions) is more complex. With ketkar ‘at the head’, which clearly reflects a form containing a noun, we find only -et (3 exx.), while with pēran ‘in front’ the regular usage is with -it: pé-e-ra-am-mi-it KBo 3.22:79 (OS), [pē]-e-ra-āš-ši-it StBoT 25 #4 i 26, pé-e-ra-am-mi-it StBoT 25 #4 i 26, pé-e-ra-am-mi-it StBoT 25 #4 i 26 (plus 3 more exx.), vs. two exceptions pé-e-ra-āš-ši-it StBoT 25 #3 i 33 and pé-e-ra-an-te-et KUB 36:25. The use of the “split genitive” construction (see §16.38, p. 251) and mostly -et suggests that šer ‘above, on’ behaves like ketkar: še-e-er-še-me-it KBo 3.8 iii 20, ūnḫumaz-ši-it KBo 3.8 ii 20, še-e-er-še-me-et StBoT 25 #6 ii 14’ (plus 5 more exx.) vs. one exception še-e-er-ši-it KBo 6.2 iv 47. See on the “split genitive” construction Garrett 1998. On the overall problem of -et-it spellings see Otten and Souček 1969: 72–73; Melchert 1984b: 122–26; and Francia 1996b.

6.7. The same clitic possessive case form in -ilet is shared by ablative and instrumental (StBoT 8:71, 73), as is shown by the following examples with ablative nouns: išša-az-ši-it KBo 17.1+ i 18 (OS) (StBoT 8:20–21, 58, 66), ša-ah-ḫa-az-ši-it KBo 17.10 i 18 (OH/NS), tuGGAz-šet (sic) ‘from his body’ KUB 17.10 iii 10 (OH/MS), ūnḫumaz-ši-it KUB 43.34:11’, zaggaz-šet ‘at your right hand’, ūnḫumaz-ši-it KBo 3.8 iii 20, še-e-er-ši-it KBo 30.20 iii 3, kuttanaz-ši-it KBo 20.20 + ABoT 35 + KBo 17.36 + KBo 25.54 i 14 (StBoT 25 #54 OS). See Houwink ten Cate 1967. It has been claimed by Francia (1996b: 210 n. 2) that no example exists of an instrumental use of a clitic possessive pronoun, suggesting that the “ablative-instrumental” forms are all ablative. But see OS ka-lu-lu-pi-iz-mi-it StBoT 8 iv 33 ‘with their fingers’25 and [. . . ]x tu-u-ri-it-ti-it in broken context of KBo 3.17+ iii 23.


25. See Melchert 1977: 166–68. It is hard to see how kalulupizmit could be anything but an instrumental form (so correctly Neu, StBoT 26: 171 nn. 513–14). If it were ablative, which is possible in the context, one would surely have ka-lu-lu-pa-az-mi-it.
6.8. In the dative-locative the clitic possessive is found on adverbs and postpositions which themselves have the form of a dative-locative: *ištarni-šummi ‘in our midst’ (= an-zaš ištarna), *katti-šummi ‘with us’ (= anzaš katta). See §20.26 (p. 300) with references.

6.9. In the empire period (NH), when the enclitic possessive was passing out of use, speakers lost the sense of the bipartite nature of constructions like *attaš-šummi and began to decline only the final element. Thus sg. acc. attašmin (for *attan-šummin), attašman (for *attan-šummin) ‘my father’, and attaštin (for *attan-šummin) ‘thy father’ (HE §109b; see also Francia 1996b: 210–11).

6.10. In the singular accusative forms the a vocalism (-man, -tan, -šan) is earlier (OH and sporadically MH), the i vocalism (-min, -tin, -šin) is NH. But see above, §6.4, nn. 8 and 9 (p. 138), on OH -šummin ‘our’ (sg. acc.).

6.11. There is no pl. nom.-acc. neut. *-ma, *-ta, *-ša, etc.; the sg. nom.-acc. neut. serves instead: šākuwa-šmet ‘their eyes’ KBo 17.1 i 24 (OS). Later scribes wrongly assumed that the forms ending in -it or -et were “all-purpose” and falsely spread them to other cases such as vocative singular (§3.28, p. 74) or dative-locative singular in copies of older texts. There is no basis for assuming that the use of -ilet with the vocative or dative-locative was part of Hittite speech in any period (Otten 1973: 55 and Melchert 1977: 259–62, against Houwink ten Cate 1967).

6.12. It is not always easy to decide, especially in post-OS copies, whether -šu(m)mi- indicates the plural 3, plural 2, or plural 1. For analysis of examples see Francia 1995, 1996b. Attached to ordinary substantives, the writing -šu(m)mi- refers in OS and MS originals to ‘our’ but in NS copies can be either ‘their’, ‘your (pl.)’ or ‘our’. In OH *ištarni-šummi always means ‘between us’, whereas in NH compositions it may mean ‘between us’, ‘between you (pl.)’, or ‘between them’. In the latter case it is due to a misunderstanding of older texts where ‘between us’ was meant.

Chapter 7
DEIXIS: THE DEMONSTRATIVES

7.1. The function of the demonstratives, called de¡xis, is to indicate position of a third party or object relative to the deictic center. In ordinary speech the deictic center is the person speaking. In what is called “situational de¡xis,” a speech is reported and the deictic center is that of the person whose speech is reported, not that of the reporting speaker. The two most common systems are a two-way contrast based on distance from the speaker (this = near, that = far) or a three-way contrast based on primary relationship to speaker and person spoken to: (1) I-de¡xis (here, near the speaker, proximal), (2) you-de¡xis (there, near the one(s) addressed, medial), (3) yonder-de¡xis (over there, not near speaker or hearer, distal) (Szemerényi 1996: 204 with bibliography in n. 1). In the case of Hittite, Goedegebuure (2002–3) has demonstrated a three-way deixis: kā-, apā-, and aši (but see §7.17, p. 146, for a possible minor two-way contrast). In face-to-face speech situations the spoken demonstratives were probably reinforced by gestures of eye and hand. Sometimes Hittite texts refer to such demonstrative gestures with phrases such as ıgi.ıla-it ıezzi ‘he makes (a signal) with (his) eyes’ or q̄atam dāi ‘he extends (lit. places) the hand’. The proximal demonstrative kā- ‘this’ can refer to the object on which the writing is found or to a person bringing the tablet to the recipient: k̄i =ma =za alam [abu =ya] ”Tudhaliya =š v[l. dū -at] uesto =k̄u .ga .ti[u] [i -aš lu gal .gal] . . . iyanun ‘[My father] Tudhaliya [did] not [make] this statue; I, Šuppiluliyama, [Great King,] . . . made it (and inscribed it with his exploits)’ KBo 12.38 ii 4–10 (cf. comments by Güterbock 1967: 80–81; see also KBo 10.2 iii 21–22. Since both KBo 12.38 and KBo 10.2 are copies on clay tablets of the two statue inscriptions, the original function of the k̄i has been lost). See also mah̄han =ta kāš tuppianza anda wemiyaζzi ‘when this tablet reaches you’ HKM 14:3–5; mān =ma =wa uesto ma nu =wa =šši kāš LÇqartappu pedi =s(š)ši ešaru kuitman =aš uezzi kuitman =aš apiya egi r-pa uezzi ‘But if not, then let this charioteer (who brings or accompanies this tablet) stay there in place of him (as a hostage to guarantee safe return), while he is coming (here, to me) and returning there’ KUB 14.3 ii 70–72 (= Sommer 1932: ii 71–73, NH).

7.2. In kiškan ‘in the following (i.e., yet to be stated) manner’ and apeniššan ‘in the preceding (i.e., just stated) manner’ (§7.18, p. 147) we have the cataphoric (‘as follows’) and anaphoric (‘as just stated’) use of adverbs based upon deictic pronouns. The third

1. Here we have a case of asyndeton, but apparently with improper gemination. See §29.38 end (p. 400), and §29.47 (p. 402).
type, *iniššan/eniššan*, is attested as both anaphoric (KBo 5.6 iii 16) and cataphoric (KBo 5.6 iv 4) in the same text, probably because in the latter case it builds upon the “recognitional” function (see Goedegebuure 2002–3) of the distal demonstrative *aši / uni / ini*, with reference to something well known to both speaker and addressee (in this case, the Hittite king and his addressee, the Egyptian queen). In other occurrences, *ileniššan* seems more likely to be anaphoric like *apeniššan* (KUB 19.30 iv 11–12; KBo 4.4 iv 50; KBo 5.8 i 16–17; KBo 3.4 iii 83–84—all Murs. II).

### 7.3. kā- and apā-

The proximal and medial demonstratives in Hittite are *kā*- ‘this’ and *apā*- ‘that’; the Luwian equivalents are *za*- and *apā*-.. The medial demonstrative, *apā*-.., also serves as a third-person independent pronoun (§5.6, p. 133). When it does so, its singular nominative shares with the first- and second-person singular nominative pronouns *ūk* and *zik* the ability to take the suffix *-ila* (*apāšila* ‘himself’; see §18.7 , p. 279). The following is the paradigm for the Hittite demonstratives *kā*- ‘this’ and *apā*- ‘that’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>kāš</td>
<td>kē, küš,2 (küuš)2</td>
<td>apāš, (apaš)</td>
<td>apē, apūš2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com</td>
<td>kūn, (kān)</td>
<td>kūš, kē3</td>
<td>apūn, (apūn)</td>
<td>apūš, apē3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>kī, kē2</td>
<td>kē, kī2</td>
<td>apāt, (apat)</td>
<td>apē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>kēl</td>
<td>kēnzan, kēdaš3</td>
<td>apēl</td>
<td>apenzan, apēdaš2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>kēdani, (kēti)</td>
<td>kēdaš</td>
<td>apedani, apēdani, (apētī)</td>
<td>apēdaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>kez(za)3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>kēdana, kidanda, kēt4</td>
<td></td>
<td>apedanda, apēt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.4. Hittite demonstratives, even in OH, show a mixture of nominal and pronominal endings. Nominal endings are present in the singular nominative common (-š) and accusative (-n) and the plural accusative common (-uš). Pronominal endings are evident in the neuter forms, the singular and plural genitive (-el, -nzan) and the plural nominative common (-e). Although the declension of the two primary contrasting demonstratives, *kā*- and *apā*-.., shows broad agreement, there are a few striking differences. In the singular nominative-accusative neuter OH had *ki* ‘this’ but *apāt* ‘that’. In the PIE pronominal systems, singular nominative-accusative neuter often had a final dental stop

2. Only in LH.
3. Only post-OH.
4. Only in the use to mark relative location ‘on this side’, a meaning later expressed by the ablative *kēz*. 
7.5. The ending -e of the common-gender nominative plural reflects a pronominal ending *-oi inherited from PIE (see §5.4, p. 133). In OH (i.e., OS) we find only common-gender nominative plural -e and accusative plural -uš. The nominative plural forms in -uš represent contamination from the accusative forms. The isolated example keuš represents a conflated formation of the old ending -e + the later ending. On the implications of these features for the dating of Hittite texts see Houwink ten Cate 1970: 14 and Hoffner 1972: 17. In the MH (MS) letters from Maşat we find both -uš (apūš) and -e (apē, ke) for the common-gender accusative plural (Hoffner forthcoming §148).

7.6. The regular spelling of apē as a-pē-e (i.e., a-bi-e) helps to avoid orthographic confusion with the Akkadogram a-bi, as well as the Hittite (perhaps originally Hurrian) noun ābi ‘ritual pit’ (see Hoffner 1967a) normally written a-a-bi.

7.7. The forms kān and apān are isolated and occur in later texts. The antiquity of the kūn and apūn forms in Hittite is supported by the archaic pronoun aš-i (sg. nom.), un-i (sg. acc.) (Laroche 1979), which preserves the same vowel contrast.

7.8. The genitive singular shows the same characteristic pronominal genitive ending -el that marks the independent personal pronouns (§5.4, p. 133) and the plural genitive ending -enzan that marks the independent personal pronoun šumenzan (§5.7, p. 133, and §5.10, p. 134).

7.9. For the instrumentals kidanda and apedanda see §3.35 (p. 77).

7.10. There is a third demonstrative—formally similar to Latin is, ea, id—built on the same stem a- (and variants) as the third-person enclitic (anaphoric) pronoun (see §5.12, p. 135) but showing the same vocalic opposition (a – u) in the nominative and singular accusative common as the demonstratives kā- and apā-, a different singular neuter ending (ini vs. -i), and having no plural forms. Laroche (1979), following Pedersen (1938), claimed that forms which others had attributed to separate paradigms (with stems aši-, uni-, i/eni-; see HW 36, 41, 234) were actually—at least during the Old Hittite period—members of the same paradigm. He was followed in turn by Neu (1979c: 79, 82), who utilized the diachronic aspect as a dating criterion.
7.11. The original unified paradigm resembled the following (Goedegebuure 2002–3: 25–28):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. nom. com.</td>
<td>aši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. acc. com.</td>
<td>uni⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.⁶</td>
<td>edani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.⁶</td>
<td>edezza, etez(a), edaza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.12. The common-gender nominative and accusative forms consist of an inflected stem a- followed by the deictic element i. The inflection can be compared to kāš and apāš (ending: -aš) and kūn and apūn (ending: -un). The source of nominative-accusative neuter ini (later eni) and of the stem ed- of the dative-locative and ablative is not clear.

7.13. Of the forms in the paradigm above that are not attested in OS, all but the ablative forms edezza, edaza probably existed in OH speech. The form edi has been previously regarded as a dative-locative predecessor of NS edani. There is no solid evidence from its occurrences that it is a dative-locative. On the contrary, its OS use in complete parallel with the old instrumental kēt (see §16.93, p. 266) suggests that it too had the functions later expressed by the ablative forms edezza, edaza, which represent post-OH creations.

7.14. It appears that by NH even the speakers of Hittite no longer understood how these unusual forms fit into a single paradigm. New forms arose through analogy to the customary paradigms, assuming that the stems to be inflected were aši-, uni-, and eni-. A new nominative ašiš was formed from the “stem” aši-. The many occurrences of aši⁶ in

5. Goedegebuure (2002–3: 28 n. 55) claims a sg. acc. com. a-ši in KBo 17.17 (+) KBo 30.30 obv. 6’–7’ (OS!). We have less confidence in this reading, especially because it is in OS, and would prefer some other interpretation. It is notable that, in contrast to the NH paradigm with its example of a singular genitive, the pre-NH paradigm has no example of a genitive form. It is therefore worth considering that aši is the missing genitive. Granted that the case-forms preceding the final -i in the pre-NH paradigm are all pronominal, whereas -aš is the nominal genitive case ending. But there is no *eli form to match the pronominal genitive ending (in kel and apel), and the Luwian genitive adjective in -ašši resembles it. The passage would make as good or better sense if aši is understood as a free-standing genitive: ‘O Sungod of the gods, I hereby give to the gods (the equivalent/substitute) of that one. I give Our Sun Labarna, (inasmuch as) [I] give his equivalent. Here is his equivalent, his living (substitute)! With this translation we would be opting for Goedegebuure’s possibility 2a (on p. 65), namely, that aši anticipates and is coreferential with the possessive clitic -šan ‘his (equivalent)’ in a-a-an-da-aš-ša-an.

6. These forms function as adverbs marking relative location, as indicated by Goedegebuure.

7. Goedegebuure (2002–3: 5) considers only two new stems to have been created in NH: uni- and eni-, both based upon the accusative forms in the pre-NH paradigm. She apparently (following HW² A 400a “wertlos”) considered ašiš in its one occurrence as an invention of the scribe (2002–3: 24).

8. For this form in the singular accusative see Goedegebuure 2002–3: 4 n. 13.
NH as singular nominative common are simply carried over from the pre-NH paradigm, and the 18 occurrences as singular accusative common exhibit a merger of the nominative and singular accusative common in late NH (Tudḫaliya IV and following). For the new stem uni-, the forms uniš (sg. nom. com.), unin (sg. acc. com.), uniyaš (sg. gen.), and uniuš (pl. nom. and acc. com.) are attested. For the new stem eni-, the forms eniš (sg. nom. com.) and eniuš (pl. nom. or acc. com.) are attested. Objections to Laroche by Kammenhuber (in HW² A 400) on the basis of an alleged uniuš in OH (reference to the form was not given!) remain to be confirmed. It appears rather that all uniuš forms are found in NH. That “correct” forms such as aši (sg. nom. com.), uni (sg. acc. com.), eni and ini (neut.) continue to occur in NH (Muršili II), pace Kammenhuber, is not surprising. They constitute no serious objection to Pedersen’s and Laroche’s analyses.

7.15. The ablative and dative-locative forms also continue the pre-NH paradigm, not being alignable with either of the newly created stems.

7.16. This third demonstrative appears to have been distal and has functions commonly found in other languages possessing such a third demonstrative (see Goedegebuure 2002–3). Goedegebuure found that aši served in four roles typical of demonstratives: (1) situational, (2) recognitional, (3) discourse deictic, and (4) tracking or anaphoric. To it was built an interjection/adverb identical in formation with kāšal/kāšma (Hoffner 2002–3). As kāš+a consists of an initial component derived from the near demonstrative kā- plus the topicalizing -al-ma (kāš+a regularly in OH, rebuilt as kāš+ma in post-OH when non-geminating -a was lost and -ma occurred in all environments), so OH (i.e., OS) āšma must be analyzed as a contracted form from aši plus -al-ma, selecting -ma in post-vocalic environment (§29.24, p. 395). On this type of contraction, compare OH naššu+ma > post-OH našma (again see Hoffner 2002–3 for the details and above in §1.77, p. 33).

anni-

7.17. From the stem anni- (HED A 51–55) there is only the singular nominative common form anniš. To this stem belong the adverbs annaz and annišan ‘once, long ago’ (compare kez and kiššan). The meaning of annišan suggests a far-deictic meaning ‘that’ for anni-. There is also a very rare stem ani- (or ana-) seen in the compound a-ni-ši-wa-at ‘today’ KBo 3.45:12’ (see Neu 1980: 15–16; HW² A 81b; HED A 52). This meager evidence suggests that an original contrast in spatial deixis between anal i- *‘this’ and annali- *‘that’ shifted to temporal deixis: anišiwat ‘on this day’ > ‘today’ vs. annaz *‘at that time’ > ‘formerly’.

9. Of course, there are examples in NH of aši followed by the particle -al-ma which do not show the contraction. But these are not examples of the adverb any more than every kāš followed immediately by -al-ma is an example of the adverb kāšal/kāšma, or every kuiš followed by -al-ya is the distributive kuišša ‘each’.
**Adverbs Built to Demonstratives**

7.18. In Hittite a number of adverbs are derived from the demonstrative bases, from one of which in turn an adjective is derived. As a rule it is the stems *keli* - and *ape/i-* that occur in the pronominal adverbs, just as the stem *kuwa- (versus kui-)* occurs in pronominal adverbs and conjunctions *kuwapî*, *kuwapîkkî*, *kuwatann*, etc. (Kammenhuber 1969b: 207). Local and temporal adverbs differ in their frame of reference. In local adverbs, mirror frames of reference exist between speaker and addressee (each has his own *kā ‘by me’ versus apiya ‘by you’): see examples KUB 14.3 ii 71–72 (= Sommer 1932: ii 72–73) (§30.37, p. 417), HKM 18 left edge 2–5 (§30.43, p. 418), and especially KUB 21.38 obv. 11–12 (§30.69, p. 427), whereas in the temporal a single frame is shared by both: proximal (indeed, immediate) and medial/remote (*kinun ‘now’ versus apiya ‘then’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ka-/ke-</th>
<th>apā-/ape-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kā</em> ‘here, hither’</td>
<td><em>apiya</em> ‘there, thither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kēt</em> ‘from/in this direction’ (OH only)</td>
<td><em>apiya</em> ‘there, thither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kēz</em> ‘from/in this direction’ (post-OH only)</td>
<td><em>apēz</em> ‘from that place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kinun</em> ‘now, at this time’</td>
<td><em>apiya</em> ‘then, at that time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kiššan,*13 kiniššan14 ‘in the following manner’</td>
<td>*apiniššan,*14 apeniššan, (apēniššan) ‘in the preceding manner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kiššuwant-</em> (adj.) ‘this kind of a . . . ’</td>
<td><em>apeniššuwant-</em> (adj.) ‘that kind of a . . . ’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.19. The demonstratives *kā- and apā-* also occur in *kitpantalaz ‘from this moment on’ and apit pantalaz ‘from that moment on’. While the first is always written as one word and the second in its two occurrences as two words, both are probably univerbalizations with a single accent. This is reflected not only in the spelling *ki-it* vs. *ke-e-et* (see §1.46, p. 25, and AHP 139), but also in the placement of -e/it in *apit pantalaz*pat (§16.94, p. 266, and §28.118, p. 384). See also *ketkarza ‘at the head’*. The combination of a demonstrative stem with ending -e/it and a noun in the ablative parallels the use of the clitic possessive ending -e/it which serves both instrumental and ablative (see §6.7, p. 140). The demonstratives had no separate ablative form when these adverbial expressions were created.

10. OH variant of *kā* is *kāni* (KBo 22.2 obv. 9). The CLuwian equivalent of *kāni* is *zâni* (CLL 277) built to the near demonstrative root *zâ-*.

11. In the broken context [. . .] *kēt ânnâi* KBo 17.23 obv. 5 ‘Drive (or: he drives) in this direction [. . .]’ seems likely.

12. In OH we also find *kēt* for ‘on this side’.

13. For *kiššan* in interrogative clauses see §27.3 (p. 348).

14. Kammenhuber (1969b: 207) considers *kiniššan* an analogical formation to *apeniššan*, but the existence of older *iniššan < ini* and of *kiniššan < kini* suggests that *apiniššan* was already modeled on the other two in OH and that the vocalization *apeniššan* was later and secondary, just like that of *eni* and *eniššan*. 
7.20. In some derivatives of the near/medial demonstrative that serve the same semantic function, the endings are not the same: *kinun* ‘now’ (= *kā*) versus *apiya* ‘then’ (= *apā*).

7.21. One adverb built upon *kā* (e.g., *kāša/kāšma*, on which see Hoffner 1968b and see §§24.27–24.30, pp. 323–324) has no counterpart built upon *apā* but instead one built on the distal demonstrative *aši* (*ašma*, on which see Hoffner 2002–3). Since *kāša/kāšma* is built upon the near (speaker-proximal) demonstrative, it serves appropriately to add temporal immediacy to the finite verb forms associated with it. The form *ašma*, on the other hand, being built on the distal (remote) demonstrative has no such function with regard to the accompanying verb but instead marks spatial, temporal, or “disassociative” distance in the thought expressed (Hoffner 2002–3).
Chapter 8
RELATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

8.1. In Hittite the common form *kui- serves both interrogative and relative functions, while the indefinite function is filled by *kuiški ‘someone, anyone’. Only in combination with *takku/mān ‘if’ can *kui- have an indefinite meaning (see Latin *siquis).\footnote{Possibly also in *parkunuši⸗ma⸗za /Umacronsmall  kuit nu⸗za anda imma ḫatkišnuši KBo 3.1 ii 44 (OH/NS). See §26.7 (p. 342).}

The Interrogative and Relative Pronoun *kui-

8.2. The following paradigm of *kui- ‘who, which’ serves for both functions. As with the demonstratives, there was a stem for the nominative and accusative (*kui-) vocalized differently from that of the oblique cases (*ku-i⁵) (see §5.2, p. 132). For the syntax of the interrogative pronouns see chapter 27 and for relative pronouns see chapter 30.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>*kuiš</td>
<td>*kuiēš, *kuēš (kueuš²)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>*kuit</td>
<td>*kue (kue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>*kuēl⁶</td>
<td>*kuenzan⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>*kuedani</td>
<td>*kuedaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>*kuēz(za)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Indefinite Pronoun *kuiški and the Distributive *kuišša

8.3. The indefinite pronoun ‘some(one), any(one)’ is *kuiški with inflected *kui- plus particle -kk(ə)/-kka. The distributive ‘each, every’ is *kuišša, with inflected *kui- plus the

\footnote{Attested in copies of Muw. II’s treaty with Alakšandu of Wiluša (CTH 76).}

\footnote{See §3.16 (p. 70).}

\footnote{ku-iš KUB 32.123 iii 31 (cited in HW 114).}

\footnote{nu-mu MUŠEN.JLA ku-e up-pē-eš-ta na-at ar-ja b[ar-]rs-še-[e]-š[ir] na-aš e-du-un-na U-UL ‘The birds which (kue, could be collective [§§3.12–3.13, p. 68]) you sent to me were spoiled (pl. com.), and I neither ate them (pl. com.) (nor . . . )” AT 125 obv. 11–13 (NH), see ibid. 5 (cited HW 114 as “Atch 5, 11”). See also in the paradigm of HE §119.}

\footnote{Too rare to be added to the table of forms is ku-u-e-el KUB 12.21 i 15 (OH/NS), ed. Hoffner 1992a.}

\footnote{Expected on analogy with sg. *apel — pl. *apenzan. There may be a vestige of this independently un-attested form in the indefinite ethnic adjective *kuenzumna— (see §2.45, p. 60).}
8.4  Relative and Indefinite Pronouns

The plural forms (kuišša, kuedašša) always refers to groups, often numbered (kuedašša ANA 3? [ . . . ] HKM 90:6’), or collectives with 1-NUΤUM or TAPAL (IBoT 3.114 obv. 8 restored from dupl. KUB 58.83 ii 21; KUB 32.123 + KBo 29.206 i 7, 11, 25 [vs. the sg. kuedaniya 1-edani in line 14]; KUB 58.100 ii 6). Forms wholly in parentheses in the table below are rare.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuiški</td>
<td>kuiēšqa, kuēšqa</td>
<td>kuišša</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>kuinki</td>
<td>kuĩšga</td>
<td>kuinna</td>
<td>kuišša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>kuitki</td>
<td>kuēq(q)a, (kuekki)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kuitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuelka, kuelka, kuelqa, kuelga,(kuěλki)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>kuedanikki, (kuedanikka)</td>
<td>kuedašqa</td>
<td>kuedaniya</td>
<td>kuedašša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl./ins.</td>
<td>kuezqa, (kuezzaqa, kuizzaqa)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuezziya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4. kuišša is not used as a generalizing relative ‘whoever’ (contra Sommer and Falkenstein 1938: 59, HE §120 b and §125). Of Sommer’s proof texts, several are written with ungeminated š, thus excluding analysis as kuišša, and the others with geminate š (e.g., nu DUMU MEŠ kuišša kuwatta utne [(paizzi)] KBo 3.67 i 9) are genuine distributives. One should not confuse kuišša ‘each, every(one)’ showing geminate -šš- with kuiša (ku-i-ša) ‘whoever’, where the non-geminating conjunction -al-/ma merely reinforces the unspecified sense of clause-initial kuiš (§30.59, p. 424).

8.5. The particle of kuiški regularly appears as -(k)ki when the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is i (kuiški, kuinki, kuitki, kuedanikki) and as -(k)ka in other environments. On the other hand, some -(k)ki and -(k)ka forms appear as exceptions to the above rule: gen. kuěλki, nom.-acc. neut. kuekki, and d.-l. kuedanikka.

8.6. On the word order in constructions with kuelka + head noun see §16.55 (p. 255). For word order of kuiški with negatives see §26.7 (p. 342), §26.14 (p. 343), and §26.21 (p. 345). On general principles of word order with kuiški see §§18.33–18.36 (pp. 286–287).

8.  See §8.4.
9. ku-e-el-ki KBo 39.219:8, KUB 23.68 obv. 15 (MH/NS), KBo 39.219:8; ku-el-ki KBo 9.137 ii 9, KBo 19.61 iv 2, KUB 13.23:3. Since all of the non-plene examples are at end of line and cramped for space, it appears that the plene writing was the norm.
8.7. The generalizing relative concept is expressed by the repetition of the relative pronoun or adjective, with or without an intervening *imma*; *nu=kan kuiš kuiš URU-aš anda siξsā-ri* ‘Whatever town is determined within (that radius of the crime site)’ KBo 6.4 i 12–13 (NH), *nu ūantizziyaš LŪ-aš kuit kuit p[ešta] ta=ššē šarnikzi* ‘he shall give as compensation to him whatever the first man [gave]’ Laws §28a; *nu URU.IDIL.HLA kuišš kiuišš [š]a m[d] SIN-šU* ‘Whatever cities belong to Armatarḫunta’ Ḫatt. iv 71–72. Sometimes with *imma* but no repetition of the relative: *kuēl imma GISŠ-ruwaš ḫḫallalš alil* ‘The flower of the ḫḫallal of whatever tree’ KUB 24.14 i 8.

8.8. *kuški, kuinki, kuiki, kueddanišši, etc.* can be translated ‘someone/something’ or ‘anyone/anything’: *naššu DINGIR-LIM-ni kušši peraš wašši* ‘(if) either someone sins before a deity’ KUB 1.16 iii 60 (OH/NS); *nu šarnikdu LUGAL-š=mašapa lē kuški* ‘then let (the offender) compensate, but to the king let there be no responsibility (lit., let there not be anything)’ KUB 11.1+ iv 21 (OH/NS).

8.9. The following is a chart of correlatives for Hittite similar to those given in traditional Latin and Greek grammars (see also Larocbe 1979).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximal demonstrative</th>
<th>Medial demonstrative</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Generalizing Relative</th>
<th>Indef. pron.</th>
<th>Distributive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>kāš, kān (com.)</td>
<td>apāš, apūn (com.)</td>
<td>kuiš, kūn (com.)</td>
<td>kuiš, kūn ‘someone, anyone’</td>
<td>kuišša, kuinna ‘each’ (com.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local adverb</td>
<td>kā ‘here, hither’</td>
<td>apiya ‘there, thither’</td>
<td>kuiwapi ‘where?, whither?’</td>
<td>kuiwapi(t), kuedani ‘in/to what place, where, whither’</td>
<td>kuiwapikkī ‘somewhere, anywhere’; t/l. kuiwapikkī ‘nowhere’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>kedani šer, kēz ‘for this reason’</td>
<td>apadda(n) (šer), apēda, apeza ‘for that reason’</td>
<td>kwat, kuedani šer, kuit ‘why?’</td>
<td>kuit ‘because’</td>
<td>kuedanikki šer ‘for whatever reason’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablatival</td>
<td>kēz ‘from here, on this side’</td>
<td>apēz ‘from there, in that direction’</td>
<td>kuēz ‘whence?, from where?’</td>
<td>kuiwapi ‘whenever’</td>
<td>kuezka ‘in any direction’, t/l. kuezka ‘in no direction’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>kinun ‘now’</td>
<td>apiya ‘then’</td>
<td>kuwapi ‘when?’</td>
<td>mān, maḫḫan, kuiwapi ‘when’</td>
<td>kuwapi ‘whenever’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modal</td>
<td>kiiššaš ‘thus, as follows’</td>
<td>apeniiššaš ‘thus, in the preceding manner’</td>
<td>māḫḫan, mān ‘how?’</td>
<td>maḫḫan ‘as’</td>
<td>kawatqa, manaq ‘anyway, anyhow’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following chart can be translated as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximal demonstrative</th>
<th>Medial demonstrative</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>kuiwapi ‘whenever’</td>
<td>kuezka ‘in any direction’, t/l. kuezka ‘in no direction’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>kinun ‘now’</td>
<td>apiya ‘then’</td>
<td>kuwapi ‘when?’</td>
<td>mān, maḫḫan, kuiwapi ‘when’</td>
<td>kuwapi ‘whenever’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>māḫḫan, mān ‘how?’</td>
<td>maḫḫan ‘as’</td>
<td>kawatqa, manaq ‘anyway, anyhow’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.10. The adjective *tamai*- ‘other’ (for the stem see §5.2, p. 132), following a pattern found in other early IE languages (see Sihler 1995: 385 §374.2a on this “pronominal-ization”), inflects partly like a noun in -ai- (see §4.32, p. 92), partly like the pronouns *kā-, apā-* and *kui-*. Also partly pronominal is the inflection of *dapi(ya)-* ‘all, entire’. The following shows their inflections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td><em>tamaiš</em>, <em>tamāiš</em>, <em>damaiš</em>, <em>dammaiš</em></td>
<td><em>ta-ma-e-š</em>, <em>da-ma-e-š</em>, <em>damauš</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td><em>tamaín</em>, <em>tamāín</em>, <em>damāín</em></td>
<td><em>dapi</em>, <em>damauš</em>, <em>dapiuš</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td><em>tai</em>, <em>damāi</em></td>
<td><em>dapi(y)an</em>, <em>dapiuš</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td><em>dammel</em>, <em>tamēl</em> 12</td>
<td><em>dapiyaš</em>, <em>dapida</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td><em>damedanī</em> (damētani, tamētani)</td>
<td><em>dapi</em>, <em>damedaš</em>, <em>dapiyaš</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td><em>tamatta</em>, <em>tameda</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerically Indifferent

| abl. | *tamedaz(a)* | *dapia*, *dapidaz* |

8.11. The adjective *dapiya*- ‘entire’, a synonym of *ḥūmant-*, first appears in texts in NS.


8.13. It was thought by some 13 that the adjective *dam(m)eli-*, which they translated ‘another kind of’ (German *andersartig, anderer*), was derived from the stem *tamai-* (perhaps by way of the genitive pronominal form *damei*). But since the meaning of *dammeli-* is rather ‘virgin (land), unworked or uncultivated (land)’, 14 it is doubtful if it can be derived from *tamai-*. 15

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11. See §1.76 (p. 32).
12. The sg. gen. *tamēdaš* KUB 13.2 ii 29 (in parallelism with ša ṣu) cited by HW 207 is a late rarity.
13. Güterbock 1943; HW 207.
14. For sg. nom.-acc. neut *dam-me-el* and a discussion of this word see LH 20, 172–73. But the correct analysis of *dam-me-el* in Laws §6 (late parallel) continues to be ignored and the old incorrect one perpetuated (see Bernabé and Álvarez-Pedrosa 2000: 181: “un campo a otro”).
Chapter 9
NUMBERS

9.1. Like most Indo-European languages, Hittite possessed cardinal numbers (one, two, three), ordinal numbers (first, second, third), derivative nouns, adjectives, and adverbs to express what we call fractions (half, third, quarter), multiplicatives (“x-times”) and distributives (two each, three each), and factitive verbs based upon numerical-derived adjectives (make one, unify, double, triple). The principal prior study of Hittite numbers is by Eichner (1992); see now also Hoffner 2007.

9.2. A major obstacle to modern research into Hittite numbers is the fact that the scribes made extensive use of ciphers. For this reason the pronunciation of most Hittite numbers is unknown to us. Furthermore, since the number words are almost always written with ciphers and the complements consist of only one or two signs, it is extremely difficult to determine what information the complement provides. Does the complement consist of: (1) The case ending alone? (2) The end of the suffix plus case ending? (3) The entire suffix plus case ending? Or (4) the end of the numerical root plus entire suffix plus case ending? For example, since many different numbers can have the complements -ki-iš, -li-iš, and -iš, are we to assume the presence of three suffixes here, or two? Is the complement -iš an abbreviated writing of one of the other two longer complements? These difficult questions and many more like them beset the study of Hittite numbers.

Form and Declension of the Cardinals

9.3. Of the few number words which are written syllabically we may mention: the cardinals ‘one’ šia- (Goedegebuure 2006), ‘three’ teri-, and ‘four’ meu-, the ordinals ḫantezi(ya)- ‘first’ and dān ‘second’, and the compounding form dā- in dāyugaš ‘two-year-old’. The number ‘seven’ may be attested in the beverage name šiptamiya-.

9.4. It appears that in PIE only the words for the cardinal numbers ‘one’ through ‘four’ were declined (Watkins 1998: 67; Szemerényi 1996: 221; Beekes 1995: 212–13). We have conclusive evidence that ‘one’ through ‘four’ also were declined in Hittite. Complements reflecting case inflection in some numbers above four may reflect declension of higher cardinals but more likely belong to forms with the “individualizing” suffix -ant- (see §2.25, p. 56).

1. Inferred from the genitive teriyaš, the ordinal adverb terin ‘thirdly’, and the beverage name teriyalli-.
9.5. Numbers

9.5. The number ‘two’ follows exclusively the pronominal declension, as does ‘one’, with a single exception, while ‘three’ and ‘four’ follow that of the adjectives, again with a single exception.

‘One’

9.6. Two words for ‘one’ are presupposed by Indo-Europeanists (see, e.g., Szemerényi 1996: 222 §8.5.2): *oinos, stressing singleness or isolation, and *sem, stressing togetherness or unity. It is possible that in Hittite also there were two words, but some candidates that are put forward, such as *kani- and *a-, have proven uncertain. The most promising candidate is *šia-, proposed by Goedegebuure (2006).

9.7. *šia- ‘one’ declines like the pronouns with the exception of the sg. nom.-acc. neut. 1-an.² There are also *i- stem forms, whose formal and functional relationship to the stem *šia- remains unclear. Compare the endings in the center column with the forms of the demonstrative pronoun *apā- to the right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Writing</th>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>apa-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>1-aš, 1-iš³</td>
<td>-š</td>
<td>apāš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>1-an, 1-in⁴</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>apūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>1-an⁵</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>1-el,⁶ 1-e-el, ši-i-e-el</td>
<td>-el</td>
<td>apēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>1-e-da, 1-e-et-ta(?), ši-e-et-ta(?)⁷</td>
<td>-eda</td>
<td>apeda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

². Compare for this pattern Sanskrit eka- ‘one’, which likewise shows pronominal inflection except for the sg. nom.-acc. neut. ekam.

3. Though far less common than 1-aš, nom. 1-iš is attested from OS on. In OS it is found in KBo 25.31 ii 9 (Neu, StBoT 26:283 with n. 1), where two palace men escort the nin, dingir, one on each side holding her (the context is restorable from the NS dupl. KBo 25.42 left col. 1–8’ and two parallel passages in KBo 25.46:6–7 and KBo 23.74 iii 15–16). 1-iš precedes its noun in HKM 46:4–6 (MH/MS); follows its noun in KBo 18.69 rev. 11 and KBo 18.76 rev. 10; see also KBo 5.2 iii 41; and occurs as a predicate adjective in 1-iš kišat KUB 41.23 ii 20. 1-iš replaces 1-aš KBo 4.9 v 4 in its dupl. KUB 11.29 v 11’. The sg. nom. com. form 1-iš is distinguishable from the multiplicative 1-iš (i.e., 1-kiš) only by context.

4. HKM 47:49 (MH/MS).

5. The form read “1-art-ta)” and claimed as a sg. neut. of the numeral by Eichner (1992) is very likely a personal name *Attai (see Ünal 1996: 21 n. 57 and Miller 2004: 450 n. 727). If there was a neuter form *1-art, no trace of it has yet been found in published texts.

6. For 1-ela see §9.61 (p. 170).

7. The analysis of 1-išta as an instrumental with the gminating conjunction -a ‘also’ does not account for its meaning in context, contra Melchert (1977: 376–78), Eichner (1992: 39–40), and Goedegebuure (2006). It ought to mean ‘into one’, an allative function. We tentatively list it here as a variant of the allative 1-edu. For the alternate ending with gminate -it compare apadda beside apēda and tamatta beside tameda (see §§8.9–8.10, pp. 151–152). For the e-vocalism versus the other two forms in -tta compare perhaps alternations like iētta beside iyatta, but further research is needed to validate this explanation.
9.8. The sg. nom.-acc. neut. form 1-an is used for ordinary neuter nouns: e.g., 1-an uttar ‘one thing’ KUB 24.1 ii 3 and apāt 1-an ‘that one (thing)’ KUB 14.3 iii 62. The formally plural 1-e in KBo 18.172 obv. 16 is used to modify a noun that is a collective *plurale tantum*:

\[ \text{2} \overset{\text{giš ŠURENNU}}{\text{ŠA-BA}} 1 \overset{\text{2 giš.Κ İn.}}{\text{1-e}=\text{ma}} \overset{\text{1 giš.Κ İn.}}{\text{KUB.BABBAR}} ‘\text{two emblems, of which one (is/consists of) two giš.Κ-planes, while one (consists of) one giš.Κ-plane.}’ \]

Some instances of 1-an probably represent the sg. nom.-acc. neut. of the derived stem 1-ant-, which expresses the sense of ‘one’ as a unit,

\[ \text{in KBo 5.4 rev. 9–10 (Tagr., NH): [nuššaš]} \overset{\text{NIŠ DINGIR-LIM kuit}}{\text{1-an ADDIN nuššaš}} \overset{\text{NIŠ DINGIR-LIM mahhjan}}{\text{1-an 1-NUTU[m*ya]ššaš ėšṭen ‘because I have given you (pl.) an oath as one, as you have the oath as one, may you too be one’ (see also KUB 9.31 iii 21). For the equivalence of Akkadographic 1-NUTUM and Hittite 1-ant- see further §9.27 (p. 160). Likely instances of this usage thus far attested all appear to be predicative.}

9.9. The number ‘one’ is used in reciprocal constructions: 1-aš 1-an walḫzi ‘the one hits the other’, 1-aš 1-edani pāi ‘the one gives to the other’, 1-aš 1-el ēdu-an dāi ‘the one takes the other’s sheep’; and in distributives (§18.29, p. 285; §19.10, p. 291; §24.12, p. 320; §28.119, p. 384): 1-aš 1-aš (or 1-an 1-an) as a unit means ‘one by one; one at a time’ or ‘each in his turn’ (for the nominative see KUB 13.4 iii 5–6 in §25.29, p. 336); the accusative 1-an 1-an is found in: nәšṭa 1-en ērin. MEŠ šarikuwan 1-an 1-an anda tarniškezzi ‘and the army commander admits the šarikuwa-troops one by one’ VS 28.30 iii 16–17 (fest.). Note that the ‘one by one’ aspect is further indicated by the imperfective -ške- verb form (see §24.12, p. 320). For the distributive use with other numbers compare 2-at 2-at (§9.12).

9.10. A special distributive value was assigned to 1-aš-ša in KUB 43.23 rev. 21 by Eichner (1992: 41), comparing kuišša ‘each’. But 1-aš-ša, both in KUB 43.23 rev. 21 and in KUB 13.4 iii 52, probably means ‘even one’.

---

8. See 1-e-da-az 1-e-da-az ‘on one side . . . on (the other) one side, reciprocal, on a basis of equality, one to one’ KUB 21.1+ iii 76, and 1-e-(-da)-az . . . [1-e-(-da)-az also in correlation in KUB 30.15 obv. 27–28. Uncorrelated 1-e-az KUB 14.1 rev. 25 (MH/MS) is another example of 1-e-(-da)-az. In the context it should mean ‘together, jointly, as one’.

9. There is no reason to doubt this analysis (against Eichner 1992: 33). As Neu (1992) has shown, collective *plurale tantum* are not rare in Hittite. Nor is a *plurale tantum* for a word of this meaning unexpected: cf. English *insignia* which for most current speakers has no singular *insigne*.

10. In the formulation of the *Oxford English Dictionary* under “one” III.7: “Designating a complex whole or entity in which a plurality of components or entities are united or put together; united, joined.”
‘Two’ to ‘Ten’

9.11. The declension of ‘two’ shows the plural endings of the pronominal declension. Compare in the following table the plural endings of ‘two’ with those of apa- ‘that’: apūš, apē, apel, apēdaš, and apēdanda (see §7.3, p. 143).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>2-uš (post-OH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>2-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>2-el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>2-etaš, 2-aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.?</td>
<td>2-itanta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.12. The form 2-el KBo 6.26 iii 35 (Laws §191, OH/NS) is not, as HE §131 claims, a rare alternate form to the nom. com. 2-uš but in that passage is the regular pronominal genitive ‘of two’ meaning ‘in the place of the two (women).’ The phrase in question translates as ‘but if (the cohabitation of a man with two sisters occurs) in the place of the two (2-el pedi), so that he knows (that his partners are sisters)’: see LH 151 n. 536.14 The writing 2-an might stand for takšan ‘together’, or for *2-elan, a sg. neut. used adverbially (see a different interpretation in Eichner 1992 63). The distributive form 2-at 2-at KBo 20.8 obv. 11 (OS) and KBo 20.83 i 4’ (OH/NS), which appears to mean ‘by twos’ or ‘two by two’, is perhaps an instrumental form with an ending -at, as in šākuwat (see §3.35, p. 77).

9.13. The following case forms of ‘three’ are attested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>3-e-eš (i.e., *tereš or *terieš)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>3-uš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.-a. neut.</td>
<td>3-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>te-ri-ya-aš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these forms, only nom.-acc. neut. 3-e shows the pronominal ending.

11. 2-uš in some contexts could be merely a shorter writing of 2-eluš (§9.61, p. 171).
12. 2-e in the construction LUGAL-uš 2-e ekuzi ‘the king drinks two’ could either refer to two vessels (GAL-ri) or be adverbial (‘two times’).
13. 2-i-ta-an-ta in KBo 25.35 ii 9’ (OS), in view of apedanda, is probably instrumental. The existence of this ending in OS suggests that apēdanda in KUB 26.71 i 7’, the NS duplicate of KBo 3.22: 58 (OS), may go back to an OS archetype. Cf. also 1-e-ta-[a]n-du KBo 22.203 obv.? 1 (OH/NS) in broken context.
14. The example 2-ēl in the passage [iššaḪakpiššaš-maš-kaŋ iššaḪ][iššaḪ]ašš-a 2-ēl išparzer ‘But Ḫakpišša and Išḫara together/both escaped’ KUB 1.1 ii 14 (NH) awaits explanation, but it clearly has the meaning ‘together, both’.
15. See n. 12 above.
9.14. ‘Four’ has the following forms (Eichner 1992: 75):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. com.</td>
<td>mi-e-ya-wa-aš, mi-e-wa-aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. com.</td>
<td>mi-e-ú-uš, 4-uš, 4-aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>mi-i-ú-wa(-aš)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.-l.</td>
<td>mi-ú-wa-aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins.</td>
<td>4-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl</td>
<td>4-az</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since ‘four’ shows no other trace of pronominal endings, dative-locative 4-taš is probably not a pronominal ending (*-edaš) but rather a number extended by the “individualizing” -ant- (§§9.27–9.29, p. 160).

9.15. The cardinal number ‘eight’ has the following complementation in the dative-locative or accusative 8-taš (OS). In spite of the tempting connection of the -t- to the PIE final consonant of ‘eight’ or the use of a pronominal ending -edaš here (unattested in numbers higher than ‘two’ in Hittite), this is probably another instance of the “individualizing” -ant- with cardinal numbers.

9.16. 9-an seems to be the cardinal number ‘nine’. For example, nu mān ĐUTU-uš āššu kued[ani] paitti tug-a 9-an pāu kuiš LEŠ,EN.KAK nu=tta 1 UDU pāu ‘And if you, O Sungod, give goods to someone, let him give you nine (animals), (but) if it is a poor man, let him give you one sheep’ VBoT 58 iv 11–12. On the dative-locative form 9-anti see §9.35 (p. 163).

9.17. Hundreds are written with the Akkadogram ME, thousands with LI-IM, and units of ten thousand with SIG₇. The first two of these three logograms are always preceded by a number, even for the unit ‘one’: 1 ME for ‘one hundred’, 1 LI-IM for ‘one thousand’.’16 ‘Ten thousand’ can be written either 1 SIG₇(-an) or just SIG₇(-an). The phonetic complement -an is used in OS and MS only.17 Large numbers are written with combinations of these logograms plus their preceding ciphers: 1 SIG₇, 5 LI-IM 5 ME NAM.RA.MEŠ ‘15,500 captives’ KUB 14.16 iii 20, and 1 ME šU-ŠT 6 ‘166’ KUB 42.33:11’ (NH). The semi-logographic writing of the adverbial form of ‘thousand’, LI-IM-ti-li ‘by the thousands’ KUB 8.67 iv 13’, 18’ (ed. Siegelová 1971: 40–41), need not indicate that the Hittite number ‘thousand’ ended in -t- or -ti-.18 The complementation of SIG₇-an ‘ten

16. If this rule applied also in compounds, it means that the title LEUGULA LI-IM cannot mean ‘overseer of a thousand’.
17. Without preceding ‘one’ in the “Song of Release”: nu SIG₇-an GUD.ḪL.A-an šateš ... SIG₇-an GUD.ḪL.A-an šateš 3 SIG; UDU UDU,ŠU KUN.ḪL.A-nə šateš ‘She slaughtered 10,000 oxen ... 30,000 fat-tailed sheep’ KBo 32.13 ii 15–17 (MS); with preceding ‘one’ in 1 SIG₇-an MU.KAM.LM ‘10,000 annually’ KBo 25.123:9 (OS).
18. See Germanic *thūs-hundi- ‘thousand’.
‘thousand’ reveals relatively little about its stem. Judging from the ascending progression 9-an LI-IM 9-an SIG₂-an 9-an “GAŠAN+TI”\(^{19}\) in KBo 17.88 + KBo 24.116 iii 9’, KBo 20.67 iv 23 (= StBoT 37:318 iii 10’; 324 iv 23), “GAŠAN+TI” was an even higher number such as ‘hundred thousand’.\(^{20}\) What appears to be two signs “GAŠAN.TI” in this MS copy is undoubtedly a scribal misreading of a single OS sign, which can be labeled purely descriptively, using the Mesopotamian system of sign names, as SIG₂-šessig (see Hoffner 2007).

9.18. All examples of the numbers ‘two’ through ‘nine’ + LI-IM (‘thousand’) take logograms as their head nouns. The head nouns can be written singular or plural. But the only attestation of Hittite agreement for such a head noun shows it be singular: *nu uni kuin 9 LI-IM ĖRIN.MEŠ “Pitagatatalliš uwatet n=aš=mu zahiya tiyat n=an zahihiyanun ‘That 9,000-man army which Pigattalli led joined battle with me, and I defeated it’ KBo 5.8 iii 24–26 (AM 158–59).

The Syntax of the Cardinals

9.19. Until recently, research on Hittite numbers has focused on their morphology. Their syntax, while unclear in many points, is beginning to come into focus (see Hoffner 2007).

Agreement in Case

9.20. Cardinal numbers were declined like substantives or pronouns, always agreeing with their head noun in case: *nu=šši ANA KUR URU Kargamiš URU Kargamiš=pat 1-aš URU-aš ṽt. takšulait ‘In the country of Carchemish, only Carchemish, the one town, did not make peace with him’ KBo 5.6 ii 9–10 (NH), 1-an SAG.DU-an KBo 10.13 + KBo 10.12 ii 41, 1-an uttar ‘one thing’ KUB 24.1 ii 3 (see also i 16), 1-edani ANA-ni KUB 23.102 i 15, tēriyaš UD-aš mi-i-ú-wa⟨-aš ⟩ UD-aš KASKAL-an pāndu ‘Let them travel a journey of three days (or) of four days’ KUB 43.60 i 10–11 (OH/NS), 21-aš MUNUS.MEŠ zintuḫiyaš šA URU Kalpaššanaḫila KBo 10.10 iii/iv 7.

Number Agreement with Non-Collectives

9.21. When non-collective head nouns appeared with the numbers larger than ‘one’, the head noun could occur either in the singular or plural.

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19. ‘(Let the gods send years to the king and queen)—nine thousands, nine ten-thousands, nine hundred-thousands(?) (of them)’. Not only are these ascending numerical units very large, but the number ‘nine’ itself in Hittite counting system represents the highest number usable for each of the count-units ‘hundred’, ‘thousand’, and ‘ten-thousand’. Any number above nine requires switching to a higher count-unit (e.g., ten hundreds = one thousand, etc.). As a consequence, this pattern may suggest that “GAŠAN+TI” is ‘one hundred thousand’ and not a still higher unit such as ‘one million’.

9.22. Old Hittite syllabic evidence shows declined singulars: 5 \textit{ḡapinan} ‘five threads’ KBo 17.1 iv 15 (see Melchert 2000: 60 n. 28), 3 \textit{NINDA ţın} ‘three warm breads’, 5 \textit{GUD tāyugaš} ‘five two-year-old oxen’ Laws §§57–58 (OS), [\textit{SUD} sāudi̇ša] ‘five weaning oxen’ Laws §57 (OS) (tāyugaš and sāudi̇ša are both sg. nom. com., according to our understanding), 2 \textit{NINDA wagataš} (OS), 10 \textit{NINDA ġaršin} (OS), 30 \textit{NINDA ĥališ} (OS), 3 \textit{NINDA kištun} (OS), 10 \textit{DUG ġaršiš} (OS).

9.23. We also find plurals: 2 \textit{D ţantašepuš} ‘two figurines of h.¬deities’ (OS), \textit{tuš šumuš} 4-\textit{uš} ‘four cups’ (OS), 3 \textit{NINDA ĥaršaēš} (OS), 2 \textit{MUŠEN partūniuš} (OS), 10 \textit{NINDA ġariš} (OS), 3 \textit{NINDA ġariš} (OS) (tāyugaš and šaudi̇ša are both sg. nom. com., according to our understanding), 2 \textit{NINDA wagataš} (OS), 10 \textit{NINDA ĥaršiš} (OS), 3 \textit{NINDA ĥalīš} (OS), 3 \textit{NINDA kištun} (OS), 10 \textit{DUG ţaršiš} (OS).

9.24. Some syllabic forms are ambiguous as to number, such as neuters: 2 \textit{gipeššar} ‘two ells (of field)’, 7 \textit{GIŠ ĥattalu} ‘seven bolts’, 6 \textit{ňarnāišar}, 10 \textit{NINDA tūnik} ‘ten ţ-breads’, 2 \textit{ňiptattanni} (OS), 100 \textit{GIŠ ġipeššar} (OS).

9.25. Logographic writings reinforce the clear evidence of the syllabic writings. Logograms with numbers above 1 can either have or lack the plural markers /Hbreve below small /♀.♀: (a) with: 2 \textit{LÚ.MEŠ ţululiyanteš} ‘two men’, 3 \textit{LÚ.MEŠ ţululiyanteš} ‘three men’, 30 \textit{UDU.ĽA¬ ģarš} ‘thirty sheep’, 7 \textit{DINGIR.MESŠ ģarš} ‘seven gods’, 9-\textit{it ŢUK.ĽA¬ ģarš} ‘(together) with the nine body parts’, (b) without: 7 \textit{SAG.ĎU ‘seven persons’}, 5 \textit{UDU.ĎI TA ‘five male sheep’}, 2 \textit{Ě NIM.ĽAL ‘two beehives’}.

Number Agreement with Collectives

9.26. There is a different method of indicating the numbers with collective nouns (Neu 1992). Collective nouns can be counted as well as “count plural” ones. But with the former what is counted are either sets or numbers comprising a single set: logographically ‘one’ is written 1-\textit{NŪTUM} (Akk. ľišēnūtum), and all numbers above ‘one’ are numeral + \textit{TAPAL}; 2 \textit{ČAPAL}, 3 \textit{ČAPAL}, etc. This way of writing the number with

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{NūTum} is often abbreviated to 1-\textit{N-U}.
\item The abbreviation of Akkad. \textit{TAPAL} as \textit{TA} in inventory texts (Siegelová 1986: 704−5) is due to the nature of those late texts, as seen by the wholesale abbreviating of words in them. With numbers greater than ‘one’, however, the effect is the same: both x-\textit{ta} (for x-\textit{anta}) and x-TAPAL indicate that sets are being numbered.
\item This is not to say, however, that \textit{TAPAL} never occurs in Hittite with the number ‘one’. There are quite a few post-OS examples: KUB 30.32 obv. 19, 22, KBo 10.36 obv. 14, KBo 37.3 + KUB 28.87 rev. 5, etc.
\end{itemize}
collective nouns (i.e., numbering sets) is found with both logographically and syllabically spelled counted nouns: 1-\textit{NUTIM} /4 \textit{TAPAL} GIŠ\textit{ZA.LAM.GAR.HL}A ‘one tent/four tents’ and 1-\textit{NUTIM} \textit{widār} ‘one portion of water’ 14 \textit{TAPAL} še\textit{helliya}⟨š⟩ \textit{widār} ‘fourteen portions of water of purification’. Note that the second example—\textit{widār}, the formal plural of the already semantically collective \textit{wātar}—shows that this practice applies to all collective plurals, not just to those nouns that occur only as collectives.

9.27. As noted by Melchert (2000: 59–60), complementation of the numeral, when counting collective nouns, shows a stem -\textit{ant}-. This -\textit{ant}- stem is the Hittite equivalent of Akkadographic writings with 1-\textit{NUTUM} or numbers greater than ‘one’ followed by \textit{TAPAL}.

9.28. The endings on the -\textit{ant}- stem agree in gender and case with the counted collective noun, showing a neuter form either when marking a formally singular but semantically collective noun (e.g., \textit{paḫḫur} or \textit{ḫappeššar}) or when modifying a marked neuter plural head noun. But the neuter plural ending -\textit{anta} marks the number of sets, while the number of components in a single set is marked by an ending -\textit{an}, which might be the neuter singular of -\textit{ant}-.

9.29. Examples of numbers ending in -\textit{anta}, marking the number of sets or groups: GIŠ\textit{ḥarpa}+ma 1-\textit{anta} \textit{LUGAL}-aš GÎR=ši \textit{kitta} \textit{MUNUS.LUGAL}-š=š 1-\textit{anta} \textit{kitta} ‘As for wood-piles, one (set of unspecified number in the set) lies at the foot\textsuperscript{25} of the king, and one (at that) of the queen’ KBo 17.3 iv 25–26 = StBoT 8 iv 28–29 (OS). It can be seen that in this case the head noun \textit{ḥarpa} has an overt collective ending -\textit{a}. Hence, it takes its number with the stem form -\textit{anta}.\textsuperscript{26} The full complement 1-\textit{anta} clarifies shorter writings of the numeral with simple -\textit{ta} in older texts. The phrase 4-\textit{ta} \textit{TAPAL} E\textit{ZEN}_4 ITU. KAM kuit \textit{karšan} ēš\textit{ta} KUB 5.7 rev. 30 means ‘that four monthly festivals had been neglected’. (The four festivals are conceived of as four \textit{sets} of festival activities, \textit{not} ‘a single group/set of four festivals’ which would have been written *4-\textit{an} \textit{EZEN}_4 ITU.) In this passage the collective subject (4-\textit{ta} \textit{TAPAL} E\textit{ZEN}_4 ITU.KAM) takes the singular verb ē\textit{šta} by the rule of neuter plural subject taking singular verb. The singular linking verb (ē\textit{šta}) in turn caused the predicate adjective \textit{karšan} to be singular.\textsuperscript{27} In NH, however,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item But since no example of ‘1 \textit{TAPAL}’ is yet attested in Old Hittite Script, it is possible that it was introduced later on (false) analogy with the numbers greater than ‘one’. See 2-\textit{NUTUM} KUB 38.3 i 14, unattested in Akkadian, which shows the same false analogy.
\item This analysis seems correct for many examples of collectives, but it does not account for all instances of numbers with collectives nor for all uses of 1-\textit{NUTUM} and \textit{TAPAL} with nouns. See §9.37 (p. 163) and §9.40 (p. 164).
\item The possessive clitic -ši shows that the complete form was singular, *\textit{padišši}.
\item The form \textit{m}i\textit{uwaniyanteš} used in the horse-training texts for a team of four chariot horses (Eichner 1992: §3.4.4.1 and §3.4.4.3), if correctly analyzed as a participle (so CHD L–N 308–9), in spite of the -\textit{ant}- suffix, would have nothing to do with the collective (‘a team of four [horses]’).
\item This is the simplest accounting. Alternatively, since taking 4-\textit{ta} as 4-\textit{anta} makes it redundant with immediately following \textit{TAPAL}, one could translate ‘that four monthly festivals for you had been neglected’
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
and especially in administrative texts, where abbreviated writings are common, we cannot be sure that the TA sign is not an abbreviation for TA-PAL.

9.30. As for examples of numbers ending in -an, marking the number of components in a set, we find two with the number 7-an and one with 9-an. The shorter ending -an occurs in 7-an modifying the head noun pahḥur, which shows no overt collective ending, although it is collective in sense: INI UD.3.KAM=ma kēz 7-an pahḥur kēzzi=ya 7-an pahḥur pariahhi ‘On the third day I kindle a (single) group of seven fires on one side, and another group of seven fires on the other side’ KBo 11.11 ii 5–6.28 Each group of seven fires is regarded as a “set.” The number 7-an seems to show the singular collective ending, not only because groups or sets are so clearly visualized, but also because 7-an can hardly be the simple cardinal. We adhere to the view of Melchert (AHP 181) and others that final -an is not the expected outcome of final syllabic m in *septm ‘seven’. It is likely that the beverage name šiptamiya- shows the a before the m because it was formed early enough to retain the regular internal treatment. The second example is not contextually as clear but fits the pattern observed elsewhere: NINDA.GUR,RA=ya 7-an DḪebat paršiyannai memiškezzi=ya QATAMMA ‘as for thick breads, he breaks a set of seven for Ḫebat, and speaks the same way’ KBo 11.14 ii 30–31 (MH/NS).

9.31. The examples with 9-an are less certain, since the -an complementing ‘nine’ could also be the end of the cardinal number itself. For example, nu mān dUTU-uš āššu kued [ani] paitti tug=ta 9-an pāu kuiš ṢU=MAŠ.EN.KAK nu-tta 1 UDU pāu ‘And if you, O Sungod, give goods to someone, let him give you a set /group of nine (of animals, = singular neuter šuppal implied?). (But) he who is a poor man, let him give you a single sheep’ VBoT 58 iv 11–12.29 A second example is: GISP 2-šu 9-an kez! 9-an lukkanzi [k]ezzi=ya 9-an lukkanzi ‘torches: two sets of nine: on this side they light (one) set of nine, and on the other side they light another set of nine’ KBo 20.34 rev. 10–11 (MH/NS). A third example is: EGIS-un-anda=ma taknaš dUTU-i 1 UDU GE, 2 UDU BABBAR 9-an UDU-un tekan paddänzi nu=kan UDU.HI.A kattanta šippandanzi ‘But afterward for the Sungoddess of the Netherworld one black sheep, two white sheep, and a group of nine sheep—they dig (a hole in) the ground and sacrifice the sheep down in it’ KBo

KUB 5.7 rev. 30. The alternate reading 4-šu with d.-l. -ta ‘for you (O god)’ could be defended on the basis of UM-MA ŠU=MA [ANA] DINGIR-LIM=wa Ezen, ITU.KAM ŠA ITU.6.KAM karšan KBo 14.21 i 8 (NH). This provisional solution, however, requires assuming that the graphic nexus between the numeral and the logogram TAPAL (which corresponds only to a stem on the declined number) could be broken by the enclitic pronoun, which in speech would follow the stem and ending. Both solutions have their difficulties.

28. Eichner (1992: 83–84) cited 7-an in KBo 11.11 ii 5–6 and saw that the -an could not be a reflex of PIE septm. He thought it could have contained an “-nt- stem” meaning ‘seven at a time’, but he does not elaborate this idea. For such an -nt- ‘times’ one could invoke the variant ma-ši-ya-an-te for mašiyanki ‘however many times’, but see CHD L–N s.v., where possibilities of paleographic confusion (TE for intended KI) are raised.

29. Here the symbolic meaning of ‘nine’ in the sense of an unlimited number may be present; see p. 167, n. 44.
11.10 ii 17–19. Note here how the “Y number” (see the following paragraph) 9-an and the singular (collective) head noun udu-an point to a closed group of nine sheep separate from the enumerated single black sheep and two white ones.30

9.32. Since only in the nominative-accusative and dative-locative cases can the distinction between the singular and plural forms of the set-numbering (“collective”) numbers be distinguished, the following table summarizes how these pattern, using either the number of sets (“X”) or the number in each set (“Y”) or both numbers. In the first two rows of the table the number represented by X, if it has any Hittite complement, takes -anta (even if its number is ‘one’!), while Y, if it has a Hittite complement, takes -an.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Numbering Sets/Groups in Nominative-Accusative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X set(s), each set of unspecified number (Y) of sheep [Y is not expressed]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>One set consisting of Y sheep [X, which is always understood as ‘one’, is not expressed]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>X set(s) of Y sheep [both X and Y expressed]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.33. In row 3 neither X nor Y show collective suffixes. X-ansi is the regular formation for ‘X-times’, while Y would be the normal cardinal number. The third row is included here not to illustrate use of the collective suffixes but to show how the Hittites indicated both the number of sets and the number of items in each. For this purpose they did not use the collective suffix on either number.

9.34. In the oblique cases no distinctive collective ending shows on the head noun, but when the sense is collective, the stem of the number is enlarged by -ant-.

9.35. The following two examples with oblique case endings represent numbers of components in a single set (row 2 in the table above). For an instrumental form see 10-antit: [ . . . ]ŠTU 2 QATI=KA 10-antit kalulu[pi=t-ši+t-a . . . ] ‘with your two hands, [and] with your (set of) ten fingers’ KBo 17.32 obv. 12. In the latter example it is not ten “sets” of fingers, but ten fingers comprising a single set, which calls for the collective form of the number (i.e., with the -ant- suffix). Of course, the ablative and instrumental cases do not show distinctive singular and plural endings, but the semantics here favors the

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30. For additional examples see KBo 11.72 iii 28; KBo 13.115:5–8.
singular meaning, i.e., indicating the number of items in the set.\textsuperscript{31} The dative-locative collective $9$-$anti$ ḫappešni KBo 21.14 obv. 13 means ‘on a/the set of nine members.’

\textbf{9.36.} When more than one set of a specified number is to be indicated, it is done by NUMBER$+$-$šu$ preceding the number (row 3 in the table and see §9.38 below): $\text{g}ί\text{s}_{\text{zuppari}}$ 2-$šu$ 9-$an$—$ke$-$š$ 9-$an$ $\text{lukkanzi}$ [k]$\text{ezzi}$$+$-$ya$ 9-$an$ $\text{lukkanzi}$ ‘torches: two sets of nine—on one side they light a set of nine, and on the other side they light a set of nine’. Since in this case the number is ‘nine’, we cannot tell whether the -$an$ ending is the final part of the simple cardinal or whether the number is in its singular collective form.

\textbf{9.37.} One also finds numbers without phonetic complement with nouns that appear to be collectives, both logograms and syllabically written words: 2 $\text{g}ί\text{s}_{\text{kannum}}$ alongside 2 $\text{tapal}$ $\text{g}ί\text{s}_{\text{kannum}}$ ‘two racks/stands’, 1 $\text{galgalturi}$ beside 1-$\text{nutim}$ $\text{galgalturi}$ ‘one (set of) cymbals’. It is uncertain whether such writings are abbreviated for $\ast 1$-$\text{anta}$, $\ast 2$-$\text{anta}$ or reflect a genuine alternative use of the simple cardinal numbers with collectives. For evidence of the latter see the example of 1-$e$ cited in §9.8 (p. 155).\textsuperscript{32} But the alternation with $\text{tapal}$ in the first instance and 1-$\text{nutim}$ in the second show that these are X numbers, numbering the sets, not indicating how many members were in each set. When the numbers lack complementation, it is only the context that can show whether they are X or Y numbers.

\textbf{Counting Non-Decimal Sets}

\textbf{9.38.} The PIE number nomenclature implies a ten-base system of counting. But just as in some IE languages other groupings can occur (four-score, two dozen),\textsuperscript{33} so also in Hittite larger numbers were sometimes expressed in multiples other than tens or hundreds. The multiplier is regularly written with the Akkadian suffix -$šu$, while the multiplied number has either no complement or rarely the regular complement -$an$ (see 9-$an$ and §9.36 above). Note, however, that while the multiplicand varies (the favored numbers being seven and nine), the multiplier does not exceed four and rarely exceeds two, and the multiplicand is always larger than the multiplier. Only with nine, the highest of the multiplicands, is a multiplier larger than 2-$šu$ used. A rare exception to this is the expression 8-$\text{anki}$ 8 ‘eight times eight’ KBo 53.47 obv. 1’–3’. Whether the regular writing with -$šu$ for the multiplier in this construction always stands for the adverb in -$\text{anki}$ is quite uncertain. Of the syllabically written numbered items used in these expressions only $\text{kappin}$ is unequivocally singular, while $\text{kištunaš}$, $\text{makitaš}$, and $\text{šarāma}$ are unambiguously plural.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31} The form 10-$\text{anza}$ in 10-$\text{an-za}$ $\text{annan}$[ešhi-].. ‘a set of ten $\text{annan}$[ešhi-s]’ KBo 24.11 rev. 10 could be the sg. nom. com. form of the suffix.
\item \textsuperscript{32} This use might particularly be expected in the later language; see Melchert 2000: 65 n. 36.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Buck 1949: 936 #13.31.
\end{itemize}
9.39. When numbers of “pairs” of objects or persons were expressed, scribes wrote the number + yugan ‘yoke, pair’ (or logographically as number + šimdi) + the noun in the plural: 9 yugan LÚ.MEŠ ḫunepiš LÚ.MEŠ ḫalliyareš ‘nine pairs of h-men (and) singers’; 2 šimdi GUD.H.L.A tu-ri-ya-an-zi ‘they shall hitch up two pairs/teams of oxen’ Laws §166; 20 šimdi Anš.kur.ra.H.L.A =wa=k’an [k]arū parā neḫḫun ‘I have already dispatched 20 teams of (chariot) horses’ HKM 19:21–22 (MH/MS). Some words introduced by 1-nūtum or number + tapal have meanings where ‘pair’ or ‘team (of two)’ would be suitable: ḫub.bi ‘earrings’, KUŠ.E.SIR.H.L.A ‘shoes’, (Gib)ḫuḫupal ‘clapper’ (or similar concussive musical instrument), GUD.H.L.A ‘oxen’. In these cases it is possible that some Hittite expression such as yugan ‘pair, yoke, team’ underlies 1- or X tapal, rather than a number in -ant-. But one should not exclude the possibility that, as in Akkadian, ‘pair’ was simply conceived as a ‘set (consisting of two)’ (see §9.26, p. 159).

9.40. In many languages there are nouns referring to objects consisting of multiple parts that inflect only as plurals (the plurale tantum of the classical languages; see Latin aedēs ‘temple’ or English scissors, pants). In the case of the English examples cited, one always says/writes one pair of scissors/pants. Many such nouns in Hittite clearly are treated as collective plurals and are counted as described above in §§9.26 (p. 159) and following. On the other hand, there are also examples that appear to be inflected only as count plurals. These also are attested with 1-nūtum and tapal: 34 1-nūtum manniniš ‘one necklace’, [x ṭ]apal manniniuš ‘x necklaces’. 35 The contrast with 1-nūtum ḫuḫḫurtalla, also ‘necklace’ of some kind, shows that we cannot easily predict whether the Hittites viewed a particular composite object as a collective or set of discrete parts. Thus we do not yet know, for many examples attested as logograms with 1-nūtum and tapal, whether we should assume collective or count plurals.

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34. Although we have no evidence that the Hittite equivalent in this case was the number suffixed with -ant-, this seems likely.

35. The formal singular manniniš merely reflects the fact that Hittite can use singular or plural with any number (§§9.21–9.23, pp. 158–159) and does not argue against the idea that ‘necklace’ is a noun viewed as a unit (or set) consisting of many parts.
Word Order in Counting

9.41. Numbers precede their head nouns. Exceptions are appositional: n-ašta Ḫattuša-pat URU-riaš 1-aš ašta ‘Ḫattuša the city alone (lit., as one) remained (loyal)’ KBo 10.2 i 26 (OH/NS); [n-Kupanta-^LAMMA-aš=ma-kan] li URU Arzauwa 1-aš ūvwaiš ‘Kupanta-Kuruntiya, the man of Arzawa, fled alone’ KUB 23.21 obv. 31–32 (CTH 143); nu=mu=kan n-Pittaggališ=pat 1-aš išparzašta KBo 5.8 iii 31–32; to see that these are really appositional see the unabbreviated form in [(^Tapalazunašiš=ma-k)] an 1-aš SAG. DU-aš išparzašta KBo 3.4 ii 77; and n-Mammališ=ma-kan 1-aš išparzašta ‘Mammali as the sole person escaped’ KBo 40.6 + KBo 14.7 i 6′; nu-šši ammuk 1-aš ūnni KUB 21.1 + KUB 19.6+ ii 69. It is also possible that 1-aš here stands for šielaš ‘alone, single’ (§9.61, p. 170). Note that all examples above are the number ‘one’.

Fractions

9.42. The sign maš (HZL #20, which may also be transcribed as ½) serves to represent the noun ‘half’, to which if needed the plural marker /Hbrevebelowsmall. (½./Hbrevebelowsmall. or ½-) or the Akkadian singular accusative phonetic complement -AM (maš-AM or ½-AM) can be appended.

9.43. The underlying Akkadian noun is mišlu (m) ‘half’. No syllabic writing of the Hittite word underlying maš has yet been identified. All that can be determined at present is that it was neuter: kuit maš-AM ḫar-zi n-at KUB 20.99 ii 8–10. Although the cuneiform writing system contained words and signs for other fractions, they are so far unattested in Hittite texts.

9.44. Attributive-adjective forms of the fractions may be found in the quantitative notations used following baked goods, which show the endings -iš, -li, and -li-eš. Eichner (1992: 89) plausibly suggests that these are fractional notations on the order of a


37. E.g., ŠANABI ‘two-thirds’, KINGUSILA ‘five-sixths’.

38. For the Akkadian see GAG §70 f-m.
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'tenth', 'twentieth', or 'fortieth' of some unnamed unit of flour measure. There also exists in MH a form 10-ti-li-ši modifying 450 NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ (KUB 31.79:6, 17). This is undoubtedly the same suffix. If the dental is not part of the fractional suffix, it might reflect the t in PIE *dekmət- 'ten' or an ordinal suffix *-to-.

Ordinal Numbers

9.45. Only the following primary ordinals are attested in syllabic writings: ḫantezzi(ya)- 'first' (declinable), ḏān 'second' (indeclinable). 'Second' is also written Akkadographically as 2-NU-Ú (i.e., Akk. šani) or with cipher and Hittite complement as 2-an. The Hittite tldamai- (an extension of the stem dā- 'two') can serve as a declinable ordinal 'second' (Eichner 1992: 54, 57) but often means only 'another'.

9.46. The form āšma is not the adverbial ordinal 'firstly', as used to be thought (HW and HW 2 sub voce; Eichner 1992: 43–44). On the other hand, ḏān means 'second' (adj.) or 'secondly, thereafter' (adv.). It is not also a multiplicative ('two-times, double, twice').

9.47. The question arises: were the ordinals greater than 'second' declined? There are a few examples of ordinals in series, attested up to 'ten', all ending in -an-na. But contrary to the claims of Sommer and Friedrich (e.g., HE §133 b), there is no Hittite ordinal suffix -anna. The alleged examples all consist of the ending -an and the geminating conjunction -a 'also' (attested in a series: ' . . . also a second (time), and also a third (time)', etc.) (Eichner 1992: 62, 67, crediting Hrozný for this analysis). But in the attested examples, these ordinal numbers all modify the common-gender noun zašḫain 'dream' KUB 17.1 ii 4–11 or ūbrusḫin KBo 5.2 ii 57–61, iii 1–12. There are no examples with neuter head nouns. This being the case, nothing proves that the final n is part of an ordinal stem or that the ordinals greater than 'second' did not decline.

9.48. In a passage from the “Song of Kumarbi,” 3-an=at₇a armaluḫun nakkit Ḏašmit 'and thirdly I have impregnated you with the noble god Tašmišu' KUB 33.120 i 33, the form 3-an must be either a singular neuter used adverbally ('thirdly') or be indeclinable. The only other option—that it refers to the third deity—would require that it agree with the instrumental noun nakkit Ḏašmit (which it patently does not).

9.49. Other numbers with -an complementation are probably not ordinals but cardinals; some if not all are of the “collective” type (see §9.30, p. 161).

39. Eichner 1992: 59 also derives takiya . . . takiya 'to one . . . to another' from this stem.

40. On the adverb/interjection āšma see §7.16 (p. 146). āšma provides no evidence for a stem ā- 'one' in Hittite.

41. Since in KBo 5.2 ii 57–iii 13 the series ḫantezzin . . . 2-an=at . . . 3-an=at . . . 4-in . . . 5-n=s . . . 6-n=s . . . 7-n=s . . . 8-n=s . . . 9-n=s . . . 10-n=s continues with 11-ma (intending 11-an=ma) . . . 12-ma . . . 13-ma . . . 14-ma, one could say that ordinal forms are attested even higher. But 10-n=s is the highest ordinal attested with the explicit complement -an.

42. Another example of agreement with a singular accusative common head noun is 3-an šu-an 'a third hand' KBo 9.79:6.
9.50. The forms ‘third’ teriyan (also written 3-an), ‘fourth’ (4-an), and ‘fifth’ (5-an) also existed in syncopated forms terin 4-in 5-in ‘third, fourth, fifth’ KBo 11.14 ii 15:43 ziqqa DUTU-üs lä mu terin 4-in 5-in wēllui tūriya lä dariyanta-at tūriya-ša waršiyantān ‘But you, O Sungod, go! And hitch (them) up in the meadow—a third, a fourth, a fifth (time): unhitch the worn out one, and hitch up the fresh one!’ The appearance of -in with ‘four’ and ‘five’ indicates that these ordinals also ended in -i(y)an, the i not being a part of the root of these numbers. This needs explanation. Either analogy with teri(ya)n is at work, or one has to posit an initial i/ya to the ordinal suffix (see §9.59, p. 170; and šiptamiya). The form of the ordinal numbers here is singular nominative-accusative used adverbially. ‘Thirdly’, etc., has the force of ‘a third time’. They are probably not accusative common-gender forms modifying the animal in question, because an unhitched animal, once given rest, would be re-hitched up, as the immediately following context indicates.

9.51. Logographic writings of time expressions such as UD.(numeral).KAM, ITU.(numeral).KAM, and of one non-temporal word DUB.(numeral).KAM have an ambiguity that only the context can resolve: they can reflect either cardinal or ordinal numbers. Thus UD.1.KAM in one context may mean ‘one day’ and in another ‘day number one’. Similarly DUB.2.KAM can be either ‘two tablets’ or ‘tablet number two’ (= the second tablet). The original meaning of .KAM in the above constructions was the Sumerian genitive suffix -(a)k + the enclitic copula -am ‘it is’. This fused in writing as the single sign KAM. But Hittite scribes, ignorant of the real meaning of KAM in such constructions, abstracted from UD.1.KAM ‘first day’ or ‘day number one’ the discontinuous elements UD and KAM and created a new logogram UD.KAM ‘day’. By the same process they generated MU.KAM ‘year’ and ITU.KAM ‘month’, but not *DUB.KAM ‘tablet’. A second indication of their lack of understanding of the (NUMERAL).KAM construction was their generating by analogy with DUB.(number).KAM a writing TUP-(number)-PI’ ‘x tablets’ or ‘tablet number x’. Scribes also abstracted from the prefixed and suffixed determinatives of city names (e.g., URU HA-AT-PI KBo 3.45:3’) a logogram URU.KI ‘city’.

Ordinals in -t-

9.52. The only candidates for ordinals in oblique cases with Hittite complementation seem to show a stem containing -t-: 9 MU.ḪL.A-aš kappūwantaš DAlaluš AN-ši LUGAL-aš ėšta 9-ti-an MU-ti DAlalwi DAnuš menaḫḫanda zahḫain [pa]iš ‘For a mere nine years’

44. The ‘nine’ years of these heavenly reigns could be understood as expressing innumerable years, since the number ‘nine’ is used in its symbolic sense of an incalculably large number (see Hoffner 2007: 377). See p. 161, n. 29. But it is not excluded in this one case, especially with the use of kappuwanta- ‘countable, few’ (cf. kappuwantaš UD.KAM.ḪL.A-aš ‘in just a few days’ KBo 10.2 ii 17) and the asyndetically introduced following clause ‘in the ninth year . . .’, that the nine years are not ages but actual years and are meant to indicate truncated reigns. See Hoffner 1998b: 42 (‘for a mere nine years’).
Alalu was king in heaven; in the ninth year Anu gave battle against Alalu’ KUB 33.120 i 12–13 (Song of Kumarbi, ed. García Trabazo 2002: 162–63 with n. 31, compare i 18 (9-ti-an mu-ti). See also: (9-an-t)j KASKAL-ši-ša ‘but on the ninth time’ KBo 10.45 ii 37 with dupl. This occurrence might show that the suffix was -ant-, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the -an- portion is the end of the number ‘nine’ and the -ti the regular dative-locative singular termination of a -ta- stem (perhaps an inherited *-to.\(^45\)).

9.53. The dental suffix—whether it is -ant- or -t(a)-—serves here to differentiate the final member of a numbered sequence from its predecessors. The ninth year is set off from the first eight, as is the ninth time the celebrant speaks, the conjunction -al-ма marking the contrast. This is the expected function of an ordinal suffix in an older Indo-European language.\(^46\) If, on the other hand, the suffix is -ant-, it would serve an individualizing or demarcating function analogous to its use with nouns for seasons of the year: as ḥameššanti (‘in a particular spring’) differs from ḥameshi (‘in springtime = any spring’).\(^47\) In either case the function is that of an ordinal, and we classify these examples as such. For another view see Eichner 1992: 86.

Multiplicatives

9.54. As multiplicative adverbs in the meaning ‘x-number of times’ (for both temporal repetition and purely mathematical multiplication) we find numbers with phonetic complements in -anki\(^48\) or -kiš/-iš\(^49\) or written with the Akkadographic suffix -šu (GAG §71a). In the absence of contrary evidence we suggest that the Hittite suffix was -anki(s).\(^50\) On possible adjectives in -(l)iš modifying bread names see §9.58.

9.55. Repetition focusing on the temporal aspect. NUMBER+-iš šipanti seems to be equivalent to NUMBER+-šu šipanti (‘NUMBER-times’). This is particularly clear where the two writings alternate in immediate context: nu 3=šu qatam(ma) memai § [ina] 3 KASKAL-ni=ša 1-iš kiššan memai ‘He/She speaks three times in the same way, but the

45. For PIE *-th₂o- as an ordinal suffix see Meier-Brügger 2000: 219; 2003: 236.
48. The abbreviated complement -ki is known: 2-ki pāi ‘he shall give twice/twofold’ Laws §70.
49. The meaning of the form a-an-ki in KUB 4.1 iv 36, 38 remains unclear. Eichner (1992: 42–43; with incorrect citation as “KUB IV 2 iv 36, 38”) interprets anki as ‘once’, the reading for 1-anki. But the adverb āšma no longer provides support for ā- as a stem for ‘one’: see §7.16 (p. 146). On šia- as the stem for ‘one’ see Goedegebuure 2006. A sense ‘an equal number of times’ for ānki (see (l)ām- ‘equal’ [written hyper-plene as l(a-a-an)-za], as per Goedegebuure 2002: 64–68) does not seem contextually likely, and one would have expected a hyper-plene writing “a-a-an-ki according to that theory. The most likely scenario is that the scribe twice wrote a-an-ki for 2-an-ki. The ‘2’ and ‘A’ signs are quite similar, and the alternation of ‘once’ and ‘twice’ fits well in the context of dance moves.
50. One may compare for this alternation Greek πολλάκι/πολλάκις ‘many times’.
third time (s)he speaks once as follows’ KUB 30.15 + KUB 39.19 obv. 33–34 (Otten 1958 68–69). Likewise for NUMBER+anki: 4ē.A-āš =Garašiyaš 5-anki ḫinkelwi + nu ana 4ē.A 15-šu ḫinkelwi ‘We will bow five times at the araši- of Ea . . . we will bow fifteen times to Ea’ KUB 33.106 ii 22–23. Such multiplicative numerals do not occur in clauses with imperfective (-ške-) forms. See for example: āššu⸗ya 3-šu šarikiš KBo 6.4 i 5 (late laws), 3-šu ḫinkelwi KBo 12.3 iii 5 (OH/NS), nu-wa Lâ.â.šen ḫinkelwi 5-anki ḫinkelwi . . . nu-aš KUB 1.16 iii 30 (OH/NS), 3-šu eku KBoT 1.29 obv. 27 (MH). Exceptions occur when in addition to the multiplicative numeral a distributive expression also is present (see §24.12, p. 320), for example in āššu⸗ya 3-šu ḫinkelwi ‘We will bow five times at the araši- of Ea . . . we will bow fifteen times to Ea’. Such multiplicative numerals do not occur in clauses with imperfective (-ške-) forms. See for example: āššu⸗ya 3-šu ḫinkelwi KBo 6.4 i 5 (late laws), 3-šu ḫinkelwi KBo 12.3 iii 5 (OH/NS), nu-wa Lâ.â.šen āššu-ya 3-šu ḫinkelwi KBo 12.1 i 4–5 (late laws), 2-šu 3-šu 3-šu ḫinkelwi KBo 6.1 i 5 (late laws), 3-šu eku KBoT 1.29 obv. 27 (MH).

9.56. Repetition of sets in mathematical multiplication. Multiplicative adverbs meaning ‘x-times’ in the mathematical sense (i.e., ‘two times [i.e., repetitions of] two is four’) are also written logographically with Ṣal-ašiš and with Ṣal-ašiš or Ṣal-ašiš+anki. Examples: 8-anki ‘eight repetitions of eight (i.e., eight times eight)’ KBo 53.47 obv. 1–3’; [kuwapi–ma . . . wa–iš ḫalkiya–ma–at 10–iš 20–iš naešḫu] ‘[Where . . . ] there is water, divert it to the crop(s) ten times, twenty times’ KBo 12.40 iii 12 ( = THeth 11:38 iii 6, OH/NS). Note that the ending -iš does not agree in gender or case with the noun wātar. It must therefore be a fixed (i.e., indeclinable) form.

9.57. The form 10–pa in Ṣal-ašiš+wazza tepu–ya ū[L ša]kki ur.sag-ta–ma–šši 10–pa piyan ‘My brother—he has not even a little intelligence, but valor is given to him ten times over’ KUB 33.113 + KUB 36.12 i 35–36 seems to be a multiplicative.

9.58. Because any phonetic complement may exist in longer or shortened form, the shortened forms of two different suffixes may appear to be identical. It is therefore not certain that all numerals complemented by -iš are the same. Above we suggested that one group may be multiplicative and the same as forms showing longer complements in -kiš. But another line of evidence suggests shortened forms in -iš equivalent to longer forms in -liš. The sequence: 4-šu 9  naïnda,ērins.ērins 30–iš 2 naïnda  ḫarmantaššiš 10–iš 2 naïnda gidim 10–iš 2 naïnda ḫarpanza 10–li 2 naïnda,ērins.ērins 10–iš adannaš 9 naïnda,ērins.ērins 30–tinaš KBo 21.1 i 3–5 shows the numbers 30–iš, 10–iš, 10–li, 10–iš, and 30–iš. The only number measuring bread weight or size that modifies a clearly neuter noun ( naïnda,ērins.ērins) is 10–li. This suggests that the -iš forms are abbreviated for -liš, and that these are adjectives modifying the bread names. And indeed the following passage seems to confirm this theory: 10 naïnda,ērins.ērins ḫarpanza 20–iš KBo 41.1b obv. 3. The theory is not without its problems: the -iš form is attested with naïnda,tunik and naïnda,āharet, both of which look like neuters. And the neuter form in -li only occurs with naïnda,wageššar, not with the other mentioned neuter bread names naïnda,tunik and naïnda,āharet.
9.59. Hittite may have possessed another set of multiplicative adjectives (‘twofold’, ‘threefold’, ‘sevenfold’, etc.). This possibility is suggested by the fact that all factitive verbs in -aḫḫ- built to such adjectives exhibit a base ending in -(i)ya-, even for numbers whose stem in the cardinal form does not end in /ly: 3-yaḥḫ- ‘to make threefold, multiply by three’ (*teri- + (i)ya- + -aḫḫ-), 4-yaḥḫ- ‘to make fourfold, multiply by four’ (< me(y)a)w- + -(i)ya- + -aḫḫ-).51 Two of the three factitive verbs based upon numbers known to date have this -yaḥḫ- ending (§10.9 with n. 11, p. 176). The exception, 2-ḫḫ- could either be a shorter variant of the longer complement -yaḥḫ- (compare the free variants sig₃,yaḥḫan/sig₃,ahḥan and sig₃,yaḥḥir/sig₃,ahḥir), or a factitive built to a special adjective ‘twofold’ not formed by derivation with -(i)ya-. This behavior would not be unusual typologically for the number two. An alternate account of 3-yaḥḫ- and 4-yaḥḥ- would assume that the former was built directly to the number teri- + -aḥḥ- ‘to make three(fold?)’, and that 4-yaḥḥ- is remodeled on analogy to 3-yaḥḥ-. This second account cannot explain šiptamiya- (name of a beverage), which directly attests a suffix -(i)ya-, if as usually assumed it is derived from the PIE cardinal number ‘seven’.

Distributives

9.60. Distributives (‘two each’, ‘four apiece’, etc.) are expressed with the Sumerian suffixes -ʾām (signs: -ā.an) and -tāʾām (signs: -tā.ʾā.an) (HZL 274, sign #364).

Derivative Adjectives and Verbs

9.61. A “degenitival” adjective šiela- ‘single; of one and the same’ is derived from the genitive šiēl of šia- ‘one’ (Hoffner 2006). This word is the Hittite translation of Akkadian ēdēnu ‘single, unattached; unmarried’ in the lexical text KBo 1.44 + KBo 13.1 i 54 edited by Otten and von Soden (1968: 17). In its nominative plural form šieleš in Laws §31 (LH 40, 184), it describes the legal status of a free man and slave woman prior to their contracting a marriage (n⸗an⸗za   ⸗ dāi). It is a necessary part of the “if” clause, because the focus of the law is upon the division of property when the marriage is dissolved, and this division would be affected if the man (for example) had another wife with legal claim to part of his property. Because of the equation /Emacronsmall/Emacronsmall = šielaš in the lexical text, we can assume that some form of šiela- was the Hittite reading underlying ēdēnu as a logogram elsewhere in Hittite texts. The same derivational suffix, -ela-, occurs in the adjective apella- ‘the . . . of that one’ (see §5.4, p. 133, and §6.2, p. 137). We also assume an adjective 2-ela- ‘paired, in twos’, literally ‘(they) of two’ (see Hoffner 2006),52 derived from the genitive of the number ‘two’ (2-el), show-

51. See Szemerényi 1996: 227–28, who shows the IE ordinal sequence *tri-ya- and kʰtur(i)ya-.

52. na-at-kān 2-e-lu-us-pāt a-na 饸Mā ša-ra-a [pa-a-ir] (19) 饸gılmamesuš 饸Ur-ša-na-bi-iš-ša ‘And they—just (-pat) the two of them (lit., ‘they of the two’)—Gilgamesh and Uršanabi went up into the boat’ KUB 8.50 iii 18–19 (NH). 2-e-lu-us is a late Hittite nominative common plural, showing the regular nominative plural ending for a-stems in that period (see §3.16, p. 70).
ing the same suffix -ela- attested in šiela- ‘of one, single’. The forms 1-ela and 2-e/ila represent an adverbial use of the nominative-accusative plural neuter of the same adjectives, meaning respectively ‘one at a time’ and ‘together, as a pair, both’. Examples:

LÚ MEŠ SANGA DUMU-ašš-a 4U 4Katāḫḫa 4X 4Telipinu 4Halkin 4AN-E 1-ela akuwanzi ‘The priest and the prince drink the Storm-god, Kataḫḫa, . . . (and) the Storm-god of Heaven one at a time’ KUB 53.17 iii 10′–12′ (cited by Eichner 1992: 38 as Bo 2701 iii 12′); 

[ . . . . . . . (-)t]a LÚ MEŠ SANGA 2-ila URU Zuppara pānзи ‘the priests go to Zuppara in pairs (or ‘both of them’) KUB 60.152 i 6; n=at 2-ela ANA AB[U=YA] kattan uēr ‘And they came to my father together’ KUB 19.7 i 8′–9′ (DŠ frag. 27, NH), n=us 2-ila=pat šakuwanzi ‘They š.(some form of punishment) them both together’ KUB 13.9 iii 18. Although this suffix is not yet found on other numbers, there is a priori nothing to prevent Hittite speakers from having formed *3-ela- ‘in threes’, *4-e/ila- ‘in fours’, etc.

9.62. A likely derivative from PIE *sem- is *šumuman-, an adjectival derivative (see §2.47, p. 60) in -uman-, seen in the factitive verb šumumahḫ- ‘to unite’ (Rieken 2000b). For other factitive verbs based upon multiplicative adjectives in -iya- see §9.59.

Numbers in Compounds

9.63. In combination ‘two’ occurs in tā-yugaš ‘two-year-old (animal)’, and the ordinal tān ‘second’ occurs in the name of a cut of meat from an animal, UZU dānḫašti (literally, ‘second bone’).

Compound Numbers

9.64. Compound numbers are not the same as numbers in compound words. Rather they are quantitative expressions involving two or more mathematical units. In Hittite an example would be 6 İKU 5 gipeššar A.Šλ, where the larger unit is given first followed by the smaller one. From variant writings of the same expression we gather that what is sometimes written in numerical notation as (for example) 19½ PA. šeppit expresses what in the spoken language was 19 PA. ½ PA. šeppit (see HKM 111:11). In other words, although the unit (PARISU) remained the same, the tally proceeded from whole numbers to the noun for the fraction, itself perhaps preceded by the cardinal number ‘one’ (šia-). This seems to be especially common when what is numbered is a unit of

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53. The variation in vocalism in 2-e/ila is unsurprising if the Hittite stem was as expected *dwela-: see AHP 144–45.

54. See also n=us 2 DANNA ½ DANNA=YA pennaï, 2 GIN 1 ½ GIN KU.BABBAR, ša 1 UPNU ½ UPNU, [1?] BÁN 5 UP-NU ½ UP-NU [. . .] KUB 58.49 iii 7; parqasštī 1 SIG.KUŠ ½ SIG.KUŠ; but see: 2 GIN 1 ½ GIN KU.BABBAR KUB 29.39 i 11, 1 ½ İKU A.Šλ SBo I 2 obv. 12; 1 ½ PA. ARTU GIL BURAŠI kina, where the 1 ½ is of a different commodity.
measure rather than a simple commodity. In expressions containing a whole number and a fraction, sometimes the Sumerogram for ‘half’ is preceded by the Đīš sign (‘one’), in which case 2 gın 1 màš should not be read as ‘two’ plus ‘one and a half’, but ‘two plus one half’.

55. Why otherwise is 2 gın 1½ gın Kûbâbbar iy[a][ten] KUB 29.39 i 11’ not written as 3 gın ½ gın Kûbâbbar iy[a][ten] or 3½ gın Kûbâbbar iy[a][ten]?

55.
Chapter 10
VERB FORMATION

10.1. The finite verb form consists of a stem (a root with optional suffix) and an inflectional ending. For example, laknuši consists of: lak (verb root) + -nu- (causative stem-forming suffix) + -ši (pres. sg. 2 ending) ‘you cause to fall down’. Hittite verbs use a single stem (which may undergo ablaut, see §3.37, p. 78) for all tenses and non-finite forms, and all verbal categories are expressed by inflectional endings (for the endings see chapter 11).

10.2. Many verbs have root stems: akk- ‘to die’, ar- ‘to arrive’, ar- ‘to stand’, ark- ‘to divide up’, eku- (/ek-/) ‘to drink’, ēpp- ‘to seize’, eš- ‘to be’, ḥan- ‘to dip’, ḥar(k)- ‘to hold’, kuen- (/kwen-/) ‘to strike, kill’, kuer- (/kwr-/) ‘to cut’, nāḥy- ‘to fear’, and wally- ‘to strike’. Some of these are ablauting: akk-/ek- ‘to die’, ar-/er- ‘to arrive’, eku-laku-, ēpp-/app-, eš-/aš-, kuen-/kun-, kuer-/kur-. For their conjugation see §§12.2–12.17 (pp. 187–196). Many Hittite verbs, however, are derived from other verbs, from nouns, or from adjectives. Such verbs are characterized by suffixes or infixes which enlarge their stems. The most important of these will be discussed below.

Reduplicated Roots

10.3. Reduplicated verbal roots are encountered in Hittite (van Brock 1964; Oshiro 1995; Oettinger 1998; Rasmussen 2001). This verbal reduplication is of two types. The first shows reduplication of the entire root: ašaš-/ašeš- ‘to seat’ < aš-/eš- ‘to sit’, ḥaliḫli(ya)- ‘to kneel’ < ḥaliya- ‘to kneel’,2 ḥanḫaniya- ‘to be vexed(?)’,3 ḥašḫaš- ‘to scrape’, katkattiya- ‘to tremble’, kikki- ‘to be placed’ (see HED K s.v.), kuwaškuwaš-/kuškuš- ‘to crush’, laḫlaḫheške- ‘to be agitated, anxious; mill about’, parip(arai)-<parai- ‘to blow (a horn)’, partipartiške- ‘?’, taštašiya- ‘to whisper’ (onomatopoetic), waltiwalteške- (unknown meaning, perhaps ‘to rage’). For this type of reduplication see EHS 120 and Raggi Braglia 1989: 208. The mineral name kunkunuzzi- may be derived from a reduplicated form of the verb < kuen- ‘to strike’, perhaps because this particularly hard mineral (basalt?) was used for milling

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1. For possible rare exceptions see Melchert 1997c, but the evidence is sparse and debatable. See §14.9 (p. 233).
2. We include under this stem only the intransitive medio-passive form ḥaliḫliyandāri and corresponding iterative ḥaliḫliške. For the transitive verb ḥaliḫla- see below.
3. Compare for the meaning HLuwian ha-ni-ya- ‘malicious’. The יא in front of transcribed Hittite words, as in the CHD, represents a pair of “marker wedges.”
and pounding or required more than the usual amount of pounding to quarry. The stem wariwarant-uria warant-(< war-) ‘burning’ definitely shows a connective -i-. Other instances of connective -i- are uncertain: the transitive verb ḫaliḫla- ‘to flatter(?)’, + arḫa ‘to put off (with flattery)(?)’, is reduplicated from ḫala/-i- ‘to cradle (a child), to roll (a wheel)’. If ḫaliḫla- is formed from the base ḫala-, then the -i- of ḫaliḫla- is like that in wariwarant-, but ḫaliḫla- could also represent full reduplication of the base ḫali-. If one connects arrirra- ‘to scrape off’ with arra- ‘to wash’ (both ‘to scrub, rub clean’), it would also show a connective -i-.

The status of the first -i- in the three reduplicated -ške- forms laḫḫilaḫḫiške-, partipartiške-, and waltiwaltiške- is also uncertain. It could be a connective -i-, but it could also reflect mere copying of the stem-final -i- that appears before the -ške- (for which see §12.32, p. 204).

10.4. The second type, partial reduplication, takes several forms in Hittite: (1) reduplication with the vowel e in the first syllable: wewakk- < wek- ‘to ask’, lelaniya/e- ‘to become furious’, šešd- (< *še-šd- with zero grade of the root *sed-) ‘to prosper’ possibly from an earlier meaning ‘to sit safely(?);’ (2) reduplication with i and zero-grade of the root (see Melchert 1984b: 98–100): lilḫuwa- < laḫu(wa)- ‘to pour out (liquids)’, titḫa- ‘to thunder’; (3) reduplication with the vowel of the root: ḫalḫarš- ‘to laugh’ (probably also onomatopoetic), papparš- ‘to sprinkle’, Ŝ;kurš- ‘to cut up, mutilate’, kun(n)kunk- < kunk- ‘(?), pupušša- ‘to crush(?), kikkiš- < kiš- ‘to become’, lillipa- < lip- ‘to lick’, šiššiya- < šai- ‘to press (as a creditor)’. The examples with -i- could also belong to (2). The reduplication pattern in mummiye- (middle) (< mau(š)- ‘to fall’) is unclear.

10.5. Further research is needed to reach firm conclusions about the meaning and function of verbal reduplication in Hittite. The task is made difficult by the small number of attestations for most reduplicated stems. While an “iterative” or “intensive” value may be shown for some cases (Hoffner 1975: 139–40 and Oettinger 1998), this is not true for all (van Brock 1964: 144–45). There is no uniform pattern for the inflectional type of reduplicated stems. For reduplication in noun stems see §2.56 (p. 62).

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4. The connective -i- is reminiscent of that in Sanskrit “intensives” such as gánigam- < gam- ‘to go’ and kari-kr- ‘to make’, for which see Schaefer 1994: 24.

5. The common denominator of the uses of the base verb is ‘to grasp lightly with the two hands’. The precise meaning of the reduplicated stem remains elusive, but ‘to flatter’ fits the context of KBo 3.34 ii 21 and ‘to put off (with flattery/excuses)’ that of KBo 18.78 obv. 4 with arḫa (see a similar use of ḫala- in KBo 5.9 iii 9). For such a meaning from ‘to grasp lightly with the two hands’ compare English to stroke in the sense to flatter or alternatively the colloquial use of to play in to play (i.e. manipulate) someone. In any case, the derivation of transitive ḫaliḫla- from ḫala-/ḫalai- is confirmed by the use of the reflexive -za with both. We reject the widely favored derivation of (transitive) ḫaliḫla- from ḫaliya- ‘to kneel’.

6. This derivation of arrirra- < arra- was suggested by Jay Friedman of the University of California at Los Angeles (in an unpublished paper delivered at the 2001 annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Toronto).

7. Probably also lelakk- < lak- ‘to bend, knock over’ and lelareške- ‘to soothe, conciliate’, but these could also be read as lilakk- and lilareške- with i-reduplication.
### Verbal Suffixes and Infixes

**Overview**

10.6. The verbal suffixes (and infix) and their known combinations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>added to</th>
<th>suffixes</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aḫḫ-</td>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>Factitive ('to make . . .')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-āi-</td>
<td>verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Denominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e-</td>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>Stative/Fientive ('to be(come) . . .')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ešš-</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Fientive ('to become . . .')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nu-</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Causative ('to cause to . . .') (&lt; verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-anna/i-</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ške/a-</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-šša</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>added to</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ni(n)-</td>
<td>verbs</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.7. As deverbal suffixes, the imperfective suffixes -ške/a- and -anna/i- (hereafter, for simplicity, -ške- and -anna-) can be added to the verbal stems formed with the other suffixes listed and the infix -ni(n)-. Different imperfective suffixes co-occur: -anna- + -ške- in GUL-annišket, ḫēwanešket, ḫuittiyanniškemi, peššиanneškezzi. Other combinations of more than one suffix are for semantic reasons relatively rare. The motivation for the exceptions is reasonably clear. One can combine the fientive suffix -ešš- and causative -nu-: ḫatk-eš-nu- ‘to cause to become narrow(ed), hemmed in’ > ‘to besiege’, lalukk-eš-nu- ‘to cause to become light’ > ‘to illuminate’. The causative -nu- can also be added to a stem with the imperfective suffix -ške/a- when the latter has a durative or habitual sense: laḫlaḫḫeške-nu- ‘to cause to keep running’ > ‘to gallop’ (trans.), uške-nu- ‘to cause to inspect’.

10.8. Verbs using all but one (-anna-, §13.25, p. 226) of the above suffixes inflect according to the *mi*-conjugation (see chapter 12).

#### The Individual Suffixes

10.9. The suffix -aḫḫ- is added to the stems of adjectives or numerals in order to produce verbs which mean ‘to make something what the adjective or numeral denotes’ or

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8. Possible exception: šiuniyaḫḫ- if this is based on noun šiuni- ‘god(dess)’ instead of a postulated adjective *šiuni(ya)- ‘divine(?)’.

9. See §10.14 (p. 178) for a possible exception: ḫannitalwaešš-.

10. The apparent exception ešḫarnu- ‘to bloody’ from ešḫar ‘blood’ may actually be formed from ešḫariya- ‘bloody’ on the model of naḫšarnu- ‘to frighten’ < naḫšariya- ‘to be(come) afraid’.
‘to regard something/someone as (or declare someone to be, or treat someone as) what the adjective denotes’. See also §2.47 (p. 60), §9.59 (p. 170), §9.62 (p. 171), §10.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectival Base</th>
<th>Factitive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arawa- ‘exempt (from)’</td>
<td>arawaḫḫ- ‘to declare someone exempt from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫantezzi(va)- ‘first’</td>
<td>ḫantezziyaḫḫ ‘to make first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫappinant- ‘rich’</td>
<td>ḫappinaḫḫ- ‘to make rich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ḫaddul(a)- ‘healthy’</td>
<td>ḫaddulaḫḫ- ‘to make healthy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikuna- ‘cold’</td>
<td>ikunāḫḫ- ‘to make cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idālu- ‘evil’</td>
<td>idalawāḫḫ- ‘to treat evilly; harm, injure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kattera- ‘inferior’</td>
<td>katteraḫḫ- ‘to declare to be inferior, the loser (in a suit)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayant- ‘youthful, vigorous’</td>
<td>mayantāḫḫ- ‘to rejuvenate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakki- ‘important’</td>
<td>nakkiyaḫḫ- ‘to regard/treat as important’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>newa- ‘new’</td>
<td>newaḫḫ- ‘to make new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šarazzi(va)- ‘superior’</td>
<td>šarazziyāḫḫ- ‘to declare to be superior (in a suit or a contest)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-ya- (*teriya-) ‘threefold’</td>
<td>3-yāḫḫ- ‘to make threefold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-ya- (&lt; meu, meyau-) ‘fourfold’</td>
<td>4-yāḫḫ- ‘to make fourfold’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a summary of the use of this very productive suffix see Oettinger 1979: 239–54. For the formal derivation of ḫappinaḫḫ- from ḫappinant- see §2.2 (p. 51).

10.10. The suffix -āi- is used to form denominatives from a wide variety of noun stems:12 (1) from a-stems such as šalpa- ‘excrement’ (> šalpāi- ‘to besmear’) or štarma- ‘peg, stake’ (> tarmāi- ‘to nail down, fix’); (2) from a single i-stem ḫaršanalli- ‘wreath, diadem’ (§2.21, p. 55), itself a derived form in -alli- (> ḫaršanalli- ‘to wreathe’);13 (3) from ai-stems like ḫalluwai- ‘quarrel’ (> ḫalluwāi- ‘to quarrel’); (4) from u-stems like lulu- ‘prosperity’ (> luluwāi- ‘to make prosper’), iwaru- ‘dowry, inheritance share’

11. [3-]a-ah-ha-an-zi 4-ya-ah-ha-an-zi KUB 9.4 ii 33, [3-]a-ah-ḥa-ah-ḥa-wa-ni 4-ya-ah-ḥa-ah- ḫa-wa-ni ibid. 35. The 3-yāḫḫ- is fine for *teri- ‘three’, but 4-yāḫḫ- poses a problem. One would expect *meuwaḫḫ- or *meyawaḫḫ- (i.e., 4-er or 4-yawāḫḫ-). The adjectival base is probably derived from the cardinal by a suffix -(i)ya- (§2.35, p. 58, and §9.59, p. 170), which explains the y in 4-yāḫḫ-. Alternatively, the stem for ‘multiply by four’ may have been remodeled on that for ‘multiply by three’.

12. We cite the suffix as -āi-. The long diphthong is not always expressed by plene spelling (see AHP 149). Since Cā-(a)-e is attested as a spelling for what assuredly is a long diphthong /a:y/ in nouns (li-in- ga-en and ta-ma-a-e), we assume consistently a long diphthong also for all verb forms with the suffix -āi-. That some OH instances of -Cā-e- (e.g., tar-ma-e-mi) represent uncontracted [Cā:-e] cannot be entirely excluded. See Melchert 1984b: 74–75 for discussion.

13. This exceptional example is due to the fact that the verb is modeled on the matching Luwian type formed from the a-stem suffix -alla- that took “i-mutation”: see ūarkammanallawi ‘I make tribute-bearing’ KUB 23.127 ii 6 in Hittite context < *arkammanallali- ‘tribute-bearing’, attested in Hittite form as an i-stem arkammanalli-. But Hittite speakers surely viewed ḫaršanalli- as derived from the i-stem ḫaršnalli-.
(> iwarwāi- ‘to bestow a dowry/inheritance share’), genzu- ‘pity, mercy’ (> genzuwāi- ‘to take pity on’), išḥaḥru- ‘tears’ (> išḥaḥruwāi- ‘to shed tears’); (5) from l-stems such as takšul- ‘peace, solidarity, alliance’ (> takšulāi- ‘to be allied, at peace’) and māl ‘intelligence, mind’ (> malāi- ‘to approve of’; see HED M 25–26, 76); (6) from t-stems such as šawitišt- ‘weanling(?)’ (or ‘suckling(?)’) (> šawitištāi- ‘to wean(?)’ [or ‘to suckle(?)’]; (7) from the oblique stem of nouns in -ššar/-šn- like ḫappeššar ‘body part’ (> ḫappišnāi- ‘to dismember’), šaḫeššar ‘fortress’ (> šaḫešnāi- ‘to fortify’), and elaššar ‘sign, revelation’ (> elašnāi- ‘to reveal’), etc.14

10.11. The suffix -e-, like -ešš-, is added to adjectival (and a few nominal) stems to produce verbs which mean ‘to be(come) what the adjective or noun signifies’. For the deletion of the suffix of the base adjective in some examples, but not others, see §2.2 (p. 51).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectival or Nominal Base</th>
<th>Stative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alpu- ‘sharp, pointed’</td>
<td>*alpue- (in alpuemar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arawa- ‘exempt (from)’</td>
<td>arawe- ‘to declare oneself free (from)’ 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*aršan(a)- ‘envious’</td>
<td>aršane- ‘to become envious’ 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫašša- ‘king’</td>
<td>ḫaššu- (LUGAL-(u)e-) ‘to become king’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalukki- ‘bright’</td>
<td>lalukke- ‘to become bright’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maršant- ‘false’</td>
<td>marše- ‘to become false’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyaḫuwant- ‘old’</td>
<td>miyaḫunte- ‘to become old, live long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paprant- ‘impure, guilty’</td>
<td>papre- ‘to be proven guilty by ordeal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parkui- ‘pure, clear’</td>
<td>parkue- ‘to become clear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*GÊME-ališšara- ‘female slave’</td>
<td>GÊME-ališšare- ‘to become a female slave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.12. Watkins (1973), who identified this class of verbs in Hittite, called them “de-nominal statives,” but recognized (1973: 67) that attested examples may have either stative or fientive meaning (‘to be . . .’ or ‘to become . . .’). Hoffner (1998d) has shown that it is the fientive sense that predominates in Hittite and that, in those cases where both an e- and an ešš-verb exist for the same adjectival root, the former seems to have been replaced by the latter in the course of time (arawe- > arawešš-, GÊME-ališšare- > GÊME-ališšarešš-17).

10.13. The following are examples of verbs derived from an adjectival base by the suffix -ešš- which mean ‘to become what the adjective signifies’. For the inflection of these verbs see §12.20 (p. 197).

14. For these classes and further examples see Oettinger 1979: 365–68.
15. For arawe- see LH 138–39, 219–20; and Hoffner 1998d.
16. For the original stem of this verb as being in -e- see ar-ša-ne-e-ši KBo 25.122 iii 2 etc. (OS) and Neu 1983: 28–29. The base stem is also seen in aršanatalla- ‘envier’ (§2.32, p. 57).
17. For the latter see n. 20 below.
10.14. For the deletion of the suffix of the base adjective in some examples see §2.2 (p. 51). There is one apparent example derived from a noun: ḫannitalwa-ešš- ‘to become a litigant’ < ḫannitalwa-.

10.15. Verbs formed by suffixing -nu- can be either (1) causatives of other verbs or (2) factitives of adjectives. See Sihler 1995: §455 (PIE *-new-/*-nu-). Examples of the causative are: arnu- ‘to cause to arrive (ar-)’, warnu- ‘to cause to burn (war-)’, linganu- ‘to cause to swear (link-)’, ḥarganu- ‘to cause to perish (ḥark-)’, waḥnu- ‘to cause to turn (weḥ-)’. Sometimes one can hardly detect any difference in meaning between the root verb and the extension in -nu-: paḥḫaš- and paḥḫašnu- ‘to guard’, tekkušš(i)ye- and tekkuš(a)nu- ‘to show, reveal, present’. For the inflection see §12.44 (p. 210, paradigms).

10.16. Examples of factitives are: mališkunu- ‘to make weak (mališku-)’, daš(ša)nu- ‘to make strong (daššu-)’, šallanu- ‘to make great (šalli-), magnify’, tepnu- ‘to make small/few (tepu-)’, parkunu- ‘to make pure (parkui-)’, parknu-21 ‘to make high (parku-)’, ešḫarnu- ‘to make bloody (ešḫar ‘blood’)’. For the deletion of the stem-final -u- and

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective or Noun Base</th>
<th>Fientive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arawa- ‘exempt from’</td>
<td>arawešš- ‘to become exempt from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ašiwant- ‘poor’</td>
<td>ašiwantešš- ‘to become poor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫapinant- ‘rich’</td>
<td>ḫappinešš- ‘to become rich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ħarki- ‘white’</td>
<td>ħarkešš- ‘to become white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫaštali- ‘brave’</td>
<td>ḫaštalešš- ‘to become brave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ħatku- ‘narrow’</td>
<td>ħatkuešš- ‘to become narrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ħatukali- ‘awesome, frightening’</td>
<td>ḫatukešš- ‘to become awesome’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idalu- ‘evil’</td>
<td>idalawešš- ‘to become evil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayant- ‘young’</td>
<td>mayantešš- ‘to be(come) young’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mekki- ‘numerous’</td>
<td>makkešš- ‘to become numerous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parku- ‘high’</td>
<td>parkešš- ‘to become high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parkui- ‘pure’</td>
<td>parkuešš- ‘to become pure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šalli- ‘large’</td>
<td>šallešš- ‘to become large, grow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*GÊME-ališšare- ‘female slave’</td>
<td>GÊME-ališšarešš- ‘to become a female slave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


19. The verb makkešš- ‘to become numerous’ < mekki- ‘much, many’ shows not only deletion of the stem vowel but also an alternation in the root vowel reflecting an archaic pattern with a zero-grade root *-mk- and inserted vowel.

20. For GÊME-ališšare-, which was replaced in post-OH by GÊME-ališšarešš-, see LH 43, 139, 185–86, 263 and §10.12 above.

21. Written pár-ak-nu- and pár-ga-nu-, indicating the absence of the apparent vowel before -nu-; see §1.11 (p. 12) on empty vowels in Hittite cuneiform.
-i- of the base adjective in most of the examples see §2.2 (p. 51). 22 On the derivation of ešḫarnu- see also n. 10 (p. 175).

10.17. The verbal infix -ni(n)- is inserted before the final consonant in certain verbs ending in -k-: ḫark- ‘to perish’ > ḫarnink- ‘to destroy’, ištark- ‘to get sick’ > ištarnink- ‘to make sick’, *šark- > šarnink- ‘to make compensation’, *n(e)ik- *’rise’ > ninink- ‘to mobilize, set in motion’. From the examples it is apparent that its force is causative or transitivizing. A similar value for the PIE nasal infix is seen in examples such as Old Irish -roind ‘makes red’ to a root meaning ‘(be) red’.

10.18. For the verbal suffixes -ške-, -šša-, and -anna- see chapter 24, "Verbal Aspect."

22. The verb maknu- ‘to make numerous’ < mekki- also shows the same alternation in its root vowel as in makkešš- (see n. 19 above).
Chapter 11
VERB INFLECTION

Types of Verbal Inflection

11.1. Hittite finite verbs are inflected for the person and number of the subject ("subject marking"), and for mood, tense, and voice.¹ There are also non-finite forms: verbal substantives, infinitives, participles, and so-called supines (see chapter 25).

11.2. Subject marking. Finite verbs are inflected in the usual three persons and in two numbers, singular and plural. Hittite has no dual ending. The finite verb is not marked for gender. Gender distinctions (common [or animate] and neuter [or inanimate], see §3.2–3.6, pp. 64–66) exist in the participle by virtue of its status as a verbal adjective.

11.3. The finite verb expresses only two moods, indicative and imperative (by convention, volunatative and exhortative first-person forms (§§23.4–23.5, p. 313) are included in the paradigm of the imperative). Modalities which in other Indo-European languages would be expressed by subjunctive or optative forms (could, would, must, ought to, would like to) are conveyed in Hittite by means of modal particles such as man (§23.10–23.16, pp. 314–316), or adverbs such as imma ‘really’ (see §19.8, p. 291; §26.10, p. 343; §27.4, p. 350) and kuwatka ‘perhaps’ (see §16.59, p. 255; §19.8, p. 291; §26.7, p. 342; §27.3, p. 349).

11.4. In the indicative mood there are two tenses, present (for present or future time) and preterite (for past time). In addition there are “analytic” constructions (like English have/had gone and will go) that explicitly express the present and past perfect and the future tense. The use of the present, the preterite, and the analytic perfect will be described in chapter 22 and the periphrastic future in chapter 24 (see also §§22.8–22.9, p. 308).

11.5. The finite verb is inflected for two voices, active and medio-passive. For their use see chapter 21. In the active voice finite verbs are inflected in one of two conjugations, the mi- and hi-conjugations, named for the endings of the first-person singular indicative in each set. The endings of the first- and third-person plural are identical in the two sets, while in the second-person plural all mi-verbs and most hi-verbs take -ten(i), while hi-verbs with stems ending in -i- take -šten(i). In all finite forms of both voices and all tenses and moods of the vocalic-stem verbs, endings beginning with a stop or with h regularly appear with geminate spellings. Non-geminate spellings are either faulty of “simplified spellings” (see 1.10, p. 12).

¹. For the optional explicit marking of imperfective aspect see chapter 24.
11.6. The following is the scheme of endings for the finite forms of the active verb. For medio-passive endings see §11.17 (p. 184).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi-conjugation</td>
<td>̄hi-conjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1   -mi</td>
<td>-ahi, (-he in OH)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2      -ši, ti</td>
<td>-ti, -šti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3      -zi⁶</td>
<td>-i, (-e)⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 1   -weni,¹² (-wanti¹³), -meni,¹⁴ (-manii)¹³ (-uni)¹⁵</td>
<td>-wen, -men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2      -teni, (-tani)</td>
<td>-teni, (-tani), -šteni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3      -anzi</td>
<td>-er, (-ar)¹⁷</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. In OS rather consistently showing the e-vocalization (sign -he); see Otten and Souček 1969: 56.
3. Used with consonantal stems.
4. Used with vocalic stems.
5. See dūtta 'you (sg.) took' (MH/MS) and paiṭta 'you (sg.) gave' (NS).
6. Verb forms showing the -šta ending, either in sg. 2 or 3, are: memištā 'spoke', peštā 'gave', ḫališta 'cradled(?)', teดาšṭa (meaning unclear), ulešṭa 'blended(?)', ūḍašṭa 'brought', umnišṭa 'drove here', umnišṭa 'drove there', uppešṭa 'sent', dašṭa 'placed', našṭa 'turned', tarnešṭa 'released', and possibly aručšṭa 'bowed(?). This ending is attested in MH/MS only in memištā. In other cases it is a NH innovation. The OS form paḵu-aš-ta (CHD P 68) must contain a verbal stem in -š; Oettinger (1979: 333) has suggested *paḵučšṭ-.
7. Attested in ġhiverbs in -i-; see zāit and ḫalzait in chapter 13 paradigms (§13.21, p. 223).
8. Since the sequence šz is elsewhere quite stable, the rare NH form da-ma-aš-ti KBo 5.9 ii 26 for expected da-ma-aš-zi may be just a scribal slip.
9. E.g., wa-arı-šṣ-e in KUB 29.30 iii 4 (OS).
10. This ending is spelled -ta in verbs whose stem ends in a stop or fricative: e-ep-ta, e-eš-ta, etc. (likewise when it occurs in the pret. sg. 2). Scholars disagree whether the final a-vowel is real or merely graphic. For the latter view see Pedersen 1938: 93, Sturtevant and Hahn 1951: 141, Kronasser 1956: 31, and Yoshida 2002; and for the former Eichner 1975: 79–80, Oettinger 1979: 9, 237, AHP 175–76, and Kimball 1999: 193–194.
11. This ending replaces -š in verbs whose stem ends in -š, e.g., ḫāšṭa 'gave birth' (OS), wašṭa 'bought'. See Oettinger 1979: 41.
12. The ending -weni can stand for either present indicative or imperative first-person plural. The two forms are distinguishable only by context.
13. For the endings -wanti and -tani see AHP 138 with references to other viewpoints.
14. The endings -meni (manii) and -men are largely confined to the nu-causative verbs, although one finds them also in umenii and aumen (from auru 'to see'). The use of the m-variants of -weni, -wanti, and -wen after verb stems in a is phonologically conditioned (§1.126, p. 44).
15. There are enough attestations of this ending to suggest that it may be real and not merely the result of omission of the sign for e. See p. 192, n. 31, p. 207, n. 119, and p. 223, n. 43, and Otten (1969: 26), who adds kar-aš-šu-uni, sud-u-uni, and pa-a-tu-uni.
16. The ending -teni is can stand for either preterite indicative or imperative second-person plural. The two forms are distinguishable only by context.
17. For rare instances of an ending -ar, such as ú-e-mi-ya-ar 'they found' (from wemniya-), ḫa-a-ni-ya-ar 'they dipped/drew' (from ḫauniya-), and ṣa-pa-ši-ya-ar 'they scouted' (from šapašiya-) see Neu 1989a.
11.7. The preterite third-plural person ending is typically spelled with the ambiguous IR sign (see §1.28, p. 20). Spellings such as e-šē-er and ú-te-er with unambiguous Ce signs or da-aš-ke-e-er show that the ending is l-er|. We should therefore likewise read pi-i-IR from pi- (the weak stem of pai- ‘to give’) or pé-eš-ši-IR from peššiya- ‘to throw’ as, respectively, pi-i-er (beside pi-i-e-er) and pe-eš-ši-er. That is, the -i- in these forms serves either to indicate the stem vowel or a glide connecting the stem vowel to the ending -er. It is not intended to mark the IR sign as containing -i.22 Preterite third-plural active verbs ending in one of the signs NIR, ŠIR, TIR, KIR, or PIR should always be read with their alternate e vocalizations: šu-un-ner ‘they filled’, e-šer ‘they were’, ú-ter ‘they brought’, e-ker ‘they died’, e-ep-per ‘they seized’.23 For monosyllabic dāir and pāir see p. 224, nn. 48–50, and §12.4, p. 209.

11.8. In rare instances the pres. sg. 3 mi-conjugation ending -zi and the pres. pl. ending -anzi are written -za and -anza respectively: e-eš-za in KBo 6.2 iv 53–55 (Laws §98, OS) for e-eš-zi ‘he/it is’ in the duplicate KBo 6.3 iv 52–54 (OH/NS),24 ḫar-za in KBo 9.73 obv. 12 (treaty with Ḫapiru, OS) for intended ḫar-zi,25 ša-ku-wa-an-za (for ša-ku-wa-an-zi) KUB 13.2 iii 16 (MH/NS) (Melchert 1984b: 97), šēpan iš-ḫi-an-za (for šēpan išḫianzi) KBo 6.26 i 7 (Laws §158, OH/NS) with dupl. iš-ḫa-a-i (LH 126), and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-conjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
<td>-(a)llu, (-lit, -lut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-∅, -i18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-d/tu20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 1</td>
<td>-weni12, -wani21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ten16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-and/tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. E.g., pa-ḫa-ši. An example from the hi-conjugation is the imp. sg. 2 tar-ni.

19. This ending is confined to the nu-causative verbs (e.g., parkunu-, šallanu-, etc.), the imp. sg. 2 it ‘go!’ from the unprefixed root i- found in uezzi ‘comes’ and paizzi ‘goes’ (see §12.42, p. 210), and the variant uwatet alongside expected uwaṭe from uwaṭe- ‘to bring’ (see §12.21, p. 199).

20. Old Hittite copies tend to use the cuneiform sign Tu for this ending; later, the sign DU was preferred. This writing convention does not necessarily reflect pronunciation.

21. See uwaṭeten .UR/Nēša paizwani ‘Come, let us go to Neša’ KBo 22.2 obv. 15 (OS).

22. Rare exceptions, such as pé-eš-šer from peššiya- ‘to throw’ do not invalidate the majority of the evidence, since forms of that verb such as pé-eš-še-er and pé-še-et indicate that the e vowel in pé-eš-šer was real. The forms ḫa-a-ši-ir ‘they gave birth’ KUB 21.38 obv. 60 (Hatt. III) from stem ḫaš- and wa-aš-ši-ir ‘they sinned’ BrTabl i 10 (Tudḫ. IV) from stem wašša-, both from late NH texts, are genuine exceptions. See also the atypical pres. sg. 3 wašṭa of this verb in §8.8 (p. 151).

23. The fact that HZL fails to list an e-containing value for some of these Ciler signs is of no consequence.

24. See CHD nakkuš ‘loss(?)’ for discussion and literature.

25. See also another likely occurrence of ḫar-za for ḫar-zi in KBo 24.9:5.'
iš-tar-ni-ik-za for iš-tar-ni-ik-zi KBo 40.272 left 5’. Since two of these examples are found in Old Hittite manuscripts which do not elsewhere betray a sloppy copyist, it is likely that the writings with final -za for -zi reflect archaisms showing the regular loss of final -i in -zi from */-ti, as in the ablative ending -az (see -azziy-a; see §3.34, p. 77). But the single occurrence in a-ar-aš-za KUB 19.23 obv. 14 (NH) for intended a-ar-aš-zi ‘it flows’, cannot be an archaism. The usual ending -zi has its -i restored after the rest of the present verbal endings.

11.9. The imperative first-person singular is formed with the endings -(a)llu, -lut, or -lit, the latter two forms being much rarer than the first. The ending -allu clearly occurs in cases where the verb stem ends in a consonant: ašallu (< ēš- ‘to be’), ag-gallu (< akk- ‘to die’), šeggallu (< šakk- ‘to know’), ḫaššīggallu (< ḫaššik- ‘to satisfy oneself’), karšallu (< karš- ‘to cut off’), tepawēšallu (< tepāwešš- ‘to become less’), uwallu (< au-lut(w)- ‘to see’). When the verb stem ends in a, one cannot detect the presence of the parenthesized vowel in -(a)llu: memallu (< mema- ‘to say’), udallu (< uda- ‘to bring’), wemiyallu (< wemiy-a- ‘to find’), kuwayatatullu (< kuwayata-it- ‘to be feared/formidable’). Imperfective stems in -ška/- appear as -ška-: ušgallu (< au-/u- ‘to see’). The ending -llu occurs with nu-causative verbs: ašnullu (< aš-šu- ‘to prepare’).

The ending -lut/-lit is attested only for ēš- ‘to be’.

Irregularities in the mi-Conjugation

11.10. There is a widespread intrusion of the ending -ti from the ḫi-conjugation during the NH period (see §12.3, p. 188; §12.8, p. 191; §12.20, p. 197; §12.33, p. 204). On rare occasions the pres. sg. 2 (‘you . . .’) ends in -zi instead of the expected -ši or -ti: ištamašzi ‘you hear’ (the same form as for ‘he hears’) for normal ištamašti (with the -ti ending of the ḫi-conjugation).

11.11. In New Hittite (NH) compositions there is a marked tendency to replace the earlier pret. sg. 2 in -š (‘you . . . ed’) with the ending of the sg. 3 -t: earlier iēš (OH) and iyaš (MH) ‘you did/made’, but later iyat; earlier šallanuš ‘you raised’, later šallanu; earlier paḫšanuš ‘you protected’, later paḫšanu; earlier aršanieš ‘you were envious’, tarkummiyaš ‘you announced’, šamenuš (?),27 and memanušgaš ‘you were making (me) talk (imperfective)’, later ittanut ‘you made (something) stand’; earlier imperfective stem + ending -škeš (MH: ḫatreškeš ‘you were sending’, daškeš ‘you were taking’, memiškeš ‘you were saying’), later -šket (NH). The form pēḫuteš KUB 30.28 rev. 12 (NS) is by context pret. sg. 3 ‘he led there’ and is the result of late influence from the ḫi-conjugation on an otherwise mi-conjugation verb.

26. KBo 5.9 ii 16–17 zik-ma-[an] ištamašzi, see also iii 7; and KBo 4.3 + KUB 40.34 iv 31–32 nu mān zik-muta-[an] ištamašzi, see also iii 7; and KBo 4.3 + KUB 40.34 iv 31–32 nu mān zik-“Kupanta-[An]ma-aš ap̣aš-aš me-[aš]-ši-ša] idalawēšzi.

Irregularities in the ḫi-Conjugation


11.13. In the pres. sg. 3, an ending -ai occasionally appears where one expects -i: šipant- and šipandai ‘he libates, offers’.

11.14. Similarly, in the pret. pl. 3, -aer occurs alongside the more common -er: šipanter and šipantaer ‘they libated’ from the verb stem šipant-. Obviously, in forms such as dāir ‘they took’ the a is part of the verb stem, and the ending is only -er.

11.15. Conversely, the ending -i occurs in the pres. sg. 3 instead of an expected -ai: waštai ‘he sins’ (the more usual form, since the normal stem is wašta-) and wašti (which shows that the earlier stem was wašt-). 28

11.16. The earlier ending -š of the pret. sg. 3 was replaced in later Hittite by -šta. See the paradigms in §13.13 (p. 219), §13.21 (p. 223), §13.23 (p. 224).

Medio-Passive Endings

11.17. The following is the scheme of endings for the medio-passive verb forms of the present, preterite, and imperative (for a similar table see Neu 1968a: 19). On the chronological distribution of the shorter and longer endings see §14.7 (p. 233).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pres. 1</td>
<td>-(ḫ)ha, -(ḫ)hari, -ḫāri, -ḫaḫari</td>
<td>-wašta, -waštati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ta, -tari, -tati</td>
<td>-duma, tuma, tumari, tumati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-a, -ari, -āri, -ta, -tari, -tāri</td>
<td>-anta/-anda, -antari, -ant/dāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pret. 1</td>
<td>-ḫati, -ḫat, -ḫaḫati, -ḫaḫatti</td>
<td>-waštat, -waštati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-at, -ta, -tati, -tāti</td>
<td>-dumat, -tumāt (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-at, -ati, -ta, -tati, -tāti</td>
<td>-antat, -antati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp. 1</td>
<td>-ḫaru, -ḫaḫaru</td>
<td>-waštati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ḫut, -ḫuti</td>
<td>-tu(m)mat, -tumati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-aru, -taru</td>
<td>-antaru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. N. Oettinger (private communication) has pointed out the same pattern in earlier a-ar-ri ‘he washes” and later (a)-ar-ra-i.

29. Only in NH or NS texts.

30. In paišgaḫat in KBo 17.1+ iv 13 (OS).

31. In kištat KBo 6.2 ii 12 = Laws §37 (OS).

32. In pa-tiš-kat-tu-ma-a-a KBo 8.42 obv. 9.

33. In kištanziattat KBo 3.22:46 (OS).
Verbal Substantive, Participle, Infinitive, and Supine

11.18. There are four non-finite verb forms: (1) the verbal substantive and (2) the verbal adjective or participle, both of which are declined; (3) the infinitive and (4) the supine, which are indeclinable. On their use see chapter 25.

11.19. In verbs that show stem variation the verbal substantive, participle, and infinitive are regularly formed from the stem shown by the present third plural: ēpp-/app- 'to take' > appātar, appant-, appanna, ḫuek-/ḫuk- 'to slaughter' > ḫugatar, ḫugant-, ḫuganna, ḫandāi- 'to prepare, arrange' > ḫandāuwar, ḫandānt-, ḫandāuwanzi, ašaš-/ašeš- 'to settle' > ašuwar, ašant-, ašuwanzi, pai- 'to give' > piyawar/piyatar, piyant-, piyawanzi. For exceptions to this pattern see the respective paradigms in chapters 12 and 13.

11.20. The scheme of endings for the verbal substantive, participle, infinitive, and supine is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set</th>
<th>Verbal substantive</th>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Supine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>-war (gen. -waš)</td>
<td>-ant-</td>
<td>-wanzi</td>
<td>-wan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>-(u)mar (gen. -(u)maš)</td>
<td>-ant-</td>
<td>-(u)manzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ātar (gen. -annaš)</td>
<td>-ant-</td>
<td>-anna</td>
<td>-wan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.21. Although the endings of the participle and the supine (-wan) are the same for all verbs, verbal substantives (forms in -war, -(u)mar, -ātar) and infinitives (-wanzi, -(u)manzi, -anna) have different sets. Set 2 appears on all monosyllabic mi-verbs showing vowel gradation (ablaut), e.g., ēš- 'to be', ēd- 'to eat', eku- 'to drink', ēpp- 'to seize', kuen- 'to strike, kill', kuer- 'to cut', ḫuek- 'to slaughter', wēh- 'to turn', see §12.4 (p. 189). In addition a few monosyllabic non-ablauting (such as dā- 'to take' [see §13.11, p. 218] and wak- 'to bite' [see §13.1, p. 214]) and ablauting hi-verbs (such as au(š)- 'to see' [see §13.32, p. 228] and pai-/piy- 'to give') show this pattern. Set 1 appears on all other verbs. Some verbs switched classes over time and appear sometimes 34. See §4.97 (p. 123) for the paradigm of the participle.

35. Verbal substantives are commonly attested only in nominative-accusative and genitive case forms, but there may be rare isolated occurrences of other forms, such as the ablative šallanumarraza KUB 26.32 i 12 and the dative-locative ANA ŠA 40 šawarri KBo 11.1 obv. 8.

36. Plene writings of the infinitive ending, -wa-a-an-zi, are extremely rare; only two certain examples are known to us: pa-ša-ša-ša-ša KBo 20.8 obv. 9 (OS) and ši-pa-an-du-wa-a-an-zi KUB 58.71 obv. right 14’ (late NS). A rare form of the infinitive ending (-wanta) occurs in ši-pa-an-tu-an-ta: maḫḫan-ši-pantuanta irḫaizzi 'But when the king finishes making offering' KUB 10.21 i 1–3. This ending is probably an archaic instrumental ending (see §3.35, p. 77, and p. 125, n. 223), which lends support to the view that the regular ending -wanzi is an old ablative < *-wen-ti (Jasanoff 1973 and Melchert 1977: 411, among others). For another view, deriving it from a locative, see §3.25 (p. 74).

37. On the origin of the ending of the supine see §3.25 (p. 74).
11.22. Verbs in Set 1 whose stems end in $u$ (especially the $nu$-causative verbs) take the 1b endings, e.g., $arnumar$, $arnumanzi$, $arnuman$, $arnu(w)ant$-. Also $hi$-verbs such as $tarna$-, $penna$-, $unna$-, $arrat$- ‘to wash’, $hušš$- ‘to procreate’, $šanma$- ‘to conceal’, $šarratt$- ‘to divide’, $šunna$- ‘to fill’, $wašta$- ‘to sin’, and $mi$-verbs of the type $peḫute$- ‘to lead there’ and $wete$- ‘to build’ (see §12.21, p. 198).

11.23. The supine is usually (see §11.24 below) found in the -$ške$- stem: $ḫurzakewan$, $karpiškewan$, $uppeškewan$, $memiškewan$, $uškewan$, $šanšiškewan$, $miškewan$, $daškewan$, $waškewan$, $šanḫiškewan$, $miškewan$, $daškewan$, $walḫanniškewan$, $aruweškewan$, $tarḫiškewan$, $punuškewan$, $duškiškewan$, $uškiškewan$, $weškewan$, $šippanzakewan$, $ḫukkiškewan$, $ḫatreškewan$, $waḫnuškewan$, $ḫarninkiškewan$, $kappueškewan$. In all cases but $paišgauwan$ ‘go’, $wēšgawan$ ‘weep’, and $wiškawan$ ‘send’, the stem is -$ške$- with e-vocalism.

11.24. Occasionally, instead of the -$ške$- stem, the verb in the supine takes the -$anna$- or -$šša$- stems: $iššuwan$, $piyanniwan$ KBo 8.42 rev. 2–3 (OS), $eššuwan$ (NS), $iyanniwan$ (MS), $piddanniwan$ (MS). At least twice it attaches to a reduplicated verbal root: $lilḫuwan daiš$ KBo 32.14 iii 19 (MH/MS); $[(n-aš \, \text{DINGIR} \, t-)m-iš] \, kikkiššūwan \, dāiš$ KBo 3.67 ii 8–9 (restored by KUB 11.5 obv. 4). See §10.3 (p. 173). Quite rarely the verb shows no imperfective stem extension (Hoffner forthcoming: §129): $karipūwan \, dāir$ ‘they began to devour’ KBo 3.1 i 21 (OH/NS), $[(šariya\, \text{wan})] \, dāir$ KUB 24.8 iv 21–22 (OH/NS) (restored by KUB 43.70a:2'), $tarḫūwan dāiš$ KBo 3.7 iii 25 (OH/NS), $išparruwan dâiš$ KBo 14.45:4, $ḫannuan dāiš$ KUB 29.39 iv 8'; $piyawa[n \, tiyaši]$ KUB 14.29 + KUB 19.3 i 7 (AM 105). With the exception of the last-cited passage (Mursili II), these passages were copied from OH or MH archetypes. See too in MH/MS: $šapašiya\, \text{wan} \, dāir$ HKM 7:6. It is possible that in some of these cases the verbs themselves were felt to be inherently imperfective and needed no external marking (see Hoffner and Melchert 2002). Such might be the case with $karip$- ‘to devour’, $šapašiya$- ‘to scout’, and $išpar$- ‘to spread out, trample’. But since others in the above list are actually attested with the overt imperfective marking ($šarriške$-, $tarḫeške$-, $ḫanniške$-), one cannot make this claim for them.
Chapter 12
CONJUGATION OF \textit{mi}-VERBS

12.1. Hittite \textit{mi}-verbs may conveniently be divided into those with stems ending in a consonant and those ending in a vowel. Among consonantal stems we may distinguish those without a suffix (so-called root stems), those with infixed -\textit{nin}-, and those with suffixed -\textit{ešš}-.\footnote{Factive verbs in \textit{-ahh}- are \textit{mi}-verbs only in post-OH. In OH they are \textit{hi}-verbs (§13.6, p. 217).} Root stems are subdivided into ablauting and non-ablauting classes (see §3.37, p. 78) for the notion of “ablaut”). Vocalic stems also may be classified as ablauting and non-ablauting types.

Consonantal Stems

\textit{Root Stems}

\textit{Ablauting}

Stems with \textit{e}/\textit{a} Ablaut

12.2. Some monosyllabic root stems (ending in a single consonant) show an alternation between \textit{e} and \textit{a} vocalism. This pattern reflects PIE ablaut between “\textit{e}-grade” and “zero grade” respectively (§3.37, p. 78). The \textit{typical} distribution is that \textit{e} occurs in the present singular, preterite singular and plural, and imperative second- and third-person singular and second-person plural, and in the non-finite forms of set 1 verbs (§11.21, p. 185), and \textit{a} occurs elsewhere. A similar distribution is seen in the ablaut of the imperfective suffix -\textit{ške-} (see §12.33, p. 204). But there are exceptions to this pattern, and competing variants are found, e.g., \textit{apteni} and \textit{ēpteni} ‘you seize’, \textit{appuen} and \textit{ēppuen} ‘we seized’.

12.3. Paradigms of root stems with \textit{e}/\textit{a} ablaut (\textit{ēš}- ‘to be’, \textit{ēpp}- ‘to seize’, \textit{ēd}- ‘to eat’, \textit{eku}- ‘to drink’):\footnote{The verb \textit{šēš-\textit{jēš}-} ‘to sleep’ follows the same pattern. For attested forms see Oettinger 1979: 18–19.}
### Present Indicative

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<td>ēptēni</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>ētmi</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>ēkumi</td>
<td>ēkueni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Notes

3. We follow others in assuming that this stem ends in a labiovelar consonant /gw/, not a sequence /gu/.

As per Lindeman 1965, the crucial evidence is given by the first-person plural forms *a-ku-e-ni* and *e-ku-en*.

If the stem were */agu-/ ~ */egu-/, the first-person plural forms would be *a-ku-me-ni* and *e-ku-me-en* (§1.126, p. 44). The attested first-person plural forms represent rather /agweni/ and /egwen/, with loss of the labial articulation of the labiovelar before /w/. Based on the evidence of the first-person plural forms, we may also view the variant OS spellings *e-uk-* beside *e-ku-* as attempts to write /eg-*/-l*, not as evidence for metathesis (of a nonexistent */egu-/ to */eug-/). HED E/I 262 lists *e-ú-uk-zi* from unpubl. text Bo 2692 V 23, cited by Singer 1975: 90.

4. The OS forms *e-eš-ši* and *e-eš-zi* belong to the verb ‘to be sitting’, not the verb ‘to be’. See §28.30 (p. 362).

5. For the stem as ez-/az- before -t- see §1.125 (p. 44).

6. OH only. See n. 3 above.

7. For intrusive -ti see §11.10 (p. 183).

8. Rare variant *e-eš-za* in Laws §97, copy A (OS). Neu (StBoT 26:39) lists i-eš-zi as pres. sg. 3 of ‘to be’, based on [ ] /ku-iš-ki i-eš-zi [ ] in KUB 34.115 iii 5 (OS; see for text StBoT 26:368). The broken context leaves the identification uncertain. If it is correct, the unusual spelling might reflect a pronunciation [kʰiski(y) e:stsi] with an inserted yod, but all solid examples of such insertions involved clitics (see §1.143, p. 49, end).

9. For the source of the form ēzzazzi and its pronunciation as /ets.tsi/ see §1.125 (p. 44). In later Hittite the stem in /ecz-/, -ts- was generalized, and in the process the verb was transferred to the hi-conjugation (hence ēzzai, ēzzaštēni).

10. Written e-šu-wa-ni KUB 44.60 ii 1, HED E/I 285, HW2 2:93b; no form *ešweni (*e-šu-e-ni) is attested yet. On the variant endings -wan[i] and -tani see §1.69 (p. 31). Based on /agusweni/ (see n. 3 above) and kuewen < *kuenwen (§12.6), we assume likewise /eswan[i], /e:pwen[i], etc., with sequences of consonant plus /w/. However, pronunciations /eswan[i] or /e:pwen[i] cannot be definitively excluded (§1.143, p. 49).

11. Written e-ep-pu-u-e-ni and ap-pu-ú-e-ni respectively, the latter in KUB 35.18 i 7. See Puhvel, HED E/I 275.

12. The forms a-ku-e-ni and a-ku-wa-ni ‘we drink’ with single -k- are not to be confused with ak-ku-u-e-ni ‘we die’ with geminate -kk-. In a-ku-e-ni/a-ku-wa-ni the labial component in the labiovelar is lost before the -w- of the ending.

13. HKM 57:33 (MH), not booked in HED or HW2.
## Preterite Indicative

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<td>ūptā</td>
<td>āzza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ūštā, āppūnt</td>
<td>ūptā</td>
<td>āzza, āzza, ēzzaš, ēzzašta</td>
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<td>eduen</td>
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<td>āppūnt</td>
<td>ūpten</td>
<td>ēduen, ēzzaaddu, ēzzašdu</td>
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## Imperative

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<td>ēštā, ēštā</td>
<td>ēštu  ēptu, ēptu</td>
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<td>ēptu, ēptu</td>
<td>ēduen, ēzzaaddu, ēzzašdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ēptu, ēptu</td>
<td>ēduen, ēzzaaddu, ēzzašdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>āšantu, āšantu</td>
<td>āppantu, āppantu</td>
<td>āšantu, āšantu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 12.4. Verbal substantive: (class 1) ēšwar, (class 2) appātar, adātar, akuwātar (see §3.31, p. 76; §§11.20–11.21, p. 185; and §25.2, p. 330). Infinitive (class 2): appanna (with rarer class 1 eppuwanzi), adanna, aku(w)anna. Participle: ašant-, appant-, appānt-, akuwant-. Imperfective: appiške-, azz[i(k)ke]-, akkuške-; this class does not select the imperfective suffix -anna-. See §13.25 (p. 226).
12.5 Conjugation of *mi*-Verbs

### Stems with *ue/u* Ablaut

12.5. Three Hittite verbs reflect PIE *e*-grade vs. zero-grade ablaut (§3.37, p. 78) as *ue* vs. *u*. As attested, these verbs show *ue* in all finite forms except the present and imperatival plural third-person. The latter show *u*, as do the non-finite forms. In the verb *kuen-* ‘to strike, hit, kill’ the final *n* of the stem usually is lost when followed by the *w, m, and š* which begin some verbal endings: *kuemĩ, kueši, kuewen*, imperf. *kuwaške-*. The origin of the variant stem *kuennV*- remains unclear.

12.6. Paradigms of the monosyllabic *mi*-verbs containing the sequence *-ue-* (*kuen-* ‘to strike’, *kuer-* ‘to cut’, *ḥuek-* ‘to exorcise’):

<table>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>kuemi</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td>kueši, kuenti,†</td>
<td>kuenti †</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td>kuēnzi, kuenzi</td>
<td>kuērzi²⁴</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Preterite Indicative</th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>kuenten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td>kuēnta, kuenta, kuinta</td>
<td>kuērta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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21. Strictly speaking, in the verbs *ḥuek-* ‘to slaughter’ and *ḥuek-* ‘to exorcise’ *ḥue-* represents an initial sequence of /h/ and /w/, while *kuen-* ‘to strike’ and *kuer-* ‘to cut’ probably show a single initial labiovelar /kw-/, but for all practical purposes all these verbs pattern alike.

22. A different treatment is seen in *kuinnunmeni* (NH) for expected *kueweni*, and *kuinnun* (NH) for the attested variant *kuewen*.

23. The verb *ḥuek-* ‘to slaughter’ shows forms homophonous with those of ‘to exorcise’ except in the -ške- stem, where ‘to exorcise’ has consistent geminate *k* versus a usual non-geminate in ‘to slaughter’ (but note *ḫuksiškanzi* ‘they slaughter’ in KUB 9.3 iv 7). Attested forms of the latter verb are: *ḥuekmĩ/ḥuekmi, ḫuekzi, ḫaḵzi, ḫukka(eni?)*, ḫašanzi/ḫukanzi, pret. sg. 3 *ḥuekta/ḥuekta, ḫueku, ḫašama, ḫašant-/ḫašant-*, ḫašanib, ḫašantıw. Attested forms of the former verb are: *kuenmis/kuennmis, ḫuekmis, ḫuēkmi, ḫuēkis, kuešmis, kuenti¹, kuenti²⁷.*

24. The form *ku-er-ri* in KUB 24.12 iii 19 is faulty. The online photo in Konk. shows extraneous wedges: the RI is apparently written over an erased sign.

25. KBo 17.23 obv? 6’ (OS) *ku-ru-*[u?] or (less likely) *ku-e-ru-*? or (less likely) *ku-e-ru-*?; cited by HED K 213. The status of the pret. sg. 1 *kuēršun* in KBo 10.2 ii 48 remains unclear. See Oettinger 1979: 119 vs. HED K 217–18.
<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>kuenten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kuendu, kuindu</td>
<td>kuêrdu, ḫuekdu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.7. Verbal substantive: *kue(n)*numar, ḫükātar. Infinitive: ḫüganna, kuranna, kunanna, and *kuennumnanz* (§3.31, p. 76; §§11.20–11.21, p. 185; and §25.2, p. 330). Participle: ḫügant-, kunant-, kurant-. Imperfective: kuwarške- (ku-wa-ar-aš-ki-iz-zi 169/x i 7 cited in Oettinger 1979: 119), kurēške- (from kuer-), ku(w)aške- (from kuen-), ḫükkiške-/ḫukkiške-. See also (u)wanšikanzi ‘they fuck’ from weni- ‘to fuck’. The imperfectives kuwarške- and kuwāške- are the older forms, of which kurēške- is a NH “regularization.” The kuwar-, kuwā(n)- stem is the outcome of the zero-grade form of the root, as is ḫuk-/ḫūk- (see §3.37, p. 78; §12.2, p. 187). This class does not select the imperfective suffix -anna- (see §13.25, p. 226) except for ḫuek- ‘to slaughter’, which shows a supine ḫuganniwan.

Non-Ablauting

12.8. Many *mi*-conjugation consonantal root stems are non-ablauting. These include *na(h)*h- ‘to fear’ and virtually all monosyllabic stems ending in a sequence of two consonants: walḫ- ‘to strike’, šanḫ- ‘to seek’, ḥark- ‘to perish’, ištark- ‘to get sick’, karp- ‘to lift’, link- ‘to swear’, warp- ‘to bathe’, kurk- ‘to store’, šalk- ‘to knead’, parḫ- ‘to chase’, ḥarp- ‘to associate (with)’. For syllabary limitations in expressing sequences of three consonants see §1.11 (p. 12). In order to express precisely the spelling of verbs with such sequences we have used narrow transliteration instead of the usual broad transcription in the following paradigms.

<table>
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<td>na-ah-ti †</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>na-ah-zi, na-a-ḥi, †</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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26. This form is analogical to the preterite first-person plural forms of the -ā(i)- verbs, e.g., ḥandāwen.
27. kuinnešta KUB 17.3 iii 4 (NH), kuenta KUB 14.1 rev. 23 (MH/MS).
28. Written ku-e-ne-er and ku-e-ner, ku-(e)-en-ne-er and ku-en-ner.
29. Also written logographically as ṭuš-ḥi. Some of these forms were booked as imperatives in CHD L–N s.v. But since the sg. 3 na-a-ḥi, attested already in the early language, probably indicates that this
### Present Indicative

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### Preterite Indicative

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verb was originally a ḫi-verb, nāḫi in lē-ta nāḫi is the regular indicative third-person singular with the ḫi-conjugation ending in an impersonal construction: ‘Let there not be a fearing to you’. This interpretation avoids both the irregular use of imperative + lē and the unparalleled use of a singular enclitic personal pronoun as a reflexive.

30. For the loss of -n- see §1.135 (p. 46).
31. KUB 5.2:6, 10, 15 (div., NH); could be an error for ḫUŠ-u-e-ni or an example of a real ending -uni; see p. 181, n. 15, with references.
32. HKM 48:25 (MH/MS), see Hoffner 1997b. Accidentally omitted in CHD Š 163 top left.
33. ka-ra-ap-ta KUB 36.49 i 8 (OS).

12.10. The verb ḫar(k)- ‘to hold, have’ is exceptional in that it deletes the final -k- before endings beginning with a consonant,35 while the verbs maz- (< *mat-)36 and ışpart- show the same dissimilation as et- (§1.125, p. 44):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1  ḫar-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  ḫarši, ḫarti†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  ḫarzi, ḫarza37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1  ḫaru-uni, 41 ḫaruwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  ḫarteni43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  ḫarkanzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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34. Sg. neut. naḫḫān.
35. For divergent historical accounts of this pecularity see Watkins 1970: 71 and Cowgill cited by Eichner 1975: 90. False HED H 156.
36. The verb stem is written maz- here and in the CHD, because the dissimilation has spread in this word to all environments (e.g., pl. 1 ma-az-zu-u-e-ni), leaving no attested example of *mat-. The appearance of mazz- in OS shows that in this verb the spread of the stem mazz- and transfer to the ḫi-conjugation began already in OH. See p. 188, n. 9.
37. KBo 9.73+ obv. 12 (OS).
38. Written iš-pa-ar-zi-zi KUB 4.72 rev. 5 (OS).
39. The išparzazi writings are attested in MH. The ḫi-conjugation form išparzai does not occur before NH.
40. For the present third-person singular forms see Kühne and Otten 1971: 42.
42. Written ma-az-zu-u-e-ni.
43. KBo 22.1.31 (OS). This example shows lengthening of the final syllable vowel as part of interrogative intonation/stress (see §27.2, p. 348).
12.11. Verbal substantive: gen. mazzuwaš. Participle: išparzant-.

12.12. In the case of tarku- (/tarkw/) ‘to dance, whirl’ and watku- (/watkw/) ‘to leap’, the stem ends in a labiovelar kʷ, not a consonantal sequence /kw/. We find the same kind of spellings and the same delabialization of the labiovelar as in eku- ‘to drink’ (§12.3, p. 188, with footnotes).

12.14. In the case of *takš-* ‘to put together, construct’ the combination of the stem-final sequence of stop plus š followed by the consonant of various consonantal endings leads to an inserted vowel, either e or i (§1.81, p. 34), producing a preconsonantal stem takkelišš- beside a prevocalic stem takš-. Competing efforts to generalize one stem or the other lead to instances of prevocalic takkelišš- (e.g., takkeššanzi) and preconsonantal takš- (e.g., taggašteni [taks.steni]). Preconsonantal takš- is necessarily written as tág-ga-aš- (§1.11, p. 12). For the geminate -šš- in takkelišš- see AHP 150–52.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tág-gaš[mi?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 takkišši, tág-gašši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 takkiš[zi], takkiššanzi, takkeššanzi, takkizzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterite Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 takkišta, takkešta, taggašta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 taggašdu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.15. Infinitive *takšu(w)anzi*. Supine takkiškewan. Participle takšant-. Imperfective stem takkiške-, takkeške-.

12.16. Another group of *mi*-verbs have stems that end in a sequence with w as its final component: tarḫw- ‘to be able, be in charge/control’, šanḫw- ‘to roast’. The w becomes u before endings beginning with a consonant. In the verb tarḫw- metathesis to taruḫ- sometimes occurs. We assume a sequence /hw/ in these cases (not /h[w]/) on historical grounds and thus also assume a real metathesis in taruḫ- as opposed to eukzi and tarukzi (see §1.140, p. 48; and §12.12, p. 194). Proof for this claim is lacking, since the crucial forms with endings having initial /w/ are not yet attested, where one would expect pres. pl. 1 *šanḫumeni, pret. pl. 1 *šanḫumen, etc. (see p. 188, n. 3 for the reasoning).

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51. Restored arbitrarily as tág-ga-aš[-ḫi] in KBo 5.3 iv 43’ (= KBo 5.12 + KBo 5.3 iv 59) (Ḫukk.) by SV 2.
52. KBo 3.1 ii 15, treated as sg. 3 (by Oettinger 1979: 217–18 as an error, by Neu 1974: 91 as assimilated *takzi) when restoring le-e ku[⁻iš-ki] in the preceding line. But if one restores le-e ku[⁻iš-ki] there, tág-ga-aš-ši can easily be taken as the regular and expected pres. sg. 2. For the second-person formulation see KBo 3.1 ii 42–45.
53. KUB 36.106 rev. 4 (OS).
54. See §1.130 (p. 45).
12.17. Participle: ša-an-ḫu(-u)-wa-an-t°, ša-an-ḫu-un-t°,55 tar-ḫu-an-t°.

Affixed Stems

Stems with Infixed -ni(n)-

12.18. Paradigms for stems with nasal infix -ni(n)-. For the meaning of the infix see §10.17 (p. 179). These verbs show the form -nink- before endings beginning with a vowel or /w/ and -nik- elsewhere.57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
<th>Preterite Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ḫarnikmi</td>
<td>šarnikmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ḫarniktä†</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ḫarnikzi</td>
<td>šarnikzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ḫarninkteni</td>
<td>šarninkteni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ḫarninkanzi</td>
<td>šarn(n)kanzi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šarnenkanzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preterite Indicative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ḫarninkun</td>
<td>šarninkun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ḫarnikta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ḫarnikta</td>
<td>šarnikta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55. See §1.76 (p. 32).
56. KBo 17.105 iii 3 (MH/MS).
57. This ablaut pattern reflects a considerably modified PIE ablaut with e-grade infix *-ne- alternating with zero-grade infix *-n- (see §3.37, p. 78).
58. For the rare form išt-tar-ni-ik-za KBo 40.272 left 5’, probably for ištarnikši, see §11.8 (p. 182).

Non-Ablauting Stems in -ešš-


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ̃happinešti (nG:TUKU-ti), idalawešši, ̃kardimmešti (TUkU:TUKU-eš-ti)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 innarawešši, idalawešši, ḫadukišzi, kallarešši, ̃kunneššzi (ZAq-nešši), makkešši, mi(ya)ḫu(wa)ntešši, parkuešši, dammatešši, tepawešši, warḫuešši, GĒM-eššarešši, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 [išša]ššarweššue[nl]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 idalaweššeni, parkueššeni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 [innar]aweššanzi, idalaweššanzi, maninkueššanzi, tepaweššanzi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterite Indicative</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 parkūēššun, tarḫuileššun, GŬ-B-liššun, ḫadduliššun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 arawešša, idalawešša, kartimmešša</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nakkeššen][60]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 araweššer, mayateššer, marššeššer, šalleššer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59. The replacement of -ši by ḫi-conjugation -ti appears to have been systematic in this class.
60. CHD L–N 371 (KUB 14.13 i 46).
### Imperial

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miyēš</td>
<td>ḫaddulešdu, mi(y)ēštu, parkuēštu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>makkeššandu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural

### Vocalic Stems

**Ablauting**

**Stems with e/ə Ablaut**

12.21. The following *mi*-verbs are univerbations with a prehistoric root *dheh₁-* ‘to put’ (see §12.48, p. 211, and Oettinger 1979: 125–26): *uwate*- ‘to lead here’, *peḫute*- ‘to lead there’, *wete*- ‘to build’, *werite*- ‘to be afraid’. The descriptive ablaut e/ə (reflecting PIE e-grade versus zero-grade; §3.37, p. 78) is fairly predictable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>uwatemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>uwateši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>uwatezzi, uwatezi, uwadazzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**61.** The stem *wete*- ‘to build’ comes to be influenced by the originally separate verb *wshed(i)-* ‘to bring’ and vice versa.

**62.** The forms *werizzašti* and *urizzizz* (if the latter indeed belongs here) suggest a NH reinterpretation of the stem as *werit(t)-*. See the treatment of *ēd*- (ezazzi) ‘to eat’ (§1.125, p. 44), *išpart-*, *mat-* (see §12.10 and n. 36, p. 193) and *ḫat-* (ḫazzizzi).

**63.** See §1.126 (p. 44).

**64.** Spelled [pē]-e-hu-te-en-zi KBo 25.50 left edge 7, not with the -tēn- sign.
### Preterite Indicative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>uwatenun</td>
<td>peḫutenun, wetenen, wedaḫḫun†, wetun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>uwatet</td>
<td>peḫutet, wedaš†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>uwatet</td>
<td>peḫutet, peḫuteš†, wetet, wedaš†, weritešta†, wiritešta†, wērītešta†</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>uwateten</td>
<td>wetu(m)men†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>peḫuteten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>uwater, uwatēr</td>
<td>peḫuter, wēter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>uwate, uvati, uwatet†</td>
<td>peḫute, peḫuti, wete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>uwateddu</td>
<td>peḫuteddu, weteddu, wedau†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>uwatetten, uwatatten, uwatitten</td>
<td>peḫutešta, pēḫutešta, wērītešta, wiritešta, wērītešta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>uwatessen</td>
<td>pēḫudant-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conjugation of mi-Verbs

12.22. Verbal substantive: wetu(m)mar (ū-e-tu₄-mar), *uwatummar. Infinitive: we-
tu(m)manzi (ū-e-tu₄-ma-an-zi), *uwatu(m)manzi(?) For the (m) in these forms see §1.126 (p. 44). Participle: peḫunant-, wetant-, wedant-. Imperfective: weteške-, weriteške-. No iterative of uwate- is yet attested, and peḫuteške- (NH) from peḫute- is rare.

12.23. Other mi-verbs with vocalic alternating stems ending in ela are of diverse origin: arkuwe- ‘to make a plea’, ḫulle- ‘to repulse, turn back, defeat (an enemy), reverse, cancel (an agreement)’, ḫarne- ‘to besprinkle’, ḫaṣpa(r)re- ‘to spread (something) out, trample(?)’, kappuwē- ‘to count’, lukke- ‘to ignite’, šarre- ‘to divide’, šarkuwe- ‘to put on (footwear)’, šulle- ‘to be(come) wanton, disrespectful, ambitious’, šuwaye- ‘to look’, šuwe- ‘to push/drive away, forfeit, repudiate, divorce’, tāye- ‘to steal’, duwarne- ‘to break’, wašše- ‘to clothe’, zinne- ‘to finish’. In addition to the preceding verbs which

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65. See p. 182, n. 19.
66. We prefer to avoid the label “simple thematic” class (Oettinger 1979: 24, 257–314). It is debatable whether any attested Hittite verbs with stems ending in ela reflect PIE verbs that fit this definition. It is certain that many do not: e.g., kappuwē- ‘to count’ (see Oettinger 1979: 332–33), zinne- ‘to finish’ (Oettinger 2002: p. xx), wašše- ‘to clothe’ (Melchert 1984b: 31–35; Oettinger 2002: p. xx) and šulle- ‘to be(come) wanton, disrespectful’ (Melchert 2005a). But all these form a single class in Hittite. We use “alternating stems ending in ela” merely as a neutral descriptive device.
have no suffix from the Hittite point of view, verbs with the suffix -e- (for whose meaning see §10.11, p. 177) also are probably inflected as alternating stems ending in e/a.67 Many of these verbs follow this conjugational pattern only in OH, or in OH and MH, changing in NH to other patterns (mi-verbs in stem -āi-, ḫi-verbs in -a-, etc.). For some members of the paradigm we have attested only examples of the latter classes, not the predicted forms of the alternating vocalic stems in -e/-a-. Footnotes below offer only a selection of such secondary forms. For a more complete survey see Oettinger 1979: 261–312.

12.24. The basic vocalic stems show an alternation between e and a that only partly reflects prehistoric ablaut, and in some cases we find both e and a (see §3.37, p. 78, and the idealized schema in Oettinger 1979: 259–60): 68

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>active pres.</th>
<th>-amı</th>
<th>-elāšı</th>
<th>-el(z)zi</th>
<th>-aweni</th>
<th>-ewani</th>
<th>-atteni</th>
<th>-ani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active pret.</td>
<td>-anut</td>
<td>*-eš(?)</td>
<td>-et</td>
<td>*-awen⁶⁹</td>
<td>-elatten</td>
<td>-er</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active imp.</td>
<td>*-allu</td>
<td>*-a⁷⁰</td>
<td>-attu</td>
<td>*-aweni</td>
<td>-elatten</td>
<td>-antu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.25. Examples for the active voice of the mi-conjugation of alternating vocalic stems in e/a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ḫarnami,⁷¹ zinnami⁷²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 aršanēšı, ḫullašı,⁷³ šullešı,⁷⁴ waššašı⁷⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 arāwezzi, ašiwantezzi, ḫullezzi,⁷⁶ ḫullēzzi,⁷⁷ ḫulazzi,⁷⁸ lukkezzi,⁷⁹ paprezzi, sarrēzzi,⁸⁰ šullēzzi, waššezzi,⁸¹ zinne(z)zi²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67. We base this claim on the fact that šulle- ‘to be(come) wanton’ reflects the same suffix (see Melchert 2005a: 96, after Watkins 1973), and this stem does show šullar- in the participle šullant- (see Oettinger 1979: 291–92). Assured forms with stem ending in -a- from the denominative stems in -e- are not yet attested. The stem paprant- may be the participle to papre- ‘to be proven guilty’, but it could also be an adjective in -ant- derived directly from a base adjective *papra- (see §2.26, p. 56).

68. In view of the diverse origins of this class, it may or may not be significant that the variants with -e- in the pres. sg. 2, pres. pl. 1, and pret. and imp. pl. 2 all belong to stems reflecting prehistoric *-eh-.

69. The predicted preterite first plural form is not yet attested. We find only the replacement form -umen of the ḫi-verbs in -a-: ḫu-ul-lu-mi-en, šarrumen.

70. Contra Oettinger 1979: 259 and AHP 183 the expected outcome of the inv. sg. 2 is *-a < *-e. The attested example šarri (NH) shows the form of a ḫi-verb in -a- (see tarni to tarna-), while waššiya (NH) belongs to a stem waššiya-.

72. NH zinnaḫḫı.
73. KUB 37.223 A7 (OS).
74. KUB 36.114 ii/iv 6 (OH/MS or MH/MS). NH šulliyašı.
75. NH waššiyašı.
76. ḫu-ul-le-ez-zi Laws §173a, copy aa iii 24 (OS).
### Present Indicative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ḫušuewani, šarrweni, waššaweni, zinnweni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ḫullatteni, šarratteni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ḫullanzi, lukkanzi, šarranzi, zinnanzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Preterite Indicative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ḫullanun, [lu]qqanun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ḫullet, ḫurnit, lukket, šarrer, šullēt, zinnit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ḫulladdu</td>
<td>zinnatten, šarrandu, šūwandu, waššandu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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77. NH ḫu-ul-la-(a)-i and ḫu-ul-li-ya-az-zi.
78. ḫu-ul-la-az-zi KUB 37.223 C4 (OS).
79. NH forms lu-uk-zi, lu-ki-iš-zi belong to an intransitive verb ‘to become bright’; lu-uk-ki-iš-zi ‘he sets fire to’ in Laws §100 is a NH scribe’s error for correct lu-uk-ke-ez-zi.
80. NH has the additional forms šar-ra-(a)-i, šar-ri, šar-ri-ya-zi, šar-ri-ya-iz-zi.
81. NH and NS also waššiezzi, waššiyaz (z) and waššiyaizzi.
82. NH zinnāi.
84. NH also has waššueni, which cannot possibly belong to the inflection in -e-/a- and therefore has to belong to some other inflection class.
85. NH zinnammeni.
86. “šullānzi” in KBo 43.77: 7 cited when unpublished as 38/g by Oettinger (1979: 291) is irrelevant here, since it is shown by duplicates to be read [pā]r-šu-ul-la-a-an-zi. Contra Oettinger, šullānun in KBo 5.8 ii 2 belongs to šullā(i)- ‘to give (as) a hostage’ and gives no evidence for an a-stem variant of šulle-.
88. NH šarrāḥun and zinnahḥun.
89. OH/NS ḫu-ul-li-iš.
90. MH/MS also šarrāš, and NH šarriyēt.
91. NH also šulliyat and šullāit.
92. See p. 200, n. 69.
94. KUB 4.1 ii 11 (MH/NS).
95. NH has additional form šar-ri-i-e-er.
96. NH zinnau.

12.27. In some cases the dearth of evidence from OS or even MS makes it difficult to determine the original stem class of the verb. The verbs išpar(ə)- ‘to kick, tread (on), spread out(?)’ and mall(ə)- ‘to mill’ may have originally been consonantal ḫi-verbs (thus Jasanoff 2003: 77–78 contra Oettinger 1979: 266–71, 277–79). Their currently known forms, however, are very similar to those of mi-verbs with alternating stems ending in e/a, and they are thus cited here. Forms of išpar(ə)- (all NS unless marked): išpar(a)ḫi, išparratti, išpāri/išpari, išparrezzi (MH/MS!), išparriyazzi, išparanzi, išparranzi, išparḫun, išparraḫḫun, išparrer, išparḫut, išpeten, išparrandu, išparryawar, išparruwan. Forms of mall(ə)- (all examples are in NS):99 malli, mallai, mallezzi, mallazi, maliyazzi, mallanzi, mallanun, mallēt, malla,100 mallandu, malluwananzi, malluwar, mallan, malliške-.

Ablauting Stems in -iya/-

12.28. Ablauting verbal stems in -(i)ye/a- (henceforth simply -iya-) include basic verbs such as iy- ‘to do, make’, tiya- ‘to step, enter’, wemiya- ‘to find, meet’, ḫuett(iya)- ‘to draw, drag’, markiya- ‘to reject’, ḫariya- ‘to dig’, tāya- ‘to steal’, and also denominals such as ḫaḫḫariya- ‘to rake(?),’ ḫappariya- ‘to sell’, laḫ(ḫ)iya- ‘to campaign’, lam(a)niya- ‘to name’, urkiya- ‘to track down’, and zaḫḫiya- ‘to battle’. We frequently find both a stem in -iya- and some other stem for the same verb. In many cases the stem in -iya- appears to be the innovation, but in some this status is unclear. The e-grade forms with l-ye-l (-Ci-(i-)e-) are more frequent in the older language and gradually disappear from use during NH.101 When Hittite began to borrow Luwian ḫi-verbs with singular third-person forms in -iyaizzi (which did not exist in Hittite), these verbs were given singular third-person forms in -iya (already in OS urkiyaizzi ‘tracks down’). One also finds a few preterite third-person plural forms in -iyaer.102

97. wa-aš-ša-u-an-zi KUB 54.76:5’, cited as Bo 1709 by Oettinger (1979: 301). In NS we find šarrumanzi with the form of a ḫi-verb in -a-.

98. The expected verbal substantive in *-awar is not yet attested. We find only forms in -umar with the form of a ḫi-verb in -a-: šarrumar, ḫullumar.

99. The restored form m[a-al]a-a-i listed in CHD L–N 125 from KBo 15.35 + KBo 15.33 i 11 (MS) does not exist. Read rather with Glocker (1997: 60; line 14’) ú-[d]a-a-i.

100. So Oettinger 1979: 278 n. 38; but probably to be interpreted as noun māl with ‘and’ māl-ə ‘and māl’ (CHD L–N 124).


102. On the genesis and spread of the forms in -iya- see Melchert 2005b revising Oettinger 1979: 382–85. An example of a Luwian ḫi-verb with third-person singular in -iya is taparriyai, altered to Hittite taparriyai, whence also pret. pl. 3 taparriyaër.
12.29. Paradigms for the unmixed *mi*-conjugation stems in -iya- (see also §§12.50–12.51, p. 212): iya- ‘to do, make’, tiya- ‘to step, enter’, wemiya- ‘to find, meet’, ḫuittiya- ‘to draw, drag, attract’. Another common verb belonging to this class is aniya- ‘to do, perform, make’.

### Present Indicative

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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iēddu, iyaddu105</td>
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103. *i-e-[mi]* StBoT 8 ii 22 (= StBoT 25 #3 ii 9’) (OS).
104. See p. 181, n. 17.
105. Rarely also *i-ad-du*.
12.30. Verbal substantive: iyawar, tiyawar, ḫuittiyawar. Infinitive I: iyawanzi, tiyawanzı, weMiıyawanzi, ḫuittiyawanzi; Infinitive II: tiyanna. Participle: iyant-, iant-, tiyant-, ḫuittiant-, ḫuittiyant-.

Stems in -ške-

12.31. Occasionally, a -ške- stem functions as the basic form of the verb (see §24.25, p. 323): e.g., iske- 'to smear, anoint'. Most stems in -ške- are derived imperfective stems, for whose use see chapter 24 on verbal aspect. Their formation is as follows. Base verbs with ela ablaut in their stems add -ške- to the a-form: akkuške- (*ak-ške-) < eu- 'to drink'; azzikke- (*ad-ške-) < ēd- 'to eat'; appiške- < ēpp- 'to seize'). Those with welu or walu use the u-form: ḫukkiške- < ḫuek- 'to exorcise'; ḫurzakke- (*ḫurtške-) < ḫuwart- 'to curse'). The verbs kuen- and weni- are exceptional: kuwaške- < *wanške-; uwanšikke- < *wanške-. hi-conjugation verbs with -ai/-i-use -i-: piške- < pai- 'to give'. auš-/-i-u uses u- (uške-). hi-conjugation verbs with -a/-i-use -i-: memiške- < mema- 'to speak'. Base stems in -āi- are usually reduced to -e- or -i-: arwiške- < ar(u)wāi- 'to do reverence'; those in -iyel- to -i-: wemiške- < wemiya- 'to find'. Verbs that have acquired a non-original stem in -a-revert to the original base: unaske.106 < un(u)wa- ‘to decorate, ornament’. The stem dai- 'to place' is usually reduced to just d-: zikke- < *dške-. For the -ške-stems of ḫanna- 'to judge' and tarna- 'to let' see §1.81 (p. 34) and §1.120 (p. 43).

12.32. Although the vowel which connects a verbal base ending in a consonant to the -ške- suffix is regularly an -i- in the old language (§1.81, p. 34): wekiške-, ḫukkiške-, one also finds -e- later. The confusion between -i- and -e- also is extended to the -šelal- stems formed to verbs in -iyel- (Melchert 1984b: 134–35, 147–50); tiške-ṭelške- < tiya- and anniške-laneške- < aniya- (note the special gemination in the -ške- form of aniya-).

12.33. The -šelal- suffix shows ela ablaut similar to the stems in -iyel- (§§12.28–12.29), but the distribution of ela in -šelal- has not yet been studied diachronically in as much detail as in -iyel-. The matter is further complicated by the polyvalence of the GAD sign, which can be read either kat or kilet. The kilet₆ value is attested in Hittite almost exclusively in these -ške- forms. If future study should establish what we feel the present incomplete assemblage indicates—namely, that in resolved writings of the endings where the sign GAD is otherwise used those found in pre-NH show an a vocalization, while those in NH show e, then it would be possible to conclude that the NH forms written with GAD should be read ket₆ while the pre-NH examples should be read kat. In order not to cloud the issue, forms written with the GAD sign are assigned an indeterminate vocalization in the table below. The following combinations of thematic vowel and endings are known:107

106. The form ú-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi is found in KBo 38.265 i 13’. The non-iterative form ú-nu-uz-zi ibid. 11’ shows that in this case unu- was the original base stem and unuwa- secondary.

107. The following table shows the regular inflection of -ške- stems. Some forms are transliterated in order to show unambiguously the nature of the vowel following -ške-. In view of plene spellings such as
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<td>ḫandāšqami, išgāmi</td>
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<td>-škat(t)teni</td>
<td>da-ašqatēni,²⁰⁹ da-aš-ga-at-[te-ni],³¹¹ uškatēni,¹¹¹ uš-ka-at-te-ni,¹¹² sa-aš-nu-uš-ke-et-ta-ni, ta-me-eš-ke/at-te-ni</td>
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**da-aš-ke-e-mi** we read non-plene forms with ambiguous -kei- consistently with e-vocalism (see §1.64, p. 30). The example ḫu-u-e-eš-ki-iš KBo 24.56A i 7 is exceptional. There are a few instances where stems in -ške- are secondarily inflected as stems in -iya-: iškiyazi, iškiyaizzi, iškiyanzi to iš-ke- ‘to smear, anoint’, daškiyazi to daške- ‘to rejoice’, šeškiyazi to šeške- (imperfective stem of šeš- ‘to sleep’).

108. See §11.10 (p. 183).

109. KUB 13.3 iii 6 (MH?/NS). While the ductus of the tablet is NS, many of the spellings indicate a much older original, to which perhaps this a-vocalization is due. On the strength of this form, other ambiguous writings in this tablet using the GAD sign (e.g., uš-kat-te-e-ni in i 14) can be vocalized with a. Another indication of the a-vocalization of the latter form is the plene writing of the following syllable: compare da-a-aš-qa-te-e-ni and the alternation of da-aš-ke-wa-ni and da-aš-ga-u-e-ni, which suggest that (in older Hittite) the a vocalization occurred when the stress fell on the following ending instead of on the /ške/ syllable.

110. KUB 31.113: 4’, 7’.

111. KBo 3.33 ii 11’ (OH/NS); the form is immediately preceded by a syllabic writing of na-at-ta, which in post-OH is normally written ideographically.

112. KUB 24.4 obv. 10 (MH/MS).

113. KUB 14.4 ii 4 (NH).
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### Conjugation of *mi*-Verbs

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**Ablauting Stems in -ā(i)-**

#### 12.35. Most *mi*-verbs in -āi- are part of a very productive class of verb stems formed from nouns and adjectives by means of a suffix. The ablaut -āi/-ā- reflects

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114. Both of these forms are found in KUB 14.1 (rev. 21 and 35), which is MH in MS. ḫatreškeš is found in HKM 30:15 (MH/MS).

115. KBo 22.2 obv. 7 (OS). Here there is a good chance that the a vocalism is to be preferred, since the -nu-causatives in OH probably carried the stress on the nu syllable. But see the different treatments of ša-aš- nu-uš-ga-at-te-ni and [t]a?-aš-nu-uš-ke-et-ta-ni in KBo 7.28 + KBo 8.92 24–25 (MS).

116. KBo 14.12 iv 17 (NH).

117. KUB 38.3 i 17 (NH). On the reality of the a vowel see Neu 1989a. See also p. 181, n. 17. On the preterite third-person plural ending in general see Yoshida 1991.
PIE *-āye-/*-āyo-. It is possible that OS spellings such as tar-ma-e-mi represent a sequence /tarma:e/- not yet contracted to /tarmay-/. For all the preceding see Oettinger 1979: 30–34. The following are some of the verbal stems in -āi:-118 ḫandāi- ‘to prepare something, to be fitted, matched, joined’, ḫatrāi- ‘to send, write’, irḫāi- ‘to make rounds’, malāi- ‘to approve, consent to’, mugāi- ‘to invoke’, munāi- ‘to hide, harbor’, mutāi- ‘to remove, discard, dispose of’, šaktāi- ‘to tend (medically)’, dammešḥāi- ‘to oppress’, tuḫḫāi- ‘to be short of breath’.

12.36. Paradigms of the verbal stems in -āi-. The ablaut form -āi- is found only in pres. sg. 3 (ḫatrāüzzi), pret. sg. 2 and 3 (ḫatrāeš and ḫatrāît), and imp. sg. 2 (ḫatrāï) and 3 (ḫantaïddu).

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| ḫatrānzi | ḫandāanzi |

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Plural

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| ḫatrāten |
| ḫatrāer | ḫandāer |

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118. Oettinger (1979: 30–34) interprets the stem as -ae-.
119. [ḫ]atrāuni KUB 14.1 rev. 36 (MH/MS); ḫandāuni 1691/a ii 15, cited by Otten (1969: 26) and HED H 98. See also p. 181, n. 15.

12.38. Aside from the very few singular third-person forms listed above (ḫandai, irḫai, ḫatrāu) there is no confusion in Hittite between mi-verbs in -āi- and ḫi-verbs in -ai- (for which see §§13.20–13.21, p. 222). Note also pres. sg. 3 iškallāizzi alongside iškallai ‘he tears’.

12.39. The following monosyllabic stems in -āi- are not formed with the suffix -āi- but originally had the same inflection as those with the suffix: lāi- ‘to loose’, ḫāi- ‘to trust, believe’, šāi- ‘to be angry, rage’. But because their stems were monosyllabic, they were influenced by the ḫi-conjugation, forms of which are marked below with †. Although Oettinger (1979) assigns lā- (pp. 64–67) and ḫae- and šae- (sic) (pp. 360–64) to different classes, they conjugate almost identically in most periods of Hittite. Paradigms:

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120. mi-verbs in -ā(i)- in OS texts regularly write the neuter singular participle with a plene final syllable: ir-ḫa-a-an, etc.

121. If correctly read, see HKM 30:19’ (MH/MS).
The extremely common verbs *pai-* ‘to go’ and *ue*/uwa-* ‘to come’ exhibit many irregularities in inflection. They are univerbations of the motion prefixes *pe-* and *u-* (see §12.21, p. 198; and §18.32, p. 286) and the inherited motion verb *gel-* ‘to go, walk, move’. The combination of ablaut and contractions of vowels led to complicated paradigms. For paradigms and discussion see Oettinger 1979: 131–32, 388–89.

In OS ‘to go’ has a consistent alternation of *pai-* and *pā-* except for the pret. pl. 3 *pāir* ([pa:yr]), later replaced by *payer* ([pa-i-er]) and *pār* based on *pāi-* and *ēr*.

122. We interpret *ú-e/iC-* or *ú-e-e/iC-* as monosyllabic /we-/ and *ú-wa-* as disyllabic /uwa-/ . See Melchert 1984b: 40–41.

123. The forms *paittāni* and *paittēni* are found only in MH/NS.

124. In the spelling *ú-i/ez-zi* it cannot be determined if the form was read /wezzi/ or /wizzi/. The former, however, is more likely in view of the plene writing *ú-e-ez-zi*. See AHP 140.

125. Both *uenzi* and *uwanzi* occur in all periods, but *uenzi* is much less common than *uwanzi* in NH.

126. *ú-wa-nu-nu-un* in BoTU 57 I 10, cited HW1 238, is probably a scribal error for *ú-wa-nu-un*. See CHD P 21 for occurrences of imperative *paitten*.

127. *ú-et-te-en*, found only once, to our knowledge, in an NH copy of an OH text, may be a scribal error. *ú-wa-at-te-en* occurs twice in the immediate context.
12.42. The expected imperative second-person singular forms of *pai- and *uwa- (*pai, *uwa) are not attested, and the imperative second-person plural paitten occurs just once. Instead, unprefixed forms of *h₁ei- are used for the imperative of ‘to go’, and a special suffixed form for the imperative second-person singular of ‘to come’.\(^{129}\) For *pai- the forms are sg. 2 it (written i-it) and pl. 2 itten (written i-it-tén/i-it-te-en). For *uwa- the sg. 2 is eḫu.

12.43. Verbal substantive: pāwar, uwawar. Infinitive: pa(u)wanzi, pāwanzi, uwa-wanzi. Participle: pānt-, uwant-.

Non-Ablauting

Stems in -nu-

12.44. Sample causative verbs in -nu- include: arnu- ‘to transport’, aš(ša)nu- ‘to arrange, provide’, paḫḫašnu-/paḫšanu- ‘to protect’, and waḫnu- ‘to turn, change’. For the meaning of the suffix see §10.15 (p. 178). Paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>arnum(m)i, ārnumi</td>
<td>waḥnūmi, waḥnumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(^{130})</td>
<td>arnuši, arnutti†</td>
<td>waḥnuši(^{131})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>arnu(z)zi</td>
<td>waḥnu(z)zi, waḥnuzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td>arnummeni</td>
<td>waḥnumeni, waḥnummeni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong>(^{130})</td>
<td>arnutteni</td>
<td>waḥnutteni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td>arnu(w)anzi, ārnuwansi, arnuwansi</td>
<td>waḥnuwansi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{129}\) There are also two other attested forms of unprefixed reflexes of *h₁ei- ‘to go’: pres. pl. 3 ya-an-zi in KBo 22.2 obv. 7 (OS) and pres. sg. 3 i-ez-zi in KUB 33.66 + KBo 40.333 iii 6. The latter is backformed from the third plural, replacing historically expected but synchronically irregular *ezi.

\(^{130}\) Other verbs: ḫakišnuši, ḫarganaši, karšanuši, laknuši, nuntarnuši, timnuši, tittanaši, etc.

\(^{131}\) Also written bal-nu-ši KBo 4.14 ii 34; see Hoffner 1997c.
### Preterite Indicative

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 paḫšanuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>arnut, ārnut</td>
<td>waḫnut paḫḫaššanuš aš(ša)nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 arnummen waḫnum(m)en aššanummen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>paḫšanuten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>arnuer waḫnuer paḫšanuer, paḫḫašša[nuer] aššanuer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Imperative

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 ārnut waḫnut paḫḥaššanut, paḫšanut aš(ša)nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>arnuḍdu waḫnuḍdu paḫšanuḍdu, paḫḫaššuṇuḍdu aššanuḍdu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 arnutten waḫnutten paḫšašnutten, paḫšanuten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>arnu(w)andu waḫnuwandu paḫḫašnuandu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


12.46. Imperfective stem: arnuške-, aš(ša)nuške-, waḫnuške-.

12.47. For the forms in -meni, -men, -mar, -manzi, etc., see §1.126 (p. 44).

### Suppletive Verb

**te-/tar-** ‘to say’

12.48. The stem te- ‘to say’ (originally *‘to put’; see §12.21, p. 198) is supplemented by the stem ter-/tar- in forming a complete paradigm for this verb of speech. For a discussion see Oettinger 1979: 109–10.

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132. On this form in Laws §77 manuscript A (OS) see discussion in LH 194.
12.49. Participle: tarant-. Imperfective stem: tar-ši-ke-, tar-aš-ke-.

Verbs with Mixed Stems

12.50. A number of Hittite verbs are attested as belonging to more than one stem-class. In some cases one stem is clearly a chronological replacement of another, but in other cases the temporal relationship is less clear. Verbs whose original stem class is reasonably clear have been treated under that class, with later replacement forms duly noted. What follows here are examples of verbs with multiple stems whose chronology is indeterminate.

mi-verbs with stems in consonant, -āi-, and -iya-: ištalk-/ištalkāi-/ištalkiya- ‘to make smooth’, parš-/paršāi-/paršiya- ‘to break’, tarupp-/taruppāi-/taruppiya- ‘to assemble’.  

12.51. Often, however, one stem of a root belongs to the mi- and other(s) to the ḫi-conjugation:

Consonantal ḫi-stem and mi-stem in -iya-: ānš-/lānšiya- ‘to wipe’.  
ḫi-stems in -a- and mi-stems in -iya-: dala-/daliya- ‘to leave, duwarna-/duwarniya-

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134. This unusual and unexpected form appears to be a Luwian present third-person singular form in -ti.
‘to break’,\textsuperscript{135} šart-/šartiya- (and šartāi-) ‘to wipe’, walla-/walliya- ‘to praise’. See also nai- and neya- §13.21 (p. 223).

ḫi-stems in -ai- and mi-stems in -iya-: išḫai-/išḫiya- ‘to bind’, išpai-/išpiya- ‘to be satiated’, šai-/šiya-.

\textbf{12.52.} Not all apparent examples of the above are really the same verb: mark- ‘to cut up’ versus markiya- ‘to disapprove of, reject’; arš- ‘to flow’ versus aršāi-/aršiya- ‘to tend, care for, cultivate’; and warš- ‘to reap, harvest’ versus waršiya- ‘to pacify, soothe’.

\textsuperscript{135} This verb also shows some forms belonging to a stem in -e-/a- (see §12.23, p. 199) and to a mi-stem in -āi- (see §12.35, p. 206): duwarnez(zi), duwarnazi alongside duwarnāizzy.

\textsuperscript{136} In this case two originally separate verbs have merged: šai- ‘to press, seal’ (ḫi-verb in -ai-) and šiya- ‘to throw, shoot’ (see peššiya- ‘to throw (away), cause to fall’).
Chapter 13
CONJUGATION OF ḫi-VERBS

Consonantal Stems

13.1. The stems of many ḫi-verbs end in a single consonant that may be geminate or non-geminate: šakk-/šekk- ‘to know’, akk-/lek- ‘to die’, ar-ler- ‘to come to, arrive at’, ḥašš-/ḫeš- ‘to open’, ašaš-/lašeš- ‘to settle’, ḥašš- ‘to give birth’, ḫād- ‘to dry up.’ Note that the first five stems show an ablaut a/e with a distribution nearly completely opposite that of mi-verbs in el/a. While there are exceptions such as šekk- ‘to know’, there is also a regular alternation by which stems ending in a geminate consonant show a non-geminate in the present third-person singular and preterite third-person plural. Note aki and aleker to akk- ‘to die’ and the frequent contrast between present third-person singular and present third-person plural: ištāp/ištappanzi ‘to shut/stop up’, ḥāši/ḫašzānzi ‘to give birth’ and ḥāši/ḫašzānzi ‘to strike’. See AHP 80–81. There is a tendency in this class for -ta to replace -š as the preterite third-person singular ending and for the e vocalism to spread at the expense of a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘to know’</th>
<th>‘to die’</th>
<th>‘to arrive at’</th>
<th>‘to open’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 šākḫi, šaggalḫi</td>
<td>ākmi 1†</td>
<td>ārḫi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 šakti, šekti</td>
<td>ākti</td>
<td>ārti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 šakki</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>āri</td>
<td>ḥāši, ḥašzī †</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 šekkueni, šikkueni</td>
<td>akkueni 2</td>
<td>erueni 3</td>
<td>ḥaššueni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 šakṭēni, šakteni, šekτēni</td>
<td>ākteni</td>
<td>ārtēni, artēni, erteni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 šakanzi, šekkanzi</td>
<td>akkanzi</td>
<td>aranzi</td>
<td>ḥaššanzi, ḥēšanzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. So, instead of expected ḫi-conjugation *ākḫī or *aggalḫī. Other mi-conjugation forms of akk- are imperative akdu and pret. sg. 3 akta. Since the mi-conjugation forms are all in late texts, we can assume singular first-person ḫī-forms in OH and MH.
2. Written ak-ku-(u)-e-ni, in contradistinction to a-ku-e-ni ‘we drink.’ See p. 188, n. 12, and §1.84 (p. 35).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'to settle'</th>
<th>'to give birth'</th>
<th>'to dry up'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>ašašḫi, ašašhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ašašti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ašaši, ašāši, ašaše</td>
<td>ḫāši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ašešanzi, ašišanzi</td>
<td>ḫāšlanzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'to know'</th>
<th>'to die'</th>
<th>'to arrive'</th>
<th>'to open'</th>
<th>'to settle'</th>
<th>'give birth'</th>
<th>'to dry up'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preterite Indicative</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>šaggaḫḫun ar (aḫ)ḫun, ār (aḫ)ḫun</td>
<td>ašašḫun</td>
<td>ḫāšḫun, ḫāšun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>šakkiš, šākta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>šakkiš, ³- akkiš, akta, aggaš</td>
<td>ārša, āraš</td>
<td>ḫāšta</td>
<td>ašašta, ašešta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>šekkuen</td>
<td>aruen, ēruen²</td>
<td>ḫēšuen⁶</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>akten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>šekker</td>
<td>aker, ³- eker</td>
<td>ērer, ērer</td>
<td>ḫēšer, ḫāšer, ašešer, ašešir ⁸</td>
<td>ḫāšer, ḫāšir ḫāter</td>
<td>ḫāter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. For the inserted -i in šakkiš, ţakkiš, etc. see §1.81 (p. 34). The spellings a-ar-šala-ar-aš represent /a:sa:/ A form like aggaš could also be a spelling for /a:ks/, with no inserted vowel, but its appearance in MH (VBoT 1:24, MS) suggests a real ending /-as/ borrowed from ʰi-verbs in -a- (see §13.13, p. 220).
7. As a pret. pl. 3, only a-ker is thus far attested in OS. In later texts we find a-ke-er, e-ke-er, and e-ker.
8. a-še-ši-ir in KUB 23.42 obv. 1. For e-še-šer KUB 41.1 iv 9 see §§1.21–1.22 (p. 18) and n. 24 there.
### 13.2. Conjugation of ḫi-Verbs

#### Imperative

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<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>šeggallu, šiggallu, aggallu, akkallu</td>
<td>ŝekten, arten, ḫešten, ašešten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>šāk, āk, ḫaš†</td>
<td>ŝekkandu, akkandu, ḫešandu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aku, aru, ḫāšu, ḫādu, ḫakdu, ḫakdu†, ḫešdu†</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


#### Present Indicative

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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>paḫšašhi, paḫšamī†</td>
<td>pahšueni, šipandwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>išpantalḫe, šipandalḥši, šippantalḫši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>paḫšašti</td>
<td>pahšašteni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>išpasti, šišānti, šipandi, ši(p)pantai†</td>
<td>pahšanzi, išpantanzi, šipantanzi, ši(p)pandanzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Preterite Indicative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>paḫšašhun, ši(p)pandabḫun</td>
<td>šipantuun, šipanduwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>paḫšašta, šipandašaš, šipanzaša</td>
<td>pahšir, ši(p)pantar, šippantaer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pahši</td>
<td>pahšašten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>pahšandu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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9. All forms in ḫašš- lhēš- in this and the following paragraph belong to the verb ‘to open’.
10. Written a-še-šu-u-wa-ar.
11. KUB 46.40 obv. 3 (NH).
12. Present sg. 3 šipantai and preterite pl. 3 šippantaer are due to late reanalysis as an a-stem modeled on dā- ‘to take’.

13.5. The originally consonantal stem išš- (iter. to iya- ‘to do, make’) and the stems laḫ(w)- and išḫ(w)- are treated in §§13.15–13.19 (pp. 220–222) because their attested inflection is predominantly as vocalic stems.

13.6. Factitive verbs in -aḫḫ- are inflected exclusively as ḫi-verbs in OH (OS), but they are mostly inflected as mi-verbs in the later language. Note the different treatment of the ablauting adjective stem in the u- and i-stem adjectives:idalawaḫḫ- (not *idaluwaḫḫ-) and tepawaḫḫ- (not *tepuwaḫḫ-), but šuppiyaḫḫ- (not *šuppayaḫḫ-).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 idālawaḫmi, ʃuppiyaḥmi, manninkuwaḥmi, sig₃-ahmi, KASKAL-šiyaḥmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 idālawaḥḫi, kururiyaḥhi, ūr-ahṭi, sig₃-aḥṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 arāwaḫhi, tašuwaḥhi, šuppiyaḥhi, kururiyaḥhi, katteraḥhi, ṣarazaḥhi, ṣul-wahhi (*idalawahhi), manninkuwaḥhi, kartimmiyaḥhi, KASKAL-aḥṭi; (mi-forms): tašuwaḥzi, idālawaḥzi, maniyahzi, šuppiyahzi, KASKAL-šiyaḥzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Plural** |
| 1 sig₃-aḥweni; dašuwaḥwani, [3-y]ahḥahḫuwaḥ, 4-yahḥahḫuwaḥ |
| 2 katteraḥteni, šarazziyaḥteni, sig₃-aḥṭeni, [ša]uwaššaḥteni |
| 3 [3-y]ahḥanzi, 4-yahḥanzi, KASKAL-šiaḥḥanzi |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterite Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 idālawaḥḫun, arāwaḥḫun, papraḥḫun, kururiyaḥḫun, ʃuppiyaḥḫun, kuruiwaḥḫun, newaḥḫun, šappišaraḥḫun, KASKAL-šiaḥḥ[u]n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 in -ta LEŠU.GI-ahṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 in -aš¹⁴ allapaḥḥaṣ, ḥantezziyaḥḥaṣ, manninkuwaḥḥaṣ, newaḥḥaṣ, ʃuppiyaḥḥaṣ, taruppiyaḥḥaṣ, tarraḥḥaṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 in -iš iškunahḥiš, maniyahḥiš, pararaḥḥiš, taruppiḥḥiš, watarnahḥiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 in -ta¹⁵ ūr-ahṭa, GUB-laḥṭa, išiyaḥṭa, idālawaḥṭa, katteraḥṭa, kuruiyaḥṭa, liliyaḥṭa, papraḥṭa, šakiyaḥṭa, šarazziyaḥṭa, tašuwaḥṭa, tepawaḥṭa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. The redundant spelling -aḫ-ḫa-aḫ-ḫu-wa- for /-ahhwa-/ is unexplained, perhaps faulty.
14. The third-singular forms in -aš and -iš co-occur in KUB 28.82 i 16–17 and on the same verb (taruppiyaḥḥaṣ [16], taruppiḥḥiš [17]).
15. All examples of the third-person singular forms with -ta endings are NH.

**Vocalic Stems**

### 13.8. The number of possible final vowels in stems of the ḫi-conjugation is more restricted than in stems of the mi-conjugation. There are basically only two types: stems in -a- and stems in -i-, but these mutually influence each other, and remodelings of original consonantal stems further complicate the situation.

### 13.9. Stems in -a-:

According to the rule given in §1.126 (p. 44) these stems show first-person plurals and verbal nouns in -um-. There is, however, a strong tendency to level out this odd alternation in favor of the regular -a- stem and regular endings (see dāwen, dāwanzi, dāwaš).

#### a-Stems

### 13.10. Underived stems in -a-.

### 13.11. dā- ‘to take’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
<th>Preterite Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dāḥhe,16 dāḥḥi,17</td>
<td>tumēni,16 dūmmen,19 dāweni,20 dāwanti 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dāṭṭi, datti, tatti</td>
<td>dāṭṭēni, datteni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 dāi</td>
<td>danzi</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### 13.7. Conjugation of ḫi-Verbs

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterite Indicative</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 idālawḥuen, ZAG-nahḥuen, [KASKAL-]šiyahḥuen</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ḪUL-aḥten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kuririyaḥḥer, ulkeššarḥer, ḫappinaḥḥer, pēdaššahher, Ṯ-naḥḥer, katterraḥḥer, [m]šriwahḥer [r], līlīwahḥer, markišṭahḥer, arāwḥher, paprahḥer, newaḥḥer, mayandaḥḥer, dašawḥher, ŠIQ-aḥḥer, dannataḥḥer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. da- a-ah-ḥē in CTH 416 (OS).
17. da-a-ah-ḥē in StBoT 25 #137 ii 10 (OS) and KBo 17.61 obv. 21, 25 (MH/MS).
18. Written tu-me-e-ni in CTH 416 (StBoT 25 #4 iii 43, iv 25, OS), CTH 752.2 (OS), KUB 43.25 obv. 12 (OS), KBo 17.25 obv.? 8‘ (OH/MS) and tu-me-ni in KBo 25.8:2‘ (OS), and tum-me-e-ni KUB 28.79:5 (OH/NS) and du-me-e-ni in CTH 443 (MH).

13.13. Paradigms of verbs with -u(m) in first-person plural (§1.126, p. 44, but see also §13.11, tumēni above), in the verbal substantive, and infinitive I: tarna- ‘to let’, šarra- ‘to divide’, wašta- ‘to sin’, uda- ‘to bring here’, peda- ‘to carry off’. The late Hittite writing ū-TEN-zi and pī-TEN-zi does not indicate a second vocalization /utenzi/ or /petenzi/ for the forms udanzi and pedanzi, since the tén (DIN) sign in late Hittite often should be read danx (§1.35, p. 21; §1.63, p. 29).

### Imperative

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>2</td>
<td>dā</td>
<td>dātten, datten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dāu, daddu†</td>
<td>dandu</td>
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### Present Indicative

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>waštaḫḫi</td>
<td>udahḫi</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tarnatti, tarnaši †</td>
<td>šarratti</td>
<td>wašstatti</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tarnaizzi †</td>
<td>šarrizzi †</td>
<td>waštai, wašti27</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tarnationi, tarnummani29</td>
<td>šarraweni</td>
<td>udumēni, utummeni29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tarnatteni</td>
<td>šarratteni</td>
<td>udatteni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tarnanzi</td>
<td>šarranzi</td>
<td>waštanzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. Written da-a-[u-]-e-ni StBoT 25 #137 ii 16 (OS), da-a-u-e-ni in KUB 16.16 rev. 20 (NH liver oracle).
21. Written da-a-u-wa-ni KUB 12.63 rev. 8 (CHD L–N sub labhjala-).
23. We read da-a-ir as monosyllabic dāir (i.e., [da:yr]). See p. 224, nn. 48–50.
24. Much less common than dāu (da-a-ū).
26. OS: ū-da-ad-di in KUB 33.59 iii 3; NH ū-da-at-ti KUB 33.121 ii 11.
27. The form wa-aš-ti (KUB 1.16 iii 60) suggests that this verb was originally a consonantal stem (see §11.15, p. 184).
29. On the graphic mm in these forms see §1.24 (p. 19).
Preterite Indicative

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<td>1</td>
<td>tarnahḫun</td>
<td>šarrahḫun</td>
<td>waštahḫun</td>
<td>udahḫun&lt;sup&gt;30&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tarnaš</td>
<td>waštāš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tarnaš, tarnaštu&lt;sup&gt;31&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ša-a-ar-āš&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>waštāš</td>
<td>udaš</td>
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<td>tarnummen&lt;sup&gt;29&lt;/sup&gt;, tarnuen&lt;sup&gt;33&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>šarrummen&lt;sup&gt;29&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>utummen&lt;sup&gt;29&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>pētummen&lt;sup&gt;34&lt;/sup&gt;, petummen&lt;sup&gt;29&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tarnatten</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tanner</td>
<td>šarrer</td>
<td>wašter</td>
<td>uter</td>
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Imperative

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tarna, tarni</td>
<td>šarri</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>pēta, peda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tarnašu, tarnaštu&lt;sup&gt;35&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>udāu</td>
<td>pedāu</td>
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</table>

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<td>tarnatten, tarnašten&lt;sup&gt;36&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>udatten</td>
<td>pedatten, pitešten&lt;sup&gt;36&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tarnandu</td>
<td>udandu</td>
<td>pētantu, pedantu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


13.15. Imperfectives in -šša-. Archaic forms of the stem īšš(a)- 'to do, make' show that the suffix -šša-, which marks the imperfective in some verbs instead of -ške/a-,
originally had consonantal inflection. The non-finite forms and derived stem in -ške- are also based on a stem -(i)šš-. For the most part, however, the suffix is -šša-. Other ḫi-verbs showing this derivational suffix are: arpašša- ‘to be unlucky’, ḫalzišša- ‘to call’, ḫuittešša- ‘to pull out, draw out’, karmalašša- ‘to suffer harm, be incapacitated’, šišša- ‘to press, seal’, tarpanallašša- ‘to take another’s place’, warrišša- ‘to come to the aid of’.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>1 iššaḫḫi, ēššaḫḫi, ḫalziššaḫḫi, war(r)iššaḫḫi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 iššatti, ēššatti, ēššati (rare), ḫalziššatti, ši-iš-at-ti, warreššatti, warriššatti, wa-ar-iš-ša-at-te</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 iššai, iššāi, ēššāi, ḫalzi/shšāi, ḫuitteššai, karmalaššai</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1 iššāeni, ēššāeni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 iššēni, iššēni, iššatēni, ēššatēni, warreššatēni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 iššanzi, ēššanzi, ḫalzi/shšanzi, warreššanzi</td>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1 iššaḫḫun, ēššaḫḫun, warreššaḫḫun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ḫalzeššēta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 iššišta, ēššišta, ēššišta, ešešta, warreššēsta, warriššišta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1 iššūen, ēššūen, ēššūen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ēššatēn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 iššēr, ēššēr, iēššēr, ēššēr, (ešer), ḫalzeššēr</td>
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</table>

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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ēššau, ēššaddu, ḫalziššdu, warreššiššdu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>2 iššēn, iššēn, ēššēnten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 iššandu, ēššandu, ḫalzeššandu</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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37. Specifically i-šš-te-e-ni and i-šš-te-en (OS).
Stems Originally in -Cw-

13.17. *laḥ(h)*- ‘to pour (liquids)’, reduplicated *lilḥw-*; and *iš(hw)- ‘to pour (solid particles)’. These stems originally inflected with a stem in -Cw- before vowel (necessarily written -Cu-V- or -Cu-ul-V-) and -Cu- before consonant. There was a marked tendency for these to be replaced by vocalic stems in -C(u)wa- throughout.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
<th>Preterite Indicative</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>laḥuḥhi₁</em>, <em>lāḥumi₂</em>†</td>
<td><em>lāḥuwanun³</em>†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>laḥhuṭti</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lāḥu₂</em>, <em>lāḥuwa₂</em>, <em>laḥhu₂</em>₂, laḥuzu₂,† laḥuwa₂[z]₂†</td>
<td><em>lāḥuś₂</em>, <em>lāḥuwaš₂</em>, <em>lāḥuwaš₂</em>, <em>lāḥuš</em>⁴⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>laḥuanzi</em>, <em>lāḥuwanz</em>₂, <em>laḥuwanzi</em>³⁹</td>
<td><em>laḥuwaer</em></td>
</tr>
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**Imperative**

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<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>2</td>
<td><em>laḥuš₂</em>, <em>laḥuwaš₂</em>, <em>laḥuza₂</em>, <em>laḥuwaɪ₂</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>laḥuwaer</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


13.19. Just as *hi*-verbs in -i- tend to acquire the inflection of *mi*-verbs in -iya-, based on forms such as the present third-person plural in -ianzi, so too there are a few examples of this verb as a *mi*-verb stem *lahḥuwa(i)-* (e.g., *lahuwanun*, *lahuzi*, *lahuwaizzi*, etc.).

ai-Stems

13.20. Ablauting verbs in -ai-. We retain the traditional classification of these stems as “*hi*-verbs in -ai-.” The paradigms actually show a complicated alternation of stems in -ai-l-āi-,-e-, and -i-l-y-. As the following paradigms show, -āi- tends to compete with the other variants. There is the further important peculiarity that the present and preterite second-person plural endings in this class are attested from OS as -šteni and -šten, with an initial -š-. This -š- later tends to spread to the present second-person singular ending

38. KBo 32.176 i 16.
40. KBo 32.14 ii 42 (see Neu 1994: 191–92).
(-šti for -sti). The replacement of the preterite third-person singular -š with -šta may be related or reflect the influence of consonant stems ending in -š- (see p. 181, n. 11, and §13.1, p. 215).


### Present Indicative

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<td>teḫhe, teḫhi, teḫhi</td>
<td>peḫhe, peḫhi, peḫhi</td>
<td>neḫhi, neyami&lt;sup&gt;42&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dāitti, tāitti</td>
<td>paītti, pašiti, pešiti</td>
<td>nāitti, neyati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dāi</td>
<td>pāi, (pa)</td>
<td>nāi, (nai)</td>
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### Plural

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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>tiyaweni, tiyauni&lt;sup&gt;43&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>pūweni, piyaweni</td>
<td>naiwani, neyaweni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tāitteni, ḫaššeni&lt;sup&gt;44&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>pišteni, pešteni</td>
<td>naišteni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tianzi, tiyanz, tianzi&lt;sup&gt;45&lt;/sup&gt;, tiyanzi</td>
<td>p(y)anzi</td>
<td>nēanzi, ne(y)anzi</td>
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### Preterite Indicative

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<td>peḫḫun</td>
<td>neḫ[ḫun], neḥḫun, neyakhḫun</td>
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<tr>
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<td>paīta, pešṭa</td>
<td>naiṭta</td>
<td>žā́i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>daiš, dāiš, dāišta dāiṭta</td>
<td>pāiš, pāišt, pašṭa, pešṭa</td>
<td>naiš, nāiš, naišē, nāišta, nāišt, nāiš †, neyāt †</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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41. For different views on the prehistoric source of the -š- see Oettinger 1979: 462 with refs. and Kloekhorst forthcoming.

42. Obviously, this paradigm is not ḫi- but mi-conjugation. It is placed here to call attention to the fact that nai- conjugates both ways. The ḫi-conjugation is older and more regular for nai-.

43. In ti-ya-u-ni 1691/u ii 18 (CTH 375.1 prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal, MH/MS). That this is not a scribal slip for ti-ya-e-ni is indicated by the immediately following na-at šṯ-aḫ-ḫu-ni for šṯ-aḫ-ḫu-e-ni.

44. Note that the -šteni, pret. sg. 2 and 3 -šta, and pret. pl. 2 -šten endings are characteristic of the ḫi-, not mi-, conjugation.

45. This form either represents an unexpected early Luwianism in OS or an error of audition with confusion between št and šṯ/śt. Compare for the latter possibility pres. sg. 3 damašti for damašzi (see p. 181, n. 8) vs. pres. sg. 2 ištamašzi for ištamaššī (see §11.10, p. 183).
### 13.22  Conjugation of \( ḫi \)-Verbs

#### Preterite Indicative

|   | Plural  
|---|--------
| 1 | daiwen,\(^{46}\) tiywen  
|   | pīwen, piywen  
|   | neyawan  
|   | zaiwen  
|   | ḫalziwen, ḫalziyawan  
| 2 | dašṭen,\(^{47}\) tiyattenn\(^{†}\)  
| 3 | dāir,\(^{48}\) daier, dāyēr,\(^{49}\) daēr,\(^{50}\) tier\(^{51}\)  
|   | piēr, pier  
|   | naer, neyer  
|   | ḫalzi(y)er  

#### Imperative

|   | Singular  
|---|--------
| 2 | dāi  
|   | pai, pāi  
|   | nāi, neya  
|   | ḫalzāi  
| 3 | dāu  
|   | pāu, pešdu  
|   | nāu  
|   | ḫalzāu  

|   | Plural  
|---|--------
| 2 | dašṭen  
|   | pišṭen,  
|   | pišṭen,  
|   | pišṭen  
|   | naišṭen, nāišṭen,  
|   | neyattenn\(^{†}\)  
|   | zāiṭten  
|   | ḫalzišṭen  
| 3 | tiyandu  
|   | piandu  
|   | neyandu  
|   | ḫalzi(y)andu  

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### Stems with Mixed Inflection in -a- and -i-

13.23  Paradigms for base verbs in -a/-i-.   Disyllabic stems that originally inflected as “\( Ḫi \)-verbs in -ai-” (§13.20) were influenced by the \( Ḫi \)-verbs in -a- (§13.13) and show

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\(^{47}\) Also iššišṭen and šaišṭen.

\(^{48}\) We read thus da-a-ir ([da:yr]) in KBo 22.1:4 (OS), a form also attested in NH, contracted from prehistoric *dāyēr with loss of intervocalic *y.

\(^{49}\) da-i-er KBo 22.2 obv. 16 (OS), KBo 15.10 iii 44 and passim (MH/MS) reflects a renewed dai- + -ēr (with dai- from forms like dai-wen). See also da-a-i-e-er KBo 16.27 iii 9, iv 9 (MH/MS), KBo 6.34 i 27 (MH/NS), da-a-i-er KBo 15.10 ii 30 (MH/MS), da-i-e-er ibid. iii 47 (MH/MS), KBo 16.27 iii 15 (MH/MS), KBo 8.35 ii 29 and passim (MH/MS), HKM 57:17; and HKM 63:19 (both MH/MS), sporadically as late as KBo 16.61 rev.? 17 (late NH).

\(^{50}\) da-e-er HKM 47:11 (MH/MS), perhaps a scribal slip for da-i-e-er, the form found elsewhere in HKM texts.

\(^{51}\) ti-e-er and ti-i-e-er.

\(^{52}\) See, however, the cautionary remarks in CHD P 42 about this form possibly being from piya- ‘to send’.
a mixture of -a- and -i- forms. The stems in -a- had already been generalized in the first- and second-singular in Old Hittite. In other persons, the variants with -a- spread at the expense of those with -i- within the period from Old to New Hittite. Originally dāla- ‘to leave’ belonged to this class (see §13.30). Stems: mema- ‘to speak’, īnna- ‘to drive (here)’, penna- ‘to drive (there)’, uppā- ‘to send (here).’

### Present Indicative

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>īnnaḥhi</td>
<td>pe(n)nahhi</td>
</tr>
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<td>mematti</td>
<td>īnnatti</td>
<td>pennatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>memāi, memai</td>
<td>īnnāi, īnnai</td>
<td>penna, pennai</td>
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### Plural

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<td>īnnatteni, īnništeni</td>
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### Preterite Indicative

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<td>pennaḥjun</td>
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<td>īnneš, īnniš</td>
<td>uppešta</td>
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<td>īnneš, īnnešta, īnništa</td>
<td>pennaš, penništa, pennaš, pennit†</td>
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### Plural

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<td>īnnumen</td>
<td>uppiwen</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>mēmier, me(m)mier, memiër</td>
<td>īnni[er]</td>
<td>pennier, penner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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53. KBo 41.42 i 5’, could also be from unu-unuwa- ‘to decorate’.
54. Written pé-en-ner, built on the stem penna-. Likewise the unusual pé-ner“. We read pé-en-ni-er as pennier built on the stem penni-, after mēmier, not as a possible pé-en-né-er.

Verbs with the Imperfective Suffix -anna/i-

13.25. As verbs with the imperfective derivational suffix -ške- inflect according to the mi-conjugation, so those with the isofunctional suffix -anna- inflect as ḫi-verbs with mixed stems in -a- and -i-. There are also some examples of mi-conjugation forms modeled on mi-verbs in -iya-.

13.26. Examples of inflection of stems in -anna-.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 paršyannaḫḫi, isḫwannaḫḫi, ḫuittiyannaḫḫi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ḫattannai, ḫutiannaï, ḫuittianaï, iyannaï, nannaï, parḫannai, paršyannaï, (paršyannāi), tuḫšannai, walḫannaï</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 nannianzi, walḫannianzi, iyannianzi, šallanniyanzi, ḫallanniyanzi, paršyannianzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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56. The occasional failure to spell the geminate -nn- by omitting the -an- sign (e.g., wa-al-ah-ḥa-na-i, wa-al-ḥa-ni-an-da, ḫe-e-u-wa-né-es-[i-it]), pace Neu 1981a, is of no linguistic significance.
### Preterite Indicative

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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>[tuḫša]mnahḫun, iyanniyanun†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yanniš, iyannileš, piddanniš, (but rarely: iyanniyat, † paršiyannit †)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### Imperative

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>walḫannau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 13.27. **Supine:** *piyanniwan, walḫanniwan*, **Gul-ḫanniuanwan**. Imperfective: *walḫanniškanzi, walḫannišket, walḫannešker, walḫannišketten, walḫanniškeuan, werianniškeši, laḫḫiyannišgaueni, ḫēuwanešk[et].*


### 13.29. The verb *piyanāi- ‘to reward’* (with CHD P s.v., contra HW 169) is not a durative stem of *pai-, piya- ‘to give’, as its mi-conjugation inflection, ungeminated n, and meaning in context clearly show.

### Mixture of mi- and ḫi- Forms

### 13.30. The following verbs show a more thorough-going mixture of mi- and ḫi- forms than those in §13.23 (p. 224). The verb *dāla- ‘to leave’* probably belonged originally to the class of *memali- (§13.23) and išḫi- ‘to bind’ to that of *dai- (§13.21, p. 223), while in the case of *šai-/šiya- ‘to press, thrust’* there has been a merger of two originally separate verbs, one of which was originally of the *dai-* class belonging to the ḫi-conjugation and the other a stem in -iya- belonging to the mi-conjugation. The available attested forms do not permit a confident assignment to a particular inflectional class.

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57. Written pár-ši-ya-an-ner. For the interpretation of ḫa-at-ta-an-ni-er see n. 54 (p. 225).
58. See p. 213, n. 136.
### 13.31 Conjugation of ḫḫ-Verbs

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<td>išḫiḫḫi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dalatti, dāliyaši, taliyaši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dālaï, tālai, dālai, dālaizzi, dāliyaži, taliyaži</td>
<td>išḫai, išḫiezzi, išḫiyazı</td>
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<td>šiyāweni</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>dālešteni</td>
<td>išḫiyattenni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dāliyanzi, dālanzi</td>
<td>išḫianzi, išḫyanzi</td>
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<th>Preterite Indicative</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dālaḫḫi, dāliyami</td>
<td>išḫiḫḫi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tāliš, dāliš, dālešta, dāliyat, dālaš</td>
<td>išḫaš, išḫiyat</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>daliyatten</td>
<td>išḫaišten, išḫāten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dālier</td>
<td>išḫier</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dāla, dāli</td>
<td>šai, šiya</td>
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<td>tālešdu</td>
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<td>išḫiyatten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dālandu</td>
<td>išḫi(y)andu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


13.32. The conjugation of au(š) - ‘to see’ (and the much rarer mau(š) - ‘to fall’) is classified as irregular. It shows an ablauting stem (full grade au-, zero-grade u-). The two

59. Laws §158 copy aa (OS).
60. KBo 3.34 i 23 according to Oettinger (1979: 473 §352), citing Eichner. See Dardano 1997: 34–35, 87–88 with n. 64.
61. šāišten KUB 26.82:9 quoted in HW 175 as imperative is, instead, preterite by context.
grades are also reflected in nominal derivatives: *au+ri-* ‘sentinel post, watch’ and *parā uwattalla-* ‘overseer, watcher’ (from *parā au(*š*)- ‘to oversee’). The verbal paradigm shows an inserted -š- before endings beginning with -t- (see the verbs in -i- above!). Unexpectedly, the third-person forms singular show not only the inserted -š- but also *mi-*conjugation endings. On this phenomenon see p. 220, n. 35.

### Present Indicative

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<td>umēni, aumeni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>autti</td>
<td>autteni, aušteni, uštēni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aušzi</td>
<td>uwanzi(^{63})</td>
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### Preterite Indicative

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<td>ūḫḫun</td>
<td>aumen(^{62})</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>aušta</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aušta</td>
<td>auer</td>
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### Imperative

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>aušten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aušdu</td>
<td>uwandu(^{63})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**13.33.** Infinitive II: *uwanna*, Verbal substantive II: *uwātar*. Imperfective: *uške*-.

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63. These forms are identical to the corresponding forms of the verb *uwā*- ‘to come’.
Chapter 14
MEDIO-PASSIVE CONJUGATION

14.1. We follow HE and Neu (1968b, 1968a) in presenting paradigms of medio-passives based on whether or not the stem ended in a consonant or a vowel.

Consonantal Stems

14.2. The following are verbs with consonantal stems conjugated in the medio-passive: ar- ‘to stand’, eš- ‘to sit’, and kiš- ‘to happen; become’ exclusively so, paḫš- ‘to protect’ and tarupp- ‘to assemble (intr.); to be united; to be finished’ predominantly so.

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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 arḫari, arḫaḫari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 artari, artari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 arta, ārta, artari, arṭāri</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 arwašta</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 aranda, arānta, arāntari</td>
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</tbody>
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### 14.3. Note: Active and medio-passive verbs take the same forms of verbal substantive, infinitive, and participle.


### Vocalic Stems

14.5. The following verbs with vocalic stems are conjugated in the medio-passive: iya- ‘to go’ and ki- ‘to lie (down)’ (exclusively so), nai-/neya- ‘to turn (intr.)’ and zaḫḫiya- ‘to fight’ (predominantly so; see also §14.11, p. 233):
### Present Indicative

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<td>iatta, ietta, iyatta, iyattari iyaddari, iattari, iyattari, iyatari</td>
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<td>nēa, neyari, zaḥhiyattari</td>
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<td></td>
<td>kiṭta, kittari</td>
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<td>ki(y)anta, kianda, kiyantari</td>
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### Preterite Indicative

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<td>neyattat, neyat, zaḥhiyattat</td>
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### Imperative

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1. KUB 33.52 ii 12 and KUB 40.28:1. On this spelling see Melchert 1984b: 14.
2. KUB 26.35:7. For restoration as inv. sg. 1 see inv. sg. 2 zaḥhiyahhut in line 8 and Neu 1968b: 203.
Chronology of the Medio-Passive Endings

14.7. It has been noted that many of the present medio-passive endings without -ri or -ti (-ḥa, -ta, -a, -wašta, -duma, -anta) appear to be especially common in documents from the earliest period. Preliminary “isolated observations” were made by Neu (1968a: 34–40). A statistical investigation that paid attention to the chronological order of the texts and manuscripts was carried out by K. Yoshida. The gist of his conclusions (Yoshida 1990: 95–102) was the following. The locus of -ri in OH was verbs in -ari but more specifically those in -āri. From this starting point the -ri spread to all classes throughout the history of Hittite, although some resisted longer than others. In the preterite, on the other hand, the endings without -i spread at the expense of those with it. According to Neu (1968: 34), the motivation for both developments was probably the same: to make the medio-passive endings align with those of the active in having the present with final -i and the preterite without it.

Medio-Passive Stem Formation

14.8. Few medio-passive forms of mi-verbs that show e/a ablaut in the active are attested. For what follows see Neu 1968a: 50–51. The verb ēpp-/app- ‘to take’ shows consistent a-vocalism (pret. sg. 3 appattat, pl. 3 appand/tat versus active ēpta and ēpper), but for mer- ‘to disappear’ we find both martari and mertat. The ḫi-verb ḫaš(š)/ḫeš- ‘to open’ appears with e-vocalism (ḫeštat). The ḫi-verbs in -ai- (§13.20, p. 222) show the stem in -i-: miyari ‘grows’, šiyati ‘was pressed forth’. From au(š)– ‘to see’ we find medio-passive auš- with transitive meaning and u(wa)- in the sense ‘to appear, show oneself’. Stems in -škela- appear to show both e- and a-vocalism, as in the active (see on this problem §12.33, p. 204, and Neu 1968a: 42–43).

14.9. In a few cases, verbs that show no suffix in the active form their medio-passive stem by adding -(i)ye/a-: e.g., ḫark- ‘to perish’, ištak- ‘to make smooth’. See Neu 1968b: 42 and Melchert 1997c: 84–86.

14.10. A fairly large group of verbs occur in the medio-passive only in the marked imperfective with the suffix -ške-: akk-, ariya-, ašiwantešš-, ešḫarwaḫḫ-, ikšāi-, impāi-, inu-, išḫiya-, kallarešš-, kun-, kurkuriya-, makkešš-, marlāi-, mugāi-, pai- (‘to go’), palḫešš-, pariparai-, pargešš-, parkešš-, dala-, dankuwaḫḫ-, tepašš-, uiya-, ulāi-, uššaniya-, uwa- (‘to come’), walḫ-, wallu-.

14.11. Perhaps because of the association of the medio-passive with intransitives, there is a strong tendency for medio-passives with transitive meaning to be converted to active ḫi-verbs in New Hittite (the so-called dynamic use; see Neu 1968a: 54–56 and Houwink ten Cate 1970: 18–20). Note, e.g., ḫanna- ‘to litigate, judge’ (with older pres. sg. 2 ḫannatta(r)i, sg. 3 ḫannari, imp. sg. 3 ḫannaru etc., but attested in NH as active

3. Whether there are further conditioning factors on the pattern of its spread as Neu claims requires further study. On the present endings -tati and -waštati see K. Yoshida 1987.
hi-verb ḫannahḫi, ḫannai, ḫannanzi, ḫanna), parḥ- ‘to chase, expel’, and šarra- ‘to cross, transgress’.

14.12. The uses of the medio-passive will be discussed in chapter 21.
Chapter 15
GRAMMATICAL AGREEMENT

Types of Agreement

15.1. Grammatical agreement is part of a system of marking that enables speakers to indicate which parts of their utterances correlate with others (possibilities include number, gender, and case). In Hittite the following correlated speech elements show agreement in one form or another: (1) nouns with attributive adjectives or participles; (2) nouns with relative, indefinite, demonstrative, and possessive pronouns; (3) nouns or pronouns and their appositives (see §15.4); (4) antecedent nouns and their adverbial appositives; (5) antecedent nouns and their compared nouns in ‘like . . . / as . . .’ clauses with mān or mahṭan; (6) the subject and the predicate noun or adjective in sentences with linking verbs such as ėš- ‘to be’ and kiš- ‘to become’; and (7) nominal or pronominal subjects and their verbs.

15.2. (1) Nouns with attributive adjectives or participles: arranza ḥalkiš ‘washed barley’ KUB 1.13 iii 14, damāin antuḫšan ‘another person’ KBo 4.2 i 25, ḥarran wātar ‘polluted water’ KUB 13.3 ii 30, [(araḫz)]enēš (var. araḫzenanteš) utnēanteš [ḥṭmanteš ‘all neighboring lands’ KUB 24.4 rev. 7 (NH) with dupl. KUB 24.3+ ii 49, tarpalliuš waššanduš ‘clothed substitutes’ KBo 4.6 obv. 29, ki igi-zi lū-natar-mit ‘this my first exploit’ Ḫatt. ii 29 (KBo 3.6 ii 13), kē kūru:meš dennatta ‘these depopulated lands’ Ḫatt. ii 56, šalli kur-e ‘large land’ KUB 23.11 iii 33, ištū bibri ur.mah 4 arantet akuwanzi ‘they drink from animal-shaped vessels of lions standing on all fours’ KUB 10.89 i 20–21; dankuwayaz(a) taknaz(a) ‘from the Dark Earth’ KBo 5.3+ iv 56 and KBo 6.28 rev. 41 (both NH).

15.3. (2) Nouns with relative, indefinite, demonstrative, and possessive pronouns (§6.5, p. 139) as attributes: [š]alla ė-er kue n=e natta [parkumuttatai(?)] ‘The houses which are great (in Tappaššanda) [have] not [been exempted(?)] (from taxes and corvée)’ (all relevant forms here are nominative-accusative neuter plural) KUB 1.16 ii 66–67 (OH/NS); nu=nnas ė-er kuit ėššuvwen [(n)]um=nnas=kan dingir-lum anda artat ‘the goddess came to us there in the house which we had built for ourselves’ Ḫatt. iii 6–7; [(nu) kue k]ue ašauwar ēšta [n=(at)] ana ėrin.meš ašanduli peḫḫun ‘whatever sheepfolds there were, I gave them to the troops for garrison’ KBo 10.2 i 7–8; kūriyatitu . . . ūl kuiški ‘not any plot’ KUB 13.35+ iv 44 (NH), tuel un-an lē kuinki ‘not any person of yours’ KUB 14.3 i 19 (NH); ḫatun:um.kam-an kuinki ‘any difficult (lit. tight) day’ KBo 4.14 iiii 19 (NH); uppeššar kuuki ‘any gift’ KUB 14.3 i 54–55 (NH); apāš-pat memiaš
15.4 Grammatical Agreement

‘the aforementioned matter’ KUB 14.14 obv. 36; kē arkawarri ‘these prayers’ KUB 6.45 i 26 (NH); kedañi pedi ‘in this place’ KBo 4.14 iv 48 (NH); kardias-riš ‘of your heart’ KBo 3.7 i 26; tuzziaš-miš ‘my army’ KBo 2.5 ii 13; kūn munus-an ‘this woman’ KBo 4.6 rev. 12; haššatar-šet ‘his procreative power’ KBo 6.34 ii 31; areššmeš ‘your companions’ Laws §55; šarḫuwandaš-šuš ‘her unborn children’ (pl. acc. com.) Laws §§17, 18; ammēdaš šu-az ‘with my own hand(s)’ KBo 3.4 iv 45 (NH).

15.4. (3) Nouns in apposition show number and case and normally supply additional information about a substantive which may or may not be essential to the meaning of the clause. **Nominative:** lē=m[a=war=an auš]zi 4-u-aš **URU** Kumm[iyaš] ur.sag-li-iš! lugal-uš ‘Let not the Stormgod (Teššub), the brave king of Kumiya, see him!’ KUB 33.93 + KUB36.7a + KUB 17.7 iii 32 (Ullik., NS); **URU** Tiliurash uru-aš ʾištu ud.KAM =Hantili dannattiš ʾēšu ‘Tiliura, the city, was a waste since the time (lit. day) of Ḥantili’ KUB 21.29 i 11–12 (NH); takku lū.ū,šaš lu-aš lu-aš našma munus-za takiyu uru-ri aki ‘If a person, male or female, is killed in another town’ KBo 6.2 i 7 (Laws §6, OS). **Accusative:** nu=kan wìDizantaš adda(n)šan kuentu ‘he killed Zidanta, his father’ KBo 3.1+ i 68 (OH/NS); “Telipinušš-aš ʾIštapariyan ḫantezziyan Nin-suḫ ḫarta ‘Telipinu had (as wife) ʾIštapariya, his older sister’ KBo 3.1+ ii 9–10 (OH/NS); abu=ya=(a)nmnāš=za . . . . , ʾdingir.meš-ir-im=da dumu.[(munus-an)] ʾištu ‘My father begat us (four sons) . . . and dingir.meš-ir, a daughter’ Ḥatt. i 9–11 (NH); dapiy[aš (dingir.meš)-aš (addan)] ʾKumarbin iššamiḫḫi ‘I sang of Kumarbi, father of all the gods’ KUB 33.96 i 3–4 (NS) with dupl. KUB 33.98 i 3’ (NS). **Genitive:** n=apa dingir. meš-šaš attaš-šaš =Zidantaš ʾēšḥar-šet šanher ‘then the gods avenged the blood of his father Zidanta’ THeth 11 i 69–70 (OH/NS) (restored from multiple copies). **Dative-locative:** nu=kan ʾapāšš-a pula[za] ana ṣu URU Nerik dumu=ka ʾuššiyanti [ṭ]aptat ‘By destiny (lit., by lot) he too was associated with the Stormgod of Nerik, your beloved son’ KUB 21.27 i 11–12 (NH).

15.5. (4) Other appositional constructions seem to be almost adverbial in force, i.e., they serve more to define or restrict the nature of the *verbal action* than the noun with which they are in apposition: *nu=mu kappin=pat dumu-an* ʾištar **URU** Šamuḫa ana abu=ya wēkta ‘ʾištar of Šamuḫa asked my father for me (when I was) just (-pat) a small child’ KBo 6.29 i 7–8 (NH); kāša tuk ʾHqqanān appezzin ur.gl.-an šarā dāḥḫun ‘I took you up, Ḫukkana, (when you were) a lowly (lit., ‘the last’ or ‘a young’1) dog’ KBO 5.3 i 2–3 (MH/NS); *nu tu[ka] Ma/ddu[wa]tтан qadu dumu=ka=dum nu=mu meš=ka [dumu=meš]=ka ērin. meš=ka=ya abi ṣuṭu-šti kišduwān[du]=šu išnut ‘The father of His Majesty saved your

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1. The significance of the adjective *appezzī*- is debated by those who reckon now with the collated reading UR.GI, ‘dog’. Klinger (1992: 192, 208 n. 42 ‘letzter Hund’) reckons with a concept of rank, while T. van den Hout (personal communication) favors the concept of age (‘young dog’), comparing UR.TUR GIN-an ‘as a puppy’ in the loyalty oath KUB 26.32 i 8. Since the separate term UR.TUR was available for expressing ‘young dog, puppy’, it seems more likely that Klinger’s understanding is correct. Regardless of one’s decision on this, the entire context suggests that the phrase ‘as an *appezzī*- dog’ is intended to show Ḫukkana’s lowly estate when he was elevated by the Hittite king.
life, Madduwatta, together with your wives, your children, and your troops — (when you were) starving’ KUB 14.1 obv. 8–9 (MH/MS); ‘if a slave pays the bride-price for a free young man’ n=an LC antiyantan ēpzi ‘and takes him (as) a “live-in” son-in-law’ KBo 6.3 ii 28 (Laws §36, OH/NS). Such examples are different from double accusatives with verbs like iya- ‘to make’, ḫalzai- ‘to call’, etc. (on which see §16.21, p. 247). For double accusatives used in partitive apposition see §16.24 (p. 247).

15.6. Some adverbial examples are participles in the nominative case, appearing immediately before the verb: p[ai]t=asšan giš.NA=aš šarkuw[a]nza šešket ‘he lay down on the bed in the bedroom booted (i.e., with his boots on)’ KUB 24.8 i 25–26 (pre-NH/NS); n=asza ITTI ḫAppu waššanza šešket ‘and she (his wife) would lie down with Appu clothed (i.e., with her clothes on)’ KUB 24.8 i 30; [kuiš=waššanza] Ḫat[ti LC]lu cyananda uzzi ‘whoever of the land of Ḫatti takes refuge with you as a fugitive’ KUB 14.1 obv. 34 (Madd.); ḫTelipinuš lēlaniyanza uet uwantiwantaz titḫišketta ‘Teli-pinu came angrily: with lightning he thunders’ KUB 17.10 ii 33–34; [našiš šarreškeši ḫušnut nu mu wašdulaš kat arḫa išḫiyandan lu-an mān arḫa lā ‘Save me, O my god, and release me, (who am) like a man bound in sins’ KUB 36.75 iii 9–11 (OH?/MS); nu=war=ūš arḫa dannaruš DUG UTUL. HLA māḥḥan duwarniškeši ‘you (the king) will break them (your enemies) like empty vessels’ KBo 15.52 v 16–17 (NS); ḫapūn=maškan ṣištar . . . KU=un GIŠ ḫūpalaza egr-pa ištaπ’a IŠTAR trapped him (e.g., Urḫiteššup) like a fish in a net’ KBo 6.29 ii 33–34 (NH). Genitive: [ša]minzan ḫa MEŠ-AM=MAN UR.BAR.A-aš mān pang[ur] 1-EN ēštu ‘But let the clan of you, my subjects, be one like (that) of the wolf’ KBo 3.27:15–16 (OH/NS); the first three words in this sentence are all genitives in agreement.

15.9. (6) In nominal sentences and those with linking verbs such as ēš- ‘to be’ and kīš- ‘to become’ the subject agrees with its subject complement— with a predicate noun in case and number, and with a predicate adjective in case, number, and gender: annaš-sišš muš-aš ‘his mother (is) a snake’ KUB 1.16 ii 20 (OH/NS); u ē-su arāwan LÚ.MEŠ  Hạ.LA[(ē-su u ć.LÖ.MEŠNitšu-su)] arāwēš ‘his house (is) exempt, also his heirs and relatives (are) exempt’ KBO 6.9 i 2–3 (Laws §51, OH/NS) restored from KBO 6.2 iii 2 (OS); kū-re šalli ēšta ‘The country was large’ KBO 11.1 obv. 19; pēdan mekki nakki ‘The place (is) very important (or ‘hard to reach’)’ ABoT 60 obv. 20–21. For an old pl. nom. com. see kē ēsugulā 1 Li-eš eser ‘These were overseers of one thousand’ KBO 8.42 rev. 6 (OS). The example nu umenš-usi maršanteš ‘The people (are) deceitful’ KUB 19.23 rev. 11 shows good NH agreement. See further examples below in §16.5 (p. 242) and following.

15.10. (7) A nominal subject agrees with its verb in number: DUMU-RU ā-wa μuš-kan akta ‘A son died on me, (and I didn’t perform the last rites)’ KUB 5.9 obv. 26 (NH oracle inquiry); UMMA LUGAL-MA ḫuššiššaš wa Ḫapā paiddu ‘Let Zuliya go to the river (ordeal)’ KUB 13.3 iii 29 (MH/NS); takku 2 LÚ.MEŠ na(si)l[a 3 (u.M)]eš akkanzi ‘if two or three men are killed’ KBO 6.3 ii 30 (Laws §37, OH/NS) with dupl. KBO 6.2 ii 11 (OS), nušmaš DINGIR.DIDLI-eš tamain karātan dayer ‘and the gods gave to them (e.g., the sons of the Queen of Kaneš) a different appearance’ KBO 22.2 obv. 16 (OS); takku LÚ.MEŠ zaḫḫanda ta 1aš aki ‘If men fight, and one dies’ KBO 6.26 ii 16 (Laws §174, OH/NS).

15.11. A pronominal subject agrees with its verb in person and number: ugaš-an-za DUMU.MUNUS-TI Ŭl ḫalzihhi ‘I will not call her my daughter’ KUB 1.16 iii 25 (OH/NS); ūk=wa LUGAL-uš-sišš kishiša ‘I will become your king’ KBO 22.2 rev. 15 (OS); ūk=wa=zz=(št)an [(šānu)n] ‘I was enraged’ KUB 33.10 ii 6 (OH/MS); nu Ḫandan ūk šakšan memally ‘And let me truly say the following’ KUB 6.45 + KUB 30.14 iii 73–74 (NH); našma=at zik ẖašši ‘or (if) you contemplate it’ KBO 4.14 ii 78; zik=wa UR.BAR. RA-aš kisata ‘you have become a wolf’ KBO 6.2 ii 12 (OS); ziga parkyātar iya ‘as for you, make purification!’ (imp.) KUB 1.16 ii 67 (OH/NS); paprezi kiiš ‘who defiles’ KBO 6.2 i 57 (OS); takku ‘IR-aš ḫuwāi n-aš Ḫana Kur Luwīya païzi ‘if a slave runs away and (he) goes to the land of Luwiya’ KBO 6.2 i 51 (OS), apâš-a pait 4im-ni tet ‘he proceeded to say to the Stormgod’ VBoT 58 i 16 (OH/NS); EGRIP-pa=mašš aras UR.KĀ.DINGIR. RA pait ‘afterwards he went to Babylon’ KBO 3.1 i 28 (OH/NS); nu wešš āRnuwantaš LUGAL.GAL Ŭ ‘Ašmunikal MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL GUD.LA-uš ÛDU.LA warkandaš SIG-sanduš . . . EGRIP-pa pešgaweni ‘We—Arnuwanda, Great King, and Ašmunikal, Great Queen—will give back (to the gods) fat and goodly cattle and sheep’ KUB 31.124 ii 14–17 (MH/MS); kuṯman=wašša weš (eras.) INAL UR.UḪatuši īšwēn ‘while we were in Ḫatušu’ HKM 17:5–6 (MH/MS); šumeš LÚ.MEŠ QŠ.TUKUL tameškatteni ‘you (pl.) are oppressing the TUKUL-men’ KBO 22.1:3 (OS); šumešš-a apenīššan iššen ‘and you (pl.)

3. See LH 139 n. 477.
must keep doing as before’ (imp.) KBo 22.62 + KBo 6.2 ii 20 (OS); armawanteš=a kuiš nuza apē=ya ēlt ĕššanzi ‘as for those who are pregnant, even they do not give birth’ KUB 17.10 i 15 (OH/NS); takku LÚ-aš ELLUM GEME-ašš=a šieleš n=at anda aranzi ‘if a free man and a slave woman are single, and they (=at) cohabit’ KBo 6.3 ii 16 (OH/NS), apē=ma=an ēpper nušši kušṯešker ‘but they (the citizens of Tappaššanda) seized him (Prince Ḫuzziya) and began to intimidate(?) him’ KUB 1.16 ii 64 (OH/NS).

Lack of Agreement

In Gender

15.12. It is doubtful that there are more than a few cases of true lack of agreement in gender. When a resumptive pronoun refers back to two nouns, one of which is common and the other neuter, the speaker cannot avoid choosing between the two: for example ʰIM=wa LÚ,MEŠ LÚ,KŪR (com.) KUR,KUR,MEŠ LÚ,KŪR (neut.) tuk=pat ANA LUGAL ŠAPAL GĪR,MEŠ zíkkešzi nu=xar=war=xš (com.) arḫa dannaruš DUG.KAM.HI.A maḫḫan duwarniškeši, ‘The Stormgod puts the enemy men (com.) and the enemy lands (neut.) under your feet, O king, and you smash them (com.) like empty vessels’ KBo 15.52 v 14–17.

15.13. Other cases of disagreement in gender have been claimed for parts of the body, but there may be better explanations of the forms in question. For example, genuššī ‘his knee’ KUB 7.1 iii 7 is neuter, but genuššituš ‘his knees’ KBo 3.4 ii 20; KUB 13.4 ii 58 appears to be common gender. But Eichner (1979) has interpreted the latter as accusative plural of a noun genušši- ‘Kniegelenk’ (see also p. 101, n. 109, and p. 138, n. 7). The two forms of the noun ‘hand’: keššar (previously thought to be neuter) and keššaraš (common) seem to show inversion in the possessive pronouns: šu-aššet (which implies *keššaraššet) (Laws §4) and keššaraššiš (Laws §3). But Neu (1983: 97 with n. 354) has plausibly proposed that keššar in keššaraššiš is an asigmatic common gender r-stem (see §4.82, p. 115, with the paradigm), since there is no attested example of keššar as a (neuter) direct object. The use of the neuter possessive pronoun in šu-aššet is simply erroneous. Other possible instances of disagreement in gender may also require reconsideration: mān antuwaḫḫaš šuppi ‘if a person is pure (neuter!)’ is rather: ‘If a person is in a pure state [d.-l.]’ KBo 5.2 i 3; and alongside correct ispantan ĕḫmandaš ‘the entire night’ we can regard ēḫ-xan ĕḫmán (KUB 1.13 iii 28; KBo 3.5 i 30) as faulty. On the other hand, there is no conflict between antuḫšaštar and kuinna in: nu[=kan a(antuḫšatar)] (neut.) kuinna (com.) apel ANA URU-ŠU EGIR-pa [(peḫutet)] ‘and he led back the population, each one (person of the antuḫšatar) to his (own) city’ KUB 19.11 iv 14–15, since the kuinna, apel, and -šu refer to units within the antuḫšatar. The phrase šuḫmilin genu KBo 10.37 ii 33 may be explained as regular agreement, with šuḫmilin being a contracted form of *šuḫmilyan (§1.76, p. 32), sg. nom.-acc. neut. of an extended stem *šuḫmilyant- ‘firm’ beside šuḫmili-.4

4. Catsanicos 1986: 147 n. 154. But his comparison with šuppi in KBo 12.89 ii 13 is false, since ḫappuriyan šuppi is common gender.
15.14. Sure cases of gender variation are few. We do find sg. nom.-acc. neut. memi(y)an ‘word’ alongside usually common-gender memiya(n)-. Geštu-an ‘ear’ is sg. nom.-acc. neut. in KUB 8.83 4, 5, alongside usual common-gender ištaman-. But the vast majority of alleged cases listed in the dictionaries simply do not exist. Some examples involve a failure to recognize the Hittite practice of writing the bare stem form with numbers (see §9.24, p. 159, and §16.3, p. 242). Writings such as 1 Gišintaluzzi or 1 DUSḫuppar (§4.84, p. 116) are not evidence for neuter gender; both intaluzzi- ‘shovel’ and ḫuppar- ‘bowl’ are consistently common gender. Other putative cases involve common-gender nouns with collective plurals and neuter nouns with count plurals (§3.13, p. 68). For example, alpa- ‘cloud’ is only common gender. But in addition to its regular accusative plural alpūš ‘clouds’ it has a collective plural, alpa ‘cloudbank’. Similarly, luttai- ‘window’ is neuter only. But since the regular (neuter) plural would have had a collective sense in OH, for reference to discrete individual windows we find luttaeš, luttauš. This is a matter of distinction between collective and count plural, not variation in gender. This number distinction is widespread in Old Hittite (pace Prins 1997: 62–63). In cases written with logograms we cannot be certain whether we are dealing with forms of the same word: e.g., in the case of ėrman- ‘illness’, we find alongside Giškaniššuwar also sg. nom. com. Giš- aššulan. The latter may reflect real variation in gender or conceal another word for ‘illness, sickness’.

In Number

15.15. Disagreement in number may be accounted for in several ways. A collective singular can be conceived as a plural: nu=mu=kan GIM-an UN.MEŠ-annaza ša ʿIŠAR GAŠAN=YA kaniššuwar ša šEŠ=YA=ya [aš]šulan auēr ‘but when the population (sg.) saw (pl.) the honor of ʿIŠAR, my lady, to me and the favor of my brother toward me’6 Ḫatt. i 30–32 (NH); [KAR]-ša=kan kuiēš tepaweš i [špar]ter apāt=ma=kan ḫūman a[l]ra ḫa ḫaṣpir=pat ‘they utterly annihilated it (apāt, sg. neut.) all (sg. neut.), the army (com. sg.) which (com. pl.) escaped (pl.) few in number (com.pl.)’ KUB 14.1 obv. 48 (MH/MS).

15.16. As in some other Indo-European languages, neuter plural (collective) nominal subjects take singular predicates (§§3.12–3.13, p. 68). When the predicate is an intransitive verb, it will be singular: ʿĂškali=ma uddār waṛiš ‘but accusations arose against Aškali’ KBo 3.34 ii 18. When the predicate is made up of the verb ‘to be’ and a predicate nominative adjective, the adjective takes the singular form by attraction to the form of the verb ‘to be’ (van den Hout 2001). This pattern is then extended to nominal sentences, which have no linking verb (e.g., ‘to be’). That the singular form of the predicate adjective is due to its attraction to the verb ‘to be’ is shown by the fact that neuter plural nouns take neuter plural attributive adjectives: idālawa uddār, liššiyala . . . uddār, šakkanta Ul. uwanda uddār, kue uddār, tamāi kuēkki uddār.

5. For a possible explanation of the latter example see Melchert 2000: 66. The source of neuter memiyan is unclear. Perhaps a neuter singular participle of mema- ‘the spoken thing’.

6. The dative -mu receives the verbal action implied in both kaniššuwar and aššulan.
15.17. There are a few apparent examples of common-gender plural subjects with singular predicates: ḫēwēš kīša ‘rains will occur’ KUB 8.1 iii 8–9; ki=wa wallēš maḫḫan arlipa artari ‘as these w. stand arlipa’ KUB 29.1 iv 10–11;\(^7\) ANA SAG.DU DUMU MUNUR SANGA=wa ūrkēš idālaweškēta nu=wa kē ūrkēš kišandati ‘The signs were coming out unfavorably for the person of the priestess’ son, and these signs occurred’ KuT 49:4–5.\(^8\) All examples attested thus far are with intransitive verbs, a feature that would be shared with the usage of singular verbs with collective plural subjects. The phenomenon calls for further investigation. For the Hittite construction as the possible source of the Greek “Pindaric schema” see Watkins 2000: 2–3.

15.18. Singular forms are often used following numbers greater than ‘1’ (see §9.21 and following, p. 158). And, finally, there are cases where a scribe used a plural verb on the second of two clauses in which one member of a pair of persons acts: 1 LÚ MEŠEDI KUŠ kuršan kar(a)pzi URUDU HA[SSIDNA=ya] 1 LÚ MEŠEDI=ma ŠA DINGIR-LIM GISḫuppanta zeriylli=ya karpanzi ‘One palace guard lifts a leather shield (and) an axe, while another palace guard lifts (text: they lift!) the god’s ḫuppanta and potstand’ KUB 11.23 v 8–12 (Note the extraposition of the URUDU HA[SSIDNA=ya]).

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7. This example supplied by Norbert Oettinger (pers. comm.).
Chapter 16

NOUN CASES

Generalities

16.1. As indicated in chapter 3, Hittite nouns and adjectives are inflected in the following cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, ergative, genitive, allative, dative-locative, ablative, and instrumental.

16.2. Five of these cases (accusative, allative, dative-locative, ablative, and instrumental) are always adverbal, i.e., dependent on the verb (including participles), while the genitive is usually adnominal (for exceptions see §16.57, p. 255, and §16.61, p. 256). The ergative appears only as the subject of a transitive verb. Nouns and pronouns in the nominative serve as subjects of finite verbs but as predicates only of the linking verbs ēš- ‘to be’, kiš- ‘to become’, etc. (§16.5). A noun in the vocative (together with any accompanying attributive adjectives), and rarely the nominative standing for the vocative (§16.17, p. 245), constitutes a clause in itself (Hoffner 1998a).

16.3. Stem form. There are several situations in which scribes used the bare stem form. (a) As a real pronounced form it could represent the vocative case (§3.28, p. 74) or (b) a “naming construction” (§16.15, p. 244). The bare stem represents (c) a purely graphic entity when the noun in question is a proper name (personal, divine, or geographical), when it follows an Akkadian preposition (AN, ANA, ŠA, etc.), or in listings immediately following a numeral (nu 2 INDA zipinni n-uš . . . aššanzi KBo 5.1 ii 16–17). Situation (c) is referred to as “Akkadographic” in the CHD. Some Hittitologists have such words typeset in uppercase italics like real Akkadograms.

Nominative

16.4. The nominative case is primarily the case of the subject of a clause, regardless of the nature of the predicate (noun phrase or verb). Thus in the sentence an-naš-šiš muš-aš ‘his mother (is) a snake’ (KUB 1.16 ii 20), the noun an-naš is in the nominative case, the subject of the sentence whose predicate is muš-aš. In the verbal sentence išhāš-šiš=an ganešzi ‘its owner recognizes it’ (Laws §61), the noun išhāš is also nominative by virtue of its function as subject of the verb ganeš.

16.5. Any demonstrative, attributive adjective, or other such form modifying the subject of the sentence will also be nominative under the conditions of grammatical agreement (see chapter 15). Nouns or adjectives which serve as the predicate in sentences
with linking verbs (‘to be’, ‘to become’, ‘to appear’, etc.) also stand in the nominative case. For example, \textit{muš-aš} ‘snake’ in \textit{annaš} \textit{sšiš} \textit{muš-aš}. The predicate nominative is sometimes called a “subject complement.”

16.6. As in other languages, the verb ‘to be’ may be omitted in Hittite in the present tense. Because of the absence of an expressed finite verb, these sentences are often called “nominal sentences.” Examples are: \textit{beli-ni} \textit{ma=wa} \textit{naš wannummiyaš} ‘the wife of our master (is) a widow’ KBo 14.12 iv 19–20 (DŠ frag. 28); \textit{takku} \textit{dumu} \textit{lu-ni} \textit{taranza} ‘if a daughter (is) promised (in marriage) to a man’ KBo 6.3 ii 5 (Laws §28); \textit{pa} \textit{tauwa(r)=šet=wa} \textit{amiyanta apašš+a=wa} \textit{amiyanza} ‘its wings (are) small, and it (is) small’ KUB 17.10 i 38 (Tel. myth, OH/MS). For -(\textit{u}wa see §28.2 (p. 354). See §15.9 (p. 238) for additional examples. In at least one example, the verb ‘be’ is also omitted when past time has been established in a preceding clause and carries over to that with ‘be’: \textit{kara\textbar} \textit{ku\textbar} \textit{i\textbar} \textit{ara\textbar} \textit{urru\textbar} \textit{Arinna} \textit{lu\textbar} \textit{uš\textbar} \textit{bar k\textbar} \textit{(\textbar} \textit{sat}) \textit{u} \textit{ė-su} \textit{arauwan} \textit{lu\textbar} \textit{meš ha\textbar} \textit{la\textbar} \textit{(\textbar} \textit{šu} \textit{u} \textit{lu\textbar} \textit{mes\textbar} \textit{n\textbar} \textit{uš\textbar} \textit{šu}) \textit{arau\textbar} \textit{eš} ‘Formerly, one who became a weaver in Arinna, his house (was) exempt, also his heirs and relatives (were) exempt’ KBo 6.9 i 2–3 (Laws §51, OH/NS) restored from KBo 6.2 iii 2 (OS). See also the examples cited in §16.15 (p. 244), where ‘be’ is omitted in the context of mythical past time.

16.7. The predicate noun or adjective will also occur in the nominative case when the verb \textit{ēš-} ‘to be’ is expressed: \textit{ugg-a} \textit{munus} \textit{annannaš} \textit{ēšmi} ‘and I am an \textit{annanna\textbar} woman’ VBoT 58 iv 3 (OH/NS); \textit{nu} \textit{kī} \textit{kui\textbar} \textit{ēšmi} ‘and what is this that I am?’ (or ‘and this which I am’) KUB 57.3:11 (NH); \textit{šumeš-a} \textit{dingir\textbar meš-aš u\textbar} \textit{ddani} \textit{nal\textbar} \textit{anteš ēšten} ‘You (pl.) be afraid of the word/matter [of the gods]’ KUB 1.16 iii 49–50 (OH/NS); \textit{apē-a k\textbar} \textit{jū\textbar} \textit{du\textbar} \textit{wata} \textit{lē lē} \textit{handān\textbar pat ē\textbar} \textit{du} ‘And let [those] false accusations never — never be established!’ KUB 1.16 ii 55 (OH/NS). Similarly when the verb is \textit{kīš-} ‘to become’: \textit{zik\textbar} \textit{wa} \textit{ur\textbar} \textit{bar\textbar ra\textbar aš kī\textbar} \textit{stat} ‘You have become a wolf’ KBo 6.2 + Hrozný 1922 plate v, ii 12 (Laws §37, OS).

16.8. Since appositional elements, regardless of their case, can serve for direct address (see §16.16, p. 245), we naturally find many nominatives so used.

16.9. The naming function of the nominative case is reflected in its frequent appearance in lists: 3 \textit{gud\textbar} \textit{mu\textbar} 2 3 \textit{gud\textbar} \textit{mu\textbar} 1 4 \textit{šawiti\textbar} \textit{za pāi} ‘he shall give three two-year-old oxen, three yearling oxen, and four weanlings’ (Laws §63). As the example shows, this usage includes cases where the list as a whole may logically be construed as the direct object of a verb.

16.10. Partitive apposition, richly attested in the accusative (§§16.24–16.25, pp. 247–248; §16.42, p. 252) and rarely in the ablative (§16.94, p. 266; §16.102, p. 267), may also be found in the nominative: \textit{nu} \textit{mah\textbar} \textit{han} \textit{mu\textbar} \textit{kam\textbar} \textit{za} \textit{me\textbar} \textit{hur ti\textbar} \textit{yazi šel\textbar} \textit{iša šunnumanzi}

\footnote{1. The KUB copy is incorrect here; for the correct reading \textit{[. . . u\textbar} \textit{d-da-a-ni-i} see already the transliteration from the original by Forrer (1922; 1926: 15), followed by Sommer and Falkenstein (1938: 14–15). The photo published at the back of Sommer’s book is too dark to be useful for collations.}
and when the year, (that is,) the season/time for the filling of the šeli-s arrives’ KUB 21.17 iii 9–10 (NH). As in other cases of partitive apposition, the noun denoting the whole precedes that denoting a part.  

**Vocative and “Naming Construction”**

16.11. The **vocative** is used in exclamations and in direct address (Güterbock 1945; Eichner 1974b: 5–57; and Hoffner 1998a). Hittite does not employ an interjection (like English ‘O’) to introduce the vocative.


16.13. Syntax. The true vocative stands in its own clause (Hoffner 1998a), and even in contexts of reported speech often does not take the quotative particle -wa (§28.2, p. 354, and following).

16.14. Occurrences. The true vocative is used principally in prayers, rituals, and mythological texts: four UTE- e išḫa-mi ‘O Sungod, my lord’ KUB 31.127 i 1 (OH/NS);  

3. Immediately followed by appositional direct address (§16.16): ħandaňa ḫannešna išḫaš ‘O just lord of judgment’ KUB 31.127 i 1–2. For examples from Greek and Vedic of vocative immediately continued by a nominative form of address, see Meier-Brügger 2000: 249 (§8 406). In those languages a nominative of this sort is not appositional address, as it is in Hittite.

4. On the sg. nom. MUNUS-aš see §4.78 (p. 113) with n. 169.
Other Forms of Direct Address

16.16. Appositional Direct Address. In other Indo-European languages, nominative case forms appear in the role of vocatives (i.e., in direct address; see Meier-Brügger 2000: 249–50; 2003: 265). For rare examples of this in Hittite see §16.17. In Hittite, however, most instances of the nominative direct address appear in an embedded appositional construction, which may be used not just in the nominative but in whatever case is appropriate to the syntax, often with the name in apposition to an accented second-person pronoun used for direct address. 

Nominative: Dingir.Mah 4im-ni tet iya kuikit illum aš ‘Dingir.Mah said to the Stormgod, ‘Do something, Stormgod!’’ KUB 17.10 i 30–31; anda=ma šumuš Bell.Mes tu₂ ḫūmanṭes . . . itu₂-mi itu₂-mi linkiškēten ‘Furthermore, all you (nom.) who are in charge of (lit. ‘lords of’) the stew, . . . you must take monthly oaths’ KUB 13.3 ii 20–26 (MH/NS). 

Genitive: nu tuel šunaš uddanta natta sig₂-aḫḫat ‘And did I not prosper by your word, O god?’ KUB 30.10 obv. 18 (OH/MS). Here šunaš is genitive singular in apposition to tuel ‘of you, your’. 

Dative-locative: [tuqq-aš]-aš ana =Madduwatta qatamma menaḫḫanta kūrur eštu ‘Against [you (dat.) too], O [Maddu]watta (d.-l.), let him likewise be hostile!’ KUB 14.1 obv. 31.

16.17. Rarely, however, in the singular (not in the plural) the nominative stands in its own clause in place of the vocative. Only five examples are known: (1) aš ȅme₂-aš gagāš qašaš=šmaš=kan parkuin mišriwānta ḫarkin qis.Gidru ʿul walḥantān udu₂-un šipantaḫḫun ‘O mouth, tongue, tooth! Lo, I have sacrificed to you a pure, dazzling white sheep, never struck with a rod’ KBo 15.10 ii 8–10 (MH/MS), ed. Szabó 1971; (2) Uma₂-ma₂-gulšaš 4nin.Tu₂-aš 4im-naš attaš kuit₂=wa ʾu[(aš)] ‘Thus (said) 4Gulša (and?) 4nin.Tu₂: ‘O Father Stormgod! Why have you come?’ KUB 33.24 (+) 33.28 i 38 (OH/NS); (3) ʿutu₂-uš 4im-aš ʿul šullatar ‘O Sungod! O Stormgod! No disrespect (exists)’ KBo 6.13 i 9 (Laws §169; the last clause is elliptical; see §18.17, p. 282; and §30.13, p. 409); (4) wappuwaš Dingir.Mah-aš kāša-za 12 Uzu₂.ur papparananza tuel šu₂-ʾiti šapīya[za] parkunuwaṣṣa ‘O Dingir.Mah of the River Bank! Be cleansed now (kāša) from defilement and purified by your hand with respect to (your) twelve body parts’ KUB 12.58 iv 1–3; ȅme₂-aš=en₂-aš kuwapi pāši ‘Where are you going, O lord of the tongue?’ KUB 12.62 obv. 10, see rev. 3. It is inappropriate, however, to claim (as does Kammenhuber) that with common-gender substantives the vocative corresponds in general to the nominative, since this implies that such forms are really vocatives that merely share the same endings with

5. Examples such as [šumé]š=a₂.Lu₂.Me₂.kur ‘Išmirika ḫūmanṭes linkiša ar damsār ‘You men of Išmerika, stand under oath!’ KUB 23.68 + ABoT 58 rev. 11, where the address formula might or might not be a part of what follows immediately, should be considered appositional. See Hoffner 1998a: 42–44. 

the nominative. When Luraghi (1997a: §2.1.5.1) writes, “It [the nominative] is also used as a vocative in the plural,” she ignores the fact that any case form in singular or plural can be used for direct address as long as it does not occupy its own separate clause, as does the true vocative. The fact that there appears to have been no distinctively plural vocative ending does not justify her claim (§2.1.6.2) that “the nominative [plural] is used in its place.” See the treatment of this subject in §16.14 (p. 244).

**Accusative**

16.18. The accusative case is the primary case governed by the finite transitive verb. As such its most common use is as (1) the immediate direct object of the transitive verb. But, like the accusative case in Greek and Latin, the Hittite accusative can also serve as (2) a second object, both in a predicative sense (as in English ‘he made me captain of the team’, ‘he called me a coward’, ‘they consider him handsome’; see §16.21), and in partitive apposition, from which develops the accusative of respect (see §§16.24–16.25), (3) a cognate accusative (the *figura etymologica* of the classical languages, see §16.26, p. 248), (4) an accusative of direction (see §16.27, p. 248), (5) an accusative of the way (see §16.28, p. 249), (6) an accusative of extent/duration (see §16.29, p. 249), and (8) an adverbial accusative (see §16.30, p. 249).

16.19. The principal use of the accusative case is as the direct object of transitive verbs: [(takk)]u LÚ.U₅₂.LU-an kuiški ḫunikzi i-an ištarnikzi nu apùn šaktāizzī pēdi-išši=ma LÚ.U₅₂.LU-an pāi ‘If someone injures a man and makes him ill, he shall look after him and give a man in his place, ( . . . but when he recovers, he shall give him six shekels of silver’ KBo 6.2 i 16–17 (Laws §10, OS) restored from KBo 6.3 i 25 (NS).

16.20. The normally intransitive verb ēš-/aš- is used with -z(a) transitively in the sense ‘to dwell in, inhabit, occupy’ and thus takes an accusative direct object (HW² E 97, 109–10): [k]āša-wa-ṭta KUR HUR.SAG Zippašlā AD[DIN] nu=wa=za apūntepat eši namma=ma=wa=[z] parā tāmān ḫapāt tamai KUR-e zi-it lē eštari ‘I have herewith (kāša) given you the mountain country Zippašlā. Occupy only it. Beyond (this), do not intentionally occupy any other river country or land’ KUB 14.1 obv. 19–20 (MH/MS); [t]UT]u-uš-za URU.ZIMBIR-an ēšzi, šin-aš=ma=za URU Kuzinan ēš[zi], U-aš-za URU.Kummiyan ēš[zi], ištar-iš=ma=za URU.Nenuwan ēš[zi], Nanayaš=ma=za URU.Kiššinan ēš[zi], ištar-uš-za URU. KUŠ.KA. DINGIR.RA-an=ma=za 4AMAR.UTU-aš ē[šzi] ‘the Sungod dwells in Sippar, the Moongod dwells in Kuzina, the Stormgod dwells in Kummiya, (the goddess) ištar dwells in Nenuwa, Nanaya dwells in Kiššina, and in Babylon Marduk dwells’ KUB 24.8+ iv 13–18 (NS); [mān=war-aš UL=m]a uezzi nu=wa=kān KUR-e peran ēšten ‘If he does

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7. See on this type van den Hout 1992.

8. See HE 119 sub §199a. Note, however, that we view Friedrich’s second type of “inneres Objekt” as an adverbial accusative (§19.14, p. 292).

9. See HE 120 sub §201b. Example: *man-kan* HUR.SAG Teḫšina šarā pāun ‘I would have gone up Mt. Teḫšina’.
[not] come, occupy the land in advance!’ KUB 14.16 i 17–18 (annals of Murš. II, NH). Note that eši in KUB 14.1 is formally active transitive, and ēštari in the same passage is a transitive medio-passive. This usage (pace HW² E 109–10) is at least as early as MH/MS, not coined in the reign of Muršili II.

16.21. Double accusatives (van den Hout 1992) are particularly common with verbs which are causatives of transitive verbs: ū-an zāi ‘he crosses the river’ and GUD=ŠU ū-an zimuškezzi (zimu- is the causative of zai-) ‘he makes his ox cross the river’, both in KBO 6.2 ii 30–32 (Laws §43, OS). But verbs other than causatives of transitives also take double objects, among them: iya- ‘to make something (first acc.) into something (second acc.)’; n=š arunaš iṛhuš iēt ‘he made them (*uš) borders (iṛhuš) of the sea’ (KBo 3.1 i 8, OH/NS); n=š LUGAL-uš . . . LU.MES.APIN.LĀ iyamuš ‘I, the king, made them farmers (LU.MES.APIN.LĀ)’ KBO 3.1+ ii 29–30 (OH/NS); ir=YA=ma=wa nūwan parā dahī niu=war=an=za=kan LU.MUT=YA iyami ‘I refuse to (nūwan; see §26.1, p. 341; and §26.19, p. 344) take my servant and make him my husband’ KBO 5.6 iii 14–15 (NH); nu=za URU. dūš=shalšal . . . LÚ.MEŠ ṭiyanun ‘I, the king, made them farmers (LÚ.MEŠ)’ KUB 5.6 iii 14–15 (NH); nu=š ma=wa nūwan parā daḫḫi nu=šar ‘he (Muwatalli II) made the city Tarḫuntašša ‘the great place’ (i.e., the new capital city)’ KBO 6.29+ ii 14–15 (NH).

16.22. From the fundamental meaning ‘to make into’ constructions of this kind developed into a means of expressing the idea ‘to treat like’; ṭ ⟨anna⟩ DUMU.MEŠ URU/NESI (a id)alu natta kuđanikki takšša [š/n=*uš] annuš attuš iēt ‘He harmed none of the citizens (lit., sons) of Neša, but treated [them] like mothers (and) fathers’ KBO 3.22 obv. 7–9 (OS) with dupl. KBO 22.5 obv. 7 (NS); kuš=war=an=za=an [dāi nu=war]=an uppiyaššar dū-zi ‘who will [take] him (the speaker’s son) and treat him like a gift?’ KUB 33.93 iii 28–29 (Ullik. I A).

16.23. Other verbs which like iya- take a double object are: ḫalzai- ‘to call’ te/tar- ‘to designate as, declare to be’, šallanu- ‘to raise up to be’, ḫai- ‘to provide someone with something’. Examples: [LUGAL-uš=an=za] DUMU=la(n)=man ḫalziḫḫun ‘I, [the king,] have proclaimed [him] (to be) my son’ KUB 1.16 ii 3–4; [nu=šmaš TUR=lan] labaranna tenun ‘[to you] have I declared [the young man] to be the Labarna’ KUB 1.16 ii 2–3; takku . . . AŠA.H.LA ša ŠU GES.TUKUL ḫarkantan taranzi ‘if they declare the fields of a craftsman to be vacated’ Laws §40; nu ḫul-lun (i.e., idālun) UD.KAM-an LÚ.ḪUL-an (i.e., ḫuwanpan) šallan([uškezzi]) ‘and he raises up a bad day to be (or ‘which is’) an evil’ KUB 33.96 i 6 (Ullik. I A); MUNUS.MEŠ wannummiuš kin-an išhā ‘he provides the widow women with a task’ KBO 16.54+ 15’.

16.24. Another double accusative construction in Hittite is partitive apposition, which corresponds to the Greek σχῆμα καθ᾽ ὅλον καὶ μέρος. It is found almost exclusively in relation to the human body: takku ḫ=an našma GĒME-an KIR=šēt kuški waši ‘if anyone bites off the nose of a slave boy or a slave girl’ (lit., ‘bites a slave boy or slave girl, namely his/her nose’) KBO 6.3 i 35 (Laws §14, OH/NS); (if any child is sick,) n=š tuikkuš išghā ‘and I anoint him, (namely his) members’ KUB 7.1+ i 40. That this
construction only became popular after Old Hittite is clear from passages in the laws where the Old Script copy KBo 6.2 uses the genitive construction and the NH copyist of KBo 6.3 replaced it with the "σχῆμα" (Laws §§11–13). Partitive apposition overlapped the function of the so-called split genitive (see §16.38, p. 251) and eventually replaced it.

16.25. When the partitive accusative construction undergoes passivization, the "whole" (scil., the person) becomes the subject, while the "part" (scil., the body part) remains in the accusative, producing the so-called accusative of respect. Examples: n=as genzu ḫamikta(t) n=as UZU pantīḫaššan ḫamiktat ‘he was bound with respect to (his) scrotum?’, he was bound with respect to his bladder’ KUB 7.1 iii 5–6 (CHD P 95); dingir.meš=za=kam KAXU=KUNU idūlauwaz uddānaz . . . ārranteš ēsten ‘Be washed (clean), O gods, with respect to your mouths, from evil words, . . .’ KUB 43.58 ii 39–41; wappuwaš dingir.mah-as käša=za 12 UZU tūl ṭapannanza tēl šu-it sapian[za] parkuwanza ‘O dingir.mah of the River Bank! Be hereby (kāša) cleansed from defilement and purified by your hand with respect to (your) twelve body parts’ KUB 12.1 iv 43 (inventory, NH), see CHD P 386. In rare cases one finds the accusative of respect extended beyond the passive construction: ‘u-aos ɪgɪ.ɦɪ.ɑ-wa [ɪʃ]aṛruwanza ‘The Stormgod, tearful of eyes, . . .’ KUB 33.113 + KUB 36.12 i 30’–31’ (Ullik. II B).

16.26. The cognate accusative, the figura etymologica of the classical languages and of several Semitic languages,\(^{10}\) exists in Hittite as well. The characteristic of this construction is a verb which takes as direct object a noun from the same root or stem (hence, "cognate accusative"): ḫanneššar ḫanna- ‘to judge a judgment’; ḫuitteššar ḫuittiya- ‘to pull out tufts’; ḫukmaeš ḫuek- ‘to incant incantations’; ḫullanzan ḫulle- ‘to fight a fight’; ɪšḫiul ɪšḫiya- ‘to tie a tie’; ɪšḫueššar ɪšḫuwa- ‘to heap a heap’; kupiyatin kup- ‘to plot a plot’; memiyan mema- ‘to speak a word’; şarnikel şarnik- ‘to make compensation’; šaštan šeš- ‘to sleep a sleep’; uppeššar uppa- ‘to send sendings’.

16.27. Accusative of Direction. As the dative-locative case answers the question ‘in what place?’ so the allative and occasionally the accusative case answer the question ‘to what place?’ (HE §201): nu=za=kan arununu ṭapiša\(^{11}\) [iyanniyun] ‘I went to the side (allative) of the sea (acc.)’ KUB 17.7 ii 11–12 (Ullik. I); nu=šmaš=kan ɦur. ɦag-an parḫanzi ‘and they will chase you into the mountain (acc.)’ KUB 13.3 ii 11; t=us alki[št]īn tanaḫhe ‘and I release them (scil., birds) to the branch’ KBo 17.1+ iv 38. This is what Neu (1980: 30 n. 67) calls “Akkusativ der Richtung” (accusative of direction); see also Francia 1996a, especially 149–50 and Zeilfelder 2001: 25–39. It is an archaic feature seen in other old PIE languages. It is unclear whether there is a functional

\(^{10}\) Compare the paronomastic infinitive constructions of Akkadian (Ungnad 1992: §109d) and the schēma etymologicum of Biblical Hebrew (Gesenius, Kautsch, and Cowley 1910: §117 p and §113 l–x).

\(^{11}\) ta- حسين was accidentally left out of the hand copy in KUB 17.7; see Otten 1950: 13 n. 2.
distinction between the accusative of direction (i.e., of place-to-which) and the allative, or merely a replacement of the former by the latter (Neu 1980).

16.28. Distinct from the accusative of direction is the **accusative of the way**: laḫḫan kuwatta ūrīn.meš-uš paizzi n-e appa ūl sig₃-in uiskanta ‘on whatever expedition the troops went (actually, both verbs are present tense) they returned unsuccessful’ KBo 3.1+ ii 3–4; taknaš=at ʾittu-aš kaskal-an paiddu ‘let it (i.e., the evil) go the way of the Sungoddess of the Netherworld!’ KUB 17.10 iv 13; nus-kan mulû parkun kuwapi eger-an šarā uwaši ‘when you come up behind the bare(?) high ground’ KUB 19.37 ii 30–31 (AM); man-kan ḫurb.sag teḫšinan š[arā] pāun ‘I would have ascended Mt. Teḫšina’ KUB 19.37 iii 49. Francia (1997: 139–40) lists these as accusatives of extension in space. Her additional examples we would also consider accusative of the way, although the noun in the accusative is not palša- (= ḫurb.sag) ‘way’.

16.29. The accusative of **extent**, **dimension**, or **duration** is seen in the following examples. Of **time**: nu-za ud-an 2-šu 3-šu ét ‘eat twice (or) thrice in the course of a day!’ KUB 1.16 iii 30; nu ispadan himandan iyahhat ‘And I marched throughout the night’ KBO 5.8 ii 21 (AM 158–59); [(peran par)]ā=ya=zi apūn g[(E₂-a)] n istu munus-
ti [(tešḫaš)] ‘And beforehand (peran paṭā) throughout that night (accusative of extent) (the king) abstained from (intercourse with) a woman’ KBO 4.2 iii 58–59, ed. Lebrun 1985 (obv. 19–20); nu karū mu.10.kam lugal-ueznanun ‘I had already reigned for ten years’ KBO 3.4 iii 62 (AM). The accusative ud.kam,h.la in KBO 4.4 iii 62, cited by Francia as accusative of duration, could be understood rather as ‘during the daytime’ (see §16.95, p. 266), especially since the expression lacks a number. **Extent of space**: ina ud.1.kam=war-aš ammadu pargawēškadow[(d)]aru ina itu.1.kam=[ma=war=aš iku-
an pargawēš][(kadd)]ari ‘In one day may (Ullikummi) grow a cubit, in one month may he grow an iku’ KUB 33.98 iii 15–16 (Ullik. I); see CHD nai- 15. In the last-cited example it is not the time that is in the accusative but the height (ammatu, iku-an). This last example refutes the claim by Francia (1997: 145) that—unlike Greek and Latin—Hittite does not use the accusative to express extension in space as a measure. For the dative-locative occasionally designating extent of time see §16.75 (p. 261).

16.30. The plural nominative-accusative neuter of adjectives is regularly used adverbially (see §19.13, p. 292). Also adduced as adverbial accusatives: ḫantezzi ‘in the first place, first of all’, lammar ‘immediately’, and karuwarīwar ‘in the morning’.

16.31. The construction with the “experiencer” as a grammatical accusative object of an **impersonal verb** is found with verbs of sickness (iṣṭark-, irmaliya-) and emotional states such as fear (nahi-; see §16.32). Since none of the secure examples are from OS or MS copies, we cannot claim its existence earlier than the New Hittite period. Some of the better examples use dative-accusative clitic pronouns, which are ambiguous: mān=mu iṣṭarkzi kuwapi ‘whenever I became ill’ (“historical present”); §§22.6–22.7, pp. 307–308) Ḫatt. i 44; tuk iṣṭarkta ‘you became ill’ (lit., ‘it ill-ed you’). The following example with a transitive medio-passive shows an unambiguous accusative object:
[(nu)] ḫuḫ-un [šeš•y]a [ . . . ištar(kiyattat n=as)] bā,ūš ‘And Šarri-kušḫ, my brother, became ill, and he died’ KBo 4.4 i 5–6 with dupl. KUB 14.29 + KUB 19.3 i 31 (both NH). We see the origin of the impersonal verb ištark- in the following NH example, where the grammatical subject (‘illness’ in the nominative) is expressed: nu giš-kalmišnaš pait•pat [nu uru•] pāššan ša ḫuḫ-a LŪ URU-ūn gül-atla ḫuḫ-a LŪ-in-na gül-atla n=an idāluš giɡ-as ištarkta ‘And a comet(?!) went and struck Apašša, ḫuḫaziti’s city; it struck ḫuḫaziti, and a serious (lit., ‘bad’) illness befell him’ KUB 14.15 ii 4–6 (NH), see ibid. ii 13.

16.32. We also interpret -ta in lē•ta nāḫi ‘fear not’ KUB 30.36 ii 8 (OH/NS) and in lē•wa•ttas nāḫi KUB 33.24 i 43 (OH/NS) as accusative and nāḫi as an impersonal present-third-person singular instead of imperative second-person singular. We reject the latter analysis because singular dative clitics are nowhere else attested in reflexive function in Hittite (see §28.18, p. 358), and because the lē + imperative construction is quite rare (see §26.17, p. 344, and CHD lē). Compare also: nuwaššan mān pāimi n[ (aḫi•mu)] part(a)ši UR.BAR.RA•ni ‘(Above, on the bankuri- (are) a š. (and) a lamb;) when I go up there (-šan), I fear (lit., ‘it fears me’) with respect to the leopard (and) the wolf’ KBo 21.90 rev. 51–52 (fest. of Tetešḫabi, OH/MS), with dupl. KBo 21.103 rev. 51–52.12 For the impersonal construction compare German mich fürchtet, Latin mē verētur.

16.33. Note, however, that in NH both the verbs of sickness and fear can also be construed with a personal subject: (Arunwanda, son of Šuppiluliuma, sat down on the throne of his father,) eği•ri ma•š iɾmaliyattat•pat ‘but later he became ill as well’ KBo 3.4 i 5–6 (AM 14–15). For examples of naḥ(li)- see CHD L–N 338–41.

Ergative

16.34. For the use of the ergative case with neuter nouns see §3.8 (p. 66).

Genitive


16.36. The Hittite adnominal genitive has the following uses: (1) to indicate the possessor (possessive genitive); (2) to indicate the whole of which the head noun denotes a part (partitive genitive); (3) to indicate the material, contents, or container of the head noun; (4) to indicate the actor (subjective genitive) or acted upon (objective genitive)

12. On this passage see CHD Š sub šāša• A.
when the head noun denotes an action; (5) to indicate the length, width, capacity, or weight of the head noun (genitive of measure); and (6) to indicate the purpose for which the head noun is intended.

16.37. The most common genitive use is the **possessive genitive** (in OH, see D. Yoshida 1987: 12–46): *kuel-aš arḫi aki* ‘on what (person)’s property he dies’ KBo 6.2 i 7 (Laws §6); *gēme-aš šašunuwaḫšuš-suš* ‘the slave woman’s unborn child’ KBo 6.3 i 43 (Laws §18); *attaš-šaš-aš-e-rī aki* ‘and (if) she dies in her father’s house’ KBo 6.3 ii 3 (Laws §27); *ammuš-pat-vaš-ma aš-gud-un daḫḫi* ‘(I have decided that) I will take my own ox’ KBo 6.3 iii 71 (Laws §74); * URU Nešaš-lu-šu* ‘Neša’s king’ KBo 3.22:4 (OS); *attaš-šaš-ri* ‘in the house (dative-locative) of his father (lit., ‘of father, of his’)’ KUB 13.24 (+) 33.28 ii 12; *lugal-an āška* ‘to the gate (allative) of the kings (archaic genitive in -an)’ KUB 13.4 ii 49.

16.38. Often in Old (and rarely as an archaism in Middle) Hittite the dependent genitive is doubled by a clitic possessive pronoun on the head noun (called by Otten and Souček 1969: 70 “pleonastischer Gebrauch”). Garrett (1998), who calls it a “split genitive,” has shown that this construction is normally restricted to inalienable possession (the head noun, which is the thing possessed, is a body part, etc.): *lú.uíp.łu-aš eḫḫaš-maš-šer* KBo 6.2 i 24 (Laws §13, OS); *gēme-aš šašunuwaḫšuš KBo 6.3 i 43 (Laws §18 (OH/NS); *kēl me-n[e]-iš-ši-it* ‘this one’s face’ KBo 6.26 i 36 (Laws §166 OH/NS); [a]mmel-a šet KBo 6.2 i 24 (Laws §13, OS); *šarḫuwaḫšuš-aš šuš* KBo 6.3 i 43 (Laws §18 (OH/NS); *šumenzan-pat ker-šemnet* ‘your (pl.) hearts’ KBo 8.35 ii 21; and another very likely one in a MH composition containing OH archaisms:14 [(weš-a-šwa) an-aš ki-aš(š-ša) zalagu.la-aš(š)šmiš (var. la-lu-uk-ki-mi-iš) ‘we are the illumination (var. luminaries [pl.]) of heaven and earth’ KUB 33.91:8 restored from dupl. KUB 36.19 iv? 13–14 (see CHD lalukkima- 1). The scribe of the duplicate has made the singular *šmiš* into a plural because of the two genitive nouns and has modernized the construction by deleting the doubling clitic -šmiš. It is unclear whether the Akkadogram clitic possessive attests this usage in other MH/MS examples such as: *tuel . . . šeš-ša ḫa* HKM 63:12 (MH/MS).

16.39. In some cases, however, even as early as OS, this construction seems not to express inalienable possession: *mān dumu-aš 4m-naš šašantisši ḫuekzi* ‘when the prince recites an incantation to the concubine of the Stormgod’ KUB 8.41 ii 7 (OS);
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16.40. In the same way in Old Hittite (OS) the doubling possessive can be suffixed to a primitive noun-become-adverb (for ketkar, see §3.26, p. 74; §3.32, p. 77; §7.19, p. 147; for šer, see §§16.58–16.59, p. 255; §20.26, p. 300): LUGAL-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-š=a ... paprātaršamet ‘their (i.e.) the king’s and queen’s impurity’ StBoT 8 ii 10–11.

16.40 Noun Cases

16.41. The partitive genitive (“genitive of the whole”; D. Yoshida 1987: 88–90) is weakly attested in OH by the following: ša [l]URUDUL.NAGAR ƏL kuiški arauwaš ‘no one of the copperworker(s) is exempt’ KBo 6.6 i 31 (Laws §56, OH/NS) and a few other examples adduced by Yoshida, which are somewhat doubtful. One of these, also proposed by Neu (1974: 46, 56): šardia(n)=šamm+a kuin uvatet of the Anitta text (Neu: “wen von seinen Helfern” [š. is plural genitive]), is also doubted by Houwink ten Cate (1984: 79 n. 51). This clause could be interpreted as ‘his auxiliary troop (acc.) which he brought’, taking šardian as singular accusative. In most clear cases of the partitive genitive in Old Hittite, the genitive seems to depend on the indefinite pronoun kuiški as the head pronoun. As a partitive genitive in the NH period Friedrich (HE 1 §211) cites: nuṣa ḫimandasš-pat egi𝑟-eziš dúmu-aš ĝišun ‘I was the last child of all’ Ḫatt. i 11. This example, however, like other forms in -aš in the superlative constructions (§17.17, p. 275), may be taken as either genitive or dative-locative plural. The example uru-aš pupulli ‘the ruins (neut. nom.-acc.) of a city’¹⁵ could be an instance of a possessive genitive, but the city does not really ‘possess’ the ruins; rather, the ruins are all that is left (i.e., a part) of the city. Further examples that express superlatives can be found in §17.17 (p. 275).

16.42. When the relationship of possessor to possessed is also one of whole to part (as with the human body), possession can instead be construed as a partitive relationship. In such cases an OH possessive genitive may be replaced in post-OH by partitive apposition (the so-called σχῆμα, §16.24, p. 247): takku LÚ.ÚJₐ.LU-aš ELLAM-aš QASSU našma giršu kuiški tuwa[rnizzi] ‘If anyone breaks a free person’s arm or leg’ KBo 6.2 i 20 (Laws §11, OS). Here the OS copy KBo 6.2+ (A) uses the genitive, while the NH copies B and C replace it with partitive apposition (§16.10, pp. 243–244) in the accusative:¹⁶ takku LÚ.ÚJₐ.LU-an ELLUM QASSU našma giršu kuiški tuwarnizzi. This partitive apposition replaced the older split genitive (§16.38, p. 251) and is consequently only used with inalienable possession (head nouns are body parts, etc.; Garrett 1998).

¹⁵. (Sum.) gú-bal = (Akk.) te-lu 'tell, mound of ruins' = (Hitt.) uru-aš p[乇pu-ul-li] 'ruins of a city' KBo 1.42 iii 6, ed. Hoffner 1967b 303 with n. 23; see CHD P s.v. pupulli.

16.43. The genitive of material ‘(made) of’ (D. Yoshida 1987: 70–76) is attested in:

DUG.GIR-\(\text{-aš}\) GAL-in ‘goblet (made) of fired clay’ KUB 13.3 ii 26; 1 GIS-\(\text{šunila}-\) GIS-\(\text{lahhuraš}\) TUR ‘one small \(\text{lahhura}-(\text{made) of wood’ VBoT 58 iv 18 (OH/NS); IM-[aš]\)

\(\text{hupuwaš} ‘\text{h}-(\text{made) of clay’ KBo 39.8 ii 55 (MH?/MS); } 1 (\text{eppittaš})\) NINDA \(\text{dannaš}\)

‘\(\text{dannaš-loaves (made) of } \text{šeppit}-\text{cereal’ KUB 9.16 i 19–20 (NS) with dupl. KUB 10.48 i 3; and a final example: } \text{nī.\text{-aš=ma}-šši NA\text{-aš NA}-\text{ka[kn]unuzziyaš }\text{du}-\text{anza ‘its body (was) made of } \text{k.-stone’ KUB 33.95 + KUB 36.7b + KUB 33.93 iv 12 (Ullik., NS). For more examples in OH see Otten, StBoT 8 61.\)

16.44. The genitive of contents (head noun is the container, genitive is the contents; D. Yoshida 1987: 83–87) is exemplified in: nu ħumān mekki ħandait ḫūman DUG palḫi marnuwandaš DUG palḫi \(\text{w} \text{alḫiyaš DUG palḫi}\) ‘(The goddess Inara) prepared everything on a grand scale: large vessels of wine, large vessels of \(\text{marnuwan}-\text{beer, large ves-

\(\text{sels of } \text{walḫi}-\text{beer’ KBo 3.7 i 15–17 (OH/NS); } \text{zīz-\text{aš DUG ĥaršiyalla peran ‘in front of the storage vessel of } \text{wheat’ KBo 15.36 + KBo 21.61 ii 13 (OH/MS); 1 } \text{DUK-\text{DILIM GAL TU}-\text{šampukiyaš ‘one large bowl of } \text{šampuki-stew’ KBo 5.1 iii 10–11; } \text{ZA\text{-HUM KU-BABBAR }\text{ša }\text{më ‘one silver } \text{ZA-HUM-vessel of } \text{water’ KUB 39.70 i 17; } \text{ḫalkiyaš-ši DUG ĥaršiyallî ‘for him a storage vessel of } \text{grain/barley’ KUB 21.17 ii 12 (NH). Another pattern in Hittite for indicating ‘a (vessel) of (liquid content)’ is not with a genitival construction but with case concord: 12 DUG \text{marnua} KUB 53.14 i 6, 11 (OH/MS?); 1 ħuppār \text{marna} i 27. This may be purely graphic, another example of the Akkado-

graphic writing of a Hittite noun. Note that, unlike the genitival construction, here the noun of content always follows the head noun, as in Akkadian syntax. If the construction is real, one may compare German uses such as ‘eine Flasche Milch’ = ‘a bottle of milk’ (T. van den Hout, pers. comm.).\)

16.45. The opposite of the genitive of contents is the genitive of the container: 9 GIS-ru ‘the chaff (and) wood of (i.e., contained in) the granary’ Ḫatt. iv 82–83.

16.46. When the head noun denotes an action, the genitive can indicate the subject or object of the action (so-called subjective and objective genitive). Subjective: ki-\(\text{mu kuit }\) 9 GIS-ru ‘Marrāwa \text{LÜ }\text{Himmuwa ĥaliyatatar }\text{ḫattrās } ‘This homage of Marrāwa, the ruler of \text{Himmuwa, about which you wrote to me’ HKM 13:4–5 (MH/MS). Objective: MUNUS-\text{-aš dāwar ‘the taking of a woman’ KBO 1.53:10, ŠA KUR-\text{Amka }\text{GUL-ahḫuwar ‘the attaching of the land of } \text{Amqa’ KBO 5.6 iii 5–6 (DŠ frag. 28).}\)

16.47. In the genitive of measure the units of weight or measure always follow their head nouns: 4 NINDA ĥaršaša tarnaš ‘four thick breads of (i.e., weighing each) a tarnaš’—i.e., not 4 tarnaš NINDA ĥaršaša or the like. Perhaps it was the presence of the numeral ‘4’ preceding the NINDA ĥaršaša which caused the genitive tarnaš to move to a position following the governing noun, to remove the ambiguity (is it 4 loaves each one tarnaš or an indeterminate number of loaves each of 4 tarnaš?). Also dependent on kuišša ‘each’: nu 9 GIS-\(\text{RA.HL.A and }\) 9 GIS-\(\text{RA.HL.A ï}
tarnaš 3 NINDA ān kuišša tarnaš udanzi ‘And they bring (in) nine thick loaves braided together (each weighing) a tarnaš, nine oiled thick loaves (each weighing) a tarnaš, and three warm loaves (each weighing) a tarnaš’ KUB 17.23 i 2–4; NINDA.LĀL-yaššan ḫūmanduš kuišša parā tarnaš kittari KUB 32.128 i 5–6; 3 NINDA-an ḫazzilaš KUB 7.53 i 22; NINDA.iduriš zī.DA ḫazzilaš KBo 15.37 i 8; 1 DUG.DĪLIM.GALTU, ṣemeḫuṇaš ḫazzilaš KBo 16.49 iv 6. No example of a syllabically written unit of measure occurs in the plural with a numeral (e.g., *2 tarnaš, *2 ḫazziliyaš), but logographic examples occur: ša 2 UPNI KUB 13.4 i 6; KBo 21.1 i 8; ša 3 UPNI ibid. i 9; ša 3 ȘATTI KUB 30.15+ obv. 26.

16.48. The genitive sometimes indicates the person or object for which the head noun is intended: ŠU.MEŠ-aš wātar ‘water (neut. nom.-acc.) of (i.e., for) the hands’, genuwaš GAD-an ‘cloth (accusative) of (i.e., for) the knees’; tayezzilaš šarnikzel ‘compensation of (i.e., for) theft’ KUB 13.9 ii 8–9 (MH/NS); IĞRI.BIL.A ša 4Is[AR] ‘votive offerings of (i.e., for) տէšтар’ KBo 16.83 ii 12 (NH); ša 4NIN.GAL ȘISKUR ‘the ritual of (i.e., for) NIN.GAL’ KUB 45.47 iv 36.

16.49. The use of the genitive “ablativally” in the phrase GE-yaš KI-aš KI.BAD-aš (i.e., tankuwayaš daganzipāš twušalaš) ‘remote from the Dark Earth’ KUB 33.106 iii 38–39 is isolated (see §30.42, p. 418). See also [m]ān ē-er ēšhanaš . . . kurkurimaš linkiyaš parkunuwa[nz] ‘When(ever) [they] purify a house of/from bloodshed, . . . calumny, (and) perjury’ KUB 7.41 i 1–2, where one might expect ablatives (cf. KBo 10.45 iv 39–41 [the same ritual] and VBoT 111 iii 17–18).

Word Order in a Genitival Phrase

16.50. In the normal word order the genitive precedes its head noun (see Sommer and Falkenstein 1938: 47–48), except for the genitive of measure (on which see §16.47, p. 253).

16.51. If a demonstrative adjective modifies a head noun governing a genitive, the word order is DEMONSTRATIVE + GENITIVE + HEAD: nu ini ša GIŠ.INBI.A ēšr[i] ‘That image (made) of fruits’ KUB 39.11:40 (NH); kāš tandukešnaš DUMU-aš ‘this mortal (lit., this child of mortality)’ KUB 7.5 i 8.

16.52. If an attributive adjective modifies a head noun governing a genitive, the sequence is ATTRIBUTIVE + GENITIVE + HEAD: ḫandānza maniya[ḥ]jayaš išhāš zǐ[k] ‘You are a just lord of rule’ KUB 31.127 i 20 (prayer).

16.53. Certain conditions describe the less common cases in which the sequence HEAD + GENITIVE is found:

16.54. Principally, it is the presence of a Sumerogram (or Akkadogram) in the construction which causes the reversal of the sequence: ĐINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ nepišaš KI-ašša ‘the gods, lords of heaven and of earth’ KUB 6.45+ i 36; AN.BAR GE, nepišaš ‘black iron of (i.e., from) the sky’ (= meteorite iron) KBo 4.1 i 39.
16.55. When the genitive is the indefinite pronoun *kuelka*, it normally follows the head noun: šuppala-zišet kuēlqa ‘someone’s animals’ KBo 6.26 i 22 (Laws §163, OH/NS); parma=ma kuēlka ‘to someone’s house’ KBo 6.2 ii 35 (Laws §44b, OS); takku gud-aš AŠA.HI.A-ni kuelqa aki ‘If an ox dies on someone’s field’ KBo 6.3 iii 68 (Laws §72, OH/NS); wašdul kuēlqa[a]litt] ‘you see someone’s’ KUB 1.16 iii 59–60. This pattern persists even when the *kuelka* is negated: [(Ir-na)]n=ašta GÉME-šan natta kuelka dauḫun ‘I took no one’s [male slave] (or) female slave’ KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 6 restored from KBo 13.78 obv. 5. For further examples see the following paragraphs.

16.56. The use of the genitive *kuelqa* as an indefinite pronoun described in §16.65 is not to be confused with *kuelka* as an indefinite adjective modifying a noun in the genitive, for which see §§18.35–18.36 (p. 287).

16.57. One uncertain example of an adverbal partitive genitive is *n-ašta* DUG palḫan ħūmandan ek[uel]er ‘They (Illuyanka and sons) drank (some) from (lit., ‘of’) all the basins’ KUB 17.5 i 11 (OH/MS) (thus Melchert 1989: 182). The lack of any other attested examples leaves the reality of this usage in doubt. This usage shares features of the rare partitive ablative (see §16.102, p. 267).

16.58. Certain postpositions governed the genitive in Old Hittite but the dative-locative in New Hittite (see §20.15, p. 298, and following for examples): attaš=maš āppan ‘after (the death of) my father’ KBo 3.22:30 (OS), LUGAL-waš peran ‘in front of the king’ KBo 20.12 i 5 (OS), annaš=maš katta ‘with my mother’ KBo 3.40:14, nēpišaš kattan ‘under the sky’ KUB 29.3 i 11 (OS); ammel katta ‘with me’ or (with verbs of sending) ‘to me, to where I am’ KUB 36.44 iv 4 (OH/MS), ḫaššāš katta ‘next to the brazier’ (KBo 17.15 rev!. 15 (OS) (for postpositions with enclitic possessives see §20.26, p. 300).

16.59. In New Hittite one postposition continues to govern the genitive case, *iwar* ‘in the manner of, like’ (see the dictionaries; Hoffner 1993; and §19.9, p. 291). Examples: UR.GI-š-aš iwar . . . aki ‘he will die . . . . . like a dog’ KBo 32.14 left edge 6 (MS); LU-aš iwar ‘like a man’ KUB 31.69 obv. 5; šeš.meš-aš iwar ‘like brothers’ KBo 10.12 iii 10; LU.KUR-aš iwar ‘like an enemy’ KBO 5.4 rev. 15; ša īMašḫuiluwa iwar ‘like Mašḫuiluwa’ KUB 6.41 iii 55 (Murš. II); LUGAL-решnaš iwar KBO 16.17 + KBo 2.5 iii 30–31 = ša LUGAL-UTTI iwar ‘in the manner of royalty, like a king’ KBo 3.4 iii 75 (AM 88–89); ša LUŠUL.DIB iwar ‘like a captive’ KBO 3.6 iii 62’ (= Ḥatt. iv 31 with variant LUG); URUḪattušaš iwar ‘in the Hittite manner’ KUB 21.17 iii 7; anzel iwar ‘like us’ KUB 17.21 i 17; nu ammel iwar kuwatqa iya[ši] ‘Perhaps you will act like me’ KUB 60.136:4 compared with nu ziqqa kuwatqa ša īMašṭuri iwar iyaši ‘Perhaps you too will act like Mašṭuri’ KUB 23.1 ii 29–30 (Tudḫ. IV); ANA KUR.LU.KUR-ka zakkiyaš iwar tiya[ši] ‘he will enter (literally, step to) the land hostile to you like a key (enters a lock)’ KUB 29.11 ii 4 (translation of Akkadian lunar omen); nu=wa ug=a šAH-aš iwar uiyami ‘and I will squeal like a pig’ KUB 14.1 rev. 93 (MH/MS); nu=wa=kan apēl zı-an
16.60. In later NH *iwar* is occasionally written (not spoken!) as a preposition before logograms or proper names written as logograms (without case endings; Hoffner 1993): *ūk iwar LUGAL* KUR *Karg[amiš] ‘I, like the King of Carchemish’ KBo 18.48 obv. 19 (letter); *iwar “Manini ‘like Manini’ KUB 5.1 i 43 (see ibid. 87, 90, 93); iwar MUNUS ŠU.ĠI ‘like an Old Woman’ IBoT 1.33:84; iwar URU Arzawa ‘in the manner of Arzawa’ KUB 18.67 obv.? 12; iwar LÚ TAPPIŠU ‘like his colleague’ KUB 8.48 i 15–16 (Gilg.). In this pseudo-Akkadographic construction it simply imitates the word order of the Akkadian preposition *kīma* ‘like’.

16.61. The independent (or free-standing) genitive ‘he of . . . ’ (HE §212, D. Yoshida 1987: 1–11), or *genitivus absolutus* (Carruba 1966a: 41–42), is attested from Old Hittite on. Examples: *šāwataraš* ‘he of the horn; horn-player’ KBo 17.1+ i 37 (OS); *LÚ arka(m)miyaš (= LÚ arka(m)miyalaš)* ‘arka(m)-mi-player’ (see Otten and Souček 1969: 61–62); *waṣṭulaš* ‘he of the “sin”; the offender’ Laws §§147–48; *tuk . . . linkiyaš-šaš iēt* ‘he made you . . . (a person) of his oath’ KUB 14.1 obv. 13 (direct obj.); *tayazilaš* ‘he of the thief; the thief’ Laws §73, ‘the (compensation) for theft’ Laws §§94–95 (direct obj.); *kardiaš-taš* ‘that of your heart, your wish’ KBo 3.7 i 26 (direct obj.); *āššauwaš memiyanaš* ‘(he) of good words’ = ‘he who is on good terms’ Ḫatt. iv 50; *ti-annaš (= ūššannaš)* ‘he of (long) life, long-lived’ KBo 3.6 i 13 (= Ḫatt. i 15) (NH); with the genitive of the verbal substantive (see §25.5, p. 330): *naḫḫūwaš* ‘he of being reverent’ KBo 3.6 iv 15 (NH); *paršnauwaš* ‘the (cupbearer) of squatting’ KUB 10.89 i 19 and passim; *šarā ṭaš* ‘(a person) of going up (into the temple)’ KUB 13.4 ii 12; and of infinitives *arḫa tarnummaš* ‘he who is to be released (from military service)’ KUB 13.20 i 11; *kuit-šaš arandaš* ‘what legal case is of your not-being-able’ = ‘whatever case you cannot settle’ KUB 13.20 i 36. Note that the genitive of the verbal noun may have the force of ‘he who (or that which) can (or must) be . . . -ed’, as illustrated in the last two examples.

16.62. Free-standing genitive independent pronouns also exist: *apēl* ‘his (water)’ Laws §162; *anzel ‘our (people)’ KUB 9.31 iii 47; *ammel dahḥi ‘I will take (what is) mine’ KUB 13.35 ii 3. See Sommer and Falkenstein 1938: 92–93 with notes.

16.63. The same construction is attested in Akkadian texts (Ungnad 1992: §30 and §114), and is attested also by Akkadograms in Hittite texts: *ŠA MAMETI ‘he of the oath, the liegeman’ (see linkiyaš-šaš above); ŠA KASKAL-NIM ‘that of the road’ = ‘provisions for the trip’ KUB 9.31 iii 13.

16.64. Related to the free-standing genitive is the usage in the expression *LUGAL-uš gub-aš = arandaš* (or *tuš-aš = ašandaš*) *ekuzi* ‘the king—in a standing (or sitting) position—drinks . . . ’ which occurs frequently in the festival texts. This often has been discussed, for instance by Holland (1986: 165 note). If *gub-aš* stood for the genitive of the verbal substantive (arawaš or ašawaš), it would be easier to understand: ‘he of the
action of standing/sitting’. But since it is the genitive of the participle, it is problematic: ‘he of the one standing/sitting’.

Dative-Locative

16.65. The dative and locative cases have merged in Hittite, in both form and function. There is no basis for the claim of Starke (1977: 63–68) of different functions according to an alleged distinction between nouns referring to persons and those referring to things (§3.7, p. 66). The functional merger of the two cases is shown: (1) by use of the merged dative-locative to express ‘place from which’ with inanimate referents (§16.69, p. 259); (2) use of the dative-locative to express ‘place to which’ with inanimate referents already in OH (in competition with the allative; §16.70, p. 259); (3) use of the dative-locative to express location with persons in combination with postpositions, also already in OH (§16.72, p. 260); (4) use of the dative-locative singular of the enclitic personal pronouns to refer to inanimate objects (§16.71, p. 260). The third usage is still rare in OH in comparison with the genitive (see §16.35, p. 250), but it does exist, and the last usage is exceptional, but the first two are not, despite claims to the contrary. For obvious pragmatic reasons, nouns referring to persons are more frequent in some uses, and nouns referring to things in others, but there is no grammatical contrast. We group the uses in what follows into those related to the dative and those related to the locative purely for expository purposes, to make clearer the relationship to uses in other languages. See also Yakubovich 2006.

Indirect Object

16.66. The use of the dative-locative for the indirect object, answering the question ‘to whom’, derives from the dative case. This usage occurs with nouns, independent and enclitic pronouns, and with nouns represented by logograms. In the last case, when phonetic complements are lacking, one can only detect the dative-locative case by the employment of the Akkadogram preposition A-NA ‘to, for’. Examples: (nouns) takku DUMU.MUNUS LÚ-ni taranza ‘if a young woman is promised to a man’ KBo 6.3 ii 5 (Laws §28, OH/NS); takku DUMU.MUNUS-aš LÚ-ni ḫamenkanza nu-šši kūšata piddaizzi ‘if a girl is betrothed to a man, and he gives the bride price for her’ KBo 6.3 ii 11 (Laws §29, OH/NS); [kāša] DUMU=mi Labarni ë-er pehḫ[un] ‘I have [hereby] given a house to my son Labarna’ KUB 1.16 ii 30–31 (OH/NS); ta LUGAL-i kardimiyyatuš piškatteni ‘and you are giving to the king reasons to be angry’ KBo 22.1: 20 (OS); (independent pronouns) apēdaš-aš =a tamain geštin-an piyēr ‘But to them they gave a different wine’ KBo 3.34 ii 3–4; (enclitic pronouns) nu ḫantezziyaš LÚ-aš kuit kuit p[ëšta] ta(at)=šše šarnikzi ‘He shall make compensation to the first man of whatever [he paid]’ KBo 6.3 ii 6–7 (Laws §28, OH/NS); (logograms) nu ANA DINGIR-LIM ŠU.MEŠ-aš wātar parā ēpzi ‘He holds out to the deity water for the hands’ KUB 39.70 i 19. Rarely, the ideographically written noun, which appears to be a dative, has no ANA to introduce it: nu=šše 6 GIN KÙ.BABBAR pāi 15, A.ZU=ya kuššan apāš=pat pāi ‘he will give to him six shekels of silver and to the physician that same (man) will pay the fee’ KBo 6.2 i 19 (Laws §10, OS).
Indicating Possession

16.67. The use of the dative-locative to indicate possession is attested not only in predicates of clauses with the verb ‘to be’—\([k(\text{êzza}=	ext{ma maľ} \text{h})an} (\text{ANA ŠEŠ=YA}) \ldots (\ldots \text{huiššuwaššu})]\) DUMU-aš \([([\text{êl}] \text{êš(ta)})] ‘Now at this time (kêzza) since there was not a son entitled to rule belonging to my brother’ (i.e., ‘since . . . my brother had no son’) Ḫatt. iii 40–41 (on which see Ŝošak 1996), but even non-predicatively without that verb. 17 The co-occurrence of a dative clitic pronoun and a clitic possessive pronoun in MS or NS copies of OH texts may reflect a real usage or merely a faulty updating in which the new use of the dative clitic was added while the old clitic possessive was retained: šu-\[\text{mu} \text{DINGIR.DIDLI DUMU URB]Pur[ušhanda] kišri-mi daier ‘The gods put the Purušhandaeans in my hand (lit., ‘to me in the hand’; see German \text{mir in die Hand legen})’ KBo 3.28:6–7 (OH/NS); \[\text{uk-a} \text{DINGIR=YA kuit iyanun nu=mu É=YA inani peran pittulιyaš É-er kišat ‘But what have I done to my god, that because of illness my house has become a house of fear?’ KUB 30.10 rev. 13–14 (OH/MS). A dative of possession using the relative pronoun kui- is found in the following: paltanuš kuedani awan katta kiyantari ‘one whose shoulders are hanging down idly’ (approximate and clumsy Hittite attempt to translate Akkadian \text{alī nadū ‘he is idle’, lit., (his) hand(s) hang down})’ KBo 1.42 ii 32 (NH). For the possessive genitive see above, §16.37 (p. 251).

Dative of Disadvantage

16.68. The so-called dative of disadvantage is reflected in the use of the dative-locative translatable as ‘from’ with verbs such as (-\text{kan arḥa} da-) ‘to take (from)’, (\text{peran arḥa} munna-) ‘to hide (something from)’, \text{sanna-} ‘to hide (something from)’, and \text{tuḫš-} ‘to separate (something from)’. In all the following examples the dative-locative represents a person, or at least a living being (deity, animal, etc.), and in the vast majority of occurrences a “local” particle, either -šan or -\text{kan}, occurs (see §28.76, p. 371). With local particle: \[\text{(kā)}\text{šata=šmaš=kan utmiyandan lāluš dāḫḫun} [(\text{erm})]\text{a(n)=šmaš=kan dāḫḫun} ‘I have just taken the slanders of the inhabitants from you’ KBo 17.1 i 11–12 (OS) (see ibid. iv 38 with -\text{aša}: \[\text{(dāḫḫu(n)=šmaš=šta aîn wāīn} [\text{pittulιuš=šm}(uš)]\text{s=a ‘I have taken from you the woe, pain, and your anxieties’); Ļ\text{z=ma=kan dān kuedaniki kuiki ḫarmi ‘Nor have I taken anything from anyone’ HKM 68:5–6 (MH/MS); nu=šši=ššan GIŠ=GIB \text,huešan GIB \text{bulali=ya arḥa dāḫḥi nu=šši GIB BAN} \ldots \text{pešši ‘I take the spindle and distaff from him (-šši) and give him (-šši) a bow’ KUB 9.27} + \text{KUB 7.8 i 23–25 (rit.);}} 18 \text{apel=ma=šši=kan

17. As per Güterbock (1983), the non-predicative use of the dative clitic pronouns to mark possession is not attested in OS. This usage does appear in MS and NS copies of OH compositions, as shown by the examples cited below. It is unclear whether these examples reflect OH grammar or are merely the result of modernization by copyists.

18. Here the disadvantage/advantage polarity is particularly sharp in the opposition of the two verbs, with -\text{šan} accompanying (arḥa) da- ‘to take away’ and no particle accompanying pai- ‘to give’. See also BrTabl. iv 18–19 (Tudḫ. IV) in §28.76 (p. 371).
arḫa dāḫḫi ‘I take his away from him’ KBo 17.61 obv. 21; našma-an-kan ANA 4UTU-šši-ša munnāši ‘or if you hide (munna-) him from (ANA) His Majesty’ KBo 5.4 obv. 9 (NH; see CHD munna- b); (if someone reveals a plot to you,) zik-ma-an-kan ANA 4UTU-šši samnatte ‘and you conceal (šanna-) it (e-an) from (ANA) His Majesty’ KUB 21.1 iii 26–28 (NH); (if a girl is betrothed to a man, and he brings the bride price for her, but afterwards the parents contest it,) n=an-kan LÚ-ni tuḫšanzi kūša-ta=ma 2=šu šarninkanzi ‘they may separate (i.e., withheld) her from (LÚ-ni), but they must pay back his bride price twofold’ KBo 6.3 ii 12–13 (Laws §29, OH/NS); see n=an-ši-tuḫšanta (var. tuḫšanzi) ‘they may withhold her from him (-ši)’ KBo 6.3 ii 10 (Laws §28, OH/NS); (if you hear evil concerning My Majesty,) n-at-mu-kan mān šannatteni ‘and conceal it from me’ KBo 5.3 i 28 (MH/NS); without particle: (the gods were angry at Kešši) nušši ḫūitar [h]ūman peran arḫa munnāer ‘and hid all the game from him’ KUB 33.121 ii 13–14 (NH) (see CHD munna- a 2); nu-mu . . . 4ištar [URU]Šamuḫa ANA ABU=YA wēkta ‘ištar of Šamuḫa requested me from my father’ KBo 6.29 i 7–8; see Güterbock 1943: 154 and HE §207e. Possibly also the following (with verb peššiya- mng. 8 ‘to cause to fall’), if we adopt the translation favored by CHD P: takku udu-un UR.BAR.RA-ni kuiški peššiezzi ‘If someone causes a sheep to fall from (the mouth of) a wolf (i.e., snatches it away)’ KBo 6.2 iv 14 (Laws §80, OS), see CHD P 322, with literature cited there. But much is still uncertain about this passage from the laws. The dative of disadvantage is also seen in clauses with the verb akk- ‘to die’ and the dative of persons most affected thereby (see §28.76, p. 371).

16.69. This usage to express ‘that from which something is removed’ is extended in Hittite to include things as well as persons, already in OS—with local particle: [(irmi)u(n)šmaš-kan dāḫḫun kardišmi-ya=at-kan dāḫḫu(n ḫarša)]nišmi-ya=at-kan dāḫḫun ‘I have taken the sickness from you. I have both taken it from your heart(s) and taken it from your head(s)’ KBo 17.1 i 12–13 (OS); in the later language: (they cook a piglet and bring it back;) nu-kan kuwapitta ḫappešni tepu daḫḫi ‘and I take a little bit from each body part (and sacrifice it to the Sungoddess of the Earth)’ KUB 17.28 i 17–18; without particle: n-an LUGAL-eznanni arḫa tittenut (When my father Ḫattušili (had) made war against Urḫiteššub, son of Muwattalli,) he removed him from kingship’ BrTabl. i 8. For further examples of this usage see Melchert 1977: 188–89, 289, 310, and 352. Not all of the examples listed there, however, are valid, in particular ##46 and 47 on p. 189.19

Goal

16.70. The dative-locative also is regularly used to express ‘place to which’ (goal) with inanimate objects already in OS: LUGAL-uš ḫippari šipanti ‘The king libates into a bowl’ KBo 25.61 rev. 9 (thus with Klinger 1996: 440 against Starke 1977: 57–58); ḫaliēaš ḫar(a)pta ‘strays into/associates with (another) pen’ KBo 6.2 iii 48 (Laws §66,

19. In example #46 geniwaš is genitive, not dative-locative, and in #47 the context shows rather that ‘carries it (i.e., the divine image) out to the tent’ is meant. See lines 15–21 in the following context.
OS) (with Friedrich 1959: 39 and LH 77 against Starke 1977: 51); takku GUD.H.L.A A.Šlaşni pānzi ‘if oxen go into (another man’s) field’ KBo 6.2 iv 12 (Laws §79, OS; with Friedrich 1959: 43, Souček 1970: 274, and LH 84 against Starke 1977: 53; takku L-L-an paḫḫueni kuiški peššiezzi n=aš aki ‘if anyone makes a man fall into a fire, so that he dies’ KBo 6.2 ii 33 (Laws §44a, OS; with Friedrich 1959: 31 and LH 52 against Starke 1977: 56). These examples show, contra Starke (1977: 51–66), that in OS the dative-locative as well as the allative expressed ‘place to which’ with inanimate objects. Compare a.Šlaşni pānzi ‘they go to the field’ with parna paimi ‘I go home’. We do not have enough examples of each case with the same verb to determine whether there was any contrast in meaning. Old Hittite speakers may have used the allative selectively with verbs of perambulation or gross movement, while they used the dative-locative with verbs of non-perambulatory and minor movements (see §16.82, p. 263).

**Purpose or Result**

16.71. In OH, where the dative-locative and allative are always written differently, we find a clear example of the dative-locative of purpose or result: šu⸗wa URUḪattuša ḫengani pāun ‘I went to Ḫattuša to die (lit., ‘for death’)’ KBo 22.2 rev. 5 (see comments in Francia 1996a: 139, 148); in the famous phrase from the laws (OS) we also find a rare use of the enclitic dative-locative pronoun used to express purpose with a thing: parna⸗šše⸗a šuwayezzi ‘and (the plaintiff/victim) shall look to the (accused’s) house for it (i.e, the compensation) (Güterbock 1983; LH 168–69 with refs.; also see here §30.17, p. 411). Post-OS examples: n=aš pankuš parà ḫingani ḫarta ‘and the assembly held them for the death penalty’ KBo 3.1 ii 28 (OH/NS); nu⸗mu ANA DINGIR-LIM’Ir-anne pešta ‘and he (my father) gave me to the deity for servitude’ Ḫatt. i 18; [GIM-an-ma=at URU•UD.KIB.NU]N.ME erer n=at=ž[(a ḪUTU-! di-ešni tiyēr)] ‘[But when] they arrived at [Sipp]ar, they stood before Shamash for judgment’ ABoT 48:4’ (OH/NS) with dupl. KBo 19.108:3’ (NS). The Akkadographic preposition is normally aŠšum but occasionally ANA: nu⸗šši apel DUMU.MUNUS•SU NIN•YA Ḫuwattin aŠšum DAM-UTTIN pašš ‘And he gave to him his own daughter, my sister Muwatti, in marriage’ KUB 6.44 + KUB 19.53 i 6–7 (NH), versus ANA DAM-UTTIŠSU describing the same event in KUB 14.15 iv 41 (AM). That ḫannešni KBo 6.2 ii 13 and kuššani KUB 29.29+ ii 31’ are examples of the dative-locative of purpose seems unlikely (pace Francia 1996a: 148).

**Location**

16.72. The dative-locative reflects the locative case in answering the question ‘where? in what place?’ takku L-U.U10,U-aš L-ŠU-aš našma MUNUS•ZA takiya URU-ri aki ku’eš arḫi aki 1 ME gipeššar A.ŠN kar(a)ššiyēzzi n=an•za dāi ‘If a person—male or female—is found dead in another village, the one in whose boundary (s)he dies, he shall cut off 100 gipeššar of field, and he (the surviving heir) shall take it’ KBo 6.3 i 14–15 (Laws §6, OH/NS); nu Ḫalentuwaš šalli ašēššar ‘Then in the Ḫalentuwa-buildings a large assembly (convenes)’ KUB 9.16 i 15–16; genuwaš•šaš ‘on his knees’ KBo 17.61 obv. 22;
tepšauwanni ‘in disgrace/obscurity’ KBo 3.34 ii 12; apedani pedi ‘in that place’ HKM 47:53 (MH/MS); nepiš ‘in the sky’ KBo 3.28:16; aruni ‘in the sea’ KBo 3.4 ii 51, 52 (AM). Nouns in the dative-locative referring to persons are also used in a locative sense with postpositions, already in OH. In OH this usage with certain postpositions (peran, šer, etc.) competes with the genitive, which is more common (§§16.58–16.59, p. 255); in later Hittite one finds only the dative-locative. Example: DUMU.É.GAL LUGAL.-i peran ḫuwā‘i ‘the palace official runs ahead of the king’ KBo 17.15 rev. 18 (OS).

16.73. The dative-locative is never used to express the agent with a passive (pace HE §207b). In the two examples zik×za-san ammuqqa-1 edani ama-ni ḫaššanteš ‘Were you and I begotten in one mother?’ KUB 23.102 i 14–15, and šiyēl [R. MEŠ-ŠU [INA 1 AM]A ḫaššanteš ‘The servants of ’Number One’ (i.e., the king?) have been begotten in one mother’ KUB 1.16 ii 47 (OH/NS) the mother is viewed as the place of birth, not the agent (contra Mora and Giorgieri 2004: 190: ‘generati dalla stessa madre’, citing Starke 1993: 23; 1997: 464–65, 482). For the locative with the verb ‘to give birth, beget’ see Sanskrit jamayāmāsa Nalo Damayantyām… ‘Nala begat in/on Damayantī…’ Hittite shows variable syntax for ḫaššant- ‘born, begotten’ plus the noun for mother: ŠEŠ.MEŠ ḪUTU-Sh²ya kuiēš šakuwaššara⟨(š)⟩ ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL awan gam ḫaššanteš ‘Also the brothers of His Majesty who are begotten also of the legitimate queen’ KUB 21.42 iv 16–17 (restored from KUB 40.24 rev. 5) with a genitive, but also ŠEŠ.MEŠ ḪUTU-Sh²ya kuiēš ḪTU MUNUS.LUGAL ḫaššanteš KUB 26.12 i 12–13. The last example with ḪTU could be either an ablative of origin (§16.89, p. 264) or an instrumental/ablative of agent (§16.107, p. 269, and §16.99, p. 267, respectively). See also §21.14 (p. 305).

Temporal Uses

16.74. The dative-locative is used for temporal expressions, usually simply expressing a period within which something occurred (Francia 1997: 143–44): išpandi ‘at night’; ḫantaiši meḫuni ‘in the hot time (of the day)’; guḍ puḫugarin-ma kuedani ud-ti unuer nu=z₂ ḪUTU-Sh² apedani ud-ti war(a)pta ‘His Majesty bathed on the day on which they adorned the ox of ritual substitution’ KBo 4.2 iii 56-57, with dupl. KUB 43.50 obv. 8 + KUB 15.36 obv. 10; gimmanti ‘in winter’ HKM 17:10 (MH/MS). As in other languages, Hittite location in time is expressed in terms of place (Hoffner 2002). Simple dative-locative of nouns expressing units of time: witti ‘in the year’; šiwatti ‘on the day’; lamni ‘in the hour’. In combination with postpositions: -mu peran ‘before me’; -šēli āppan ‘after him (i.e., his death)’; etc.

16.75. In other examples it is the extent or duration of time which is indicated by the dative-locative (or its equivalent, Akk. INA): [(nu)] INA MU.7.KAM taḫušiyahţa ‘For seven years I endured’ KUB 1.4 + KBo 3.6 iii 30 (= Ḫatt. iii 62); Meš-aš anda weḥatta ‘Kešši wandered for three months in the mountains’ KUB 33.121 ii 15; INA UD.1.KAM=WAR+aš AMMADU pargawēškad[(d)]aru INA ITU.1.KAM=MA=WAR+aš IKU-an pargawēš[(kadd)]ari ‘In one day may (Ullikummi) grow a cubit, in one month...
may he grow an IKU’ KUB 33.98 iii 15–16 (Ullik. I); nu-za kē arahzenaš KUR.KUR.MEŠ LÚ.KÝR INA MU.10.KAM tar(a)ḫḫun ‘and I conquered these lands in ten years’ KBO 3.4 i 28–29; 1-EN MU-anti ḫāšta ‘(The Queen of Kanesh) bore (children) in the course of one particular year’ KBO 22.2 obv. 1 (OS). The notion of a particular year comes from the fact that the noun for ‘year’ shows the -ant- derivational suffix (§2.25, p. 56). For the accusative designating extent of time see §16.29 (p. 249).

16.76. For the use of dative-locatives of time words repeated in distributive expressions, see §19.10 (p. 291).

Units of Measure and Dimensions

16.77. The dative-locative is also used with units of measure or degree. ḱİŞTA= [(ma=mu=kan GAŠAN=ya ilani ilani)] namma tišket ‘But ḱİŞTA, my lady, kept on advancing me by degrees (ilani ilani), distributive expression, see §19.10, p. 291’ Ḥatt. iv 39–40; nu=tta ḠIGIGIR.HLA [. . . ] . . . ŠE.HLA NUMUN.HLA išḫuešni pišket KAŠ.GEŠTIN. HLA=ya=tta BÛLUG BAPPIR.HLA EMIŠA [GA.KIN.AG.HJ].A išḫuešni piš[ket] ‘And he kept giving you chariots, [. . . ] . . . and seeds in large amounts (išḫuešni); and [he kept] giving you beer-wine, malt, beer-bread, rennet (and) [cheese] in large amounts’ KUB 14.1 obv. 7–8 (MH/MS).

16.78. Occasionally the dative-locative indicates not the unit of measure but the dimension to be measured: n=aš dalugašti 3 DANNA palḫašti=[ma=aš . . . x DANNA] ½ DANNA=ya ‘she was three miles in length and x and a half miles in width’ KUB 33.98 + KUB 36.8 i 15–16 (Ullik. I B).

Additive-Incremental

16.79. The OH expression anda⸗šše⸗a (as well as its NH modernized form anda⸗ya⸗šši) ‘in addition to it’ (see fuller discussion in §30.17, p. 411) supports an additive-incremental use of the dative-locative (<šše ‘it’) already in OH.

Allative

16.80. The allative case (identified by its characteristic ending -a) in Old Hittite exclusively indicates ‘place to(ward) which’, in contradistinction to the dative-locative, which usually (not always; see §16.70, p. 259) answers the question ‘in what place?’ The allative occurs with “directive” verbs (‘go’, ‘come’, etc.), as opposed to “stative” ones (‘lie’) (Starke 1977; Rieken 2005a: 106). On the form and name of the allative see §3.31 (p. 76).

16.81. Comparison of the pairs nepiša ‘to the sky’ KUB 17.8 iv 19 and nepiši ‘in the sky’, as well as aruna ‘to the sea’ KUB 12.60 i 11 and aruni ‘in/at the sea’ makes this distinction quite clear: [(eḫu)] ḫTelipinu zik-za [. . . aruna it] nelpiša ḫTUU-un arunaz [EGIR-p(a uw)ate] ḫTelipinuš aruna pait ‘Come, Telipinu! You go . . . to the sea. Bring
back the Sungod of Heaven from the sea. So Telipinu went to the sea’ KUB 12.60 i 9–11 (myth, OH/NS) with dupl. KUB 33.81 iv 6–7 (NS).

16.82. The allative expresses that object [to(ward) or into which a movement is directed (parna ‘to the house’, laḫḫa ‘to a campaign’, aruna ‘to the sea’, ḫapā ‘to the river’, gimra ‘to the open field’, iliššā ‘into the mouth’, tunnakišna ‘into the bedroom’, nepiša ‘to the sky’, taknā ‘into the ground/earth’). With many of the same nouns of location, the dative-locative, on the other hand, designates the object in or on which a thing is situated (parni ‘in the house’, iliššī ‘in the mouth’, nepiši ‘in the sky’, takni ‘on earth’). Whereas the allative implies movement, the dative-locative implies rest. When describing the role of the allative, it is important to distinguish verbs of perambulation or gross movement — pai- ‘to go’, uwa- ‘to come’, iyanni- ‘to set out’, iya- (mid.) ‘to travel’, arnu- ‘to transport, carry’, uda- ‘to bring’, peda-, uwate-, peḫute-, tarna- ‘to release’, etc., all of which govern the allative — and those which describe non-perambulatory and minor movements such as šipant- ‘to libate’, such as ilišhuwa- ‘to pour (solids into)’, laḫuwa- ‘to pour (liquids into)’, dai- ‘to place (upon)’, which in OS mostly construe with the dative-locative (but note the example with ḫariya- ‘to bury’ cited below). Conclusions drawn from NH copies of older texts, where the scribes no longer fully understood the function of this case, are particularly dubious.

16.83. Speakers could use, even if they only rarely did so, the allative for movement through time: ‘He shall feed them (i.e., cattle) [nu-šša]n parā ḫamešḫanda ar[nuzi] ‘and shall bring them (i.e., the cattle) through to the following spring’ KBo 6.2 iv 60 (Laws §100, OS; see Starke 1977: 136 and LH 97–98, 198), where ḫamešḫanda is an allative based on the -ant- individualizing suffix (see §2.25, p. 56). Compare OH mu-anti (*wittanti also an -ant-suffixed time-word in the dative-locative) which indicates ‘during the course of a particular year’ (see §16.75, p. 261).

16.84. The use of the allative of ‘place to which’ is attested in texts showing the Old Script: [appe]ziyan+a *Anittaš LUgAL.GAL 8Šiušu[mīmin .handleClick] URU Zalpuwa ḫaḫun ‘But subsequently I, Anitta, the Great King, brought our deity back from Zalpuwa to Neša’ KBo 3.22:41–42 (OS); mān tunnakišna⸗ma paizzi ‘When he goes into the inner room’ KBo 3.22:78 (OS); taknā ḫariemi ‘I bury (it) in(to) the ground’ StBoT 8 iii 8–9, DUM.IMEŠ(-an) parna paimi ‘I go into the house of the children’ ibid. ii 3, 16f., iii 17; š- impacts tarnaš ‘and she let them (the baskets containing her babies) into the river’ KBo 22.2 obv. 3 (OS). But even in Old Hittite texts which were recopied in the New Hittite period (“OH/NS”) the true use of the allative survives: n-ṣ aš laḫḫa paizzi ‘and he goes to a campaign’ KBo 6.3 ii 48 (Laws §42, OH/NS); =Zuliyaš-ṣ wa ḫapā paiddu ‘let Z. go to the river ordeal’ KUB 13.3 iii 29; n-ṣ aš za parna=ṣṣa iyanniš ‘and he (Appu) went to his house’ KUB 24.8+ ii 24–25; n-at ḫ.ṣ-la-na pēdāi ‘and he carries it to the inner room’ KUB 2.6+ ii 8, etc.

20. Rare instances of what may be persons are all late and quite likely due to confusion on the part of speakers for whom this case was no longer a part of their living speech.
16.85. The allative ending is found also on clitic possessive pronouns accompanying nouns in the allative: 
parna⸗šša ‘to his house’, 
parna⸗mma ‘to my house’, 
tuel parna⸗t[ta] ‘to yo[ur] house’ KBo 23.9 i 10; see §6.4 (p. 139).

16.86. The local meanings of the allative and dative-locative are given greater precision by the addition of the local adverbs anda(n), appa(n), ḥandaš, ištarna, katta(n), peran, šarā, and šer. And although most of these constructions are attested only in the New Hittite period, when no formal distinction is made between allative and dative-locative singular, it is often possible on the basis of meaning (motion toward or rest in/on) to assign them to either allative or dative-locative. For instance, šer ‘above, upon’ goes with the dative-locative, while šarā ‘up onto’ goes with the allative.

16.87. The allative goes out of use in NH, surviving only in a few lexicalized expressions such as tapuša ‘aside, to the side’ and dameda ‘elsewhere’.

Ablative

16.88. The fundamental study of the ablative and instrumental cases in Hittite is Melchert 1977. For the ablative endings attested for nouns see §3.32 (p. 76). For the ending on clitic possessive pronouns accompanying nouns in the ablative see §6.4 (p. 138).

16.89. The ablative most often designates the origin of a movement and answers the question ‘from what place?’: iššaz ‘out of the mouth’, nepišaz ‘from the sky’, wetenaz ‘out of the water’. Often the notions of source and separation are equally stressed in an utterance. Examples where source or origin (Melchert 1977: 192–93) is more prominent are: karā ⚫Ur+ Hà+n+ ⚫Shu+ ⚫summ[in u][Ur]Nešaz [Ur]Zā+puwa pē+[aš] ‘Previously (King) Uḫna had carried off (the statue of) our deity from Neša to Zalpuwa’ KBo 3.22 obv. 39–40; namma [Ur]Palḫuiššaz āppa [Ur]Kū.BABBAR-ti uwanun ‘Then I came back home from Palḫuišša to Ḥattuša’ KBo 3.4 ii 7 (annals of Murš.); 

21. On the derivation of local adverbs in -a see §3.31 (p. 76).
are enriching yourself somewhat at my expense (lit., ‘from me’) KUB 21.38 obv. 16 (see §18.5, p. 278).

16.90. Examples where separation (‘from what place?’) is more prominent are:

DINGIR.DIDLI-Š=Å DUMU.MEŠ-uš A.AB.BA-az šarā dāir ‘But the gods picked up the boys from the sea’ KBo 22.2 obv. 4–5 (OS), ed. StBoT 17:6; see Melchert 1977: 149); 
GIŠ-TUKUL.HL-UA-uš=š(m)uš=šta ZAG.DIB-za dāhjun ‘I removed (lit., took) their(!, text ‘his’) weapons from (their) shoulders’ KBo 3.1+ ii 30 (OH/NS); LUGAL.GAL tabarnaš ša GÉMEr.MEŠ=šu ŠU.MEŠ-uš IŠTU NA ARA, dāhjun ša IR.MEŠ=šU.MEŠ=šUNU IŠTU KIN dāhjun ‘I, the Great King, the Tabarna, took the hands of his (i.e., the enemy king’s) servant girls from the millstone; I took the hands of (his) man servants from the sickle’ KBo 10.2 iii 15–17 (annals of Hatt. I, OH/NS); 1-aš=ma=kan . . . arunaz arḫa uet ‘(one of the two brothers stayed in their island refuge, lit. ‘in the sea’) but the (other) one . . . left the island (lit., came out/away from the sea)’ KBo 3.4 ii 53–54 (annals of Murs. II).

Verbs used in clauses with the ablative of separation are (1) intransitive motion verbs (pait- ‘to go’, uwa- ‘to come’), (2) transitive motion verbs (ḫuittiya- ‘to pull, draw’, peda- ‘to carry’, dā- ‘to take’, utha- ‘to bring’, uwa-te- ‘to lead, conduct’), and at least three verbs which themselves express separation: šamen- ‘to withdraw from’, tuḫš- ‘to separate (someone/-thing) from’, and ḫešḫa- ‘to abstain from’. A rare example where a person is denoted by the ablative is [((peran pa)[ā-yazzi apūn G[(t-e-a)]n IŠTU MU-NUŠ-TI [(tešḫaš)] ‘And beforehand throughout that night (accusative of extent, §16.29, p. 249) (the king) abstained from a woman’ KBo 4.2 iii 58–59 (so Melchert 1977: 348, correctly).

16.91. From the notion of origin or source it is easy to derive the idea of cause (Melchert 1977: 192; LH 166): [taku] LŪ-an n]ašma MUNUS-an šullannaz kuiški kuenzi ‘If someone kills a (free) man or woman out of (sheer) wantonness’ KBo 6.3 i 1 (Laws §1, OH/NS), see also Laws §§2, 27, GIM-an=ma šEŠ=YA „NIR.GÁL IŠTU AMAT (FOR AWAT) DINGIR-LIMŠU INA KUR ŠAPLITI KATTA PAIT ‘but when my brother Muwatalli because of a word (Akkad. IŠTU covers the Hitt. ablative) from his god went down (from Ḫattuša) to the Lower Land’ Ḫatt. i 75–76 (NH); apêz=kan uddanaz arḫa akkiškanzi ‘people die because of that behavior’ KBo 5.3 iii 38–39 (NH); ŪT-war=an=kan tuetaza memiyaanaz kuenne[...] GUD alûn Ḫuwawainn=a ‘Was it not because of your word/command that they (scil., Gilgamesh and Enkidu) killed the Bull of Heaven and Ḫuwawa?’ KUB 8.48 i 12–13 (Gîlg.).

16.92. The ablative is also used for indicating directions (Melchert 1977: 151–52, 195–96). See §18.5 (p. 278; for independent pronoun in ablative), §20.27 (p. 300) and §20.28 (p. 300). A similar usage of a “from” construction can be found in the Semitic languages: Hebrew miss’môl ‘on/to the left’, mišṣafôn ‘to the north’. Hittite examples are kunnaz ‘on the right’, ġûb-laz ‘on the left’, ḫantezziyaz ‘in front’, ḫiškiṣaz ‘in back, backwards’, appezziyaz ‘in the rear’, ammedazaz ‘on my side’, tuedazaz ‘on your (sg.)
side’, anzedaza ‘on our side’, ṢUrḫitešupaz ‘on Urḫitešup’s side’. The postposition tapušza is an ablative of direction in origin (see §§20.28, p. 300). This kind of ablative is widely used to indicate the boundaries of a territory. ṢUrḫitešupaz-ma-šši ṢZarātaš-Zag-az ṢZarātaš-kan ana kur Ḫūlaya āššanza ‘In the direction of Ūšša, Zarāta is his boundary, but Zarāta belongs to the land of the Ḫulaya River’ KBo 4.10 obv. 21 (NH).

16.93. A few OH examples depart from the normal function of the ablative form, which serves to express direction with reference to a point usually expressed by the dative-locative (‘on the left [abl.] (of) point of reference [d.-l.]’); these unusual examples use the ablative to indicate the point of reference: (land located) ŠNa-ḫuwašiaš anda . . . ŠNa-ḫuwašiaš aṙaḥza ‘inside of the stela . . . outside of the stela’ SBo I 4 = LSU 4 obv. 15–16 (where the ablative Ḫuwašiaš is the point of reference). See discussion of SBo I 4 = LSU 4 obv. 15–16 in Melchert 1977: 153–54. An OS example (unfortunately partly broken) has the same construction of ablative and anda meaning ‘inside of’, i.e., toward the speaker from the ablative point of reference: utnē ḫūmanda URU Zālpuwa anda arunaz [anda(?). . . ] ‘All the lands on this side of Žalpuwa, [on this side(?)] of the sea [ . . .]’. KBo 3.22:38 (Anitta, OS). Two other Old Hittite examples where the ablative marks the reference point, but where kēt and edi fill the role of anda and aṙaḥza, are: takku kēt (later var. kēz) ṣo-az . . . takku edi ṣo-az ‘if he is on this side of the river . . . if he is on that side of the river’ KBo 6.2 i 49–50 (Laws §22, OS) (where the river [abl.] is the point of reference: the pair does not mean ‘in the direction of this river . . . in the direction of that river’) and L[U.ME]Šbihiššaššaruš edi taṙaṇzi-panzi ‘The cooks carry off the libation vessels to the other side of the taṙaṇzi-platform’ KUB 43.30 (StBoT 25 #30) ii 6–7 (OS). In these instances there is no reason to take edi as a dative-locative any more than OS kēt (see §7.13, p. 145).

16.94. The ablative is used in temporal constructions. The forms kitpandalaz ‘from this moment on’ KUB 11.1 iv 5, apir-(pandalaz)-pat ‘from that very moment’ KUB 33.118 i/iv? 24, duµu-annaz ‘from childhood’ KUB 30.10 obv. 10 (prayer, OH/MS), annaz-ša ma kartaz ‘from (my) mother’s womb (lit., heart)’ KUB 30.10 rev. 20, and (apez/kez) ud.(kam)-az ‘from (that/this) day’ are clear examples of ‘time from which’ (Melchert 1977: 289, 310, 352–53). It appears that speakers distinguished this usage from the following one by the obligatory demonstrative (apez/kez). The construction annaz kartaz ‘from the mother’s womb’ also shows partitive apposition (§16.10, p. 243; §16.24, p. 247; §16.38, p. 251; §16.42, p. 252).

16.95. But beginning in MH/MS the ablative is also used for the kind of time, like the German genitive “nachts” = ‘by night’: ud.(kam)-az (ṣiwattaz) ‘by day’ KBo 5.8 i 24, KUB 19.37 iii 11 (Murš. II) and ṣiµandaz(a) (ge₄(kam)-za) ‘by night’ HKM 25:7 (MH/MS), KUB 23.11 ii 22 (MH/NS), KBo 5.6 i 22, KUB 19.37 iii 12, KBo 4.4 iii 63 (Murš. II), just as rarely the accusative may appear (KBo 4.4 iii 62 in §16.29, p. 249). For the accusative of extent of time see §16.29 (p. 249); for dative-locative of location in or extent of time see §16.74, p. 261, and §16.75, p. 261).
16.96. A perlativ e ablative (translated ‘through’; Melchert 1977: 157, 208) is found in ḫatuššaš(kan G1G squat) ana anda tarmar ‘The Sungod slips in(?) through the window’ KUB 33.70 ii 2 (NS); namma-aš-kan G1G AB-az anda 2-š[u appanzī] ‘Next [they hold] them (the lahḫanza-ducks) in through the window twice’ KUB 39.7 ii 22 (late NS).

16.97. For the one-time occurrence of the ablative for comparison see §17.15 (p. 274).

16.98. In the post-OH period we see uses of the ablative taken over from the instrumental for the expression of means (Melchert 1977: 209–12): n-zi-az kattan [lukkun] ‘And [I burned] them down with fire’ KBo 10.2 iii 39 (OH/NS); ḫaṣṣinna-wa šu-za īp ‘take the axe with (your) hand!’ KUB 8.50 iii 11, zahḫiyaz katta daḫḫun ‘I captured (the cities) through battle’ KBo 3.4 iv 40, apūn-ša-kan 4iṣṭar URU Šamuḫa gašan-ya ku-an gim-an ẓūpalaza egir-pa ʾṣṭaptu ‘the Šamuḫian iṣṭar, my lady, ensnared him like a fish in (i.e., by means of) a net’ KBo 6.29 i 10–11 (NH), n-ṣaṭa lugal-ux URU ḫa[ḥ][ur|pi ša[r]ā G1G G1GIGIR-az пацци ‘the king goes up to Ṭaḥurpa by chariot’ KBo 10.20 i 16–17 (OH/NS).

16.99. Similar to the ablative of means is the ablative of agency (with passive verbs), likewise first used in post-OH texts (Melchert 1977: 214–15, 367): ina URUTa-nipiya ḫaṣṣinna lugal-ux piyanza ‘a field in Tanipiya was given by the king’ KBo 3.7 iv 22–23 (OH/NS); URU Ḫattušaš utne ḫingana tamaštatu ‘the land of Ḫattuša has been oppressed by a plague (abl.)’ PP 1 i 8–9; iṣṭu Dingir-lim=mu parā parā SIG₂-iṣkkattari ‘through the agency of the goddess (abl.) things went better and better for me’ KBo 6.29 i 10–11 (NH), ed. Goetze 1925: 44–47 (iṣṭu Dingir-lim might stand for šiunit or šaunaz); kinuna ammašu URU lugal-ux tuexaz [iṣṭu] 4u pihaššašši šallašuwanza arkuweškemi ‘Now, I, King Muwatalli, who have been raised up by you, O Stormgod of P., am offering (this) prayer’ KUB 6.45 iii 32–33 (Muw. II).

16.100. Less common is the comitative ablative (Melchert 1977: 397–98): n-aš-kan ṭethěšnaza katta aruni aras (the Stormgod sprang up from his wagon,) and came down with thunder (abl.) to the sea’ KBo 26.65 iv 21–22 (Ullik. III), 4iṣṭar-īṣ-ša-kan ani-az UR.SAG-annaz arha ut iṣṭar came out of the sky with bravery (abl.) KUB 33.113 + KUB 36.12 + KBo 26.64 i 17–18’ (Ullik. II B). Some examples of this type function virtually as adverbs: parḥešnaz ‘with haste’ = ‘hastily’.

16.101. Uncertain cases with iṣṭu could be covering either instrumental or ablative: [(nu iṣṭu kaš)]aš [(ANŠE.KUR.RA).MEŠ paim] ‘[I went(?)] accompanied by infantry and chariotry (abl.)’ Ḫaṭt. iii 45–46. For the instrumental of accompaniment see §16.108 (p. 269).

16.102. A rare partitive ablative can be observed in: n-ašta iṣṭu 4UZU.NIG.GIG ḫuššaš= waocious wākuen ‘we have bitten off (some) of the raw liver (abl.)’ HT 1 i 44. Usually, the partitive function is conveyed by apposition rather than by a particular case form. See an example in the ablative: annaz kartaz ‘from (my) mother’s womb’ KUB 30.10 rev. 20
(see §16.94), the much better attested partitive apposition in the accusative (§§16.24–16.25, pp. 247–248) and a possible example in the nominative (§16.10, p. 243).

### 16.103. For the ablative with various postpositions

see §20.27 (p. 300) and §20.29 (p. 300).

#### Instrumental

**16.104.** For the instrumental endings see §3.35 (p. 77). The instrumental designates the tool, means, instrument, or material by or through which an action is accomplished (GUD.H.I.A-it ‘by the oxen’, šaganda ‘with grease’, paḫḫunit ‘with fire’, tālīt ‘with the tongue’, natit ‘with an arrow’, wetenit ‘with water’, GIŠḫatalkešnit ‘with a (branch of) hawthorn’, etc.). It is used to express cause (kāštit ‘(die) from hunger’), and, with passive verbs, the agent (see šiunit ‘by the god’). There is also an instrumental of accompaniment (appantet kunantit ‘together with captured and killed (men)’. By New Hittite the instrumental is no longer productive, its functions having been assumed by the ablative (Melchert 1977: 424–25). When a noun in either the ablative or instrumental case is represented by an ideogram, it is specified as to case by the Akkadian preposition  ‘from, with, by means of’. See chapter 31.

**16.105.** The instrumental case is employed chiefly to denote the means or instrument by which an action is performed (Melchert 1977: 162–64, 227–45, 300–301, 327–32, 371–73): tuppuš šakanda (instrumental of šagan ‘oil, grease’) šunnaš ‘she filled (i.e., caulked) the baskets with grease’ KBo 22.2 obv. 2 (OS); andā-kan ḫalinaš teššummiuš tarlipit šūwamuš 2-ʾtam pētimini ‘Twice(?) we bring in cups (made) of ḫalinaš, filled with tarlipaš’ KBo 17.1 + KBo 25.3 i 26–27 (OS); nu tuḥḥiyattit āktti ‘and you will die by means of suffocation’ KBo 7.14 obv. 5 (OS); nu-kan iši šer wetenit kīštamunanzi ‘they extinguish the fire on top with water (wetenit)’ KBo 4.2 i 12, nu nepišaš ṣTU-un IGI.H.I.A-it uškežzi ‘she sees the sun of heaven with (her) eyes’ KBo 4.8 ii 19 (NH), ed. Hoffner 1983a: 188; idālawa IGI.H.I.A-wa GIŠḫatalkešnit katta tarmān ēšdu ‘let the evil eyes be pinned down by the hawthorn’ KUB 12.44 iii 8–9; [(nu ӈİŞTAR)] GAŠAN=YA ANA ӊMursili aBI=YA ŋ-ŋIT =NGI.GĂL-it šeš=ya uñyAT ‘IŞTAR, my lady, sent my brother Muwattali to my father by means of a dream (i.e., in a dream of the father)’ Ḥatt. i 13–14; nu MUŠilluyankaŋ išḫiman[(ti)] kalēliēt ‘(Ḫupašiya) tied up the serpent with cord(s)’ KUB 17.5 i 15–16 (OH/NS); nu-kan ġir-it šarā pāun ‘I went up on foot’ KUB 14.3 i 24 (Hatt. III); LUĞAL-uš uţezzi nāššu GIŠGIĞIT našma GIŠḫulugannit INA-E-TIM GAL paţzi ‘The king proceeds to travel to the Great House either by chariot or by cart’ KBo 19.128 i 2–5, ed. StBoT 13:2f.

**16.106.** There are also instances of the instrumental used to express cause: man=kan mān ANA ӊAttarşiya ūḫiwsētem=n-a kāštit=a man āktten ‘and even if you had escaped from Attarʿsiya (contrary-to-fact condition), you would have died from hunger’ KUB 14.1 obv. 12 (MH/MS). The phrase man mān . . . man expresses the contrary-to-fact condition (HE, p. 166, §330; see also CHD sub man). See also [k]ištantit ūrkueni ‘we will die of hunger’ KUB 17.10 i 29 (OH/MS). For an attempt to motivate the use of the
instrumental instead of the more common ablative (§16.91, p. 265) see Francia 2002a. It is possible, of course, that the Hittites viewed ‘hunger’ (kaštit) not as a cause but as a means of dying.

16.107. The source of the ablative of agency used with passive verbs was the instrumental of *agency*: Gštukul. Hš-a-iš=wa=tta šiunit piyanteš ‘weapons have been given to you by the god’ KBo 22.6 + KUB 48.98 i 24–25 (OH?/NS); [Dumu] Dumuššu ša Ḫattušili Lugal.Gal ša Lugal. Kūšar aššiššu k[anišša]ndaš (gen.) Numun-aš (nom.) ‘[great-grand]son of Hattušili (II), Great King, seed of the king of Kuššar (i.e., Ḫattušili I) who was recognized by the god’ KBo 6.28 obv. 4–5 (Hatt. III) [on this last passage see Goetze 1968; Carruba 1971: 78; and especially Güterbock 1970: 75]. Since the instrumental is replaced in all uses by the ablative in NH (see §§16.98–16.100, p. 267, and Melchert 1977: 423–30), the use of the instrumental to mark the agent with a passive participle cannot be an innovation and must reflect OH practice, despite the lack thus far of OS examples. This absence may easily be due to chance, given the relative rarity of expressed agents with the passive. Despite the claim of Starke (1977: 102–4), the fact that agency is expressed once in OS by the circumlocution ina qaṭṭi + genitive ‘by the hand of’ in no way proves that agency marked by the instrumental of a noun referring to a person did not occur in OH. For the instrumental as the case of the agent in PIE (inherited in Hittite) see Jamison 1979.

16.108. The instrumental is also used to express *accompaniment* (“comitative”) or inclusivity: Un-nar Gšunzinarit sir-ru ‘The singer sings to the accompaniment of the Ḫunzinar instrument’ KUB 30.24 ii 9–10; maḫḫan=ma-at šeḥelliyaš witenit egir-pa uwanzi ‘But when they come back with the water of purification’ KUB 7.20 obv. 10–11; (‘I eliminated 16 men of the enemy’) appantet kunantit ‘with (or ‘including’) = ‘counting both’) captured and killed (men)’ HKM 10:40 (MH/NS).

16.109. In a very few cases the instrumental expressing separation is attested. For example, n—aš=kan šaḥhanit luzzi arawahḫu ‘I freed them from s. and l.’ KBo 10.2 iii 18–19 (annals of Hatt. I). Such examples are attested only in copies of older compositions, and it is unlikely that this usage of the instrumental is genuine for any period of the language (see Melchert 1977: 426 with refs.).

16.110. Since the Akkadograms isṭu and qadu could conceivably reflect either the ablative or the instrumental, we cannot identify the case of the following comitative examples with certainty: Lu Ḫu[l] (atiwaru qadu dumu. meššu ašša) šu maḫḫušiškenun tuel=ma=an=kan maḫḫan maniyaḫḫanteš isṭu zid. D[a] arḫa dayaer n=an=šan [. . .] ina Ḫar ṭaḫazzimuna egir-pa pēḫu[e]r ‘Concerning what I informed you about my maidservant, when your subjects stole her away together with the flour (she had milled), they carried her back to Taḫazzimuna’ HKM 36:42–48 (MH/MS), ed. Alp 1991a 184–187.
16.111. In OH the instrumental of the enclitic possessive pronouns (see chapter 11) is used with nouns in the ablative, since no ablative forms of the enclitic possessives existed (HE §218c): šarḫuwantaz-šet ‘from its stomach’ KBo 6.3 iv 28 (Laws §90, OH/NS; see §6.7, p. 140); iššaz-(š)mit ‘out of their mouths’ KBo 17.1 i 18 (OS), ZAG-az-štit ‘on your right’ KUB 31.127 i 66; kartaz-šmit ‘from my heart’ IBoT 3.135-6. To be similarly understood is kitpantalaz ‘from this moment on’ KUB 11.1 (BoTU 23B) iv 5. There is no basis for the claim of Houwink ten Cate (1967) of an old “locative” form in -(e)d.

Cases with Particular Verbs

16.112. A number of verbs can be construed with different cases, in many instances showing a slightly different meaning.

16.113. wittarnahḫ- (1) with the accusative of the person means ‘to command or commission (someone)’; while (2) with the thing spoken in the accusative and the person in the dative it means ‘to send a message or announcement to (someone)’ (AU 223). See KBo 18.48 obv. 10–11 (interpret contra Hagenbuchner 1989: 9).

16.114. nāḥ- ‘to fear, be afraid of’ governs two different cases: (1) the accusative: naḥmi-šuš ‘I fear them’ KUB 8.65:22; (2) the dative-locative: pahhuenašš=äuddanimekki nahlanteš ēšten ‘be very careful also in the matter of fire’ KUB 13.4 iii 44; (3) the ablative: nu=za ḫalluwayaza mekkiniḥanteš ēšten ‘be very careful of strife’ KUB 13.4 iii 43. In addition there is the impersonal use discussed in §16.32 (p. 250).

16.115. punušš- ‘to ask, inquire’ can be construed in two ways. (1) One can say: ‘to question someone (accusative) about something (dative-locative)’, e.g., n=šaš ĐUTUŠİ ANA ĐILHA punušmi ‘and I, My Majesty, will question them regarding the legal disputes’ KBo 3.3 iv 9–10; or (2) one can say: ‘to investigate something (accusative) for someone (dative-locative): nu=šmašš=kän ĐILHA punuškeddu ‘Let him investigate legal disputes for you (-šmašš)’ KBo 3.3 iii 28–29.

16.116. Similarly the verb wek- ‘to ask, request’ construes with the accusative of the thing requested and the dative of the person asked: kinunašwašš=kuit wēkmi ‘What now shall I ask from them (i.e., the gods)?’ KUB 34.53 rev. 8 (CTH 370).

16.117. šarra-: (1) (active) with the accusative and no -kan (often with -za) means ‘to divide something’; while (2) (active or medio-passive) without -za, but with -kan or -ašta and the accusative or more often the dative-locative, it means ‘to pass through, cross over, transgress’.
Chapter 17

ADJECTIVES

17.1. The inflection of adjectives is essentially the same as that of nouns.

17.2. An adjective can be modified by an adverb, as in ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ*ya=*wa mekki ḪUL-uēš ‘The mountains too are very bad’ KUB 23.103 rev. 21 (NH).

17.3. Adjectives can be attributes or predicates. Most attributive adjectives precede their head nouns (šalli kur-e ‘the great land’), while predicate adjectives regularly follow a noun subject (kur-e šalli ēšta ‘the land was great’). For more on the word order of predicate adjectives see §30.28 (p. 413) and following.

17.4. Examples of the normal word order with attributive adjectives: nakkiš DINGIR-LIM-iš ‘honored city’ (sg. nom. com.); nakki pedan ‘honored place’ (sg. nom.-acc. neut.); nakkit Šaṭmišu ‘with the honored Tašmišu’ (ins.); pangavi ĖRIN.MEŠ-*ti ‘to all the troops’ (sg. d.-l.); panqauwaz EME-azza ‘from every (evil) tongue’ (abl.); pargamuš ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*muš ‘the high mountains’ (pl. acc. com.); pargauwaš auriyaš ‘into the high watchtowers’ (pl. d.-l.); parkuin ēšna ‘clean/pure dough’ (sg. acc. comm.). For further examples see the respective articles in the CHD for the adjectives cited here and others.

17.5. Attributive participles regularly follow their head nouns. For examples of the regular order and some of the few exceptions see §§25.41–25.42 (p. 339).

17.6. The universal quantifiers ḫūmant- and dapiant- (both translatable as ‘all, entire’) also regularly follow their head nouns. This may be due to their meaning or to their formal resemblance to participles in -ant-. Examples: nu-*za=apa utniyanza ḫūmanza (10) iškiš-šmet anda URU Ḫattuša lagan ḫard[u] ‘and let the entire land keep their backs bowed down (lit., inclined) toward Ḫattuša’ KUB 36.110 rev. 9–10 (OS), ḫa[ḫḫimaš] utnē ḫūman tinut ‘The freezing wind paralyzed the entire land’ VBoT 58 i 7–8 (OH/NS), nu DAM.MEŠ-*šu [DUMU.MEŠ-*šu NAM.RA.HL.A]*ṣū*»-nuš aĭššu=ya ḫūmanta=pāt dāš ‘and he took his wives, [his children,] his [civilian captives] and all the goods’ KUB 14.1+ obv. 50 (MH/MS); nu išpandan ḫūmandan iyahḥat ‘and I traveled the entire night’ KBo 5.8 iii 21 (NH); QES-BUGIN=*ya=*wa DKG*išnuri GIR,H.L.A dapianda ša 1L.MAŠ. EN.KAK=pāt daṣgaweni ‘We take BUGIN-vessels, kneading troughs, and all the pottery belonging to that very poor man’ KUB 16.16 rev. 14–15; LÜ.MEŠ Gašga*>HL.A-ma-an-kan dapianteš gam ugu RA-anzi ‘But all the Kaska men will strike it (the city) up from below’ KUB 5.1 iii 61–62.
17.7. The quantifier ḫūmant- rarely precedes its noun: ḫūmand[az K]UR. KUR. MEŠ-za ḫu ‘come from every land’ KUB 36.90 obv. 39; aralḫeša ḫūmantaz KUR. Yaq. KBo 20.107 + KBo 23.50 iii 26 (vs. normal utnē ḫūmanda KBo 3.22:38 [OS], utnē ḫūman VBoT 58 i 8 [OH/NS]). These exceptions are only a very small fraction of the thousands of examples of the regular word order, where ḫūmant- follows its head noun. Some apparent exceptions actually form part of the rule. For example, proposed ḫūmant- is normal when used with body parts: ḫūmantet kardit ‘with the whole heart’ KUB 30.10 obv. 24, 27 (see analogous dabian zi-an ‘the entire zi’ KUB 5.1 i 2, etc.); ḫūmandaz tuegaz KUB 24.9 i 45 (vs. normal [N]I. TE-[šu ḫūman KUB 26.8 ii 3); ḫūmandaza ḫappešnaz ‘from every limb’ KUB 30.40 i 17; ḫūmantaza tarna ‘from every tarna’ KBo 15.37 iii 51–52. Proposed ḫūmant- is also regular when it is substantivized and modified by a predicatival adjective: ḫūman aššu ‘everything that is good’ KUB 17.10 i 22 (but see aššu ḫūman ‘every good thing’ KBo 10.37 iii 43); ḫūman šepp[-] ‘everything that is new’ KBo 17.65 obv. 24; but idālu ḫūman ‘all/every evil’ KBo 15.21 i 22.

17.8. Attributive adjectives in -want- may precede or follow their head nouns. The postposed examples may or may not be due to their formal resemblance to participles in -ant-.

Proposed examples: išḫarwantuš TÚG. H.I. A. uš ‘blood-red garments’ KBo 17.1 i 25 (OS); išḫarwandān ̄U.GUR ‘bloody Nergal’ KUB 9.34 i 26; pakkuššawan šeppit ‘cracked Šeppit-grain’ KBo 21.1 i 15; ūššiššuwaš-aškan lāḫzanuš ‘live l.-birds, on the other hand (adjective fronted and with contrastive -al-ma)’ KUB 39.7 ii 33. Postposed examples: MUŠEN ḫušuwan ḫušuwan ‘a live eagle’ KBO 17.4 ii 14 (OS); ḫušuwaMušen ḫušuwan ‘the swift eagle’ KUB 17.10 i 24 (OH/MS); luliyaš ḫušuwan ‘a reedy marsh’ KUB 52.91 iii 3.

17.9. The original syntax of nouns with the quantifiers mekk(i)- ‘much’ and tēpu- ‘a little, few’ was that of an appositional phrase, with the quantified noun in its appropriate case followed by the adjective as a neuter substantive. This syntax is still rarely attested for tēpu-: NA, ZA, GIN tepu . . . ḫuštišš-a tepu ‘lapis lazuli — a little bit . . . and ḫušti-material (sg. nom. com.!) — a little bit’ KBO 5.2 i 37–38. It is better preserved in the partitive expression kuitta parā tēpu ‘(of) each in turn a little bit’ following lists (see CHD parā 9a). The terms tēpu- in most cases and mekk(i)- in all cases appear as attributive adjectives that agree with their head noun in gender, number, and case and, as expected, they regularly precede their head noun. But unsurprisingly the original syntax

1. The example [(nuša ḫu)man šupp[i (parkui p)]šikanzi KUB 24.1 ii 15 (restorations from parallels such as KUB 24.2 obv. 18–19) may involve an adverbial use of the adjectives, as per Gurney (1940: 21): ‘and everything they present to thee holy (and) pure’. See also remarks in CHD P 165 sub parkui-
2. Some stems in -want- function as virtual participles (see §2.50, p. 61) but, as the examples cited here show, postposing affects both these and possessive -want- adjectives.
3. Since the word for ‘field’ written š.SA is common gender in KBO 6.2 (demonstrated in LH 311), it is likely that the phrase takku š.SA-n-a mekkī wāši in KBO 6.2 ii 46 (OS) is likewise literally ‘But if he buys a field—a large portion of it . . . ’, with the older syntax. Elsewhere mekk(i)- is always an attributive adjective.
also is partially preserved in occasional instances where *mekk(i)-* and *tēpu-* follow the head noun, but show agreement in number and gender: *mūriuš mekkuš* ‘many (grape) clusters’ KUB 43.23 rev. 22 (OS); *Lū.Mēš*tēpantium aliūš tēpawēš* ‘few libation servers’ KUB 14.8 rev. 19 (NH). The semantic essence of the old syntax is caught in the OH quoted speech in colloquial language: *Gis.tukul giₜ₂ₕₘₜₙ* x [ . . . =*mu* Gis.tukul giₜ₂ₖₘₜₙ. *Da]* pāu nu=wa mekki ‘I will demand long weapons (as follows): ‘Let him give [me long weapons] — plenty (of them)!’ KBo 3.38 obv. 32–33 (OH/NS), ed. StBoT 17:8–9.

17.10. There are also some examples where ordinary attributive adjectives appear to follow their head nouns: *hāriyaš nakkiyaš* ‘inaccessible valleys’ KUB 30.36 ii 4; *mita/i*-‘red wool’ (frequent; examples in CHD mit(t)a- 1). For two attempts to define the conditions for this postposing see Laroche 1982 and Francia 2001. 4

17.11. More complex rules of word order are treated in §16.47 (p. 253), §§18.24–18.28 (pp. 284–285), §18.37 (p. 341), §26.21 (p. 345), §§30.1ff. (pp. 406ff.).

Comparison of Adjectives

17.12. Hittite does not express the comparative (‘better’) and superlative (‘best’) degree by suffixes, as is the case in Greek -ιον and -ιστος or -ιπος and -ιπος, Latin (-ior and -issimus), and English (-er and -(e)st), but by syntactic means.

Comparative Degree

17.13. The comparative degree was expressed by the predicate adjective governing the object of comparison in the dative-locative case (HE §§221–23). Thus: *nu=wa=kan Ana Ėrin.me₅š=ka Ėrin.me₅š=ya mek[ki], Ana Anše.kur,ra,me₅š=ma=wa=ta Anše.kur. ra,me₅š=ya mekki* ‘my troops (Ērin.me₅š=ya) are more numerous (mekki) than your troops (Ana Ėrin.me₅š=ka); my horses are more numerous than your horses’ KUB 19.29 iv 18–20; *namma=kan anzel ti-anui ([UL]ša Belu/MES₅-is ti-tar nakki* ‘if the life of our lord (i.e., the king) (ša Belu-NI ti-tar) is not dearer (to us) (UL + nakki) than our own life (anzel ti-anui)’ KUB 31.42 ii 18–19; *Ana lugalkur URLU=tašša=kan 1-aš Lū.tūḫukantiš šalliš ešdu namma=ma=šši=kan le kuški šalliš* ‘Only the crown prince (tūḫukantiš)

4. A very high percentage of such postposed examples involve cases like *sīg mitali-* ‘red wool’ where the head noun is written logographically (with or without phonetic complement). We must therefore consider seriously the possibility that many or most such examples do not reflect the genuine Hittite word order but merely imitate graphically the Sumerian word order in phrases written entirely logographically like sīg sa₅₃ ‘red wool’. Further investigation of genuine postposed adjectives in Hittite must take into account this possible confounding factor. In assessing postposed attributive adjectives one must also be careful to set aside examples of adjectives used appositionally (see §§15.5–15.6, pp. 236–237).

5. The Hittite noun underlying Ėrin.me₅š is common gender, Ėrin.me₅š-i-.

6. The nouns for ‘troops’ and ‘horses’ are common gender. The form *mekki* may be construed as a collective noun ‘a large amount’ serving as the predicate. As a noun and not an adjective, it need not show agreement.
shall be greater than the King of Tarhuntāšša; let no one else be greater’ BrTabl. II 80–81 (Tudḫ. IV). Note how the local particle -kan is employed in all of the previous (NH) examples. Yet in OH/NS this particle is not always present: ēššari⸗šett⸗a ēššari⁷ GAL-li SAG.DU=ŠU ANA SAG.DU=Š[U GAL-li] [K]AKKAK=ŠU ANA KAKKAK=ŠU GAL-li IGI. HL=ŠU ANA IGL.HL=ŠU GAL-li (21) [a]šš=šett=š[išši] GAL-li EME=ŠU ANA EME=ŠU GAL-li (22) [kap]ru=šett=ša kapruaz GAL-li mieli=ššet=ša (23) [mi]eliaš GAL-li iškiš=šet=šašta iškiši GAL-li (24) [paltan]aš=šiš!⸗šašta paltan[aš], šalliš GAB=ŠU A[NA] (25) [GAB=ŠU ša][lli] ŠA=ŠU ANA ŠA=ŠU GAL-li ‘this one’s (lit., his) stature is greater than that one’s (lit., his) stature; his head is greater than his head; his nose is greater than his nose; his eyes . . . , his mouth . . . , his tongue . . . , his mieli . . . his back is greater than his back’ KUB 43.53 i 19–25 (quoted by Sommer and Falkenstein 1938: 219 in unpublished state).

17.14. Several observations are pertinent to the KUB 43.53 passage which was just quoted: (1) the local particles -kan or -ašta are missing in some cases in OH (NS), as shown by the first six, eighth, eleventh, and twelfth clauses, but -ašta appears in the seventh (kapru), ninth (iškiši), and tenth (paltanaš) clauses; (2) the gender of the predicate adjective is in most cases neuter,⁸ although in line 21 — EME=ŠU ANA EME=ŠU GAL-li ‘his tongue is greater than his tongue’ — the usual gender of EME (= lala-) is common;⁹ and (3) although the possessive pronoun is employed with both members in all logographic writings, it never appears with the second member (i.e., the dative-locative) in the syllabic writings. An instance of the common gender in this kind of predicate adjective employed comparatively is in: paltan aš-šiš!-ašta ¹⁰ paltani šalliš ‘his shoulder is larger than his shoulder’ KUB 43.53 i 24.

17.15. In line 22 of KUB 43.53 Sommer found a rare example of the ablative of comparison: kapru=ššet=šašta kapruaz GAL-li ‘his kapru is larger than his kapru’. See also Melchert 1977: 215–16, who regards it as “secondary at best.” Note the presence of the particle -ašta. It would be convenient if we could show that -kan was used in comparisons with the dative-locative, while -ašta was used in those with the ablative. But -ašta seems also to occur with dative-locative comparisons (see KUB 43.53 i 23–24 in the preceding paragraph). So far, only -kan (no -ašta) occurs in the NH examples of this comparative construction. Since this is the only example of an ablative in this function, we suspect that the text is not in order. An Old Script (hyp)archetype could have had the shape of i (HZL #217) confusable with the Old Script Az sign (HZL #92/6), in which case a scribe at some point in the chain of transmission wrote original kap-ru-i

7. Judging from the parallel SAG.DU=ŠU ANA SAG.DU=ŠU which follows, the first ēššari is nominative and the second dative-locative. Note that the order of cases differs here from the earlier cited NH examples.

8. Since in this case we are not dealing with any form of plurality, a collective interpretation of the forms in -i is not possible (see p. 273, n. 6).

9. Note, however, that in two passages cited in CHD sub lala-, namely, KBo 2.3 i 50 (MH/NS) and KBo 23.72 rev. 24 (OH or MH/MS), there is a nominative form EME-an, which has to be neuter. Perhaps in KUB 43.53 too EME is neuter.

as kap-ru-az. At least this is a possible explanation, if we hesitate in accepting this rare construction on the basis of a single example.

17.16. The syntactic construction employed for comparison is the same when the predicate is the stative verb takk- ‘to be like’ (active and medio-passive): GILTUKUL-ΗŁA-ἐς-[w[a|tta] šalli ḫawanti ḫatugai kar[i] . . . . ] weten takkantari ‘[Your] weapons are like the great wind, the terrifying flood, and the [. . .] water’ KBo 22.6 i 26–28, and a long series of clauses involving the body parts in KUB 43.53 i 2’–15’. In the latter passage, as a few lines later in the long passage cited above from i 19’–25’, the occurrence or non-occurrence of local particles (in this case -apa) seems arbitrary. It occurs in 4 out of 23 clauses (lines 4, 5, 7, 15). In two of the four instances the noun has the clitic possessive, and in two it does not.

**Superlative Degree**

17.17. To express the superlative degree in post-OH one construes the adjective with a plural form in -aš, either the dative-locative or genitive (see §16.41, p. 252): šallayasteškan DINGIR.MEŠ-aš kuiš šallīš ‘he who among the great gods is the great(est)’ KUB 31.141:3. Often the dative-locative plural is further strengthened by ḫuṃanteš ‘all’: nu DINGIR.MEŠ-naš ḫuṃandaš ša URK Kaštana ʿ Zašḫapunāš šallīš ‘among all the gods of Kaštana Zašḫapunā is the great(est)’ KBo 3.7 iv 15–17 (Illyuyanka myth, OH/NS); nu-za ḫuṃandaš-pat EGIS-ezziš DUMU-aš ešun ‘among (or perhaps genitive, ‘of’?) all (the children) I was the young(est) child’ Ḥatt. i 11; ([nu-za ʿu mahha]n šarazziaš šarazzieš [(zik ḫante)]ziyyaš-aš ḫantezziš zi[(k)] ‘As you, O Stormgod, are the highest of the high, and the foremost of the foremost’ KBo 34.34:11–12 (OH/MS) with dupl. KUB 33.68 iii 6–8 (OH/NS). The first example, showing otherwise unmotivated -kan, favors the dative-locative interpretation. The remaining examples without -kan favor the genitive one.

17.18. What are clearly dative-locatives are occasionally also strengthened by ištarna ‘in the midst of’: KUR-eškan ištarna apāš ḫappinanza ‘in the midst of the land (i.e., in all the land) he was the rich(est)’ KUB 24.8+ i 10–11 (Appu story); even with an adjectival verb: DINGIR-LUM DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ištarna tarḫuilešzi ‘the god is the bravest among the gods’ KUB 36.55 ii 31–32.

17.19. When the adjective is not a predicate, the objects with which comparison is made stand not in the dative-locative but in the genitive: daššuššaš-ašši ʿAnuš DINGIR. MEŠ-aš šantezziyaššmiš peranšet arta ‘mighty Anu, foremost of the gods, stands before him’ KUB 33.120 i 9 (Song of Kumarbi myth).

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11. ḫantezziyaššmiš ‘their foremost’ is in apposition to the grammatical subject daššuššaš-ašši ʿAnuš in this example. It is also possible that ḫantezziyaš is here substantivized (‘the leader of the gods’), in which case we are not dealing with a superlative.
17.20. Since all the examples cited in the preceding three paragraphs stem from post-OH, where -aš can be either dative-locative or genitive plural, caution is needed in the case identification. Note that some examples show the particle -kan, while others do not. It may be that (originally) the dative-locative construction required -kan, while that with the genitive did not. But we cannot prove this.
Chapter 18
PRONOUNS

Independent Personal Pronouns

18.1. The use of the cases (see chapter 16) is the same for nouns, adjectives, and all classes of pronouns. As in the case of nouns (§16.68, p. 258), the dative of the personal pronouns is used to indicate not only ‘to’ and ‘for’ but also ‘from’ with verbs like ‘to take’ (the so-called dative of disadvantage). The merger of dative and locative into a single case form (§16.65, p. 257) is reflected in both the independent and enclitic dative pronouns, which do not formally distinguish dative from locative use.

18.2. Since the finite forms of Hittite verbs already indicate that the subject is ‘I’, ‘we’, ‘you’, ‘(s)he’, or ‘they’, the presence of an independent personal pronoun in the nominative case indicates a special emphasis on the subject or a conscious contrast with the subject of a neighboring clause. Thus, ūk⸗wa LUGAL-uš⸗šmiš kišḫa ‘I will become your king’ KBo 22.2 rev. 15 (OS) could have been written LUGAL-uš⸗šmiš=wa kišḫa without ambiguity as to the subject. Use of the independent pronoun as subject in order to mark contrast with a different actor in a neighboring clause can be seen in: MUSI-EN Lu[GAL-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-ašš]-a šēr=šamet 3=([ŠU]) DUMU.É.GAL waḥnu[zi u]g=a=šmaš×šan ÉRIN.MEŠ-an šē[(r)] 3=ŠU waḥnūmi ‘The palace servant waves an eagle three times over the king and queen, but I wave (a model of) troops over them three times’ StBoT 8 ii 30–32 (= KBo 17.1 + KBo 25.3 ii 16–18) (OS). See: zik=wa UR.BAR.RA-aš kišṭat ‘You have become a wolf’ KBo 6.2 ii 12 (Laws §37, OS),1 n=an=za zik dā ‘(No one else has accepted my advice,) but you must accept it’ KUB 1.16 iii 27 (OH/NS).

18.3. The same is the case with forms of the dative and accusative, since a corresponding clitic form of the pronoun (-mu, -ta, -ši, -naš, etc.; §§5.12ff., pp. 135ff.) could have been used: weš⸗a kuwapit aumen nu MUNUS-za [30] DUMU [1=ŠU][āši nu=zza anzaš 1=ŠU ḫāšta ‘Where have we seen (it),’? that a woman bears [thirty] sons [at one time]? Yet she bore us all at once!’ KBo 22.2 obv. 11–12 (OS); ḫandanza=kan a[(nt)]uḫšaš tuk=pat āššuš n=an zik=pat šar[a]l]iškeši ‘It is to you (in particular) that the just person is dear, and you (in particular) always elevate him’ KUB 31.127 i 8–10 (OH/NS) with dupl. KUB 31.128 obv 7–8’ (NS). In these last examples the natural emphasis involved in using the independent form is strengthened by the particle -pat.

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1. The zik is necessary to disambiguate in the NH copy (KBo 6.3 ii 29), where the finite verb ki-ša-at is identical with the third singular form.
2. Reading a-ú-me-en instead of a-ru-me-en (Eichner 1974a: 185). Alternatively, one may retain the reading arumen and understand the sentence as ‘Where have we (ever) been (lit., ‘arrived’), that . . .’.
Likewise emphatic or contrastive in at least in pre-NH is the independent genitive pronoun for which a clitic possessive could have been used. In NH, when the clitic possessive pronoun was no longer current in speech, the independent genitive pronoun was often used without implication of contrast or emphasis. Examples of emphasis or contrast:

kuiš ammel āppan LUGAL-uš kišar[i] ‘He who becomes king after me’ KBo 3.22:22, 49 (OS). For a clear opposition of ammel and tuel see: zilatiya=ta katta [(h)ašš]a ḫanazāšša tuel DUMU-an ammel DUMU.MEŠ=YA DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ=YA [pahšaš]šantari=pat ‘In the future, to the third and fourth generations, my sons and grandsons will likewise loyally protect your son’ KUB 21.1 + KUB 19.6 i 73–75; see ammel ḫR.MEŠ=YA . . . tuēl ḫR.MEŠ=KA ‘my servants . . . your servants’ HKM 74:10, 15–16 (MH/MS); zik ammel ét-na lē uwaši ug=ta tuel parna ēl awāmi ‘You must not come to my house, and I will not come to your house’ KUB 29.1 i 19–20 (OH/NS). In the last example the independent pronouns in both nominative (zik, uk) and genitive cases (ammel, tuel) stand opposed to each other, and the two clauses are connected using the contrastive particle -a/-ma (ug=ta).

The ablative forms of the independent pronoun usually convey the directional sense of the ablative (§16.92, p. 265), with the resultant meaning ‘on my/your side’ or ‘in my/your favor’:

nu ḫING.R.MEŠ ammedaṣa [(tiandu) nu=wa ḫa-eš-šar ammedaṣaz ḫannandu ‘Let the gods stand on my side and adjudicate the case in my favor’ KUB 26.79 i 11–12 with dupl. KUB 14.17 iii 18–19; ṣE.A-aš GALGA-aš LUGAL-uš tuéldaza artari ‘Ea, the king of wisdom, is standing on your side’ KBo 26.118 + KBo 26.65 iv 24 (Ullik. III); anzedaza tiyēr ḫING.R.MEŠ anzedazza memier ‘The gods took our side. They spoke on our behalf’ KUB 7.58 i 13’–14’. Only rarely do they have the normal ablatival force of ‘from’ in the sense of source: šEŠ=YA=ma ammedaṣa NĪG.TUKU-ti kuči ‘My brother, you are enriching yourself somewhat at my expense (lit., ‘from me’’) KUB 21.38 obv. 16. Another possible example would be: ṭuk=ma=wa ammetaz SIG₂-išzi ‘from me good will come to you’ BrTabl. ii 52 (Tudḫ. IV). This use is rare, because the ablative case itself is so rarely applied to human beings (§16.99, p. 267). But ablative forms of independent pronouns can also convey the more usual idea of agency with passives and participles (see §16.99, p. 267): ĕU-îš=ma=kan DAM=SU=YA kuiṭē āššiyāntari nu=šmaṣ=kan āššiyatar zagi[-aš]šān ar [nuwanzi] n=at tue(d)azza ḫÎŠAR-liaza ḫtarān ‘(as for) the man and wife who love each other and bring their love to completion, it is decreed (lit., ‘spoken’) by you, O ḫÎŠAR’ KUB 24.7 i 38–40; kinuna ammuk ʷNīR.GAL LUGAL-uš tuédaz ʾÎŠU ṣu/pihaššaši šallanuwanza arkuweškemi ‘But now I, Muwattalli, the king raised up by you, O Stormgod Pihaššašši, am making petition’ KUB 6.45 + KUB 30.14 iii 32–33.

Ablative forms can be found in double case constructions, where they function like adjectives (Luraghi 1997a: 24 §§2.1.11, 2.3.1.1): tuédazza memiyanaza ‘on the authority of your word’, ammedaza šu-az ‘with my hand’, ammedazza ḫIŠAR.TUR-az ‘with my spindle’, anzedaz memiyanaz ‘on the authority of our words’, anzedaz ʷGULŠAZ ‘on the authority of our fate-deity’. 
18.7. The suffix -il(a) added to the independent pronouns expresses the idea of ‘-self’, not in a reflexive but an emphatic sense (like Latin ipse), always nominative (see also p. 357, n. 2): ukila ‘I myself’, zikila ‘you yourself’, šumāšila ‘you yourselves’, apāšila ‘he himself’, apāšila4 and apāšilaš3 ‘they themselves’ (see above in §5.3, p. 132, and Sommer 1922: 48 n. 1, 1938 141 n. 3; HE §99, HED A 88; and HW2 I 165–66). Forms in -el (or -il) without the final a are also attested: ú-ki/el KUB 40.1 rev. 14; zi-ki/el KBo 16.41 i 14; a-pa-si/el KUB 36.89 obv. 19; a-pa-a-si-el KBo 22.260 obv. 7 (for -si-el see §1.62, p. 29). Although apāšila is properly used only with third-person subjects, on rare occasions in NH one even finds it employed with a second-person singular verb: našma=an apāšila ḫalziyatti ‘Or you yourself call him’ (thus with HED A 88 and Beckman 1999: 67) KBo 5.4 rev. 26 (Muw. II). This shows a developing tendency to use the third-person form independently in the subject-reinforcing sense ‘self’. To claim (with HW2 A166b sub 2) that apāšila is singular accusative here (‘oder du rufst ihn selbst’) seems to betray a basic misunderstanding of the role of the pronouns in -il(a) which reinforce only subjects, not direct or indirect objects.

Enclitic Personal Pronouns

18.8. The dative plurals of the enclitic personal pronouns may be used reflexively (§28.18, p. 358).

18.9. The dative of possession can be expressed with enclitic personal pronouns (§16.67, p. 258).

18.10. The use of postpositions/adverbs with a spatial locatival sense to govern (enclitic) personal pronouns, not yet attested in OS, can be seen in the following examples: nu=šši peran arha tarnaš ‘and you gave way before him’ KUB 14.1 obv. 62 (MH/MS); namma=man=ši EGIR-an KASKAL.MEŠ-TIM I[ŠBAT] ‘Then he wanted to seize the roads behind him’ KUB 14.1 rev. 27 (MH/MS); nu=mu kā ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ kušši kattan ‘Some chariotry is here with me’ HKM 30:9 (MH/MS); ûl=ma=mu GLIŠKUL LÜ.KUR kuwapiikki šer waḫnut ‘Nor did she ever let the weapon of the enemy whirl over my head’ Ḫatt. i 41–42; nu=šši iŠTAR URUŠumuš GAŠAN=ya palahšan šer épta ‘And ištar of Šamuḫa, my lady, held her p. over him’ (KUB 31.20 iii 6–7 + KBo 16.36 iii 9–10).

3. For the Hittite expression of the reflexive (the other use of English ‘-self’) see §§28.16ff. (pp. 357ff.).

4. Although in the following passage apāšila is used with a plural subject, the discordant numbers between the serial verb uezzi and the main verb mallanzi show that the speaker was confused as to the number of his compound subject: nu uezzi=ma iŠTAR-IŠ Ḫebatušša=AN=ḪAR=Ḫ aš apāšila mallanzi ‘Then it will happen that ištar and Ḫebat will themselves mill grain’ KUB 33.103 ii 7–8 (NS); see HW2 A 166b.

5. A NH scribe has affixed to apāšila the plural nominative common ending used (in NH) with a-stem nouns, namely -uš (§3.14, p. 69, §3.16, p. 70).

6. Since all forms occur to date only in NS texts, it is impossible to determine if the final el sign is to be read el or il.
18.11. The temporal meaning ‘before’, which may have been derived from an earlier spatial concept transferred to time (on this see Hoffner 2002 and see §16.74, p. 261), is seen with a personal object in passages such as: _peran−ma−at−mu_ ‘before me, however, (so-and-so governed) it’ Ḫatt. i 27.

18.12. Rarely also the dative-locative of a third person “personal” pronoun is used to express the ideas ‘to it’ and ‘for it’ (_parna−šše−a_ ‘and to (his) house for it’ Laws §§1–20; see §16.71, p. 260). The pronoun -šše in reference to a thing (‘it’) also occurs in _anta−ya−šše_ ‘in addition to it’ KUB 29.28 i 10 (Laws §128, OS).

*(Third-Person) Subject Clitics*

18.13. Third-person subject clitics never occur in sentences with transitive verbs with or without explicit direct objects (Garrett 1990a, following Watkins). Their occurrence with intransitive verbs is basically lexically determined (Garrett 1996: 90). Intransitive verbs that take subject clitics select _eš_- as the auxiliary verb in the analytic perfect, while those that do not occur with subject clitics use _ḥark-_ (see §22.19, p. 310, and Garrett 1996: 102–6). Many, but by no means all, of the intransitive verbs that occur with subject clitics fall into well-defined semantic classes. The behavior of a given intransitive verb must ultimately be determined on a case-by-case basis.7

*Intransitive Verbs with Subject Clitics*

18.14. (1) Intransitive verbs of travel/perambulation such as _ar-_ ‘to arrive’, _ḥuya-_‘to run’, _iya-(m.-p.)_ ‘to go, march’, _pai-_ ‘to go’,8 _uwa-_ ‘to come’ (but neither _pai-_ nor _uwa-_ take the clitic subject when used as serial verbs, §24.31, p. 324), _parš-_ ‘to flee, take flight’, _piddai-_ ‘to run, flee’, and _šarra-(m.-p.)_ ‘to traverse, cross a distance’, (2) stative and change-of-state verbs such as _akk-_ ‘to die’, _arai-_ ‘to get up, stand up’, _ašandulāi-_ ‘to encamp, go into garrison’, _eš-_ ‘to be’,9 _eš-(m.-p.)_ ‘to sit (down)’,10 _ḥark-_ ‘to perish, die, get lost’, _ḥarp(iya)-(m.-p.)_ ‘to reassociate, change one’s association’, _ḥaššik-_ ‘to

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7. Hittite intransitive verbs that take subject clitics and select the auxiliary _eš-_ correlate with the class commonly labeled in linguistic literature “unaccusative” and those without subject clitics that select _ḥark-_ as auxiliary with the class termed “unergative.” For a full discussion of “split intransitivity” in Hittite see Garrett 1996.

8. The inner accusative construction (§16.18, p. 246) _kaskal-an pai-_ ‘to travel the way’ containing the so-called accusative of the way (§16.28, p. 249), behaves like an intransitive verb of perambulation in taking the clitic subject pronoun: _takaňš-at ḫu-tu-š aš kaskal-an paiddu_ ‘Let it go the way of the Sungoddess of the Earth’ KUB 17.10 iv 13 (OH/NS).

9. An apparent exception is: _šarkaš lú-meš_ (var. _lú-eš_) _ešta_ ‘he was an outstanding man’ KBo 3.34 ii 11–12 (OH/NS), which lacks the subject clitic _aš_. Not an exception is: _kišša GUD.MA[š]_ [daššu]? _ešta_ ‘Lo, there (once) was a [powerful] bull’ KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41:17–18 (see §18.27, p. 282).

10. E.g., _nše ḫaššas katta ešanta_ ‘They sit down beside the hearth’ StBoT 25 #54 iii 10’ (OS). Exceptions: _ta ešanda_ KBo 17.74 + KBo 21.25 + ABoT 8 i 18 (OH/MS, StBoT 12, 19), possibly _[Kurna]rišš-a-kān iyawanyawananza κū(n) ἴπποι . . . [..] paiit iššašarwantiय-यास-रव-उ-न . . . [..] ešat_ KUB 33.120 i 42–44 (MH/NS), _nu gimr[j . . .] paiškanta ešanda_ KUB 53.15 ii 9–10.
become satisfied with drink’, *igâi* (m.-p.) ‘to freeze’, *irmaliya* (m.-p.) ‘to get sick’, *išpai-išpiya* ‘to become satisfied with food’, *iyanni* ‘to set out’, *ki* ‘to lie (down)’, *karuššiya* ‘to fall silent’, *kiš* (m.-p.) ‘to become, happen’, *kištanziya* ‘to get hungry’, *lâzziya* ‘do well, flourish’, *mai* ‘to grow’, *mer* ‘to disappear’, *nayya* (m.-p.) ‘to turn’, *putkiya* ‘to swell up’, *šalliya* ‘to melt’, *šeš* ‘to lie down, sleep’, *šupp* ‘to fall asleep’, *tiya* ‘to take up a position’, *war* (m.-p.) ‘to burn’, *weḫ* (m.-p.) ‘to turn, change’, *zeya* (m.-p.) ‘to become cooked’, and the -e- and -ešš- fiens- tives such as *miyaḫḫuntešš* ‘to grow old’, *miešš* ‘to become sweet’, *parkue*(šš) ‘to become pure’, *šallešš* ‘to grow up’, (3) medio-passives which function as true passives of transitive actives such as *šai* ‘to seal’ and *wemiya* ‘to find’, (4) medio-passives with (usually active) transitive counterparts, but occurring with the reflexive clitic -z(a) such as *munnāi* ‘to hide’, (5) verbs expressing emotions such as: *aršaniya* ‘to be upset’, but also ‘to be upset with someone, envy someone’, *ḫaḫḫarš* ‘to laugh’ or ‘to laugh at’, *kartimmiya* (m.-p.) ‘to get angry’, *naḫ* ‘to become afraid’ and ‘to fear (something)’, *šāi* ‘to be/get angry’ but also ‘be/get angry at’ (both usually with -za), *šulle* ‘to become wanton/disrespectful’, *taškupiške* ‘to wail, lament’, *duške* ‘to become happy, rejoice’ but also ‘to amuse, entertain’, *uwaya* ‘to arouse pity’, *wiške* ‘to weep, wail’. In their transitive uses these verbs take no clitic subject.

18.15. Some intransitive verbs with clitic subjects fall into no clear category: *baliya* ‘to kneel’, *he(n)k* ‘to bow’, *huntaušiya* ‘to fart.’

**Intransitive Verbs without Subject Clitics**

18.16. Intransitive verbs used impersonally without referential subjects do not take subject clitics: *āppai* ‘it is finished’, *idālawešzi* ‘it turns bad’, *mai* ‘it prospers’, *šešzi* ‘it thrives’, and *tiḫhai* ‘it thunders.’

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12. E.g., *namma⸗at šiyēttari* ‘Then it is sealed’ KBo 25.163 v 6’ and *n⸗at wemiyattaru* ‘Let it (cause of the plague) be discovered!’ KUB 14.10 iv 19.
13. E.g., *n⸗aš⸗za munnaittat* ‘He hid himself’ KUB 33.120 i 38.
14. This verb actually appears both with and without a clitic subject: *n⸗aš ḫinga* ‘He bows’ KBo 20.11 iii 4 (OS) vs. *apa⸗ya ḫekta* a-ap-pa-e-a (i.e., *appa⸗ya* ḫekta ‘He bows to the king, and he bows back’ KBo 20.10+ i 5–6 (OS). Against Garrett (1996: 97–98) these examples cannot be assigned to two different verbs. For the variation in *he(n)k* see §I.135 (p. 46).
15. *nu u[e]⸗(...)* *apēdani⸗pat* un-ši ẻ-ri⸗šši⸗pat id[(alawēšzi)] ‘it will turn out badly for that person in his/her own house’ KBo 3.67 iv 13–14 with dupl. KUB 11.1 iv 25’–26’ (OH/NS). See also: *apedani* un-ši *kallarešzi* ‘it will be unlucky for that person’ KUB 4.1 iv 29. As a change of state verb with referential subject, *idālawešš* does take a subject clitic: *ḥulmeš-ṣer-ma⸗at kēdani memiyani* ‘But they became estranged in this matter’ KUB 21.17 i 4 (NH).
16. E.g., *nu mān māi šešzi* ‘And when prosperity and abundance come’ KBo 3.7 i 6–7 (OH/NS) (for the nature of this clause see §30.34, p. 415). Contrast the use of a subject clitic with *mai* with a referential subject: *n⸗aš miškewan dāi* ‘It (a vineyard) will begin to prosper’ KUB 12.44 ii 28.
17. *Gim-an ḥamešhanza* ṭū-ri *tēḥai* ‘When it becomes spring (and) it thunders’ KBo 2.7 rev. 16–18.
Other Clauses without Referential Subjects

18.17. No clitic subject pronoun regularly occurs in elliptical ‘to be’ (ēš-) clauses with non-referential subjects such as ḫurkil ‘(it is) ḫurkil’ Laws §§189, 191, 195;18 Īl ḫarātār ‘(it is) no offense’ Laws §§191, 193–194 and §200; Īl šullatār ‘(it is) not (a case of) disrespect’ KBo 6.13 i 9 (Laws §169, OH/NS); MUNUS-naš waštaiš ‘(it is) the woman’s sin’ KBo 6.26 iv 7 (Laws §197, OH/NS); alwanzātar Dīn Lugal ‘(it is) sorcery; (it is) a case for the king’ Laws §111; or natta LÚ.MEŠ ŠIDITI=KUNU ‘(is it) not your provisions-bearers?’ KBo 22.1 17–18 (OS); takku Īl=ma AŠA.GAR dammel pēdan ‘But if (it is) not a cultivated field, (but it is) uncultivated land’ KBo 6.4 i 11 (Laws §IV, NH); mān LÚ.MAŠ.EN.KAK=ma ‘But if (it is) a poor man’ KUB 7.1 ii 9, KUB 7.54 iii 12; n=an punuš mān kiš(s)an mān Īl kiš(s)an ‘Just ask him whether (it is) so or if (it is) not so’ KUB 21.38 obv. 12 (NH); also “existential” sentences such as šarnikzil ‘(There is/will be) compensation’ KBo 6.26 i 27 (Laws §163, OH/NS; with LH 131). Other similar one-word clauses may be cases of ellipsis of a finite verb (§30.13, p. 409). In the past tense the verb ēšta occurs: Īl ēšta ‘was it not (so)?’ Ḫatt. i 51. Instances where a subject clitic pronoun is used are rare: nu-war-at-mu šallakartata[ð] škipiyatiš=ma[war=æ]š Īl kuški ‘There was negligence on my part, but there was no intent to defraud’ KUB 13.35+ iv 43–44 (NH);20 nu DINGIR.MEŠ Īl [šekteni] kšull-aš (§6.2, p. 137)21 dammešḫaš ‘Or do you gods not know whose is the injury?’ KBo 4.8 iii 3–4 (NH). It appears that Hittite occasionally (so far only in NH) permitted a subject clitic for a nonreferential subject, and that when this happened, it was marked by the feature of gender attraction.

Special Cases

18.18. Finally, there are some verbs whose lack of a subject pronoun seems idiosyncratic: aruwāi- ‘to bow’ (vs. ḫe(n)k- ‘to bow!’), gimmantariya- ‘to spend the winter’,

18. Compare also nakkuš ‘It is nakkuš’ in the Hittite laws, which shows no subject clitic marker. Note also that takku lu-īt KBo 6.4 i 18–19 (Laws §VII, NH; see ibid. i 26 [Laws §IX]) must be translated (with LH 22, 24) ‘But if (it is) not ‘he’ is a slave’, since without -aš the subject is non-referential.
19. A borderline case, which may show the use of a subject clitic for a non-referential ‘it’ subject is: [lē kuiški reži LUGAL-sa duddumili kardiyaš-saš [reži ni]-at parkuwat takaḫwaš-eši takaḫwatiat NUGAL KUB 1.16 ii 53–54. The clause [pa-a]-ḥa-aš-mu-wa-an ēšta HKM 89:25 (MH/MS) is problematic on several grounds.
20. The striking difference in gender (-at to -aš) in the clitic subject pronouns of this pair of tightly joined clauses shows clearly that we have gender attraction to the two predicates.
21. We choose this analysis based on the preceding cited example where an enclitic subject pronoun definitely is used for a nonreferential subject and shows gender attraction to the noun predicate. This solution does present a problem in that indirect speech requires that the content clause should be introduced asyndetically, whereas geminate ḫ here would seem to point to the presence of the conjunction -a-t-ya-. However, other such examples do occur (e.g., KBo 12.38 ii 6, cited in §7.1, p. 142), however they are to be accounted for. An alternative solution for the present case would be to assume kuēllaš dammešḫaš ‘whose is the injury’ with a degenitival pronominal adjective of the type established by Hoffner 2006.
A special problem is also posed by the verb ar- (m.-p.) ‘to stand’. Like eš- (m.-p.) ‘to sit’ it belongs with the stative verbs that take the subject clitic, but it fails to take the subject clitic in the Kikkuli hippological treatise (e.g., KUB 1.13+ iii 11, 21), a text which in many other aspects of its grammar shows that it was not composed by a native speaker of Hittite.

Demonstrative Pronouns

kā-, apā-, and aši: Word Order

18.20. The demonstratives kā- ‘this’ (proximal, near the speaker), apā- ‘that’ (medial, near the addressee), and aši ‘that’ (distal, far) can be used either as pronouns or adjectives. If the clause is verbal, the pronoun may occupy whatever position in the clause is appropriate to its syntactic function (subject, object, etc.).

18.21. In post-OH nominal sentences the pronoun apāš or kāš normally precedes its predicate noun or adjective: nu⸗mu kī ti(-zi) lū-natar⸗mit ‘This was my first heroic deed’ Ḫatt. ii 29 (KBo 3.6 ii 13); nu⸗wa⸗nnaš kā⸗(š e)⸗n-aš⸗pat ‘this one alone is our lord’ KUB 26.12 + KUB 21.42 i 17–18 (von Schuler 1957: 23).

18.22. In OH (OS), however, a different pattern applied, where the accented pronoun subject followed the predicate (see §30.29, p. 414).

18.23. There is also a rare use of the demonstrative in an appositional construction, in which case the demonstrative immediately follows its noun: (Queen Puduḫepa writes to Ramesses II of Egypt:) nu ANA šeš⸗eya ²lump[ašti⸗n apūn DÛ-mi ‘Am I doing that to ‘My Brother’ (Ramesses) as a grief?’ KUB 21.38 rev. 12 (NH), eds. Helck 1963; Stefani 1964); KUB Alašiya⸗man⸗za⸗kan pede⸗šši [i̯r⸗ahḫu⸗n arka·ma·nāhḫu⸗n, arka·man⸗ma⸗šši⸗kan [ḳu⸗n išḫi·yamun ‘But I subjected Alašiya and made it tributary on the spot; and as tribute I imposed the following (= kūn)’ KBo 12.38 i 7–9 (NH); ed. Güterbock 1967: 75, 77). (‘Because there are many herbal medicines, I will inquire which herb is determined by oracle. I will also inquire about physicians’) kuš⸗mu ²ṭ.A. zu šixša⸗ri nu⸗kan û ANA ²utu⸗ši ša i̯g̣li̯ḷa apāt ²parritṭi ‘And as medicine the physician who is designated to me by oracle will apply that to His Majesty’s eyes’ KUB 22.61 i 18–19 (NH), ed. Burde 1974: 4 (“soll . . . selbiges Kraut streichen”); it is not clear why
the apāt is separated from the ū in this clause; see ibid. i 6. It is unclear whether it is significant that our only attested examples come from late NH.

18.24. The unmarked position of the adjectival demonstrative is preceding its substantive. When that substantive is further modified by either an attributive adjective or a noun in the genitive case, the latter intervenes between demonstrative and substantive.

18.25. With intervening genitive — (1) with kāː - ki [URU] Šinaḫwa[š] [URU] Ubariyašša [UTU]-ši ki ŠA LÚ.MEŠ [URU] Gašga takšulaš utter ḫatrāši ammu gàwa memian INA KUR [URU] Išḫupita ḫuskiša ‘But concerning what you wrote me as follows: ‘Until you, Your Majesty, write me about this matter of the peace of the Kaškaean men, I will await word in the land of Išḫupitta’’ HKM 10:23–32 (MH/MS); ki=mu kuit ŠA =Marrûwa LÚ [URU] Ḫimmuwa ḫaliyatar ḫatrāš ‘This homage of Marruwa, the ruler of Ḫimmuwa, about which you wrote to me’ HKM 13:4–5 (MH/MS); kē=ma namma ŠA KUR [URU] Ḫatti=pat KUR.KUR.H.LA-TIM KUR [URU] Gašga [n]=at LÚ.MEŠ SIPA ȘAH U LÚ.MEŠ EPIŠ GAD ēššer (var. ešer) ‘Moreover, the following (lit., ‘these’) lands which belong to Ḫatti, the Kaška land — they were swineherds and weavers — (Arawanna, Kalašma, Lukka, etc., have declared themselves free from the Sungoddess of Arinna)’ KUB 24.3++ ii 38–39 (pr. of Murs. II); antuḫšatar=ma kuit nu=š[iš]=šan UL=ya kuit utter wemiyaweni n=at=[an ked]ani linkiyaš tuppiya UL kitta[ri] ‘Whatever matter we do not find out about the population will not be placed on this tablet of the oath’ KBo 5.3+ ii 60–62 (MH/NS); see kīy-ašta warān paḫḫur gím-an kištati ‘just as this blazing fire was extinguished’ (participle warān) KBO 6.34 iv 5–6 (MH/NS), ed. Oettinger 1976a; ki=ma idālauwa uddār kiuieš ēššanzi ‘those who are performing these evil things’ KBO 3.1 ii 61; ammel kāš-pat 1-aš dammešḫaš ‘This (is) my only punishment (for her); (in this way only I punished her: just the fact that I expelled her from the palace)’ KBO 3.1+ ii 12–13, 16 (NH) ed. Hoffner 1983a (where the number is used as attributive); ki=ma [UTU] Tanipiya a[șanzi] ‘these three men remain in Tanipiya’ KBO 3.7 iv 20–21 (OH/NS); edani pangawi LÚ.[(KÚR)] ‘that entire enemy (force)’ KBO 14.3 iv 29; nu=kan uni pankun šuti kuenta ‘he struck that entire tribe’ KUB 19.18 i 5′–6′ (NH).
18.27. When, however, one or both of the words following the demonstrative is a logogram (but see above in §18.25), divergence from this order is permitted: (1) **genitive follows head noun:**
\[nu næza kī alam=ya ša kū. gi iyanun \] ‘so I constructed this gold statue of myself’ KBo 10.2 iii 21 (annals of Hatt. I, OH/NS); kē=ma ṭ uppā XB.A išḫiullaš karī anīyan ešta ‘these tablets of the treaty were already executed’ KBo 4.10 i 38, see 50 (treaty with Ulmiteššub of Tarḫuntašša); nu apāt=aya uttar ša ‘Danuḫepa iya[t k]uš nu næza apašš=ə ḍingir-ľim-iš karī kišat ‘He too who committed that deed against (lit., ‘of’) Danuḫepa has already died (lit., ‘become a god’)’ KUB 10.2 iii 21 (annals of Hatt. I, OH/NS); kē=ma ṭ uppū ša ḏi. h. a apiya šiyanzi ‘They will seal these legal documents (lit., ‘these tablets of cases’) there’ KBo 3.3+ iv 12–13 (NH); nu næza maḫḫan eni ṭ uppā ša KUR URU Ḫuruma ‘That queen of Ḫuruma’ KBo 3.28:21.

(2) **Attributive adjective follows head noun:**
\[nu næza kī tepu paitta \] ‘why did you give me this little bit?’ KUB 1.16 iii 10 (OH/NS); kūn=ma=wa=za ša 2 cīr. meš=šu kwaṭ ḫāšun ‘why have I borne this two-legged (child) (lit., ‘this one of its two legs’)?’ KUB 24.7 iii 23–24 (story of cow and fisherman); kēl=ma=wa=za ša ṭunnawiya ṭ unnawiya mešišṭa ‘this (ritual) of Tunnawiya, the Old Woman, is finished’ KUB 7.53 iv 7 (colophon).

18.28. The demonstrative naturally can also be followed by a substantivized adjective or a “free-standing” genitive (§16.61, p. 256): [kuw]at=mu kī tepu paitta ‘why did you give me this little bit?’ KUB 1.16 iii 10 (OH/NS); kē=ma=wa=za ša 2 cīr. meš=šu kwaṭ ḫāšun ‘why have I borne this two-legged (child) (lit., ‘this one of its two legs’)?’ KUB 24.7 iii 23–24 (story of cow and fisherman); kī=pat ša ‘Tiinnessšu murdummū pešta ‘she (the goddess) gave me these depopulated lands to govern’ Hatt. ii 56, see lines 63–64.

**Declinable kāš . . . kāš as a Distributive Expression**

18.29. As an equivalent to the English distributive ‘this . . . and that’ Hittite coordinates either kāš . . . kāš=ma ( . . . kāša=ma) or kāšš=ə . . . kāšš=ə. We have arbitrarily cited the nominative common singular, but correlated forms can show any case, gender, or number. Examples: kāšš=ə . . . kāšš=ə ‘this one . . . that one’ StBoT 8 ii 35–36 (OS); kī QES yulkul-īi=met kī=ma šahha(n)=met ‘this is my craftsman’s fief, and that is my šahha field’ Laws §40 (OH); kēl . . . kēl=ə ‘this one’s . . . that one’s’ (OH); kedani . . . kedani=ya ‘to this one . . . to that one’. The distributive kā- also occurs in the expression kez . . . kezzi=ya ‘on this side . . . and on that side’, or in kiššan . . . kiššan=ə ‘in this way and in that way’. Notice that Hittite sometimes views such pairs as contrastive, marking the second member with -al=ma (kī . . . ki=ma) and sometimes as coordinated, using -al=ya (kāšš=ə . . . kāšš=ə, kez . . . kezzi=ya, etc.). Note that although (especially with the use of -al=ma) the pairing has the function of contrast, the same (near) demonstrative is used for both members. Similar in force is kuieš . . . kuieš (pl. nom.) ‘some . . . others’.

23. In the following examples the presence of logograms either as head noun or genitive or both renders the Hittite word order less certain.
18.30. Sometimes kāš kāš (or even simple kāš) is used to represent a name to be supplied: [LUGAL-i-]kṣan kāš kāš ʾistarningain E.GIR-pa dāš ‘So-and-so has taken back [from the king?] the illness’ KUB 29.1 ii 32 (rit., OH/NS); kāš=war=at-ši LUGAL-uš paīš (‘If from the palace they give him [i.e., a temple servant] silver, gold, . . . , let it be enumerated/specified:) ‘King So-and-so (lit., ‘this king’) gave it to him’ KUB 13.4 ii 34 (pre-NH/NS), cf. CHD lamniya- 2b. Note that kāš kāš takes a singular verb. On the other hand, kāš kāšš⸗a ‘this one and that one’ takes a plural verb: ‘When they gave it to him’, nu⸗wa kāš kāšš⸗a arantat ‘so-and-so and so-and-so were present’ KUB 13.4+ ii 37–38 (instructions for temple officials, ed. Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935). The latter construction also occurs in the accusative: kiṣ-ya kiṣ-ya iyami ‘I am about to do such-and-such’ KBo 3.7 i 22 (Illuyanka, OH/NS).

Correlated kā-Forms Having Different Cases

18.31. When correlated kā-forms have different cases, this is sometimes used (like arāš arī and arāš aran or 1-aš 1-an24) to express reciprocal action (‘one . . . the other’): kāš⸗man kūn epzi ‘one might seize the other’ Laws §49; [lē=ma=za-ka]n kāš kūn E.GIR-pan šazketta ‘let one [not] . . . the other!’ KUB 1.16 ii 58 (OH/NS).

Other Deictic Elements

18.32. Although the primary demonstrative pronouns of Hittite are kā-, apā-, and aši, they are not the only deictic elements in Hittite speech. The contrasting inseparable prefixes u- and p(e)- on verbs of movement (uda-, peda-, uwate-, peḫute-, ue-, pai-) also indicate movement relative to the speaker (the ‘I’): u- toward the speaker and p(e)- away. See §12.21 (p. 198, uwate-, peḫute-), §12.41 (p. 209, ue-, pai-).

The Indefinite Pronoun kuiški

18.33. The constructions with kuiški are formed as follows. When kuiški is used substantively, it tends to take a position quite close to the finite verb (i.e., toward the end of the clause): n⸗ašta uttar [lē k]uuiški šarratta ‘let no one transgress the command’ KUB 1.16 ii 49–50; naššu E.GIR-LNM-ni kuiški peran wašti ‘or if someone (kuiški) sins before a deity (E.GIR-LNM-ni peran)’ KUB 1.16 iii 60 (OH/NS) (note how kuiški interrupts E.GIR-LNM-ni peran); ḥaššanna(n)=šan=za=kan le kuinki kuenti ‘of his clan do not kill anyone’ KBo 3.1 ii 45 (OH/NS); nu⸗šši L.U.KÜR zahḫiya menahḫanda namma ūl kuiški mazašta ‘no enemy (L.U.KÜR . . . ūl kuiški) dared any longer (to go) against him in battle’ DŠ frag. 28, A i 7–8 (NH); nu mān kišan kuiški memai ‘And if someone speaks thus’ KUB 1.4 iii “40(28)” (= Ḫatt. iii 73–74; dupls. A and F read kuiš instead of kuiški); šahḫaniy⸗aš luzzi lē kuiški ēpz[(i)] ‘Let no one (lē kuiški) seize them for land tax (or) for corvée’ Ḫatt. iv 85.

24. For reciprocals expressed with correlations of the numeral ‘one’: 1-aš 1-an (or 1-edani, 1-edaz, etc.), see §9.9 (p. 155).
18.34. In some cases the form of substantival kuiški even follows the finite verb at the end of the clause: [takku LÚ-a]n našma MUNUS-an ELLAM wäßzi kuiš[k]i n=aš aki ‘If anyone strikes a free man or woman, so that s/he dies’ KBo 6.3 i 6 (Laws §3, OH/NS); [n]ašma=šmaš EGR-ziai štamašži kuiški kuiki INA É.GAL-LIM=ma=at UL memai ‘or if anyone of you subsequently hears anything, but doesn’t tell it to the palace’ KUB 21.42 + i 26–27; mānn=a ANA NUMUN maLAMMA nakkišzi kuiški ‘And if anything weighs upon the progeny of Kurunta’ BrTabl. ii 75–76 (Tudḫ. IV); mān tuk=ma Kupanta-laLAMMA-an waggariyazzu kuiški ‘if anyone revolts against you, Kupanta-LAMMA’ KUB 19.54 iv! 8 (Murs. II treaty with Kupanta-LAMMA); namma=mu mān uppāi kuiški mān=mu UL kuiški uppāi nu=mu ṬUPPAHRA ḫatrātten nu šigallu ‘Furthermore, write me letters and let me know whether someone will send (oil) to me or no one will send (it) to me’ KBo 18.2 rev. 8–12 (NH).

18.35. When kuiški is used as an attributive adjective and the modified noun has no other modifying adjective, kuiški immediately follows the noun: nu=smaš šardiyaš kuiški paizzi ‘And some supporter goes to them’ KBo 6.3 ii 31 (Laws §38, OH/NS); nu=mu kā šardiyaš kuiški kattan ‘(There is) some chariotry (lit., “horses”) here with me’ HKM 30:8–9 (MH/MS); mān DINU=ma kuiški šallešzi ‘But if some legal case becomes (too) large’ KBo 3.3 i 29–30 (NH); mān DUMUL.GAL kuiški waštai ‘If any prince sins’ KBo 3.1+ ii 59 (OH/NS); see also HKM 46:15–16 for a kuiinki example.

18.36. When the attributive adjective is tamai-, kuiški follows it directly and precedes the head noun: ANA KUR-TI-man tamāin kuinki EN-an iyamun KBo 5.13 i 21–22 (see also KBo 4.3 i 11); see also KBo 16.97 rev. 32 (MH/MS) tamaiš=ma kuiški ‘IŠTAR ‘some other IŠTAR’ vs. rev. 30 ‘IŠTAR of my father’; mān+aš apel ša MUNUS-TI DUMU-aš mān+aš tamēl kuēlqa MUNUS-aš DUMU-aš ‘Whether he is the child of that woman or he is the child of some other woman’ BrTabl. ii 90–92 (Tudḫ. IV), but this also occurs occasionally without tamai-: HUL-lun=ma kuinki INIM KUB 21.5+ iii 1; tueŋ kuinki IR-TUM KUB 14.3 iv 47; kuiški idāluš memiaš ša BAL KBo 5.4 obv. 10. See also KBo 5.13 i 36 apašila=ma kuiški URU-aš.

tamai-

18.37. When used adjectivally, tamai- ‘another’ (for pronominal forms in its declension see §5.2, p. 132; for the paradigm §8.10, p. 152) like most other adjectives precedes its noun: tamai utne ‘another land’, tamaiš išḥaš ‘another lord’, tamaiš pedan ‘another place’, tamaiš kuiyatiš ‘another plot’, tamaiš URU-aš ‘another city.’ Occasionally, when its head noun is a logogram without Hittite phonetic complement, tamai- as attributive adjective follows its noun: maḫḫaš=ma=ššan LUGAL-uš ANA KASKAL.GAL parā ari GER.GIGIR=ma tamaiš tūriyan ḫantaš ‘but when the king comes forth upon the Great Road, another chariot is harnessed (and) ready’ KUB 10.18 i 24–26; LU.MES-ALA.ZU₃ tamaeš TŪG GUN.A waššani ḫarkanzi ‘the other performers wear brightly colored garments’ KBo 4.9 i 45–46; NINDA.KUR₃ RA damaš in KUB 7.5 ii 27.
18.38. When used substantivally, *tamai-* means ‘another (one)’ and is construed within its clause just like any ordinary noun: *ištarna UD.HLA-ti=ma NINDA.KUR,RADamaus paršiyannaḫḫi nekuẓ meḫurr-a damaus paršiyannaḫḫi* ‘at midday I break other loaves, and in the evening I break (still) others’ KUB 7.5 ii 26–30; *takku Dumu.Munus LÚ-ni taranza tamaiš=a=an* (or *tamaiš=an*) *pittuzzi* ‘If a young woman is promised (in marriage) to a man, and another (man) runs off with her’ KBo 6.3 ii 5–7 (Laws §28a, OH/NS); *kur-zu-na-aš* (var. *lam-na-aš*) [*LUGA]*L-UŠ aki *GIŠ.ZA=ŠU=ma=za=kan tamaiš(!) ešari* ‘... king will die, and another will sit down on his throne’ KUB 8.1 ii 18–19 (omens, OH/NS).
Chapter 19
ADVERBS

19.1. Whereas an adjective is a word that qualifies a noun, an adverb is one that qualifies a verb, an adjective, or another adverb. The italicized words in the following examples are English adverbs: ‘he walks slowly’, ‘the day has ended too soon’, ‘she is less talkative than her neighbor’.

19.2. Interrogative adverbs can serve as conjunctions introducing subordinate clauses (as interrogatives they can also introduce indirect questions; see §30.6ff., pp. 427ff.): kuwapi ‘when/when?’ or ‘where/where?’, maḫḫan ‘when, as soon as/when?’ or ‘as/how?’, kuššan ‘when’ (rare).

19.3. Adverbs can be derived from other parts of speech by the addition of a suffix or by the use of a particular noun case (see §16.30, p. 249). On adverbs formed on a demonstrative base see §7.18 (p. 147).

19.4. In the examples cited below note that the same adverb may be assigned to several categories. For example, apiya is listed below in local (‘there’) and temporal (‘then’) meanings, as is kuwapi ‘where, when’.

Local Adverbs

19.5. Local Adverbs: kā ‘here, hither’ (OH kāni), kēt ‘on this side’, kēz ‘from here, on this side’ (often in correlation kēz . . . kēzzi-ya ‘on this side . . . on that side’), apiya ‘there, thither’, a-pād-da, a-pād-da-an (post-OH) ‘there, thither, to that place’, apēz ‘from that place’, edez ‘on that side of’, kuwapi ‘where, whither’, kuwapiya

1. takku kēt (var. B kēz) ḫ-a-(z 2 GIN KŪ.BABBAR ḫāi takku edi ḫ-a-az nukšše 3 GIN KŪ.BABBAR ḫāi ‘If (it happens) on this side of the river, he shall pay two shekels of silver; if on that side of the river, he shall give him three shekels of silver’ KBo 6.2 i 49–50 (Laws §22, OS); [(UGULA lu MES MUHALDIMI) ḫaššāš katta kēt arta ‘The foreman of the cooks stands next to the fireplace on this side’ KBo 17.15 obv. 14–15.

2. apēda (OH/NS) occurs securely as ‘therefore’ (see §19.8 with p. 291, n. 7) and possibly once in NH broken context (KUB 6.48 ii 3, see SV 2:148, cited HW2 A 180) as ‘thither’. We read the forms with the pātī-pī sign as -pād- based on the contrast da-ma-at-ta vs. da-me-e-da ‘to another (place)’, which appears to show that the forms with geminate dd/tt had a vocalism.

3. kinun-a apēz dā nu apē NÚMUN.ḪLA anniya ‘Now take from there and sow those seeds’ HKM 54:25–26; [m]ān  baskı-a mašwan tan waštanzi [n]uš ʿUTU-ŠI kezza zabāšiyaši zik-šu apezza zabāšiyaši ‘If they fail (to give) so much as a tiny bit of wool, I, My Majesty, will fight them from this side, and you shall fight them from that side’ KBo 16.47:8–9.
19.6 Temporal Adverbs

19.6. Temporal Adverbs: mān ‘when’ (OH), maḫḫan ‘when’ (NH); kuwapi ‘when’ (§8.9, p. 151; §19.2, p. 289; §30.34, p. 415); kuitman ‘while’ (§30.37, p. 416); kuššan ‘when, as soon as’; kinun ‘now’; apiya ‘then’; kuwapi(k)ki ‘anywhere, anytime’; natta kuwapikki ‘nowhere, never’; kuwapiya ‘always, whenever’; karū ‘formerly, long ago, already’; annišan ‘formerly’; annaz(a) ‘at one time, formerly’ (§7.17, p. 146); tapešni ‘previously(?)’; lukkatta ‘on the morrow’; zilatiya, ziladuwa (Luwian loanword) ‘subsequently, in the future’; kattama ‘later on, afterwards’; namma ‘next, finally’; nūwa ‘still, yet’; nawi ‘not yet’; peran parā ‘provisionally, previously’; duwan parā ‘until now’; ḫudāk ‘immediately, suddenly’; lammar or lamni ‘instantly, immediately’; lammar lammar ‘at any moment’; l-anki ‘immediately, at once’; parḫešni ‘quickly’; kuwashanka ‘anytime, whenever’; ḫandaiši meḫuni ‘in the heat of the day, at noon’; nekuz meḫur ‘in the evening’; mištiliya meḫur (a time of day); ṣispandaz ‘at night’; UD.KAM-az ‘in the daytime’.

19.7. The Hittite manner of referencing temporal relationships using terms of spatial reference is a complicated subject in its own right (see Hoffner 2002). Does the speaker face the future, with the past behind him, or does he face the past, which he can and does know, with the yet unknown future behind him? The second theory is supported by the normal use of peran for ‘before’ and āppan ‘after’, and appašiwatt- (lit., ‘afterday’) for ‘future’. Also ḥantezzi(ya)- ‘older, earlier-born’ (< ḫant- ‘front, forehead’) versus appezzi(ya)- ‘younger, later-born’. Yet there are a few expressions suggesting

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4. menaḫḫanda[(sqša)n kurakkā] tapuwaš ZAG-ni GUB-li nu kuwapīya QATAMMA 4 walluš dāi ‘Opposite the pillar, alongside, on the right, on the left — everywhere in the same way [he deposits] four walluš’ KBo 4.1 rev. 3–4. The term kuwapīya also means ‘whenever’; see §19.6.

the opposite, such as *-mu peran* ‘before me’ KUB 13.4 ii 58–59 (MH/NS) in the sense of tasks awaiting my attention in the future.

**Adverbs of Manner**

19.8. **Adverbs of Kind and Manner and Causality**: *kiššan* ‘thus, as follows’; *apeniššan* ‘thus, as just seen or said’; *eniššan* ‘thus, in the previously mentioned manner’ (see §7.18, p. 147); *apēda* (OH/NS), *a-pád-da, a-pád-da-an* ‘for that reason, therefore’; *kuwat* or *kuit* ‘why?’, *kuwatka* ‘somehow, perhaps’, *ul kuwatka* ‘by no means, in no way’, *arumma* ‘highly, exceedingly’, *imma* ‘actually, really’, *katta* ‘accordingly, subsequently’, *karši* ‘really, truly, genuinely’, *mahhan* ‘how?’ ‘as’, *manka* (usually *manka*) ‘in some way, in any way’, *kuwatta kuwatta* ‘in every respect’. One occurs in both main and subordinate (i.e., dependent) clauses: *mahhan* ‘as, how’. For additional manner adverbs see §16.30 (p. 249) and §§19.13–19.14 (p. 292).

19.9. Adverbial phrases of manner are formed with the postpositional *iwar* ‘in the manner of, like’, which governs the noun preceding it in the genitive case (*LÚₐₐₐₐ*-aš *iwar* ‘in the manner of a cupbearer’) (see Hoffner 1993 and §16.59, p. 255), and the postpositive conjunctions *mān* (CHD *mān* mng. 1) and *maḫḫan* ‘like’ (see §20.32, p. 301).

19.10. **Distributive Adverbs** (§24.12, p. 320; §28.119, p. 384) are formed by repetition: usually dative-locative, *ilani ilani* ‘gradually, step by step, by degrees’; *uddani uddani* ‘word by word’; *witti witti* or *MU(.KAM)-ti MU(.KAM)-ti* ‘year by year’; *ITU(.KAM)-mi ITU(.KAM)-mi* ‘month by month’; *UD(.KAM)-at UD(.KAM)-at* ‘day by day’; *GE₆-ti GE₆-ti* ‘night by night’; *lammar lammar* "moment by moment, at any moment’; *KASKAL-ši KASKAL-ši* ‘trip by trip’; but also other cases: *KISLAH-až KISLAH-až* ‘from each threshing floor’ KBo 16.72:5’; *ZAG.GAR.RA ZAG.GAR.RA* ‘altar after altar’; *1-an 1-an* ‘one by one (acc.)’; etc. See also É.DINGIR-LIM É.DINGIR-LIM Bo 6251 obv. 3, and *gipešni gipeš[ni] KUB 45.78 iv? 3’. For the use of distributives of time words with -ške- verbs see §24.12 (p. 320). This construction must be carefully distinguished from the use of the repeated vocative (or direct address form) such as *lāli lāli* (= *EME.HLA EME.HLA*) ‘O tongues! Tongues!’ (see p. 81, n. 25).

**Denominative Adverbs**

19.11. As **denominative adverbs** one finds either (1) frozen case-forms of nouns or (2) frozen case forms of adjectives, including derivatives with the productive suffix -ili.

6. For *kiššan* in interrogative clauses see §27.3 (p. 348) and §30.69 and §30.71 (p. 427).
7. See *kuit ġanda . . . apēda* ‘why? . . . for that reason’ KBo 3.41 + KUB 31.4 obv. 16–19, cited HW² A 180. The meaning ‘thither’ for this word is not assured (see §19.5, p. 289).
8. *‘Askaliyaš URU Ḫurmi ešti apaš-a kuwatta kuwatta LŪ.IMEŠ (var. LŪ-eś) ġīša* ‘Askaliya lived (lit., ‘was’) in Hurma, and he was a man in every respect’ CTH 8 (A = KBo 3.34) ii 8–9.
9. We follow the CHD (s.v. *lammar*) in taking these forms as endingless dative-locatives.

19.13. The neuter nominative-accusative of adjectives can serve as an adverb: (1) in the singular: tepu ‘somewhat, a little, a bit’, mekki ‘very, greatly’, ḫantezi (at) first (opportunity)’ (§16.30, p. 249), karši in lu.KUR karši zahhiyadduma[l] ‘really/truly fight the enemy!’ KUB 13.20 i 19; (2) in the plural: ḥatuga (< *ḥatugaya) ‘in a terrifying manner’, munnanda ‘secretly, hidden’. The ablative annaz of the demonstrative stem *anna- ‘that, yonder’ is used as an adverb ‘formerly’.

19.14. Neuter accusatives of pronouns and numerical adjectives can also serve an adverbial function (HE §199b regarded these as “inner objects”): tuk ūl kutiki idālawahhun ‘I harmed you in no way’ KBo 5.13 i 23 (Murš. II); apāt-t[ya] [n]īṣ Dingir-lim šarratti ‘in that way too you transgress the oath’ KBo 5.4 rev. 23–24 (Murš. II); ḫiyan 1-an dammešhanun ‘(only) in this one way did I harm her’ KBo 4.8 ii 13.

The Adverbial Suffix -ili

19.15. A productive denominative adverbial suffix is -ili (originally plural nominative-accusative neuter of adjectives such as karūili- ‘old’). It is suffixed directly to consonantal stems: pittiyanṭili ‘like a fugitive (pittiyan-)’; karaššiyantili ‘quietly (karaššiyant-)’; mayantili ‘like a young man’; mu.kam-ili or mu-tili (witta-) ‘annually, yearly’; ud.kam-tili (šiwatt-) ‘daily’; ḫaranili ‘like an eagle (ḫaran-)’, swiftly’; munus-nilī ‘of a womanly nature (munuš-n-)’. The suffix elides the a of a-stem nouns: nilaši in the (speech) manner of (the city of) Neša’; ḫurlili ‘in the Hurrian language’ (ḫurla-); luwili (without determinative) ‘in the Luwian language’ (< ḫurla-). Since we lack a good example of an adverb based on a u-stem, it is unclear how -ili was suffixed to such nouns, although probably the u was not elided. One assumes that it would have been analogous to the formation of the adjective karūili- ‘primordial’ from the adverb karū ‘long ago’ and the adjective tarḫuili- ‘valiant’. When based on geographic names, -ili often denotes the language (or some other cultural characteristic) of that region: ḫurlili, našili, and nešumnilī (the latter two without determinative) ‘in the language of the city of Neša’, ‘in Hittite’; ḫattili ‘in the (pre-IE) language of the Hattians’, ‘in Hattic’; luwili (without determinative) ‘in the Luwian language’ (< luwiya); palumnilī ‘in the language of the land of Pala’, ‘in Palaic’; ḫurlili ‘in Hurrian’ (< hula-), pabililī ‘in Akkadian’, laḫšanili ‘in the mode/manner of the city Laḫšana’ (a dance style); ḫuppiššanili ‘in the mode/manner of the city Ḫubišna’ (a dance style). For a full list of the adverbs in -ili (without translations) see Reichert 1963: 120 and Jie 1994: 27–28.
Adverbial Circumlocutions

19.16. For cases where a finite verb in a construction with an infinitive describes the manner of action see §25.34 (p. 337).

19.17. For cases where an infinitive describes the manner of action of a finite verb see §25.35 (p. 337).

19.18. An adjective (or participle) in the nominative (appositional to the subject) can function like an adverb in English translation. See §15.6 (p. 237).
Chapter 20
LOCAL ADVERBS, PREVERBS, AND POSTPOSITIONS

20.1. Hittite has a number of words expressing various spatial relationships, such as ‘up’, ‘down’, ‘in(to)’, ‘out’, ‘beside’, ‘away’. With a few exceptions, these occur in a variety of syntactic roles. One may compare for this flexibility the uses of English ‘up’: ‘I found the enemy up in the citadel’, ‘I climbed up the stairs’, ‘I threw up my hands’. In the first example ‘up’ is a free-standing adverb that describes where the action of the predicate takes place. In the second, it is a preposition forming a phrase with ‘the stairs’. In the third it is a “verbal particle” that delimits the meaning of the verb (the latter being typically a verb of motion). It is also commonplace for the verbal particles to occur in combinations with verbs in an evolved, non-spatial sense: ‘I turned up the heat’, ‘I tore up the letter’. Hittite has equivalents of all of these uses. The challenge is to determine which are which. In what follows we draw upon the results of Zuntz 1936; Goetze 1963; Starke 1977; Boley 1985; Tjerkstra 1999; and Francia 2002b.

20.2. We follow the CHD P 109–30 (sub parā) and Francia (2002b: 2–9) against Starke (1977: 127–31) in assuming that most Hittite local/spatial adverbs occur in three distinct syntactic roles: (1) as free-standing adverbs; (2) as preverbs; (3) as post-positions. As per Tjerkstra (1999: 158–75) and Francia (2002b 6, 214), one cannot distinguish these different uses solely on the basis of word order; one must also use functional criteria. Inevitably, some attested examples are ambiguous and open to competing interpretations. The existence of such examples does not refute the basic claim of a three-way contrast. In what follows we purposely cite only enough unambiguous examples to establish each of the three usages. For more complicated and problematic cases see the works cited in §20.1 and CHD sub parā, pēran, and šarā.

20.3. Starke (1977: 131–87) established (based on OS evidence) that in Old Hittite there was a contrast between two paired sets of adverbs, one of which expressed ‘place to/toward which’ and one ‘place where’: Those of Set 1 are more common as preverbs, and those of Set 2 as postpositions. But this is a tendency, not a rule.

1. For some arguments against Starke’s claim of a single syntactic category of adverb see Salisbury 1999: 61–65.
2. We prefer to avoid the labels “directive” or “allative” for Set 1 and “locatival” for Set 2. We also take no stand on the question of the origin(s) of this system. On the latter see among others Laroche 1970: 35–41; Neu 1974: 59–61; and Starke 1977: 132.
20.4. It is important to recognize the use of the ‘place where’ set to express a location as the result of movement: [DUMU.MES LUGAL pâńzi LÛ.MES MEŠED-AN āppan tienzi] ‘The princes proceed to station themselves behind the bodyguard’ KBo 20.12+ i 3–4 (OS) (Salisbury 1999: 64 and Francia 2002b: 7–9, 57 and 68; overlooked by Starke 1977). This system mostly remains intact in New Hittite (Francia 2002b, but see Salisbury 1999: 64 on a limited change). There is a strong tendency for Set 1 to be used mostly as preverbs and Set 2 most often as postpositions, but at least in New Hittite there are exceptions to this pattern. Both sets function as free-standing adverbs. While many questions of detail remain to be answered, certain main facts seem clear.

Free-standing Adverbs

20.5. The following examples of syntactically free-standing local adverbs are merely illustrative and do not exhaust the possible different meanings of each: anda=ma=kan udu-$$\underline{\text{u}}$$ kuwâpi kuewênu nu linkiya kattan kiššan daiwen ‘in addition when we had killed a sheep (as part of the treaty-making ceremony), we placed the following (obligations) under oath’ KBo 16.47:15–16 (MH/NS); takku in.nu.da andan nu.[gâl] ‘if there [is] no straw inside’ KBo 6.2 iv 61 (Laws §100, OS); āppa=ma lugal uru.H[atti] . . . hullanun ‘But afterwards . . . I struck the king of Ḫattuša’ KBo 3.22 14–15 (OS); egir-án=ma=as irmaliyattat-pat ‘But afterwards he in fact became ill’ KBo 3.4 i 5–6 (NH); našma kattu dumu.mes ùtu-$$\underline{\text{s}}$$ kuški waggartyazi ‘Or if subsequently someone revolts against the sons of His Majesty’ KBo 5.13 iii 13 (NH); ta giš-ru kattan ‘And a tree (is) below’ KBo 17.1 iv 16 (OS); takku a.ša.št.a kuell-a parâ wâši ‘If he buys in addition someone (else)’s land’ Laws §XXXIX (OH/NS); nu=šši pargatar peran 1 lim 9 me=ya dann[a] ‘At first his height was 1900 dannas’ KBo 26.65 i 17 (Ullik. III); šarâ=ma giš-ru ḫazašta ‘But above, the tree dried up’ KUB 12.62 obv. 8 (pre-NH); nu=kan gurtan šer wetenun ‘And up there I built a citadel’ KBo 4.4 ii 61–62 (NH).

Preverbs

20.6. In many Indo-European languages the basic meaning of the simple verbal stem is modified by the addition of various prefixes. In some languages these prefixes

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 1: ‘Place to Which’</th>
<th>Set 2: ‘Place Where’</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anda ‘into’</td>
<td>andan ‘within, inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āppa ‘back’</td>
<td>āppan ‘behind, after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katta ‘down’</td>
<td>kattan ‘below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parâ ‘out, forth’</td>
<td>pêran ‘in front, before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šarâ ‘up(ward)’</td>
<td>šer ‘above, over’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3. With Starke (1977: 181–87) and against Tjerkstra (1999), Francia (2002b), and others, one must distinguish a separate kattâ/kattan/katti- which functions solely as a postposition meaning ‘beside, next to, with’ (see §20.21, p. 299).
20.7. In Hittite only two truly inseparable preverbs exist: *u-* ‘here’ and *pe-* ‘there’, attested in the pairs:4 *uda-* ‘to carry here’ and *peda-* ‘to carry away’; *uiya-* ‘to send here’ and *peya-* ‘to send away’; *unna-* ‘to drive here’ and *penna-* ‘to drive away’; *uwate-* ‘to lead here’ and *peljute-* ‘to lead away’; which are always written as single words. An exception is *pē* in *pē ḫar*(*k*)- ‘to bring, present’, in which the preverb is clearly separable: *pē*⸗pat ḫarkanzi ‘they shall also present (it)’. On the particle *-pat* see chapter 28. All other Hittite preverbs are separable. More research is needed on the word order of Hittite preverbs, but with few exceptions they occur: (1) immediately preceding the verb; (2) separated from the verb by one element (usually a negation, indefinite pronoun, or locatival phrase); (3) fronted to clause-initial position.5

20.8. The following examples of preverbs are merely illustrative and do not exhaust the possible different meanings of each: *anda-kan ḫalinaš teššummiš tarlipit šūwamuš 2-TAM pētumini* ‘We bring in clay vessels twice(?)-filled with tarlipa-liquid’ KBo 17.1 i 26–27 (OS); *lukkatta-ena ina EGR-PA uwanun* ‘But on the next day I came back to Iyahrišša’ KBo 4.4 iii 40; *EN=YA-=en edaza arḫa aru* ‘May My Lord get away from there’ KBo 4.14 iii 34; *nu-kan nam.ra.meš katta uēr n-ēt-nu giR.̲H.I.A-aš ki(atti)an ḫāliyanda([i])’ The colonists came down, and they prostrated themselves at my feet’ KUB 14.16 iii 16 restored from KUB 14.15 iii 46–47 (AM); *n-ēn-kan ina kur URU Nuhašši parā nehlu n* ‘And I sent him out to the land of Nuhašši’ KBo 4.4 i 40 (AM); *n-ēn parā ḫuintiyânun n-ēn EN-LAM iyânun* ‘I picked him out and made him a lord’ KBo 16.17 + KBo 2.5 iii 25; *LUGAL-i parā 1-ŠU paizzi* ‘He goes forward to the king one time’ KBo 17.43 i 11–12 (OS); *URU-ri=ma=aš-kan šarā lē uezzi* ‘Let him not come up into the city!’ KUB 21.29 ii 12; less common: *nu dumu.meš=ŠU andan zikêt š-ul š-uš fn-a tarñaš* ‘She put her sons inside, and released them to the river’ KBo 22.2 obv. 3 (OS); ḫalkiš=ma=šm)a[a ap[iya an[iya[an kuit nU EGIR-an tiyatten ‘because grain has been sown for you there, get behind (the matter)’ HKM 18 left edge 2–3 (MH/MS); nu ŠA dumu-ri kattan išBAT ‘He undertook (concerned himself with) (the matter) of a son’ KBo 5.6 iv 15 (DŚ, frag. 28); *nu=maš uez[i] [apāl]=pat peran ḫuwāškuwaün dāi ‘he himself proceeds to begin running in front of us’ KBo 3.40:8–9; *šer=pat aruwānzi* ‘(the king and queen) do reverence upward’ KBo 17.74+ iii 19 (OH/MS);4 URU Samuḫann=a URU-LUM DINGIR-LIM alwanžešnaza šer šunništa ‘And he filled up Ṣamuḫa, the city of the goddess, with sorcery’ Ḫatt. ii 78–79 (NH).

20.9. The force of each preverb can be best detected through a study of the various verbs with which it combines and the resulting meanings of each combination. Espe-

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4. This opposition corresponds neatly to German “her” and “him.”
5. We find the use of the terms “initial position” and “first position” in the literature on Hittite word order confusing and prefer to use the unambiguous terms “clause-initial” (i.e., absolute initial position in the clause) and “following clause-initial conjunction and attached clitics.”
cially helpful in this respect are verbs of perambulation or motion: *iya*—‘to go’; *pai*—‘to go’; *uwa*—‘to come’; *unna* and *penna*—‘to drive here/there’; *ar*—‘to arrive at, reach’; *tiya*—‘to step, enter’; *piddai*—‘to run’; *ḫuwai*—‘to run, flee’; *nai*—‘to turn, go’; etc. It can be seen from the above list that, even without recourse to preverbs, the Hittite language possessed a stock of verbs of motion which distinguished direction of movement. The preverbs refined the directional aspect inherent in the verb. Understanding the use of the preverbs is complicated by the fact that there are changes in their use from OH to NH (for the pair *anda* and *andan* see Salisbury 1999). These changes mean that the usage in later copies of earlier texts may be inconsistent. Further study is needed.

20.10. Two preverbs can occur with a single verb: *appan anda* *pai*-, *šer arḫa da*-, *appa šarā da*-, *peran katta*, *ištarna arḫa*. In some cases the first of two adverb/preverbs indicates the starting point of the motion (e.g., *šer katta*—‘down from above’), while in others it merely specifies the direction indicated by the second (*peran katta*—‘down in front of’). Limited to the first position in such a chain of two preverbs is *awan*, which occurs in *awan arḫa*, *awan katta*, and *awan šarā*. Since *awan* does not occur without another preverb following it, some believe that *awan* has no special meaning of its own but merely intensifies the following preverb (HW2, HED). Melchert (1996: 135) proposed that *awan arḫa* *pai*—meant ‘to go past (the side of)’. For a wide range of these constructions with tentative translations for each, see CHD P 18–19 (table of contents of *pai*—article).

### Postpositions

20.11. Instead of prepositions Hittite has postpositions, called “place words” by some. They serve the same function as the prepositions of the other Indo-European languages: they lend greater precision to the local or temporal distinctions provided by the case-forms of the noun. Most of the words that function as postpositions in Hittite are the same as those that function independently as local adverbs: *šer*, *peran*, *katta*(n), etc. There is broad agreement that when a local adverb co-occurs with a preceding noun or pronoun in the genitive (in OH), the adverb is a postposition (see examples below in §20.16, p. 298, and following; and see §16.35, p. 250). We follow the majority view that in many, if not all, cases where the dative-locative is followed by a local adverb expressing location, the latter is also a postposition (examples below); but there are dissenting opinions (see Starke 1977: 172–77). Whether the local adverbs expressing direction/place to which (*anda* ‘into’, *āppa*, *arḫa*, *katta* ‘down’, *parā*, *šarā*) function as postpositions in combination with a preceding noun is a much-debated question on which even the present authors do not fully agree. Examples of this sort cited below (e.g., all those in §20.15, p. 298) are thus interpreted differently by individual scholars. Fortunately, for understanding the meaning of the texts it usually does not matter whether we assume that the local adverb in such cases is a postposition or an independent adverb. One should, however, note the difference between *HUR.SAG*i *šer* ‘on top of the mountain’ and *INA*[^1] *Puranda* *šer* ‘up/above in Puranda’ (not ‘on top of P.’!).
20.12. Often the bare case-form without postposition expresses the spatial relationship which we would indicate in English with a prepositional phrase: é-ri (*peri) or é-ni (parni) ‘in the house’, parnaz ‘out of (or from) the house’. See chapter 16.

20.13. In answer to the questions ‘in what place?’ (kuwapi or kuedani pedi) or ‘at what time?’ (kuwapi) the Hittites used the dative-locative case of a place or time word, often in combination with a postposition.


20.15. anda or andan ‘in, into’: é-ri anda(n) ‘in the house’; kuiranda uet ‘he came into the land’; aššawaš anda ‘among (his) possessions/goods’; aššawaš antuḫšaš anda ‘among good people’; ḪUR.SAG Ḫapadduini anda ‘in Mt. Ḫ’.; kuirurī anda ‘into an enemy land’; ulinī anda ‘into the clay’; kiššari anda ‘in the hand’; kaskal-ši anda ‘on the road’; kuedanikki anda ištamašš- ‘to hear from/via someone’; tuekki⸗šši anda ‘on his body’; ašanduli anda ‘in garrison’.

20.16. āppan ‘(spatially) behind, (temporally) after’: ētarnui āppan ‘behind the tarnu-building’, uru-ri eğır-an ‘behind the city’, ana munuṣ-ti unuwaćı eğır-an ‘behind the dressed-up woman’, taršanzipi eğır-an ‘behind the platform(?)’, Ḫantezzi Ḫubrušḫi eğır-an ‘behind/after the first Ḫ.-vessel’; in Old Hittite governing the genitive: [nu “Pi]ḫānaš attaš-šaš āppan ‘after (the death of) Pittana, my father’ KBo 3.22:10, 30 (Anitta text, OS); kuiš ammel āppan Lugal-uš kišar[i] ‘whoever becomes king after me’ KBo 3.22:22, 49 (OS).

20.17. Juxtaposing the readings of an OH text with its NS copy, one can see how the NH scribe modernized the genitive construction ammel eğır-an ‘after me’ of his archetype to the dative one ammuḫ eğır-an (THeth 11 iii 49).

20.18. ḫandaš ‘for the sake of’: ša šeš-ya nakkiyanni ḫandaš ‘for the sake of the dignity of my brother’; ammel dugud-ıni ḫandaš ‘for the sake of my dignity’; ša šeš-ya ḫandaš ‘for the sake of my brother’; šum-ıni ḫandaš ‘for the sake of name/reputation’; [k]edan[=pa]t memini ḫandaš ‘for the sake of this very matter’.

20.19. ištarna ‘in the midst of, among’: šiunaš (dingir.meš-aš) ištarna ‘among the gods, in the midst of the gods’; ana kur [ur]ḫatti ištarna ‘in the midst of Ḫattuṣa’; in OH governing the genitive: šeš.meš-n=a nin.meš-n=a ištarna ‘among the brothers and sisters’ KBo 3.1+ ii 50; ḫaṣṣannan ištarna ‘among the (royal) family’ (Hoffmann 1984: 54 iv 31/23’, genitive in -an).

20.20. kaššaš (OH only) ‘instead of’ (takes the genitive): kinuna ı udû lu-naš kaššaš-aš šuittanta ‘But now they shall substitute one sheep for the man’ KBo 6.26 i 41 (Laws §167, NS).
20.21. *katta* or *kattan* ‘with, alongside of’, and (with verbs of motion) ‘to’. Although in MH and NH *katta(n)* governs the dative-locative, in OH it governs the genitive — *katta*: kal[ti=mi] sig₃-in tug₃-a katta sig₂-[n] ēš[ra] ‘It is well with me; may it be well with you too’ ABoT 65 obv. 3–4 (MH/MS); annaš=maš katta ‘with my mother, where my mother is’; takku lū-iš gud-aš katta [waš]ai ‘If a man has sexual relations (lit., ‘sins’) with a cow’ KBo 6.26 iii 20 (Laws §187, OH/NS); udur-aš katta ‘with a sheep’ KUB 29.34 iv 5 (Laws §188, OH/NS); apēl=pat annaš=šaš katta ‘with her mother’, . . . dumu. munus-aš katta ‘with a son’ KBo 6.26 iii 26–28 (Laws §189, OH/NS); 6[(UGULA LÚ.MEŠ MUNUS.KAR.KID-aš katta ‘with either a slave girl or a prostitute’ KBo 6.26 iii 47 (Laws §194, OH/NS); šaš-aš katta kēt arta ‘the overseer of the cooks stands on this side, next to the brazier’ KBo 17.15 iv 14–15 (OS); ammel katta ‘with (or: to) me’ KUB 36.44 iv 4; ammel katta arnut ‘to me’, apēl katta ‘to him’, annaš=maš katta arnut ‘bury me with my mother’. — *kattan*: nu-mu kā anše.kur.ru.meš kūški kattan n-an-da uppaḫḫi ‘(There is) some chariotry here with me. I will dispatch it to you’ HKM 30:8–10 (MH/MS); ammuk kattan ‘with me’ KUB 23.77 rev. 68. nu ‘Telipinu[š u-tu-un] arunašš-a dumu.munus-su arunaצ EGR-[pa uvvæt] n-uš 4[m-aš kattan pe[hueter] ‘Telipinu brought the Sungod and the daughter of the Sea(god) back from the sea and conducted them to the Stormgod (4-m-aš kattan)’ KUB 12.60 i 13–15 (myth, OH/NS).

20.22. *kattan* ‘under, below’, mostly with the dative-locative: giš-banšur-i kattan ‘under the table’; anda=ma=kan udur-un kuvāpi kuewēn nu linkiya kattan kiššan daiwen ‘in addition when we had killed a sheep (as part of the treaty-making ceremony), we placed the following obligations (lit., ‘placed as follows’) under oath’ KBo 16.47:15–16 (treaty); giš-halkišni kattan tuli[yaš ped]i ‘under the hawthorn tree, in the place of assembly’; in OH with the genitive: nepišša kal[(tan uliliškeddumat)] ‘under heaven you (pl., addressing trees) were growing’ KUB 29.3 i 11 (OS); restored by KUB 29.1 i 28 (OH/NS); see also Neu 1968b sub uliliya-).

20.23. *peran*⁷ ‘before’, in NH with the dative-locative: kartišmi peran ‘before their hearts (i.e., to themselves)’, šu-tu-i peran ‘before the Sungod’, šiuni=mi peran ‘before my god’, giš-banšur-i peran ‘in front of the table’; in Old Hittite with the genitive or dative-locative: lugal-waš pēran of lugal-i peran ‘before the king’; also in New Hittite in the sense of ‘because of’: kašši peran akkiš ‘He died from (i.e., because of) hunger’, inani peran ‘on account of illness’, pittuliyai peran ‘because of fear’.

20.24. *šarā* ‘up onto’ (answering the question ‘to what place?’), mostly with the dative-locative: šuḫḫi šarā ‘up onto the roof’; giš-dag-ti šarā ‘up onto the dais’,

6. NH copies of the laws substituted dative-locative (anše.kur.ru-i) or accusative (arnuwalan) for these genitives (see Laws §200 in KBo 6.26 iv 23).

7. This word is written either pē-e-ra-an or pēlipi-ra-an. Many Hittitologists, considering the transliteration pī to be “unmarked,” represent the word even in broad transcription as pīraan. But only once (in an Old Script tablet) is there a writing pī-i-ra-an, and this passage is suspect.
Local Adverbs, Preverbs, and Postpositions

20.25  ŠER ‘upon, over, above, on behalf of, concerning’, usually with the dative-locative: ŠUBH₂IŠER ‘on top of the roof’; HUR.SAG-IŠER ‘on top of the mountain’; NUMUN-NIŠER NUMUN-AN ‘seed upon seed’; IR-IŠER ‘on the slave’s behalf’; ANA LÚ.MEŠ KUR Amurra ŠER ‘because of the people of Amurru’. With the genitive, as in OH: KUEL ŠER ‘on behalf of whom’.

20.26. Just as some postpositions take the genitive of nouns and independent pronouns in OH, so also they can occur with the enclitic possessive pronouns (see Houwink ten Cate and Josephson 1967; Otten and Souček 1969: 70–73; Otten 1973: 44–45; Neu 1983: 96): EGN cancellation ‘after/behind them’; ŠER-ŠET ‘on his behalf’; PERAN-ŠET ‘before you’. When this kind of peran takes enclitic pronouns beginning with m or š, the final n assimilates: PERAŠSET ‘before him/her’; PERAMMET ‘before me’. In the preceding examples the place words look like nominative-accusative neuter substantives, but see §6.6 (p. 140). In other examples a different group of postpositions look like dative-locative forms: IŠTARNIŠUMMI ‘in our midst (= ANZA IŠTARA), KATTIŠUMMI ‘with us’ (= ANZA KATTA). See §6.8 (p. 141). The use of the genitive or an enclitic possessive pronoun with peran, ŠER, etc., does not alter the fact that they are postpositions (see Salisbury 1999: 61–62 against Starke 1977: 131). Whether any of them are derived historically from nouns is a separate question. See in addition to the above authors Melchert 1984b: 122–26.

20.27. In answer to the question ‘from what place?’ the Hittites used the ablative, often in combination with one of the above-mentioned adverbs: URU-ΑΖ KATTA ‘down from the city’ (ancient Anatolian cities were built on hills or mounds); A.AB.BA-ΑΖ ŠARĀ ‘up from the sea’; URUGAŠIPURAZ ŠARĀ ‘up from Gašipura’; ḤANTEŠNAZ ŠARĀ ‘up from the hole (in the ground)’. But see TUCZYAZ ÄPPA ‘behind the army’ (not ‘from behind the army’!)

20.28. Also governing the dative-locative is TAPUŠZA (TAPUŠA) ‘alongside of’: ḤAŠŠI (or GUNNI-i) TAPUŠA ‘alongside the brazier’; PATTENI TAPUŠA ‘beside the hole’; TABARWAŠUI TAPUŠA ‘beside the t.-bread’; GŠDAG-TI TAPUŠA ‘beside the dais’; LUṬIYA TAPUŠA ‘by the window’; ḤUWAŠIYA TAPUŠA ‘beside the stela’. The form TAPUŠA is an ablative of direction (see §16.92, p. 265) from the š-stem noun TAPUŞ- ‘side’: A.AB.BA TAPUŠA ‘to the (other?) side of the sea; overseas’.

20.29. Perhaps governing the ablative is PARĀ ‘forth from, out of’: GŠZALAM.GAR-ΑΖ PARĀ ‘out of the tent’; yet one also finds KÅ-ΑŠ PARĀ ‘out of the gate’, in which the
noun in -aš is not an ablative. See for this use of dative-locative to indicate ‘place from which’ §16.69 (p. 259).

20.30. parranda and pariya(n) both mean ‘over, across, beyond; out in’, yet parranda governs the dative-locative, while pariya(n) governs the accusative: aruni parranda or arunan pariyan ‘across the sea’ or ‘out in(to) the sea’.


20.32. An older view claimed that the postpositives mān and mahḫan ‘like, as’ governed the genitive case (Goetze and Pedersen 1934), but it has since been shown that they can govern any case, namely, the case of the noun or pronoun to which they make a comparison (Güterbock 1943: 154). Postpositional comparative mān (see CHD L–N mān 1 with literature) is attested from Old Hittite onwards (Neu 1974: 103–4 with n. 227; contra Kammenhuber 1969a: 280–81).
Chapter 21

VERB VOICE

21.1. Functionally, we may distinguish three verbal voices: active, passive, and middle. In the active voice the subject is the initiator of the action (the “agent”) expressed by the verb with no further implication. In the passive the subject is the recipient of the verbal action (the “patient”). In the middle voice the subject both initiates and is somehow affected by the verbal action.

21.2. In Hittite, active verb forms express the active voice, while medio-passive forms can express either active, middle, or passive voice. Some individual verbs show only one of these functions in their medio-passive forms, but others more than one according to context (see Neu 1968a on the functions of the medio-passive system). The passive is most often expressed not by a finite (medio-passive) verb form but by a construction with the verb ‘to be’ plus the participle (see §§21.10–21.12, pp. 304–305).

Active Voice

21.3. Active verbs may be divided into transitive and intransitive. Transitive verbs regularly take an accusative object, while intransitive do not. Sample transitive active verbs are ēpp- ‘to seize’, dā- ‘to take’, dai- ‘to put’, pai- ‘to give’, walḥy- ‘to strike, hit’, and kuer- ‘to cut’. These and other transitive verbs can occur without a direct object in suitable contexts: e.g., (‘My father sent infantry and chariotry, and they attacked Egyptian Amqa’) namma-ya uiyat nu namma wal(ah)yer ‘He sent again, and they struck again’ KUB 14.8 i 20 (NH). Sample intransitive active verbs are: ēš- ‘to be’, āš- ‘to be left over, remain’, šeš- ‘to sleep’, up- ‘to rise (of the sun)’, išparṭ- ‘to escape, survive’, and ḫark- ‘to perish’. These and a few others are always intransitive, that is, they never take a direct object (except for ‘cognate objects’, aššu šaštan šeš- ‘to sleep well’). A number of active verbs can either take a direct object or not: šakuwa(ī)a- ‘to look’ or ‘to see (someone)’, tarḥy- ‘to prevail’ or ‘to defeat (someone)’, nah(l)ṭ- ‘to be afraid’ or ‘to fear (someone)’, penna- ‘to drive’. The difference in usage is sometimes marked by the addition of -za (see §28.25, p. 361). With nah(l)ṭ- ‘to be afraid’ there is also a third option: the impersonal use (see §16.32, p. 250)

1. We follow here, for descriptive purposes, the traditional conception of “voice” or “diathesis” prevalent in Indo-European studies, for which see Neu 1968a: 1–3 and Meier-Brügger 2000: 243, 2003: 259. We cannot enter into the controversy over the proper cross-linguistic definition of the categories “middle” and “passive.” See among others on this issue Kemmer 1993, Fox and Hopper 1994, and Rubio 2007: §3.13.3.

2. See the characterization of the Greek middle by Goodwin (1965: 267): “in the middle voice the subject is represented as acting upon himself, or in some manner which concerns himself.”
21.4. Hittite medio-passive forms that show active (instead of middle) function may be transitive or intransitive. Examples with transitive meaning (so-called “deponents”): paḫš- ‘to guard’, šarra- (with -kan) ‘to transgress’, 3 parš-, paršiya- ‘to break (bread)’. Most of these are also attested with active forms in the same meaning. The latter tend to spread at the expense of the former from OH to NH. Often the medio-passive forms of such verbs are preferred in OH and MH, and the active forms in NH (see §14.11, p. 233).

21.5. Examples with intransitive meaning: ar- ‘to be standing’, aššiya- ‘to be dear, loved’, ḫaliya- ‘to prostrate oneself’, ēš- ‘to take one’s seat, sit down’, iya- ‘to go’, igāi- ‘to become cold’, išduwa- ‘to become known’, ki- ‘to be situated, lie’, kiš- ‘to occur, happen, become’, pangariya- ‘to be widespread, general’, dukk- ‘to be seen, be observed, regarded, important’, etc. Some of these are semantically “transformative” or “change of state” (ēš-, kiš-, ḫaliya-, igāi-, išduwa-) and others stative (ar-, ki-, aššiya-, dukk-, pangariya-). As a rule, verbs of this class are not attested in both active and middle forms with no apparent difference in meaning, but there are some exceptions such as ḫaliya- ‘to prostrate oneself’, ḫuya- ‘to flee, run’, and naḥšariya- ‘to be afraid’.

**Middle Voice**

21.6. Some medio-passive forms of transitive active verbs, often accompanied by -z(a), are reflexives, expressing an action performed by the subject on the subject: nai- (act.) ‘to turn something’, (m.-p.) ‘to turn oneself’; unuwāi- (act.) ‘to decorate’, (m.-p.) ‘to decorate oneself’; see also aššeke- (m.-p.) ‘to seat oneself’; arra- (m.-p.) ‘to wash oneself’; munna- (m.-p.) ‘to hide/conceal oneself’; ḫr-(n)alḫ- ‘to subject oneself’.

21.7. Some medio-passives, when plural, can be understood as reciprocals, with the action performed by the subjects on each other: zaḫḫiya- (m.-p.) ‘to fight each other’; ēpp-/app- (m.-p.) ‘to take each other by the hand’; šarra- (m.-p., and -za) ‘to part from each other’; ḫanna- (m.-p., and -za) ‘to contend with each other (in court)’.

**Passive Voice**

21.8. Some medio-passive verbs function as passives to corresponding actives: armizziya- (act.) ‘to bridge something’, (m.-p.) ‘to be bridged (of a river)’; ḫalzai- (act.) ‘to call for, name’, (m.-p.) ‘to be called’; ḫamenk- (act.) ‘to bind’, (m.-p.) ‘to be bound’; and ḫandāi- (act.) ‘to match, correlate (as transitives)’, (m.-p.) ‘to be matched, correlated’. 4 Other verbs in the medio-passive form which belong to this category and may

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3. Note, however, that even in NH the verb šarra- in its meaning ‘to separate, divide’ has a passive meaning ‘to be separated, divided’ in the medio-passive.

4. The medio-passive use is largely confined to oracle texts. The usual translation is ‘be determined’, but the idea behind this use is that an oracular event/observation is matched to a verdict (“favorable”/ “unfavorable”). The other active meaning ‘to prepare’, of course, has no correlation to the meaning of the medio-passive forms.
have a passive sense are: aš(ša)nu- ‘to be brought into order’; arai- ‘to be stopped’, ariya- ‘to be investigated by oracle’, ḫanna- ‘to be judged’, ištamaš- ‘to be heard’, au(š)- ‘to be seen’; immiya- ‘to be mixed’, kariya- ‘to be covered’, lā- ‘to be loosed’, lagwa- ‘to be poured (liquids)’, and lag- ‘to be knocked down, knocked crooked’, tarupp- ‘to be assembled’, uwa- (auš-) ‘to be seen’, Ṣaḫḫ- ‘to be subjugated’. It is not claimed that every medio-passive form of the above-listed verbs must be interpreted as passive, only that at least one example of each verb is.

21.9. Some agentless passives are effectively equivalent to intransitives: irḫāi- (act.) ‘to bound or limit’, (m.-p.) ‘to come to an end’; zinne- (act.) ‘to put an end to’, (m.-p.) ‘to come to an end’, etc.

21.10. The medio-passive form of the verb is not the preferred choice for expressing the passive of verbs that exist in the active. Usually a construction employing the (passive) participle in -ant- of a transitive verb plus a finite form of the verb ‘to be’ is employed. On predicative participles see Houwink ten Cate 1973a; Laroche 1975; Boley 1984; Wagner 1985; and also §25.43 (p. 339).

21.11. The following are examples of passive participles of transitive verbs used as predicates with the verb ‘to be’ expressed: nu utnē maniyahhešer nu URU.DIDLI.HLA GAL.GAL-TIM tittiyanteš īšer ‘They governed the land, and the large cities were assigned (to them)’ KBo 3.1+ i 10–11 (Telipinu proclamation, OH/NS); n=apa ŠEŠ.MEŠ=ŠU DUMU.MEŠ gaenaš=šiš LÚ.MEŠ ḫaššananaš=šaš U ÉRIN.MEŠ=ŠU taruppanteš ašandu ‘Let (the future king’s) brothers, sons, in-laws, the men of his clan and his troops be united’ KBo 3.1+ ii 40–42 (OH/NS); nu=za PANTI LÚ.KUR mekkī pahḫaššanuanaš īš ‘Be very much on your guard (lit., ‘be protected’) before the enemy!’ HKM 1:11–13 (MH/MS); URU.DIDLI.HLA=ma [(kuiēš Ṣ)]A KUR URU Ḫatti ištappanteš īšer ‘What cities of the Land of Ḫatti were blockaded’ Ḫatt. ii 41–42; (The birds which you sent to me,) n=at arḫa ḫarranteš īšer ‘they were spoiled, (so I didn’t eat them)’ AT 125:12 (NH); (Let those who prepare the daily bread be clean;) war[p]antiš=at kartanteš ašandu išḫēniš=šmaš=kan UMB[IN.MEŠ=ŠV]A dān īšdu ‘let them be washed and clean, and let the body hair and fingernails be removed from them’ KUB 13.4 i 15–16 (pre-NH/NS). In most cases the construction with the participle and ‘be’ represents a “state” passive: n=at arḫa ḫarranteš īšer ‘they (scil., some killed birds) were spoiled (= rotten)’ AT 125:12 (NH), but in some of the examples cited it is impossible to tell whether they refer to a state or to an event/action (see §22.25, p. 312, for more on this problem).5

21.12. With the verb ‘to be’ unexpressed: šiyēl ḪIR.MEŠ=ŠU [litti 1 AM]A ḫaššanteš ‘the servants of ‘Number One’ (i.e., the king) (are) born [of one mother] KUB 1.16 ii 47 (OH/NS); takku kuššan piyān ‘if the wage has been paid’ KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 ii 28 (OS); takku DUMU.MUNUS LŪ-inderedanu ‘if a girl has been (or: is) promised to a man’

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5. The distinction here is the same as German die Tür ist geöffnet ‘the door is opened’ (= open) versus die Tür wird geöffnet ‘the door is (being) opened’.
KBo 6.3 ii 5 (OH/NS); šeknu-šmet anda nēan ‘their š.-garments are turned inside-out’
KBo 3.34 i 21 (OH/NS); [gisBAN]šur-ka[<n GA]D-it kariyan ‘the table (was) covered with
the linen cloth’ KUB 24.8 i 22 (NS); [(ti)]ak-va igt-anda GISERIN-pié karū [(duw)]aran
TU, HLA=ya-tta [gi-anda] karū zanawan ‘Before you the cedar (is) already broken,
before you meals (are) already cooked’ KUB 33.102 ii 10–12 (Ullik. I); KUR URU Ḫa[tti
iš]TU NUMUN LUGAL-UTTI šuwan ‘the land of Ḫatti (is) filled with the seed of kingship’
KUB 26.1 i 10–11 (edict of Tudḫ. IV); dāššu išḫišša tuk-piyan ‘a weighty lord-
ship(?) (is) given to you’ KUB 31.127+ i 19 (hymn to Šamaš); nu-za karū mahḥjan an-
naza šā-za ḫaššanza ešun ‘when long ago I was born from my mother’s womb’ KUB
31.127 + ABoT 44+ iv 24 (OH/NS). For the use of -za in the last example, see §28.34
(p. 363). The verb ‘to be’ is often unexpressed when the time referred to is the present
or the statement is a general, timeless one (§22.3, p. 306).

21.13. Surrogates for passives. Some transitive verbs form no passive at all but em-
ploy forms of other verbs of related meaning (so-called suppletives). Thus forms of
akk- ‘to die’ are used to express the passive of kuen- ‘to kill’. Similarly forms of ki- ‘to
be situated, lie, be placed’ are used instead of passive forms of dai- ‘to put, place’; šer
tiya- appears as a passive for šer dai- ‘to place upon’; and -za kiš- ‘to become’ as a
passive for iya- ‘to make’.

21.14. In passive constructions it is customary to leave the agent unspecified. When,
however, an agent is specified, the noun or pronoun denoting the agent can appear in
either ablative (see §16.99, p. 267) or instrumental (see §16.107, p. 269) cases, never
the dative-locative (see §16.73, p. 261).
Chapter 22

VERB TENSE

22.1. Not only does the Hittite language lack the subjunctive and optative moods of other old Indo-European languages but like the Germanic languages it has only two “synthetic” (non-phrasal) tenses: (1) the present and (2) the preterite. On the “analytic” construction with participle and the verbs ‘to have’ and ‘to be’ compare §22.19 (p. 310) and following.

Present

22.2. As its name indicates, the present tense sometimes indicates an action simultaneous with the time of speech. These examples translate best as English present “progressives” (‘to be . . . -ing’): antuḫšātar⸗ma⸗wa⸗nnaš arantallin[(zi)] ‘the people are murmuring against us’ KUB 6.41 i 25 (Murš. II);¹ nu⸗za LUGAL-ušš⸗a utne⸗met ʾ-er⸗mīt⸗a pahlḥašmi ‘(the gods have entrusted to me the land and my house,) and I, the king, am (now) protecting my land and my house’ KUB 29.1 i 18–19 (rit., OH/NS); EĞIR-pa⸗ma tezzi nu kuit iššanzi apāš⸗šši EĞIR-pa tezzi GIŠ ḫūšuš šuwadaš ḫarkanzi ‘But he replies (to the eagle): ‘And what are they doing?’ (For the use of nu here see §29.48, p. 403, and examples in §27.8, p. 351, and §27.10, p. 352.) (The eagle) replies: ‘She is holding a distaff, (and) they are holding full spindles’’ KUB 29.1 ii 5–7; kuedani⸗wa⸗za menaḫḫanda išḫamiškeši ‘To whom (lit., ‘facing whom’) are you singing?’ KUB 36.12 ii 9 (Ullik. II). This “immediate present” can also be made more explicit by the addition of the adverbs kāša (tta) and kāšma (see §24.29, p. 324).

22.3. Certain other syntactic choices correlate with the bipartite present–preterite tense system of Hittite: The verb ĕš- ‘to be’ is often unexpressed when it would be in the present tense but never in the past tense. In OH the choice of ta versus šu as a sentence connective corresponds to present (including the “analytic perfect” §§22.19–22.23, pp. 310–311) which uses a present tense auxiliary verb) or preterite tense verbs (§29.3, p. 390).

22.4. Hittite uses the present tense to express a present state with the adverbs karū ‘already’ and nawi ‘not yet’. English employs the present perfect: n⸗aš karū paizzi ‘he has already gone’; and n⸗aš nawi paizzi ‘he has not yet gone’. For these constraining adverbs with the preterite see below, §22.16 (p. 309).

¹. The present pl. 3 arantallinzi is an unreal hybrid form resulting from imperfect Hittitization of a Luwian *arantallimi. There is no genuine Hittite third plural ending -inzi.
22.5. Statements of general validity (sometimes called “gnomic”) are expressed in Hittite by the present tense (see also §24.15, p. 321): 

\[ \text{IGI-zi}an \text{ GIm-an} \text{ GR} \text{hurkin} \text{ EGIR-zi}sh \text{ anda} \ \text{UL wemiyazi} \ 'As the rear (wheel) does not overtake the front wheel’ KBo 11.14 ii 22–23 (OH/NS); MUS\[\text{EN-i}sh-za-kan \text{ GR} \text{taptappan} \text{ EGIR-pa} \text{ e}phzi \ n-an \text{ GR} \text{taptappa}sh \text{ hu[i]snuzi} \ 'A bird takes refuge in the nest(?) and the nest(?) saves it’ KUB 14.8 rev. 22 (PP 2, NH); ANA DUMU.NAM.LŪ.U0.LU-pat=kan anda memian kišan memiškanzi ḫarḫāwus=s=wa \text{ MUNUS-n} \text{ DINGIR-LUM} \text{ kāri t}iy[al]i ‘Among mortals they have a saying, (lit., ‘they speak as follows’): ‘A god yields to the wish of a woman of the birthing stool’ KUB 21.27 ii 15–16; lalaš=wa armi\[ızzi \ ‘the tongue is a bridge’ KBo 11.72 iii 5 (MH?/NS; CHD L–N 22); and other proverbs (for a collection of which see Beckman 1986 and CoS 1:215 exx. 5 and 9).

22.6. Hittite also uses the formal present tense to indicate past time, especially in narrative. This is what is usually called a “historical present.” Since all identified examples are found in New Hittite texts, it is possible that this construction was not used in Old Hittite. In the following examples present tense forms translatable as past are underlined:

\[ \text{maḫḫan}=ma=ṣ \text{ U}R\text{U} \text{Tūwanuwa ari nu š}\text{AAP} \text{U}R\text{U} \text{Tuwanuwa dāi nu}=za \text{ U}R\text{U} \text{Tuwanuwan zahḫiyauwanzi} \text{ e}phzi \ ‘When he reached Tuwanuwa, he positioned (himself) below Tuwanuwa and began to fight against Tuwanuwa’ KUB 19.18 iv 16–18 (DŠ frag. 15); [luk]katti=ma=kan ABU=ya U\text{R}\text{U} \text{Tiwananzasa kata} \text{ KUR-}{e}=kan anda \text{ penna} EGIR-ann=an \text{ LO}.\text{MEŠ QARTAPPI}=šu 6 ŠIMDUM ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ harzi nu ABU=ya maḫḫan nammait=nu=kan edani pangawi LŪ.KŪR 1-anki=pat anda ḫandai\[ızzi n=anza=an ABU=ya zahḫiyauwanzi=pat ephzi ‘The following day my father drove down from Tiwananza into the land, (while) in the rear his charioteers and six teams of horses were supporting him. And as my father was driving, he encountered that whole enemy at once, and my father engaged him in battle’ KUB 19.30 i 16–18;

\[ \text{nu}=\text{Aitaqqamaš kuiš }\text{ UR}\text{U} \text{Kinza ēšta nu}=šši=m\text{N}Q-\text{MA}-u-āṣ [kuiš] [ḥant]ezziš DUMU-laš ēšta nu maḫḫan aušta [anda]=kan kuit ḫatkešnuwanteš nu(simāš ḫalikuiš namm}a [tepaw]\[ęzi nu=za=m\text{N}Q-\text{MA}-u-āṣ=ma\text{Aitaqqaman ABU}=šu kuent}a ‘When Niqmadda, the eldest son of Aitaqqama, King of Kadesh, saw that they (were) blockaded, and that furthermore the crops (i.e., food supplies in siege) were in short supply (sg. verb!), Niqmadda killed Aitaqqama, his father’ KBo 4.4 ii 3–6 (AM 122–23). Note that in the last example the ‘historical present’ tepawe\[ę̂zzi (and the implied verb ašanzi; see §16.6, p. 243) are in a kuit ‘that’ clause subordinate to aušta,

\[ ^{2} \text{The pattern of use of the present tense in past narratives in Old Hittite seems to be regulated differently. For a preliminary description see Melchert 1998: 416–17 (but the examples he cites for the “historical present” in Old Hittite are all dubious).} \]

\[ ^{3} \text{That is, he besieged the city. See kattan dai- with the same meaning. Perhaps šAPAL GN dai- is merely another way of writing GN kattan dai-}. \]
that is, they concern what the young man ‘saw’ (aušta) and therefore were matters present to him at the time he ‘saw’.

22.7. Historical presents are by far most common when the subject is grammatically third person. In historical narratives which are expressed in first person (e.g., Muršili’s annals or Ḫattušili III’s Apology), the first-person forms are all preterites, and the only historical presents are in third person, referring to people other than the narrator. Of course, first-person present forms which actually express future actions occur frequently in direct discourse recorded in these narratives, but that is an entirely different matter: nu =Kantuzzili [kiššan watarnahḫun LÚ.MEŠ] URU Nuḫašši⸗wa kuit kururiyḥḥer [nu=war=aš arḫa ḫarriti nu=wa=šmaš m]ān ĕrin.MEŠ URU Mizio [warresš][a[nzi nu=wa=mu ḫa[trai nu=wa] ammuk [pāimi] nu=war=an zaḫḫiyami ‘And I instructed Kantuzzili as follows:] ‘Because the men of Nuhašši have made war, [destroy them.] If Egyptian troops come to their aid, [write to me,] and I [will go] and fight them’ KUB 14.17 ii 22–26 (AM 86).

22.8. The present tense can also express an English future (‘shall’, ‘will’): URRAM ŠERAM kuiš ammuk egir-anda LUGAL-uš kišari ‘whoever in the future shall become king after me’ KBo 3.1 ii 40 (Tel. pr., OH/NS); ANA LÚ-MUTI=wa ammuk peran ḫyiyami nu=wa=za=kān URU KUB.BABBAR-aš ḫumanza ištu ša LÚ-MUTI=ka neyari ‘I will march before your husband, and all Ḫatti land will turn to the side of your husband’ Ḫatt. iv 9–11.

22.9. Commonly the temporal ambiguity of a present-tense form is resolved by the use of a temporal adverb (§19.6, p. 290) such as URRAM ŠERAM, zilatiya, or appašiwaṭṭi or by the employment of the phrasal/serial construction with uwa- or pai-, which when in the present-future tense always refers to the future (see §§24.31–24.42, pp. 324–329).

22.10. Speakers could constrain a “present progressive” or immediate future meaning of the present tense with the introductory words kāša or kāšma (see §24.29, p. 324).

22.11. In ‘if’ clauses (introduced by either takku or mān) the present-tense form is always hypothetical or future in meaning (see §§30.49ff., pp. 420ff.): takku=wa=ššan ki ḫarriti ta=wa DINGIR-LUM takku=wa=ššan natta=ma ḫa[žziži] ta=wa antuwaḫḫeš ‘If he achieves this, he is a deity; but if he doesn’t achieve it, he is a mortal’ KBo 3.60 ii 14–17; takku DUMU.LUGAL ḫanteziš URU NŪ.GAL nu kuiš tān pēdaš DUMU-RU nu LUGAL-uš apāš kišaru ‘If there shall not be a first-rank prince, then let a prince of second rank become king’ KBo 3.1 ii 36–38; takku DUMU.LUGAL=ma waštai nu SAG.DU=az=pat šarnikdu ‘If a prince “sins” (i.e., attempts homicide), let him pay only with his own person (not with those of his extended family)’ KBo 3.1 ii 55–56. For ‘if’ clauses with the preterite see §§30.53ff. (pp. 422ff.).

22.12. Like the English future tense, the Hittite present tense used for future time often expresses affirmation. In the first person it indicates willingness to comply with a request or simple expression of intention to act: UMMA ABI ABI=YA=MA [kuiš=wa p]aižzi
UMMA ABU*YA=MA ammuk=wa pāimi [nu=kan A]BI ABU*YA ABU=YA parā naḫša ‘My grandfather said, “[Who] will go?” and my father replied: “I will go.” [Whereupon] my grandfather sent my father out’ KBo 14.3 iii 9–11 (DŠ frag. 14); ša šištar parā ḫandandatar memaḫḫi n=at DUMU.NAM.LŪ.U="LU-aš ištamašdu ‘I shall declare (lit., ‘speak’) the divine providence of (the goddess) Ištar, and let (all) humanity hear it!’ Ḫatt. i 5–6; kuitman=ma=za DUMU-aš ešun nu=za KUR.KUR LŪ.KUR kue tarḫškenun n=at ūppu ḫantī DŪ-mi n=at PANI DINGIR-LIM teḫḫi ‘I shall make a separate tablet (in which to enumerate) those enemy lands which I conquered while I was (only) a prince, and I shall deposit it before the goddess’ Ḫatt. i 73–74; šištar=ma=nu GAŠAN=YA ū=a[(t)] nu=mu ū-it ki memištu DINGIR-LIM-ni=wa=ttu ammuk tarnaḫḫi nu=wa lē naḫti ‘Ištar, my lady, appeared to me in a dream and in the dream said to me: “I will turn you over to a (friendly protective) deity, so don’t be afraid!”’ (or perhaps rhetorical question: ‘Would I turn you over to a (hostile) deity? Don’t be afraid!’) Ḫatt. i 36–38.

22.13. In the second person the effect can approximate a command (HE 136 §258, 2):4 NINDA-an azzāšteni wātarr=ta ekutteni ‘You shall (i.e., must) eat (only) bread and drink (only) water’ KUB 1.16 iii 48 (OH/NS).

Preterite

22.14. The preterite form, when not marked by constraining adverbs, is used freely to refer to any past event. According to context, the preterite may refer to a simple past action (“perfective”), an ongoing action (“imperfective”; see §24.3, p. 317), an action prior to another action in the past (“pluperfect”), or an action completed in the past (usually the recent past) whose effects carry over into the present (so-called present relevance). English may render these meanings respectively with its simple past (‘he went’), past progressive (‘he was going’), past perfect (‘he had gone’), and present perfect (‘he has gone’).

22.15. Speakers marked a present perfect meaning of the preterite form with the introductory words kāša or kāšma. This adverb has a constraining function (see §24.28, p. 324) just as does the use of the phrasal/serial construction with uwa-/pai-, which marks the future (§§24.38ff., pp. 327ff.).

22.16. Hittite uses the preterite with the adverbs karū and nāwi (§26.11, p. 343, and following) to express a state anterior to another reference point in the past. English usage requires a past perfect translation for such cases: n=as karū pait ‘he had already gone’. n=as nāwi pait ‘he had not yet gone’.

22.17. For the use of the preterite in conditional clauses with mān ‘if’ see §30.53–30.55 (pp. 422–423).

4. German Heischefutur.
22.18. Temporal mān (‘when’) with the preterite very rarely corresponds to the English future perfect (see Sommer 1932: 163, cited by HE §258a1 as similar to futurum exactum of Latin). The example cited by Sommer is mān=mašiyat=kan ūšāiha n=aš EGR-pa ina kur=ka ūe[ ]zi when I (shall) have denied it (i.e., the land he attacks) to him, he will come back into your land’ KUB 14.3 iii 60–61 (NH). Standard current English omits the ‘shall’ in this construction: ‘when I have defended it from him’. The present-future verb uezz in the apodosis shows that a future perfect is intended by the (Luwian) preterite form ūšāiha.

The Analytic Perfect Construction

Function

22.19. Hittite expresses the completion of an action prior to the time of speech (present perfect ‘has gone’) or prior to another action in the past (pluperfect ‘had gone’) (§22.14, p. 309) either with the simple preterite form, with the simple preterite plus the adverb kāša/kāšma (see §22.15, p. 309), or by means of a construction with the (past) participle followed by an indicative 5 form of the verb ḫar(k)- ‘to have’ or eš- ‘to be’.6 In Old Hittite the conjunction šu correlates with analytic perfect constructions using a preterite auxiliary verb, while ta patterns with the present tense auxiliary verbs (see §29.3, p. 390).

Form

22.20. There are two types of this construction (initially observed by Benveniste 1962a: 63, 65): one with the auxiliary verb ḫar(k)- and another with the auxiliary verb eš-. Transitive verbs as well as some intransitive verbs employ the first type, while other intransitive verbs use the second.7 As the examples cited below show, in the construction with ḫar(k)- the participle is always in the neuter nominative-accusative singular, while in that with eš- the participle agrees with the subject in gender, number, and case.

Uniqueness within the Old Anatolian Indo-European Group

22.21. No analogous construction exists in Luwian (Melchert 2003d: 206; Dardano 2005: 93 n. 4). Since it antedates the development of similar constructions in the Romance and Germanic languages, caution is needed in making hasty comparisons (“un rapprochement sommaire”) with those constructions (see Benveniste 1962a: 41).

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5. When the imperative of the auxiliary verb is used, the construction has a different force. See §22.24 (p. 311).
7. Intransitive verbs that take eš- as the auxiliary verb also require subject clitic pronouns (see §18.13 (p. 280) and belong to the class often labeled “unaccusative,” while those that take ḫar(k)- do not occur with subject clitics and belong to the “unergative” class. See Garrett 1996: 102–6 revising Sommer and Ehelolf 1924: 30 and Boley 1984. Dardano (2005: 99 and 103) follows Garrett.
Examples

22.22. Present perfect examples with present of ḫar- and with unexpressed eš- (§22.3, p. 306): ta mān Dumu.meš é.gal kuiezzi paršnan ḫarkanzi n(at apezza peššiyazi ‘If he throws (it) to the side on which the palace officials have crouched’ KBo 4.9 vi 6–8; n(at)za-kan kāṣa ana Ḫatti en*ya u ana dingir.meš bell*meš ya peran tarnan ḫarmi ‘The sin of my father also reached me, and I have confessed it before the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord, and the gods, my lords’ KUB 14.8 rev. 14–16 (PP 2, NH); nuššan mān ḫalkiēš aranteš n(aš)kan arḫa waršten ‘When the crops have ripened (lit., ‘arrived’), harvest them! (Bring them to the granary!)’ HKM 25:15–19 (MH/MS); ammell+a-mus-kan kuiēš ša ʾutu-št peran arḫa watkwantedē ‘Also those (subjects) of mine, His Majesty, who have fled from me, (let them be an enemy to you, as they are an enemy to Mašḫuiluwa)’ KBo 19.70:22ʹ–24ʹ (Manapa-Tarḫunta Treaty).

22.23. Past perfect examples with preterite of ḫar- and eš-: nu+mu ištamaššan kuit ḫarker ‘(I went into the land of Taggašta.) Because they had heard about me, (I no longer went after them with force by day, I marched at night)’ KBo 5.8 i 23–25 (DŠ); ša lu.meš Ḫatti=ma kuiēš ērin.meš narāē anda warriššantē esēr n(at) arḫa parāšēssē ‘But the auxiliary troops of Taggašta who had come to help (my opponents) dispersed’ KBo 5.8 i 18–20 (AM 148–149); ana Ḫatti=ya kuiēš ērin.meš Gašgaš ūmanza waltt[i panza ēšta ‘The whole Kaška army that had gone to K. also to help’ KUB 19.11 iv 36–37 (DŠ frag. 13); nu-kan antuḫšātar kuit Ḫatti ‘Because the population had gone back into their cities’ KBo 5.6 i 19–20 (DŠ fr. 28).

“Stative” Constructions with ḫar(k)- and eš-

22.24. The (neuter singular) participle + ḫar(k)- construction with transitive verbs can also have the meaning ‘to hold/keep (someone/-thing) . . . -ed’). This is simply the literal meaning of the two components: ḫar(k)- ‘to hold’ + the passive participle of the transitive verb: nu lu.Kūr-an uṭnē kuttanit tar(a)ḫḫa ḫartē ‘(the king) held the land(s) of the enemy subjected by (his) strong arm’ KBo 3.67 i 6 (Tel. pr., OH/NS); nu kur-e paḫḫašnuwan ḫarker ‘They held the land protected’ (not the pluperfect: ‘They had protected the land’) KUB 14.16 i 24, ed. AM 28; nu=war=aš-kan lu.meš Ḫurri anda waḫnuwan ḫarkanzi ‘the Hurrians are keeping them surrounded’ KBo 5.6 ii 25 (DŠ frag. 28). This construction is more common with the auxiliary verb ḫar(k)- in the imperative. When the particle -za occurs in this construction, it construes not with the auxiliary verb ḫart(k)- but with the verb in the frozen neuter participle. The construction participle + imperative of ḫar(k)- does not express a tense but should be translated ‘keep (something) . . . -ed’: nu=tta dingir.meš ti- an ḫarkandu nu=tta aššuli paḫšandaru ‘May the gods keep you alive and protect you in wellbeing’ HKM 10:45–46 (MH/MS); nu+mu dingir-lum ištamanan lagān ḫar(a)k ‘O god, keep your ear inclined to me’ KUB 24.1 i 16–17 (NH); nu ša lu.Kūr kuiēš kaskal.hil a=n=aš-za bel madgaliti kappūwan ḥardu
n=asza gulaššan hardu ‘let the district commander keep track of (lit., ‘keep counted’) the routes of the enemy (incursions) and keep a written record of them’ KUB 13.2 i 9–10 (MH/NS); URU.DVIDLI.H.A BÁD-kan kuieš maniyahhiya anda nu=za hurupan egiš-an kappuwan ḫarkandu ‘Let them keep hurup-ed and keep track of the fortified cities in the administrative district’ KUB 13.2 i 22–23; nu=wa karuššiyān ḫarr(a)k ‘so keep quiet!’ KUB 14.4 iv 11 (NH); nu=wa=za=kan iškiša ěppa ina KUR HUR.SAG.Zippašlā tiyān ḫarr(a)k ‘So keep yourself placed with your back towards the land of Mt. Zippašlā’ KUB 14.1 obv. 16–17 (MH/MS); parkuwaya TÚG.H.A waššan ḫarkandu ‘Let them have on clean clothes (lit., ‘keep clean clothes worn’)’ KUB 13.4 i 16 (pre-NH).

22.25. As in the case of ḫar(k)- with a frozen neuter singular participle, the construction with ĕš- (unexpressed in the present tense, §22.3, p. 306) and a nominative participle of an “unergative” intransitive verb can also indicate a state rather than an event or action: (The birds which you sent to me,) n=at arha ḫarranteš ešer ‘they were spoiled (= rotten), (so I didn’t eat them)’ AT 125:12 (NH); nu=kan 1-aš 1-đanu šer mauššanza ‘(if there are two kidneys) and one is fallen on top of the other’ KUB 4.1 iv 26 (extispicy). In many contexts it is hard to tell with intransitive verbs if a completed event or a state is intended.
Chapter 23

VERB MOOD

23.1. The Hittite language has only two moods: indicative and imperative. There are no separate sets of verbal forms with the force of a subjunctive or optative. The potential, unreal, or wished for are expressed by the indicative together with the optative and potential particle man (usually written ma-an or -ma-an in contrast to the temporal or conditional conjunction ma-a-an).

Indicative

23.2. The indicative mood is used to report real events in the past or present as well as to refer to anticipated future events and to make statements of general validity. For examples see illustrations of the present and preterite tense in chapter 22.

23.3. Negative commands (both prohibitive and inhibitive) are expressed by the negative lē and the present indicative (CHD L–N lē §a; see §26.16, p. 344): nu-kan NAM.RA.MEŠ katta uer n-at-mu GİR.MEŠ-aš k[(atta)]n ḫaliyanda[(t)] BELI=NI=wa-naš lē ḫarnikt-[i] ‘The civilian captives came down and fell down at my feet, (saying,) ‘Our lord, do not destroy us!’’ KUB 14.16 iii 16–17 restored from KUB 14.15 iii 46–47 (NH); BELI<NI>=wa-naš karū [ku]lit ḫarnikta nu-ва BELI=NI lē namma uwaši ‘Our lord, because you destroyed us once before, do not come again!’ KBo 4.4 iv 45–46 (NH). Rarer and so far only in NH copies of OH texts is the use of the imperative with lē (CHD lē §c; see §26.17, p. 344).

Imperative

23.4. What are conventionally termed first-person singular “imperative” forms (those ending in -(al)lu in the active) are actually “voluntative” (HE §263b), expressing the desire or strong intention of the speaker, equivalent to English ‘let me . . . ’, ‘may I . . . ’, or ‘I will surely . . . ’: [(n=at=za=k)]an naśšu tešhit uwallu ‘Either let me see it in a dream . . . ’ KUB 14.8 rev. 42; nu-mu ḫatrāi nu šeggallu ‘Write to me and let me know’ KUB 23.88 obv. 6; nu ḫandan ūk kiššan memallu ‘Truly I wish to say the following’ KUB 6.45+ iii 73–74 (NH), tr. ANET 398 (‘Truly I wish to speak thus’); nu siskur ša [Mala] iyallu n=at=kan ašša[(n)]uullu ‘And I intend to perform the ritual of the [Mala] River and complete it’ KUB 14.11 iii 19–20 (NH); nu=wa u[g]a šAH-aš iwar wiyami [namma=wa] akkallu ‘I will squeal like a pig, [and then] I will surely die’ KUB 14.1 rev. 93–94 (MH/MS).
23.5. The first-person plural imperative (properly a “cohortative” or “exhortative,” HE §263c) is formally identical with the present-future indicative (endings -weni, -wani, -meni, -mani, -waštati). The presence of the imperative can only be determined by context. The presence of eḫu or uwatten in the exhortative sense ‘come on!’ indicates the imperatival use. The first-person plural forms express a wish of the speaker that the addressee join him in the performance of an action ('let us . . .'): eḫu ANA 4U EN=YA . . . ta-ešni tiyaweni 'Come, let us go before the Stormgod, my lord, . . . for judgment' KBo 6.29 ii 2–4 (NH); kinunuaḫu nu=wa zuḫḫiyauwaštati 'Come now, let us do battle with each other' KBo 3.4 ii 13–14 (NH); uwatten URU Nēša paiwani 'come, let us go to Neša' KBo 22.2 obv. 15 (OS). For further examples see §23.7 and §24.32 (p. 325).

23.6. The second-person forms are direct commands or requests: nu=wa=mu 4UTU URU Arinna GAŠAN=YA kaṭtan tiya nu=wa=mu=kan uni araḫzenaš KUR KUR LŪ KUR peran kuenni ‘O Sungoddess of Arinna, take my side and slay before me that enemy of the surrounding lands’ KBo 3.4 i 25–26 (NH, Murs. II); nu=war=aš étwen nu=war=aš=mu parā pl[etēn] ‘Arrest them and extradite them to me’ KUB 14.15 i 14 (NH); namma=mu DINGIR-LUM GAŠAN=YA ū-at [QADU] É-TI=wa=mu ṯir-ahḫut ‘then the goddess, my lady, appeared to me in a dream, (saying,) “Serve me with (your) house!”’ Ḫatt. iii 4–5.

23.7. The third-person forms are employed when the speaker expresses to a second party the wish that a third party may perform some action. Occasionally, there is either the implied seeking of the consent of the second party for the third party to do this or the implication that the second party joins the speaker in this wish: nu=wa zuḫḫiyauwaštati nu=wa=maš 4U BELI=YA DINAM ḫammū ‘Let us do battle, and may the Stormgod, my lord, decide our case’ KBo 3.4 ii 13–14, ed. AM 46; ANA 4UTU-ŠI=ma EN=YA ŠA “Ḫašdu-din[gir-li]m ku[u]t ḫṭarāmi 4UTU URU-TÚL-na GAŠAN=YA uškedu ‘Let the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, examine what I shall write to His Majesty regarding Ḫašdūli’ KUB 40.1 obv. 37–38; šiuneš-da aššuli paḫšantaru ‘May the gods kindly protect you’ AT 125:3 (from salutation in a letter); utne=wa māu šešdu ‘May the land prosper and have rest’ KBo 3.7 i 5 (OH/NS); nu ANA DINGIR. MEŠ EN. MEŠ=YA ziz-anza namma waršdu ‘To the gods, my lords, may the mind again be gentle’ KUB 14.14 rev. 14’ (PP 1 §8). When a second party is not addressed, a strong wish for a third party’s action can be expressed by using the present tense and the (“speaker-”) optative particle man (see §23.11).

23.8. Imperative forms are rarely used in prohibitions with lē (see §26.17, p. 344).

23.9. For the isolated use of present indicative forms in positive commands see §22.13 (p. 309).

Optative, Potential, and Irrealis

23.10. For the expression of the potential, the unreal, or the wished for, notions associated with the subjunctive and optative moods of Greek and Latin, Hittite scribes
employed the indicative together with a particle man, which they usually (but not always) distinguished from the conjunction mān (written ma-an) by the shorter spellings ma-an or ma-na-. All examples but one (KBo 5.8 iii 15) of the plene writing of potential man are clause-initial and followed by a vowel: ma-a-nu-uš-kán KBo 3.1 ii 11 (OH/NS); ma-a-na-an KBo 3.4 iii 11 in AM 66. Further examples may be found in CHD L–N sub man. Unlike the conjunction mān ‘when, if’, man is not found in clauses beginning with nu (HE §310 f), nor with ta or šu.

**Optative**

23.11. The particle man can express a desire of the speaker (so-called speaker optative [Hoffner 1982]): (nu kuit [É.MEŠ DUMU.L]UGAL damma ilaliyanzi nu kiššan [da]ranzi [(aši=mawawa URU-aš a)]mnel kišari ‘[Because] they covet the princes’ houses, they speak as follows: “That city ought to be mine’’ KBo 3.1 ii 63–64 (Tel. pr., OH/NS); kāša-mu ki tet “Kalbayaš KAXU-az memišta mawanaš iššanittarātar iyaweni ‘Kalbaya has just said this to me — he conveyed it orally — “We ought to make for ourselves a blood relationship’’’ VBoT 2:1–3 (letter); man=mwa ṭUTU-ŠTI ešzi ‘I hope His Majesty recovers’ KUB 15.30 iii 5.

23.12. The “subject optative” (Hoffner 1982), which expresses a wish not of the speaker but of the grammatical subject of the clause, can be seen in: mān-uš-kan Ḫuzziyaš kuenta nu uttar išduwāti ‘Ḫuzziya wanted to kill them, but the matter became known’ KBo 3.1 ii 11; and in the following example the grammatical subject is also the speaker: man INA URU Ḫayaša pāun-pa nuzza MU.KAM-za šer tepawes̱anza ešta ‘I wanted to go also to Ḫayaša, but the year was too short for that’ KBo 4.4 iii 22–23 (Mursili II annals). On the dual use of man for speaker- and subject-optative see also CHD man, a.

**Potential and Irrealis**

23.13. Future potential is expressed with man and the present tense: mān=wa=mu 1-an DUMU-KA paišti man=war=aš=mu U.MUTI YA kišari ‘If you would give me one of your sons, he would become my husband’ KBo 5.6 iii 12–13 (NH); našma=(m)an=wa=kan uniuš EN.MEŠ ḳalla[lā] pānzi ūqq=a=man=wa pēḥudanzi ‘Or those lords might defect and also take me away (with them)’ KBo 4.14 ii 79–80 (NH). For possible further examples see §26.23 (p. 346), §30.52 (p. 421).

23.14. Past potential is expressed with man and the preterite tense: [m]an=ta=kkān Ė ABI-KA KUR-KA=ya UL arba dāär man=at [(da)]mēdani kuedanikki piyēr ‘Could they not have taken from you your father’s house and your land and given them to someone else?’ KBo 5.13 i 20–21 (NH).

1. But note that the scribe of this text corrected ma-a-an-mu in iii 18 to ma-an-mu because it would have violated this rule.
23.15. For hypothetical future actions deemed undesirable or unlikely to occur because of undesirable results expressed in the apodosis, Hittite uses man with a preterite in the protasis and a present or mixture of preterite and present (maršer . . . kišantati . . . ēpzi . . . ēpzi) in the apodosis: ma-a-am-[ma-an-ša-ma-aš?] (i.e., *mān=man=šmaš)

[tayazzil pišker man ḫūmanteš⸗pat maršēr [man]⸗e? LÔ.MEŠÎ.ZU kišantati kāš=man kān ēpzi [k]āš-a=man kān ēpzi ‘If they [were] to charge [them] with theft, all of them might dissemble or become thieves; this one might seize that one, and that one might seize this one’ KBo 6.2 ii 53–55 (Laws §49, OS; see LH 59–60). The reason for the alternating tenses is unclear. For another example with present tense in the apodosis see KUB 30.10 obv. 22–23 in §30.54 (p. 422).

23.16. Past contrary-to-fact conditions are expressed with man and the preterite indicative, both in main clauses alone and in combinations of conditional and main clause: man-kan mān ANA "Attaršiya ḫuišwetenn⸗a kāštit⸗a=man ākten ‘Even if you (pl.) had survived Attaršiya, you would have died from hunger’ KUB 14.1 obv. 12 (MH/MS); man=za E[RIN.MEŠ] EGIS-an karū p[a]ḥḫašnut antuḫšaš⸗a=kan utter kiššari anda karū daiš ‘If you had already protected the troops, (the god) would have already put into your hand the matter of the persons’ HKM 38:3–7 (MH/MS); nu-šmaš LÔ auriyaluš kuit arantat mān=kan mān ANA "Pitaggatalli⸗pat warpa teḫḫun man=mu LÔ auriyaluš kuit ŠA "Pitaggatalli auēr man=mu UL duḫušiyait ‘And because sentries were in place for them, if I had tried to surround Pitaggatalli himself, because the sentries of Pitaggatalli would have seen me, he would not have waited’ KBo 5.8 iiii 14–18 (NH). Note the complex syntax in the last example: three dependent clauses (causal—conditional—causal) followed by the main clause. For the omission of nu or other conjunction to introduce the final clause see §§29.46–29.58 (pp. 401–405).

2. Sometimes called “non-past contrary to fact.” We choose a different formulation, since future actions cannot be judged as factual or non-factual, only as likely or unlikely.

Chapter 24
VERB ASPECT

24.1. Whereas tense marks the time of a reported action or state relative to the time of speech, aspect in its broadest sense describes the internal temporal structure of a verbal predicate. This topic is complex and controversial, and the use of terminology varies widely (some scholars, especially Slavists, reserve the term aspect for a much narrower application than that used here). Here our goal is to make clear the meaning of various Hittite verbal forms as they occur in the texts and to correct certain widespread misinformation on their use. For a more detailed but by no means exhaustive description see Hoffner and Melchert 2002. The preliminary treatment of Melchert 1998 is also useful but in need of revision.

24.2. For Hittite it is sufficient to distinguish imperfective aspect, in which an event is viewed as having an internal temporal structure, from perfective aspect, in which it is not.1 Perfective aspect is the unmarked partner in Hittite. Imperfective aspect, whether it is explicitly marked or not, takes on various specific meanings outlined below, based on the combination of the lexical meaning of the verb and certain contextual markers.

Imperfectives

Adverbial Markers

24.3. Any basic verbal stem in Hittite may be read as perfective or imperfective, provided that its inherent meaning and the context are appropriate. The latter value is assured by the presence of markers such as the conjunction kuitman ‘while’, the adverb mašiyanki ‘as many times as’, or multiplicative expressions such as NUMBER-anki (or NUMBER-šu) ‘X-times’ (see §9.55, p. 168; §24.12 end, p. 320). Compare namma-aš INA HURSA-GZukkuki egiR-pa uet ‘Then he came back to Mt. Zukkuki’ KBo 5.6 i 1 (perfective) versus nu kuitman =GiSU-GIRU-LU-iš išTU KUR URU MIZRI egiR-­pa uet ‘While Ḫattušaziti was coming back from the land of Egypt’ KBo 5.6 iii 26 (imperfective). The aspect indicator in the second sentence is kuitman: nothing in the form uet—neither suffix nor inherent lexical component of uwa-—dictates or indicates aspect. Likewise, n=UŠ GUD-li turier ‘They yoked them like cattle’ KBo 3.34 i 16 (OH/NS) versus türiyanzi=maš-aš mašiyanki nu KASKAL-ši KASKAL-ši=pat INA 7.iku.HLA anda penneškežzi ‘But as many times as they hitch them up, each time he drives them seven ikuš’ KBo 3.5 ii 13–15.

1. Perfective aspect, in which an action is viewed as an indivisible whole, should not be confused with the perfect tense, which refers to a completed action.
SUFFIX Markers

24.4. Most but not all Hittite verbs may also optionally mark imperfective aspect explicitly by the addition of one of three suffixes -ške-/-a-, -šš-, and -anna/-i- (henceforth for simplicity -ške-, -šša-, and -annali-). Certain classes of verbs, however, do not take the suffix, because their inherent meaning either already implies imperfectivity or is incompatible with it. The stative verbs šakk- ‘to know’, ḫart(k)- ‘to hold, keep’, and ar- ‘to stand’ and the entire class of nominal “statives” in -e- (many of which mean ‘become X’ in Hittite; see §§10.11–10.12, p. 177) and the denominal fientives in -ešš- (which mean ‘become X’; see §§10.13–10.14, pp. 177–178) are not attested with an imperfective suffix. The verb iy-a- (m.-p.) ‘to be in motion, be walking’ takes -annali- only in the inceptive sense ‘to set out, start to walk’ (see §24.18, p. 322), and the verb akk- ‘to die’ takes a -ške- medio-passive form only in the distributive sense, with and without a subject: akkiškettari ‘there is much dying’, that is, ‘many people are dying’. See §24.16 (p. 321).

24.5. The suffixes -ške- and -šša- are often labeled “iterative” or “iterative-durative,” while -annali- is usually said to be “durative” (e.g., HE 73–75 §§137, 141). This description is misleading in two respects. First, as established by Bechtel (1936) and Dressler (1968), the use of the suffixes -ške- and -šša- is much broader than implied by the name “iterative-(durative).” Friedrich (HE §141 and §269) actually recognizes many, though not all, of the variety of meanings cited below. Second, contrary to the claim of Friedrich (HE §137 and §269e) and others, the use of -annali- is completely equivalent to that of the other two suffixes; it is not limited to durativity.

Nuances of Imperfective Aspect

24.6. At least the following different meanings are attested for the three suffixes -ške-, -šša-, and -annali-.

24.7. They may have a progressive meaning, describing an ongoing action, in some instances setting the scene for another action—so-called “backgrounding” (see Bechtel 1936: 52–57, against Dressler 1968: 185–88, and others). For example: takku lú-aš GUD-šu fo-an zinuškezzi ‘If a man is driving his ox across a river (and another person pushes him off, seize the ox’s tail and fords the river [all non-ške-])’ KBo 6.2 ii 30 = Laws §43 (OS); nu anniškemi kuin n-an=kan šUM-šu ḫalziḫḫi ‘I call by his name the one whom I am treating’ (KUB 12.63 obv. 28). Here the -ške- forms provide the time-frame in which the other events described by the non-ške- verbs take place. In a further example the contemporaneity of the two actions (“backgrounding”) is further marked by kuitman ‘while’: kuitman=ma=za(š)an BEL SİSKUR İŠTU SAG.DU=šu tētan laplē[pan] enērann=ḫaḫtiyannai MUNUSŠU.ŠI=ma luwili kiššan ḫukkiškezzi ‘While the ritual client
is pulling the hair, lash(es), and brow(s) from his own (-za) head, the Old Woman is reciting in Luwian as follows' KUB 32.8 iii 6–10. Note the functional equivalence of the two suffixes in ḥūittiyannai and ḥūkkiškezzi, both of which are marking ongoing actions. The adverb kāša, which always implies an element of temporal immediacy, may be used to emphasize that the action is going on at the moment of speaking (contemporaneity): kāšatta-wa LÚ.MEŠ NAŠI ŚIDITI-KUNU dameškatteni ‘You are oppressing your provisions bearers!’ KBo 22.1 obv. 18–19 (OS). For more on the grammaticalization of kāša see §§24.27–24.30 (pp. 323–324).

24.8. Imperfective forms are also used to indicate duration of an activity over an extended period of time. In some cases the period of time is explicitly indicated: nu GE₂-an ḥāmandan uzuhrin ĤÁD.DUA azikkanzı ‘(the horses) eat [hay] throughout the entire night’ (§16.29, p. 249) KUB 1.13 ii 10–11; nu URU[Šanaḫḫuit] tan I NA ITU.5.KAM zahheškenun ‘and I fought against Šanaḫuitta for five months’ (§16.75, p. 261) KBo 10.2 i 47 (OH/NS). In other cases a non-ške- verb is used to mark the endpoint of the extended action expressed by the marked imperfective stem: nu Ė-ri-sši anniškezzi kuitmān=āš lázzatta ‘He will (continue to) work in his (the victim’s) house, until he (the victim) recovers’ KBo 6.2 i 17–18. Sometimes the period of time is left unexpressed, with no explicit endpoint: takku GŠTUKUL-li=ma mimmai LÚ GŠTUKUL-š=a(!, text -uš) A.Š.Ḫ.LA ġarkantaš taranzi n=an+za LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM anniškanzi ‘But if he refuses (to perform) the craft, they shall declare the fields to be those of a vacating craftsman, and the men of the city shall work them’ KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 ii 20–21 = Laws §40 (OS), with dupl. KBo 6.3 ii 40–41 (OH/NS), ed. LH 47–48, 187–88. Alternatively, this last example could show the inceptive use of the imperfective, translatable as ‘and the men of the city shall begin to work them’ (see §24.4, p. 318; §24.18, p. 322).

24.9. The meaning of the marked imperfectives in imperatives is often ‘keep on ...-ing’ (which can be viewed either as progressive or durative): BELU=mu aššul ḫatreške nammásššam Ė=YA IGLḪ.LA-wa ḫar(a)k ‘Keep sending greetings to me, O lord. And further keep (your) eyes on my house’ HKM 27:23–25 (MH/MS); nu=sšan parā kalānkanza ėš nu=ita kuit memiškemi nu=mu DINGIR-LUM istamanan lagān ḫar(a)k n=at ist[am]āške ‘Be appeased, and with respect to what I am saying to you, O god, keep your ear inclined to me and keep listening’ KUB 24.1 i 15–17. Note that the inherently stative verbs ėš- ‘be’ and ḫar(k)- ‘hold, keep’ do not take the -ške- form, including in the periphrastic construction with the participle plus ḫar(k)- (see §24.4, p. 318).

24.10. Likewise, the use of a -ške- form with the negative lē sometimes carries the meaning of an “inhibitive”; that is, it means ‘stop ...-ing’ versus the usual ‘prohibitive’ meaning ‘don’t . . .!’ (see §26.16, p. 344): šumeš=ma=aš=za zu-az kuwat daškatteni kīnum=a-kan apiš NAM.RA.MEŠ ANA “Duppi-du arḫa lē daškatteni ‘Why do you keep willfully taking them for yourselves? Now stop taking those civilian captives away from Duppi-Tešub!’ KBo 3.3 iii 24′–26′ (NH); TŪGḪ.LA=wa kue zik w[aššiyaši nu]=war=at ANA DUMU=kā lē peškeši apiš=ma=at=sši pišket ‘“Stop giving the clothes you w[ear] to
your son!” But she kept giving them to him’ KUB 22.70 rev. 35–36 (NH). But note that not every imperfective form used with lē is inhibitive. The context shows that the following example refers to a habitual action (see §24.13): n-an-ši dušgarauwanza piškellu pidduliyaunwanza=ma=da lē peškemi ‘(But the leavened bread which I give to you), may I (always) give it to you joyfully. May I not (ever) give it to you under constraint’ KUB 6.45 + KUB 30.14 iii 66–67 (NH).

24.11. The suffix -ške- and equivalents may mark iterativity, repetition of an action either continually or intermittently: eGIr=šU LU meneyaš iētta kētt-a kētt-a GI-an ẖuittiamāi tArnāi=ma=an natta i i ẖalziššāi ‘The m.-man walks behind. He keeps drawing (back) the arrow towards this side and that, but does not let it go. He keeps crying out “ee ee” (imitating a bird or animal cry? §1.8, p. 11; and §1.144, p. 49)’ KBo 17.43 i 10–11. Note that despite the translation with ‘keep . . . -ing’ the meaning here is iterative, not durative (the action is repetitive, not continuous). For an example involving separate occasions see again the example tūriyanzi=ma=š mašiyanki nu KASKAL-ši KASKAL-ši=pat İNA 7. İKU.Ḫ.Α anda penneškanzì ‘But as many times as they hitch them up, each time they drive them seven Ʌ.Ƀ.Ʌ.Ʌ.Ʌ.Ʌ.Ʌ.-ši Ʌ.Ƀ.Ʌ.Ʌ.Ʌ.Ʌ.Ʌ.-ši”pat Ʌ.Ƀ.Ʌ.Ʌ.Ʌ.Ʌ.Ʌ.anda penneškanzi’ (KBo 3.5 ii 13–15). Note again the equivalence of the three suffixes for the same usage. On this same sentence see above §24.3 (p. 317).

24.12. The last example cited also illustrates the fact that the use of the marked imperfective stem is virtually obligatory with distributive expressions such as UD-at UD-at ‘day after day’, İTU-mi İTU-mi ‘month after month’, GE-ti GE-ti ‘night after night’, MU-ti MU-ti ‘year by year’, lammar lammar ‘moment by moment’, uddāni uddāni ‘word by word’, etc.: AnA DINGIR-LIM anda UD-at UD-at memiš[kezzi nu DIN]GIR-LAM walliškezzi ‘(the scribe who reads the royal prayer to the cult statue of the deity) says it to the deity daily and repeatedly praises the deity’ KUB 24.2 i 1–2, see KBo 3.5 i 4; uddāri=meṭ-ta peḥḫun nu ki [tupp]i İTU-mi İTU-mi peran-tit ḫalzeššandu ‘I have given you my words. Let them read this tablet aloud in your presence monthly!’ KUB 1.16 iii 56–57 (OH/NS). The verb iya- (m.-p.) ‘be in motion’, however, does not take the imperfective suffix (except in the inceptive sense, §24.4, p. 318): n=ašta L.U.KUR QATAMMA kuit KUR-e anda lammar lammar iattar[ī] ‘And because the enemy likewise marches moment by moment into the land’ HKM 8:12–14 (MH/MS). Marked imperfectives are also used with 1-an 1-an ‘one by one’ (see §9.8, p. 155). Imperfectives are normally not used with multiplicatives in -anki unless there is also a distributive expression in the clause (§9.55, p. 168).

24.13. The marked -ške- stem or equivalents may also express habitual, regular, customary, or characteristic behavior: IŞTU GİS BANŠUR=ma=za=kan kuezza azzikkenun IŞTU GAL=ya=kan kue zza akkaškenun šašṭi=ya=za=kan kuedani šeškiškenun IŞTU URUDUDU XI=ya=za=kan kuezza arreškenun ‘the table from which I regularly ate, also the cup from which I regularly drank, also the bed in which I regularly slept, also the wash bowl from which I regularly washed myself’ (see Goetze and Pedersen 1934: 10–11, lines 16–19). Note the contrast with KBo 4.2 iv 37–39 (a few lines later), where the king speaks of what happened on a single occasion (non-ške- forms). With the preterite tense the
habitual meaning may be accompanied by the adverb karū: takku LÚ.Ł.19.LU-an ELLAM kuški dašuwałḫi našma ZU₂šu láki karū 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pišker kinun=ā 20 GIN KÙ.BABBAR pāi ‘If someone blinds a free person or knocks out his tooth, formerly they used to give one mina of silver, but now one gives twenty shekels of silver’ KBo 6.2 i 9–10 = Laws §7 (OS). But the use of karū is not obligatory for this meaning:

nu-ššuška dašuwaḫḫi našma ZU₂šu láki karū 1 GIN KÙ.BABBAR sīg sa₃ sīg za-GIN 1-NUTUM KUŠ-NĪG. BÀR.ḪL.A=yu pešker kinun=ā=wa EZEN₃ ašraḫitaššin ʾēr KÙ.BABBAR=ma=wa sīg sa₃ sīg za-GIN KUŠ-NĪG.BÀR.ḪL.A=ya UL piyēr ‘From the palace they used to give to the deity one shekel of silver, red and blue wool, and a set of curtains, but now they celebrated the Festival of Womanhood, and they didn’t give the silver, red, and blue wool and curtains’ (KUB 5.10 i 8–13, NH). Note again the contrast with the non-ške- forms referring to a specific single action.

24.14. The habitual sense of -ške- is effectively lexicalized in maniyahheške- ‘to administer, govern’, from maniyahḫ- ‘to handle’ (always with -ške- in this sense except as an infinitive; see CHD s.v.). See also the remarks on nanna- ‘to drive’ below, §24.22 (p. 322).

24.15. Likewise -ške- or equivalents may used for so-called gnomic statements of general validity (see §22.5, p. 307): ḫalkiš-ša maḫḫan NAM.LÚ.ˌU₂₃.LU GUD UDU ḫuitarr-ša ḫūman ḫuišnuškezzi ‘just as grain keeps all humans, cattle, sheep and wild game alive’ KBo 4.2 i 58–59. In particular, memiškanzi is used for ‘they say, one says, it is said’. It thus introduces proverbs or popular sayings expressing customary behavior (Beckman 1986), but the verb expressing the customary behavior in this case does not appear in the marked form: ANA DUMU.NAM.LÚ.ˌU₂₃.LU=p=ša anda memian kišan mem[i]škanzi ḫarnāuwaš-ša MUNUS-nī DINIR-LIM kāri tiya[zi] ‘Among mortals they have a saying: “A god yields (non-imperfective present tense tiyazi, §22.5, p. 307) to the wish of a woman of the birthing stool”’ KUB 21. 27 ii 15–16.

24.16. The marked imperfective stem may be used distributively, to refer to actions performed on a series of objects (the action is thus from a certain point of view iterated) (Dressler 1968: 172–82): NINDA-ănḪI.A NINDA.KU₂ḪL.A kue paršiyanzi na-k kan anaḫi daškanzi n-at=ša GEG-ḫa zikkanzi ‘They take a taste of the warm breads (one by one) and the sweet breads which they break (one by one) and put them back (one by one)’ KUB 25.32 iii 23–25. Here the focus is on doing something to the multiple objects ‘one-by-one’. This usage is very common in ritual contexts. Note again the equivalence of the -anna/i- and -ške- forms. Likewise, an action may be viewed as unfolding in several stages or consisting of repeated movements: nu=ša MUNUS ŠU₂.GI ḫupuwaya ḫašši anda laḫuškezzi ḫupuwaya=ma tuwarniškezzi ‘The Old Woman pours out little by little (from) the ḫ.-vessel onto the hearth, and she breaks the ḫ.-vessel piece by piece’ KBo 39.8 ii 32–33 (MH?/MS).

24.17. It is less certain whether Hittite ever similarly marks a single action performed by multiple subjects, but a likely example is: UMMA ḫaššuwanlu U₂₃.UR₂͡A.A ḫaššuwanlu man=ša
ŠA KUR-TI akkiškettari *'Thus (says) Uḫḫa-muwa the man of Arzawa: If there is (much) dying in the land (i.e., a plague in which many people die)* HT 1 ii 17–18; see Dressler 1968: 162–63. Since the context surely suggests that there are multiple deaths, it is likely that this is the basis for the -ške- form.

24.18. In the case of verbs that refer to prolonged activities or to processes, the -ške- form or equivalent may be inceptive, focusing on the beginning of the activity: māḫḫan⸗ma⸗kan GIŠ ḫuluganniš parā iyannai ‘When the carriage begins to move’ IBoT 1.36 ii 23–24 (MH/MS) (stem iy-a- ‘to walk, march, move’). The case of iyanna- is complicated by the likelihood that it was eventually lexicalized as a separate verb ‘to go’. A further example of inceptive meaning is: p[ai]-t=as=šsan [GŁ]NÁ-aš šarkuwanza šešket ‘He proceeded to go to sleep in bed with his shoes on’ KUB 24.8 i 25–26 (stem šeš- ‘to sleep’). Here the meaning of šeške- is not habitual (see §24.13, p. 321) but refers rather to entry into the activity of sleeping. For the “serial” use of pai- see §§24.31ff. (pp. 324ff.) An example of inceptive value with a process verb is: DINGIR.DIDLIS-a DUMU.MEŠ-u A.ABA.-az šarā dāir šēuš šallanšker ‘the gods took the boys up out of the sea and began to raise them’ KBo 22.2 obv. 4–5 (OS). Note, however, that the same verb in its -ške- form can indicate the entire protracted course of the action: (*O my god, ever since my mother gave birth to me*) nu⸗mu ammēl [Šal]lanškeši ‘you, [O my god], have been raising me’ FHG 1 ii 16–17 (OH/NS); similarly KUB 30.10 obv. 6–7 (OH/MS).

24.19. The inceptive value is also seen in the construction of the so-called supine with the verbs dai- ‘to put’ and tiya- ‘to step’ meaning ‘to begin to/undertake to’ (see §§25.37–25.38, p. 338). With extremely rare exceptions the “supine” is always formed from the marked imperfective stem (see §11.24, p. 186; §25.37, p. 338): iššuwan daišten . . . piyanniwan daišt en ‘you began to do . . . you began to give’ KBo 8.42 rev. 2–3 (OS); nu⸗mu ERIN.MEŠ peškewan dāir ‘They began to give me troops’ KBo 3.4 iii 24. Note again the equivalence of the three suffixes in this usage.

Choice of Suffix

24.20. The productive suffix for all the functions just described is -ške-. Only a handful of verbs take one of the other suffixes.


24.22. The verbs ḫatta-, ḫuittiya-, ḫšar-, iya- ‘to walk, go’, paršiya-, šalla(i)-, and tuḫš- regularly employ the suffix -anna/i-. In OH and MH walḫ- also takes -annali-. A few other verbs are attested with only one or two examples of -annali- beside more common -ške-: ḫtek- ‘to slaughter’, ḫulla-, išḫuwa-, išpar-, láḫšiya-, par-, paḫ-, pesšiya-, piddai-, dai-, taliya-, weriya-. The infrequency of occurrences with -annali- in some
cases may be due to the small number of occurrences of any imperfective suffix with that particular verb. In the case of ḫullal(e)- all occurrences of -ške- are NH, while the only occurrence in OH or MH is -annal-, which may indicate that it (like some of the other verbs) had an original preference for -annal- but changed to the only remaining productive suffix -ške- in NH. A special case is nanna-, which has been lexicalized as a separate verb ‘to drive’, while only naiške- serves as the marked imperfective form of nai-.

24.23. As the productive form of the category, the suffix -ške- spread at the expense of the other two. In NH one finds walḫişke- for walḫanna- (also rarely ḫalzišše(a)-).

Suffix Redundancy

24.24. As described, the added suffix explicitly marks a verbal stem as expressing one of the values given above, versus the simple verb that is functionally neutral. By a common linguistic process, there is a tendency to reinforce the expressive value of the suffix by repeating it: uškiške- beside uške-, [ap]piškiškemi (HKM 89: 18) alongside usual appiške-, and šeškeške- and šeškiške- in NH texts alongside šeške-. By the same process, the productive -ške- is often redundantly added to -annal-: ḫewaneške-, ḫuittiyanniške-, laḫḫiyanniške-, paršiyanniške-, paššiyanniške-, šallanniške-, takšanniške-, walḫanniške-, werianniške-. Examples like the one in KBo 3.6 i 71–72, where walḫiškewan and walḫanniškewan (dašš) ‘began to beset’ are used equivalently in successive lines, show that the extra suffix adds no functional value.

24.25. Somewhat different are cases where the suffix -ške- lost its expressive value already in prehistoric times and became what is in Hittite the basic verbal stem: iške- ‘to smear, anoint’, paške- ‘to fix, fasten’, duške- ‘to rejoice’. Naturally, these verbs can, like any other, add the suffix in its productive function: duškiške-.

24.26. On the formal aspects of reduplication in Hittite verbs see §10.3 (p. 173). The precise function of the different types of reduplication and their relationship to the “marked imperfective” stems requires further study. In some cases there seems to be a functional overlap between the two.

kāša(tta) and kāšma

24.27. It is customary among translators of Hittite texts to render these forms with a mechanical ‘behold’, ‘lo’ (or their equivalents in other languages). But as Hoffner (1968b) pointed out, this approach misses both the clear pattern of their use with the Hittite verbal tenses and the fundamental function of these adverbs. Previous interpreters of these forms have rightly signaled their ultimate derivation from the base of the proximal demonstrative kā- ‘this’ and the adverb kā ‘here’ denoting spatial proximity. The implication of the proximal demonstrative origin of the forms should not be lost.
in the approach to interpreting their force in combination with the verbal tenses. Thus, kāša (and its post-OH form kāšma) renders both past and non-past verbal tenses more immediate.

24.28. With preterite verbal forms the effect of the adverb is to express so-called present relevance, a meaning carried in English by the present perfect ‘have (just) . . . -ed’ (Hoffner 1968b); [(k)āšata⸗šmaš⸗kan utniyandan lāluš dāḫḫun ‘I have (just) taken the slanders (‘tongues’) of the population from you’ KBo 17.1 i 11 (OS); kinuna kāša ‘Gaššuliyawiaš tuēl gēME-TUM ištarkiat ‘Your servant Gaššuliyawiya has become ill’ KBo 4.6 obv. 27 (NH). See also HKM 25:4–5 (§16.89, p. 300). The presence of kāša is not obligatory in order for a Hittite preterite verb to have the meaning of a present perfect (§22.14, p. 309), but its use does effectively constrain such a reading (§22.15, p. 309). In other cases the just completed “past” act can be rendered with ‘have hereby/herewith . . . -ed’ (see KUB 7.1+ i 6 in §16.14, p. 244). The adverbs ‘hereby’ and ‘herewith’ are appropriate to some uses of kāša with either the present or the preterite (see next paragraph).

24.29. With present verbal forms the meaning conveyed by kāša and equivalents varies by context (Hoffner 1968b). In some cases it reinforces an “immediate present” (contemporaneous with the speech act) reading ‘is . . . -ing (right now)’ (see §24.7, p. 319, for an example). Ḫattušili I wrote: [k]āšma =Muršiliš dumu⸗γ[α] ‘Muršili is hereby my (adopted) son (and designated heir)’ KUB 1.16 ii 37 (OH/NS). The adverb here underscores the “performative” force of the statement (it is the verbal declaration itself that carries out the action described, as in ‘I (hereby) swear/promise/forbid . . .’). In still other cases the adverb points to the immediate future (‘be on the point of’ or ‘be about to’): UMMA Inar Ḫūpašiya kāša⸗wa kī⸗ya kī⸗ya iyami ‘Inara spoke as follows to Hupasiya: ‘I am about to do such-and-such a thing’ KBo 3.7 i 21–22 (Illuyanka Myth, see the translation by Hoffner 1998b: 12).

24.30. The precise significance of its use with the imperative is harder to determine. It may add immediacy (‘Do this right now’); see the example KUB 12.58+ ii 1–3 cited in §16.25 (p. 248).

The “Serial” Use of pai- ‘to go’ and uwa- ‘to come’

24.31. The serial or phrasal construction consists of a finite form of pai- ‘to go’ or uwa- ‘to come’ that normally agrees in person, number, tense, and mood with another finite verb that follows it in the same clause. The pai-/uwa- verb appears either in clause-initial position or immediately following a clause-initial conjunction and any attached clitics. Any sentential particles or enclitic pronouns associated functionally with the

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2. For a discussion of the terms serial and consecutive to describe syntactic structures in Hittite see van den Hout forthcoming.
3. The fronting of other elements occasionally results in the appearance of the pai-/uwa- verb after two other constituents: zig⸗a[(⸗šī mūn pāi)]ṣī apīn memiyan egiR-pa mematti ‘But if you proceed to repeat that
main verb are attached to the pai-/luwa- verb or the preceding conjunction—a confirmation that the two verbs are in the same clause. The second verb normally carries its full lexical meaning, while the first only modifies the meaning of the second verb or that of the entire clause. The second verb (the “full verb”) also governs the use of third-person enclitic subject pronouns (see §§18.13ff., pp. 280ff.). When pai- and uwa- function as full verbs, they require subject pronouns (see §18.14, p. 280). But when they serve as serial/phrasal verbs, if the main verb in the serial verb is transitive or “unergative,” the clitic subject is omitted. This provides a further confirmation that the two verbs are in the same clause and the first is a serial/phrasal verb. The serial/phrasal pai-/luwa- construction is never negated, nor does the pai-/luwa- verb ever take a preverb or the “marked imperfective” -ške- suffix. The “full” verb, however, may take this suffix.

24.32. The defining features just cited are important in separating the serial construction as attested from two other usages.4 First, the agreement between the pai-/luwa- verb and the full verb distinguishes the serial construction from the exhortative use of the imperative second singular and plural of ‘to come’, as in: elḫu-wa zahḫiyawal[stati] ‘Come (on), let us fight one another!’ (KUB 34.23 ii 17); uwatten URI Nēša paiwani ‘Come (on), let us go to Nesa’ (KBo 22.2 obv. 15; OS). Second, the consistent fronting of the pai-/luwa- verb distinguishes the serial construction from cases of two or more finite verbs in asyndeton, including those where one verb is semantically subordinated to the other: nu ūṭ tahrḫuzzi ḫāṣi ‘He cannot open (it)’ (KUB 17.10 i 33); nu-za maḫḫan DINGIR. MEŠ iyazzī zinnāi ‘As soon as he finishes worshipping the gods’ (KBo 18.15, 11–13). For further examples of finite verbs in asyndeton see van den Hout forthcoming.

24.33. There is no agreement on the precise meaning of the Hittite serial construction or its origin.5 This usage is typologically comparable to colloquial English ‘to go and . . .’ (‘Why did you go and do that?’/‘Let’s go and get married’) and similar constructions in other languages. The English usage very often has the connotation that the action described is a “turn of events”; that is, it is surprising (often but not always unpleasantly so), or culminating, following upon, and logically completing a preceding action. As noted below, one can often discern similar connotations in the Hittite serial construction. However, the very colloquial status of the English construction and its restriction to certain dialects makes ‘go and . . .’ unsuitable as a standard translation. The best English equivalent applicable to most examples is probably the one adopted by the CHD: ‘to proceed to . . .’ (see the examples cited below). What is clearly false and to be avoided is the frequently encountered interpretation of the phrasal verb as an impersonal

4. Whether there is a historical connection between the serial construction and either of the other usages (see respectively Dunkel 1985 and Hock 2002) is a quite separate question. For a very different view of the historical development see van den Hout forthcoming.

‘it will happen/happened that . . .’. As the agreement of the phrasal verb with the main verb shows, there is nothing impersonal about the construction.

24.34. The suggested English translation ‘to proceed to . . .’ is intended to convey that the serial construction underscores a transition from one action to another. That is, it seems to emphasize some direct connection between the clause containing the serial construction and the immediately preceding context (see van den Hout 2003). It is important to stress that this connection—temporal, causal, or other—is inherent in the context and would remain even if the serial construction were not employed.6 The characterization just given is frustratingly vague but, as the following examples show, no other common denominator can be identified in all the various uses of the serial construction.

24.35. The serial construction is common in past narratives, where events naturally often occur in (temporal) succession: ʰ₄m-aš ʰ₄TU-i pi'yēt itten=wa ʰ₄TU-un uwatet[ten pl]āir ʰ₄TU-un šanheškanzi n-san ĕL wemiya[nzi] ‘The Stormgod sent for the Sungod: ‘Proceed to fetch the Sungod!’ They proceeded to search for the Sungod, but they did not find him’ VBoT 58 i 21–22 (the search is a direct consequence of the preceding command; on the serial construction in the imperative sentence see §24.41, p. 329, below);7 nu KUR.KUR,MEŠ ĥūma[nda a]rḫa ḫar(a)kta n=at uet ABI ABI=YA ʰ₄Suppiluliumaš EGIR-pa wetet ‘All the lands had gone to ruin. My grandfather Šuppiluliuma proceeded to rebuild them’ KUB 19.9 i 6–8 (the rebuilding grows out of the stated need to rebuild; nu MUNUS Ištapariyaš MUNUS.LUGAL BA.ŪŠ EGIR-pa=ma uet ʰ₄Ammušaš DUMU.LUGAL BA.ŪŠ ‘Ištapariya the queen died, and afterwards Ammuna the prince proceeded to die’ KBo 3.1+ ii 31–32. The second death compounds the first. Here is the element of the unexpected (and the culminating!) ‘turn of events’ that we note is inherent in the ‘go and’, ‘went and’ in colloquial American English. As in the case of American English ‘proceed to’, the Hittite serial usage may also underscore here the finality of the event.8

24.36. It is clear in the last example that the serial verb uet cannot have its usual meaning of spatial movement. In other cases the context does imply movement, but it is hard to decide whether this meaning can or should be attributed to the serial form of uwa-pai-: nu=mu=kAN MAŠ=ŠU menahḫ[anda par]ā naišta n=aš=mu uet GİR.MEŠ-aš kattan ḫaliyattat . . . nu=mu MUNUS-TUM kuit menahḫanda uet n=aš=mu GİR.MEŠ-aš kattan

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6. It is therefore not surprising to find nearly identical passages with and without the serial construction, such as example 50ab cited by van den Hout 2003.

7. The use of the “marked imperfective” form in -ške- in this example emphasizes either the beginning of the search or its duration. This and other counterexamples cited below contradict the claim of Dunkel (1985: 63) that the serial construction marks perfective aspect (on which see §§24.2–24.3, p. 317). For the use of the present tense here see Melchert 1998: 416–17.

8. This frequent nuance of the serial construction likely reflects the inherent lexical aspect of the motion verbs pai-, which typically means ‘to go’ in the sense ‘to leave, depart’ or ‘to go to (a goal)’, and uwa- ‘to come (forth)’ or ‘to come to (a goal)’. For the “terminative” sense of these verbs see Starke 1977: 202 with references.
ḫaliyattat ‘He sent his mother to meet me, and she proceeded to prostrate herself at my feet. . . Because the woman came to meet me, and prostrated herself at my feet’ KUB 14.15 iv 28–29. It is clear that genuine movement is involved in both descriptions of this single event, but one may argue that it is expressed in -mu . . . menaḫḫanda uet in the second instance but by -mu . . . menaḫḫanda parâ naišta in the first, not by the serial uet. The latter may instead underscore that the woman’s act was an immediate consequence of being sent by her son. Note also once again the likely connotation of surprise: the woman’s act is presented as being almost “unheard of” and quite unanticipated. That is, she actually did this, and the king is so impressed that he complies. The fact that the second time the action is described it is not in the serial construction fits this idea. It is only a real surprise when it is first mentioned.

24.37. The serial construction also is well attested in ritual contexts, where a succession of events is common: 12 UZU-Ú.R.HLA<y>ya=an QATAMMA<pat irḫaiuzzi<naš=za uezzi<EGIR-pa par(a)za šešzi<‘She (the practitioner) also makes the rounds of his twelve members in the same fashion. He (the client) proceeds to lie down backwards’ KUB 9.4 ii 28–30 (the client’s action permits the practitioner to repeat the treatment in another position). Here there is no element of surprise, but there is a culminating aspect: the serial construction was not used to describe his first lying down; only his complementary lying down backwards, which completes all possibilities. Another example: nu<LU.MES>ḫaliyarēš<LU.MES<ALAN.ZU<LU<palwatallaš<LU>kitašš=sa ITTI<GIS<INANNA<HLA<pat iyantari nu<za pānzi<AŠAR=ŠUNU appanzi ‘The halliyara-singers, the performers, the clap-pers, and the kita-man walk with the aforementioned IŠTAR-instruments, and they proceed to take their places’ KBo 4.9 v 42–45 (the positioning of the various participants not only follows directly upon their entrance together but also is a culminating act marking the end of the preceding walking). One may note again that the actual movement involved is expressed overtly by the iyantari of the preceding sentence.

24.38. One future event can also be viewed as directly dependent on another. For reasons that are not yet clear, all examples of declarative statements attested thus far show uwa- in this usage of the serial construction (for one account of this see Rieken forthcoming, but see also §24.42, p. 329, below): nu<šši eni GIG awan arḫa namma tittanu=n=aḫ ḫaddulešdu namma nu uezzi DUMU.MUNUS GAL zilatiya tuk DINGIR-LAM walliškezzi šUM-ann=a tuḫ=pat šA DINGIR-LAM memiškezzi ‘Remove that illness from her and let her become healthy again, and the princess will henceforth proceed to praise you, O deity, and speak your name, O deity’ KBo 4.6 obv. 17–20 (the action of the princess is promised as a direct quid pro quo if the deity restores her to health. Note again that there is a dramatic turn of events after she has become healthy. Now she is able to do the following two actions: for the first time she will begin to praise the deity, etc.);9 mān<za 1-EN URU-LUM<ma kuinki ašašiṇi nu<kan kāšma NIEŠ DINGIR-LIM šarratti

9 The use of the “marked imperfective” in -ške- may once again be taken either in an “inceptive” sense (‘will begin to praise’, see §§24.18–24.19, p. 322) or as expressing duration (‘will praise continually and indefinitely’, §24.8, p. 319). Likewise imperfective and contradicting the claim of Dunkel (1985: 63) is the
n⸗an uwammi LÚ.KÚR-aš iwar gUL-almi ‘But if you occupy some one city, you will transgress the oath, and I will proceed to strike it in the fashion of an enemy’ KBo 4.3+ i 22–24 (breaking the oath will bring certain retribution; notice how often in our examples this construction occurs where there is a prominent change of subject); n⸗an⸗kan tuzziya anda uwaṭe mān ÚL-sama uwaṣi ḫar(a)kši ‘Bring them (heavily armed troops) to the camp. But if not (= if you don’t), you will proceed to die!’ HKM 35:6–9 (MH/MS). The addressee is threatened with sure punishment if he fails to carry out the order, both a dramatic turn of events and “terminative” in a very concrete sense.

24.39. In another set of uses of the serial construction the connection is not to a previous action or event but to an expressed or unexpressed wish of a person or deity. This usage takes several forms. One is seen in deliberative questions, mostly commonly—but not exclusively—in oracle questions of the following sort: paimi-kan dUTU⸗ŠI antuḫšan INA URUŠamūḫa parā neḫḫi nu-ššan paizzi INA URUŠamūḫa ANA İŞTAR ŠERI mukeššar pede-pat pāi namma-šši EZEN-ŠAN iēzzi memiyamuš⸗a PANI DINGIR-LIM aššuli memai ‘Should I, My Majesty, therefore dispatch a person to Šamuḫa? Should he therefore give a mukeššar rite for İŞTAR of the Battlefield on the spot in Šamūḫa, then make a festival for her and speak friendly words before the deity?’ KUB 32.130 4–9 (MH/MS). Although the phrasal verb pai- must be repeated in the second clause, since it changes from paimi to paizzi (another “turn of events”), it is unnecessary in the two clauses which follow, since there is no further change of subject. This deliberative use is also seen in the following series of questions: nu pānzi ANA DINGIR-LIM İŠTU KÙ.ĠI NÀ, TÚG termazzi-ya pianzi (answer: ‘no’) nu pānzi ANA DINGIR-LIM TÚG termaz UN-azziz-ya pianzi (answer: ‘no’) nu pānzi ANA DINGIR-LIM 1 TÚG pianzi ‘Should they therefore make a gift to the deity with gold, jewels, and fine garments? (answer: ‘no’). Then should they make a gift to the deity with fine garments and persons? (answer: ‘no’). Then should they make a gift to the deity of one garment (answer: ‘no’)?’ KUB 22.70 obv. 56–58 (series of oracle questions). The restriction here to deliberative questions is significant, because in non-deliberative oracle questions of the type ‘Will the enemy do such-and-such?’ the phrasal construction is not used. In the deliberative oracle questions the proposed actions are presented as following from the suspected will of the deity being questioned: in effect, the meaning is ‘Do you wish that one . . . ?’ Questions using the serial construction are restricted to the deliberative type, but not all deliberative questions are required to do so.

24.40. Still another example has nothing to do with oracular inquiry but shares the notion ‘should I/we/he/they’ in the sense of ‘do you wish that I/we/he/they . . . ?’. It is

serial construction in the nominal sentence: nu-ṣwa u[(ezzi)] tuēl=p[al(t’karimmi)] nakkīyāḫḫan ‘And your temple will proceed to be revered’ KUB 30.19+ iv 4–5. It is clear that the state of reverence is to continue indefinitely. See also the example with expressed ‘be’ in KBo 17.88+ iii 23’–24’ (MS).

10. On questions in general see chapter 30.

11. This English ‘then’ is not intended to be temporal but ‘in that case’, continuing the previous ‘therefore’ in alternative clauses. See p. 329, n. 12.
a question put to Ḫattušili III, who is being pursued by Urḫi-Teššub with lethal intent: paiweni⸗war⸗an⸗kan kuennumēni ‘Should (= do you wish that) we kill him (scil., Urḫi-Teššup)?’ KBo 6.29 ii 25 (ed. Goetze 1925: 109). This construction is another in the type of the man and nūman clauses (§§23.10–23.16, pp. 314–316) which supply the lack of a subjunctive or optative mood in Hittite with which to express the modalities of potentiality and wish (see §22.1, p. 306; §23.1, p. 313; §23.10, p. 314).\footnote{12}

\textbf{24.41.} The use of the serial construction to mark an action that flows directly from someone’s will naturally also occurs with imperatives: 5 šeš.meššu nušmaš é.meš taggašta pāndu⸗wa⸗aṣandu nu⸗wa⸗za azzikkandu akkuškandu idālu⸗ma⸗šmaš⸗kan lē ku[ti]ki] taggašši ‘As for his five brothers, he built houses for them: “Now let them proceed to settle down. Let them eat and drink. Let one do no evil to them”’. KBo 3.1+ ii 13–15; īr Ṣaparta⸗ya⸗kan kuin \text{ina kur} \text{URU Gašga parā neḫḫun ueddu⸗wa DUMU Ṣaparta anda w[ī]miyaddu ‘And let the servant of Šaparta whom I sent out proceed to find the son of Šaparta’ (MH/MS) HKM 66:20–23; paiddu⸗wa dušgaraz⸗pat ēštu ‘Now/So let there be joy’ KBo 17.88 + KBo 24.116 iii 25–26. Note again the clearly imperfective sense of the last example. See also the example of a second-person imperative in §24.35 (p. 326) above.\footnote{13}

\textbf{24.42.} Yet to be discovered is the rationale for the choice between pai- and uwa- as the phrasal verb. Rieken (forthcoming) has argued that pai- marks an action in proximity to a reference point, while uwa- indicates that there is a temporal distance between the action and the reference point. This generalization seems to hold for cases of pai- but by no means for all examples of uwa-, as shown by several passages cited above. It is not credible that there is any significant temporal gap between the sending of the mother to fall at the knees of the Hittite king and her doing so (KUB 14.15 iv 28–29; §24.36, p. 327). The same applies to the ritual treatment described in KUB 9.4 ii 28–30 (§24.37, p. 327). And surely the threat of capital punishment for failure to carry out an order is meant to apply immediately (HKM 35:6–9; §24.38, p. 327). There is likewise no reason to think that the king does not want the missing person found forthwith (HKM 66:20–23; §24.41). These and other counterexamples still leave the basis for the choice of pai- or uwa- unclear.

\footnote{12. Here too one can capture the desired nuance with English ‘then’: ‘Shall we then kill him?’. But it is important to note that this is an “implicational” use of ‘then’, implying a preexisting intention or wish (in this case of the king, in the oracle questions of the deity). In this example, which begins direct speech and where there is no preceding action, a temporal ‘then, thereupon’ makes no sense (contra Disterheft 1984 et al.).}

\footnote{13. We have included ‘now’ in our translations of these sentences because we believe it captures the force of the serial construction that the content of the expressed command is to follow directly upon the wish of the speaker. Compare the use of “deliberative” ‘then’ in the oracle questions above.}
Chapter 25
NON-FINITE VERB FORMS

25.1. The Hittite language has four non-finite verb forms (§11.18, p. 185): the verbal substantive, the infinitive, the supine, and the participle.¹

25.2. The forms of the verb in -war, -mar (singular genitive -waš, -maš) and -ātar (singular genitive -annaš) preliminarily discussed in §4.114 (p. 130) and §11.20 (p. 185) mark what is called the verbal substantive. The verbs which form their verbal substantive with -war/-mar form the infinitive with -wanzi/-manzi; those with verbal substantives in -ātar form the infinitive in -anna (see §3.31, p. 76; §§11.20–11.21, p. 185). The choice of ending is wholly a matter of the class of the verb and in no way reflects a difference in meaning or usage.

25.3. The terminology of the various verbal nouns in Hittite is summarized by the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Verbal Substantive</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Supine</th>
<th>Participle</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-war, -mar, -ātar</td>
<td>-wanzi, -manzi, -anna</td>
<td>-wan</td>
<td>-ant-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbal Substantive

25.4. The verbal substantive names an action, as in English ‘Walking is a healthy activity.’ With extremely rare exceptions (see n. 35, p. 185) the Hittite verbal substantive is restricted to the nominative-accusative and genitive cases.

25.5. The verbal substantive in the nominative-accusative may function as the subject: ki kī kuit daliyawar šxš-āt ‘(now with regard to) this omission which has been determined’ KBo 14.21 i 28; wekuwar ‘(this composition is) a wekuwar [an ‘asking/ requesting’]’ in the colophon that follows KUB 15.5+ iv 40. The verbal substantive is the citation form used to translate Akkadian “infinitives” in Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite lexical texts: (Akk.) šaʾālu = (Hitt.) punuššuwar, (Akk.) šitaʾʾalu = (Hitt.) punuškewar, (Akk.) uzzuzu = (Hitt.) kattašan arnumar KBo 1.44 i 11–13, ed. MSL 17:101.

25.6. In the nominative-accusative it may express the direct object of a transitive verb: [nu=za m]ahšan ABU=ya wa(la)ḫuwar aušzi ‘when my father saw the attacking, (he drove up to Tuwanuwa)’ KBo 14.3 iv 39, ed. Güterbock 1956; ‘(with regard to the

¹. On the first three of these see Kammenhuber 1954, 1955a.
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shipments which I have been sending to you, if I send you an aššul-gift,) zik=ma=at=za
parā dammenkuwar ḫalzešatti ‘you call it forming an attachment (perhaps even ‘ingratia-
tiating oneself’)’ KBo 18.24 i 4–7 (see Otten 1968–69: 112–13 and Mora and Giorgieri
2004: 92, 95); nu=za ANÁ KARAŠ uwātar . . . iyunun ‘I made for the army an inspection
(lit., ‘a seeing’)’ KBo 4.4 iii 28; IGIL.ḪLA-aš(mu) uwātar pāi ‘give me the seeing of (my)
eyes!’ KUB 27.67 ii 65.

25.7. It may appear as an adnominal genitive: taknaza dāuwaš sīskur ‘the ritual
of taking (something) from the earth’ KUB 17.18 iii 20, see Taracha 1990; mahḫan=ma
AKUŠkuršaš . . . ḫirauwaš pedi ari ‘but when the (deified) hunting bag reaches the place
of the ḫirawar rite’ KUB 20.25+ i 4’–5’ (JNES 20:92–93); ANŠE.KUR.RA tūriyawaš ‘a
draft horse (lit., ‘horse of hitching up’)’ KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 iii 43 = Laws §64 (OS).

25.8. The verbal substantive occurs frequently as a free-standing genitive
without expressed head noun (see §16.61, p. 256). In this usage it often has a potential or deon-
tic sense (‘. . . -able’ or ‘to be . . . -ed’), especially when negated: mān LÚ ḫuišwaš
‘the ritual of taking (something) from the earth’ KUB 17.18 iii 20, see Taracha 1990;
maḫḫan–ma KUŠ kuršaš . . . iḫauwaš pedi ari ‘but when the (deified) hunting bag reaches the place
of the iḫawar rite’ KUB 20.25+ i 4’–5’ (JNES 20:92–93); Ḫuišwaš ‘a
draft horse (lit., ‘horse of hitching up’)’ KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 iii 43 = Laws §64 (OS).

25.9. The verbal substantive, having both a nominal and a verbal aspect, can take its
logical object in either the genitive or accusative case. When its nominal aspect is prom-
inent, it takes its object in the genitive:

ammuk–man–wa ammel [. . .] ḫatranun ‘Concerning what you,
my “brother” (referring to Ramesses II), wrote to me, saying: “Detaining the (prom-
ised) daughter [is not permitted]”’ KUB 21.38 obv. 34 (letter of Puduḫepa); LÚ.MEŠ
KUR URU Mizra=ma mahḫan ŠA KUR URU Amqa GUL-āḫhwar ištāmaššanī ‘but when the
people of Egypt heard (lit., ‘hear’) the attacking of the land of Amqa’ KBo 5.6 iii 5–6;
nu=utta=kkan ŠA ḤUTU-ŠI kuṭki ẑɛkkuniyauwar egi-r-pa anda udai ‘and he brings up again some slander of His Majesty’ KUB 23.1 i12–13 (Ṣauškamuwa); ṣeš-UTTA=ma u ŠA [BUR.SAQ]Ammana uwuwar kuṭit namma memeškeši ‘Why do you continue to speak yet again of brotherhood and of coming (to) Mt. Amanus?’ KUB 23.102 i 5–6 (NH). When its verbal aspect is prominent, it takes its object in the accusative: nu=uš ḤUBUŠAŠINARAŠ maniyahheškezzi gi-an GIŠUMBIN hašaššuwwar GIŠ-TUKUL apṭaṭar ‘Išpušaš-inara taught (historical present ‘shows’ or ‘teaches’) them (how) to smooth/sharpen an arrow (or) a wheel (and) to hold a weapon’ KBo 3.34 ii 28–29 (“Palace Chronicle,” OH/NS). Perhaps even the dative-locative: nu=za ana karaš uwātar . . . iyanun ‘I made for the army an inspection (i.e., I inspected the army’ KBo 4.4 iii 28. The logical subject of the verb contained in the verbal substantive can also occur in the genitive case: ḤUBAŠAŠ aš⸗mu uwātar pāi ‘give me the seeing of (my) eyes!’ KUB 27.67 ii 65.

Infinitive

25.10. The Hittite infinitive is unmarked for voice and may equate to the active or passive infinitive of other languages (English ‘to give’ or ‘to be given’ respectively).

25.11. The infinitive, both when it depends on a finite verb and on a noun, expresses purpose. Depending on a finite verb: nu=wa=kan . . . “Pipitaḫin š[a]l[aši]yaṣwa(can)ā neḫḫuν ‘I sent Pipitahi out to do reconnaissance’ HKM 17:16–17 (MH/MS); takku āppatriwaṭsi [k]a[i]zzi ‘If anyone goes to requisition’ KBo 6.26 i 28 (Laws §164, OH/NS); sometimes the verb governing the infinitive is itself non-finite (e.g., a participle): ĉallallā pāwanzia=za ugi linkanwanza ‘I have been made to swear with the regard to defection’ KBo 4.14 ii 46–47 (treaty). Depending on a noun: 1 ḤUBAŠAŠ aš⸗mu ḤETERN ᵐišiwaṭsi ‘one jug of wine for libating’ KUB 7.53 i 23 (rit. of Tunn.).

25.12. The infinitive can depend on a (predicate) adjective: eki ba-d-ni ḤUGAL-aš KASKAL-aš taḵšuwaṭsi GIŠ-taR, ḤETERN-aš tuḫšuwaṭsi (var. KBo 6.3 iii 24 tuḫšuwaṭsi) ŠA [LUGU.UDURU.NAG]ar natta kuṭki arawaṭ ‘No one of the metalworkers shall be exempt with respect to making ice, a fortification wall, and a king’s road, or harvesting vineyards’ KBo 22.62 + KBo 6.2 iii 21–22 (Laws §56, OS); ḪUBAŠAŠ aš⸗ma⸗aš SISKUR-ašṣar anda ušiwaṭsi kuṭit šanezuṭ ‘she (i.e., my mother) is an offering of the Akiti festival which is pleasant to look at’ RS 25.421:54–56 (ed. Laroche 1968).

25.13. The infinitive can be construed so that its logical direct object stands in the accusative case (note also the variety of auxiliary verbs and their force): anzel=za=ka[n] ḤEBIN,MAŠ-an ḤEBIN,MAŠ (LUGU)ŬR waṭlewaṭsi zikkezzi ‘The enemy’s troops will begin to attack our troops’ KBo 10.7+ iii 15–16; GIŠ/armi[z][wa]gā ḤETERN Ašṭur naṣwaṭsi karā zinnanda ‘They have already finished building the bridge with stones’ HKM 72:4–6 (MH/MS); nu=za [URUK]-tuwaṭsi uṣaṭuwaṭsi ēpzi ‘he began to fight Tuwanuwa’ KBo 14.3 iv 22 (DŠ frag. 15); ā[p][p]=ma=ka[n] “Attariššiyasu ḪU ḪEBIYA ḫaɾa uet nu egi-r-an tuk=pat “Madduwaṭṭan kunanna šan[ḥ][iške]t ‘Afterwards, Attariššiya, the man of
Ahḫiyā, came, and was seeking to kill you, Madduwaṭṭa’ KUB 14.1 obv. 60 (MH/MS); *nu-zAma}pxt 'he proceeded to begin fortifying Almina’ KBo 5.6 i 9 (DŠ frag. 28A); *nu-ʷa-zAmu-ša kuṯ[s zik] [nu-ʷa]ar-an-kan taparuna kuwa(px)ti pašši 'And you who are but a child, where will you go to rule him?' KUB 19.29 iv 20–21, ed. AM 20–21; *mAdAMMA-ša kue KARAŠ.Ḫ.LA inA KUR URI/Nuḫaṣši ḫalkiuwanzi ḫar(niku)wanzi peḫudan ḫaṭra ‘The troops that Kurunta had led to Nuḫaše in order to destroy (their) crops’ KBo 4.4 ii 63–64, ed. AM 120–121; *nu-ʷa-ša ḫal-šaḫkuwanzi zinniškeši ‘You will end up striking the rocks of Mt. Tašša with your head’ KUB 33.120 i 34–36 (Song of Kumarbi); mān ḫal-šaḫkuwanzi zinniškeši

25.14. The preceding examples with common-gender nouns show that the following with neuter nouns are also direct objects in the accusative: *āššu ṣḫuwappann a ṣḫuwanna ṣḫur 'to see the favorable inner organ and the unfavorable one' KBo 3.21 ii 9–10 (MH/NS); [nu kuṯ] ḫUR.SAG Tašša ḫal-šaḫkuwanzi zinniškeši ‘You will end up striking the rocks of Mt. Tašša with your head’ KUB 33.120 i 34–36 (Song of Kumarbi); mān ḫal-šaḫkuwanzi zinniškeši

25.15. More often, the logical direct object of an infinitive stands in the dative-locative: ḫaṣu ḫal-šaḫkuwanzi zinniškeši ḫaṣu ḫal-šaḫkuwanzi zinniškeši ‘The troops that Kurunta had led to Nuḫaše in order to destroy (their) crops’ KBo 4.4 ii 63–64, ed. AM 120–121; *nu-ʷa-ša ḫal-šaḫkuwanzi zinniškeši ‘You will end up striking the rocks of Mt. Tašša with your head’ KUB 33.120 i 34–36 (Song of Kumarbi); mān ḫal-šaḫkuwanzi zinniškeši

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When Queen Puduḫepa commanded Walwaziti, (who is) chief of the scribes, to seek in Ḫatti for tablets of Kizzuwatna, on that day he copied out these tablets of the Festival of (ḫ)išuwaš’ KBo 15.60 vi 3–11 restored from duplicates KBo 7.45 rev. 6′–9′, KBo 40.65:1′–7′ and KBo 15.52 vi 39–45 (colophon); mān ina ud.2.kam lakkatta nu munus.meš uktu[riy]a ḫaštiaš leššūwanzi pānzi ‘At dawn on the second day women go to the pyre to collect the bones (dative)’ KUB 30.15 i 1–2 (OH/NS).

25.16. In some cases we cannot be sure if the object is in the dative or accusative: apāš-ṣa-mu ḫarḫanna . . . šanḫta ‘but he sought to kill me (lit., ‘he sought me for perishing’’) Ḫatt. iii 63; mān-mu idalawanni-ya kuiš waggariya[wlanzi šanḫazi ‘if someone in wickedness seeks to rebel against me’ KUB 21.47 + KUB 23.82 rev. 23; nu kuiš LQNAGAR GIS-št HUR.SAG GIS innaššaš karšuwanzi pānzi ‘He who is a carpenter goes to the mountain to cut beams’ KUB 29.1 i 14–15 (rit., OH/NS) (innaššaš in NH copy could be accusative plural, but is probably dative here); see also KBo 22.62 + KBo 6.2 i 21–22 above sub §25.12 (p. 332). The following could be an example of the logical object in either the dative or the accusative, depending on whether ana or the ending -an is to be taken more seriously: našma ana ʿDuppi-ʾim-upan ina kur URU Amurrī ana LUGAL-UTTIM arḫa tittanummanzi takkešzi ‘of (if) he plots to remove Duppi-Teššup (logical object, but dative) from kingship in Amurru’ KBo 5.9 ii 34–36 (Murš. II).

25.17. In some instances the logical object of the infinitive appears in Hittite as the grammatical subject of the clause, while the infinitive is dependent on the verb ‘to be’ or other predicative expressions: NINDA,KUR,RA paršiyawanzi nu GAL ‘There are no loaves for breaking’ KUB 12.12 v 32; [kē]z-ṣa-ma kan URU Tiyaššiltaš QADU A.A.GAR-SU [IN]A URU Timmuḫala šipanduwanzi anda appanza ‘in this direction (the city) Tiyaššila with its fields and meadows (is) combined with (the city) Timmuḫala for the purpose of being made sacrosanct (to a deity)’ KUB 19.37 ii 21–22 (NH); īṣṭ[u кра URU].BABBAR-TI LQMUNNABTUM EGIS-pa piyanna ēl āra ‘a fugitive (nom.) is not right for giving back from the land of Ḫatti (i.e., it is not permitted to give back a fugitive from the land of Ḫatti)’ KBo 5.4 obv. 38 (NH); LQMUNNABTUM EGIS SUM-WANZI ēl āra ‘It is not permitted to give back fugitives’ KUB 19.55 rev. 4 (NH); nu-šši GUD pūḫugariš piyawanzi sxša-at ‘A substitute ox was determined for him for giving (if from pai-; or, ‘for sending there’, if from piya-)’ KBo 4.2 iii 50 (NH); mān URU- kvmuš . . . ANA =UlmiTēššup piyanna ēl ẓt-anza (lit.) ‘If some village/city is not the wish to give to Ulmi-Teššup’ (i.e., ‘If it is not (His Majesty’s) wish to give some village/city to Ulmi-Teššup’) KBo 4.10 ii 18.

25.18. When there is an impersonal verb such as ‘it doesn’t succeed that’ or ‘it doesn’t happen that’, the logical subject of the infinitive can stand in the dative: mān tak-ša [warr]išuwanzi ēl kisari ‘But if you are unable to [as]sist’ KBo 5.9 ii 19 (Murš. II); nu-nnāš-kan epurawanzi ēl ḫapdat ‘We couldn’t epura-’ KBo 18.54 rev. 14–15 (letter); according to one possible interpretation, the passages BrTabl. i 96–97 and ii 1–2 (Tudḫ. IV) would also serve as examples.
Often the infinitive combines with a finite verb idiomatically, as if the latter were an auxiliary verb.

The infinitive combines with the auxiliary verb ēpp- and -za with the meaning 'to begin to do something' (Goetze 1925: 89; SV 2:154; and HW² 2:64–65). This construction is attested once in a New Hittite copy of an Old Hittite ritual: mänza ĽŬ.MEŠ KISAL.LUH É.MEŠ GIBIL ḫaṇesšūwanzi appanzi ‘When the courtyard-washers begin plastering new buildings’ KUB 29.1 iii 29 (OH/NS). But since there is no other example in either OH or MH, we should probably attribute this construction to the NH scribe rather than his OH archetype. A few securely datable New Hittite examples: nu=za pait URU Alminan wetummanzi ḫant ‘He went and began to fortify Almina’ KBo 5.6 i 9 (DŠ by Murš. II), not found in Muršili II’s own military annals; nu=za alwanzaḫḫuwanzi namma QADU DAM=ŠU DUMU=ŠU ēpper ‘They — (he) together with his wife and son — began again to bewitch me’ Ḫatt. ii 77–78. In addition, the construction is found routinely in NH ritual and cult texts: nu=za DINGIR.MEŠ ḫūtiyawanzi appanzi ‘And they begin to draw the gods’ KUB 15.31 i 33, iii 48; nu=za Ezen, namma iyawanzi ēpzi ‘And he begins to celebrate the festival again’ KUB 27.59 i 24–25.

The infinitive with dai- and -za also means ‘to begin to (do something)’ (lit., ‘to place oneself to (do something)’): anda⸗ma⸗z⸗kan män LŬ.KUR-aš kwāpi uwalḫuwanzi dāi ‘Then when the enemy begins (lit., ‘sets himself’) to attack’ KBo 16.50 (oath of Aššapala, MH/MS); anzel⸗za⸗kan anv=an LŬ.KUR walḫuwanzi zikkezzi ‘Enemy troops will begin to attack our troops’ KBo 10.7 + HSM 3645 iii 15–16, see ibid. 19–20. See also: [ . . . LŬ]-LUM kwāpi waššūwanzi tiazi KUB 31.69 obv. 8 (NH); 1 NINDA.KU, BA.BA. ZA ŠA 2 ḪAL.WATALLA LÂL 1 ḪAL.HAB.GÚ.GID.DA ANA AŠR[BL] irḫuwanzi tiya[nz]i nu AŠR[BL] irḫan[i] KUB 25.19 vi 13–17 + IBoT 4.80:4–8 (NS); LUGAL-aš irḫuwanzi tiya ziššu! irḫaizi 4U URU Zipplanda ḪU.R.SAG Dâḫa Ḫašmâyu KUB 11.30 + IBoT 4.197 iii 22–25. This construction is strikingly similar to the more common use of tiya- with the supine (see §25.37, p. 338).

The infinitive with tiya- also means ‘to begin to (do something)’: nu DINGIR. MEŠ ḫūmantəš ANA ḪU.Lukummi . . . GUD.HL.A mahḫan uwayawanzi tier ‘And all the gods like cows began to low towards Ullukummi’ KUB 26.65 iv 19–20 (Ullik. III). See also: [ . . . LŬ]-LUM kwāpi waššūwanzi tiazi KUB 31.69 obv. 8 (NH); 1 NINDA.KU, BA.BA. ZA ŠA 2 ḪAL.WATALLA LÂL 1 ḪAL.HAB.GÚ.GID.DA ANA AŠR[BL] irḫuwanzi tiya[nz]i nu AŠR[BL] irḫan[i] KUB 25.19 vi 13–17 + IBoT 4.80:4–8 (NS); LUGAL-aš irḫuwanzi tiya ziššu! irḫaizi 4U URU Zipplanda ḪU.R.SAG Dâḫa Ḫašmâyu KUB 11.30 + IBoT 4.197 iii 22–25. This construction is strikingly similar to the more common use of tiya- with the supine (see §25.37, p. 338).

The infinitive with the verb zinne- is translated ‘to finish (doing something)’: mahḫan=ma ĽŬ.NAR AWA[TE.MEŠ] memiyawanzi zinnal[i] ‘but when the singer finishes speaking the words’ KUB 39.84 obv. 1–2; nu=za ĞIN-an [ . . . ] SISKUR.HL.A iyawanzi zinnalți ‘And when I finish performing the rituals’ AT 125:22–24; mahḫan=ma=za ḫalkuššar ḫandūwanzi zinnâi nu=za Ezen, namma iyawanzi ēpzi ‘when he finishes preparing the materials (for the festival), he will then begin performing the festival itself’ KUB 27.59 i 23–25.
25.24. Similar in meaning is the infinitive with šarā tittanu- and aš(ša)nu-: nu tuel ša 4UTU URU Arinna ḫimmuš sıfkUR.HLA EZEN.s.HLA iyauwanzi šarā tittuškanzi ‘They perform fully your ḫimmuš, rituals (and) festivals, O Sungoddess of Arinna’ KUB 24.3 i 23–25 (Murš. II). With aš(ša)nu-: mahšan=kan MUNUS šu:gi mugauwanzi ašnuzi nu aruwaizzi ‘When the Old Woman finishes invoking (the deity), she bows down’ KUB 17.23 i 1–2; n=asṭa Gim-an tuppa HLA-ašš= a memiyauš anda memiyauwanzi aššauwanzi ‘When they finish speaking the words of the tablets’ KUB 17.18 ii 15–16.

25.25. The infinitive with ḡandaliya- means ‘to dare to (do something)’ KBo 4.4 iii 62–63 (AM 132–33).

25.26. The infinitive with mazz- also means ‘to dare to (do something)’: [mā]n apāš=ma memiyauwanzi UL mazzazzi ‘But if he doesn’t dare to tell (his superior)’ KUB 13.4 iii 76. See CHD mazz- a 1’d’.

25.27. The infinitive with tarḫ- means ‘to be able to (do something)’: nu=war=atzə namma iyauwan ḫašua(serial) lē kuiški tarḫzi ‘And let no one be able to [cr]ush it, the iyauwan ḫašuwaï plant, again’ KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 rev. 27–28, but also ‘to defeat someone (accusative) in doing something’: šušši lú:meš 70 LĠURUŠ=za a šišiuwanzi tarḫta ‘he defeated sixty men (and) seventy young men in shooting’ KUB 36.67 ii 23 (Gurparanzahu myth).

25.28. The infinitive with wakkar- means ‘to almost do something, not quite do something’ (lit., ‘to lack to do something’): (When Ḫebat saw Tašmišu,) nu-aš-1-aš šuḫḫaz katta mauššuwanzi waqqareš ‘she almost fell down from the roof (where she was standing)’ KUB 33.106 ii 7–8 (Ullik. III A). See also §25.34 (p. 337).

25.29. The infinitive with karš- means ‘to fail to (do something), neglect to (do something)’: (‘Whoever crosses the threshold of the gods,’) nu 1-aš 1-aš I.NA E.DINGIR-LIM šarā šēšuwanzi lē=pat karšasti ‘Let him not neglect — each in his turn (lit., ‘one by one’) — to spend the night up in the temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 5–6 (pre-NH/NS).

25.30. The infinitive with mimma- means ‘to refuse to (do something)’: m Maddu⸗wattaš⸗a⸗z KUR HUR.SAG Ḥāriyati ašānna mimmaš ‘Madduwatta refused to occupy the Mt. Ḥāriyati district’ KUB 14.1 obv. 18; ḤUR.SAG-aš⸗za arauwanzi memma Ḥāriyiš⸗za appānna memma kaskaL-šaš⸗za karipuwanzi memma ‘The mountain will refuse restraining (or: to be restrained). The valley will refuse seizing (or: to be seized). The road will refuse devouring (or: to be devoured)’ KUB 12.62 rev. 3–6 (ritual). It is unclear if

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2. See also LĠU,MES E.D. A=ma DINGIR-LIM K[U].GI ienzi I.NA DINGIR-LIM=ma aniur=šet mahšan n=an aniyauwanzi ḡATAMMA šarā tittauwanzi ‘the smiths make a gold (statue of) the god, and they perform/treat him/it fully just as his/its protocol is’ KUB 29.4 i 6–8. The phrase šarā tittuwanzi means ‘to complete, finish’ (HW 225 ‘vollenden’). This interpretation is to be preferred to Puhvel’s ‘undertake’ (HED H 315), if by that is implied an ingressive aspect.
the -z(a) . . . UL meli(m)ma- that means ‘to refuse’ is a usage of mema- ‘to say’ (hence: ‘to say “no”’; see CHD L–N mema- 12b) or an unusual extension of the meaning of the non-negated mimma- ‘to refuse’ to its negated form: ša E.GAL-LIM=ma=z NUMUN.HLA aniyanwanzi UL mimatti ‘(How can you make haste in regard to the seed of the lords and plant the seed of the lords,) but refuse to sow the seeds supplied by the palace (lit., ‘of the palace’)?’ HKM 55:27–28 (MH/MS); and see CHD L–N mema- 12b for further examples.

25.31. The infinitive with tarna- means ‘to allow (something to be done)’: nu namma ḫUTU-ŠI Dukkanam URU-an [ši]ariawanzi UL tarnaḫḫun ‘And then I, His Majesty, did not permit the city Dukkama to be plundered’ KBo 4.4 iv 23–24 (AM); ammuk=ma=za=kan pariyan pāuwa[nzi] UL tarnaš ‘But he did not allow me to go beyond’ KUB 23.87:10–11 (letter).

25.32. The infinitive with nuntarnu- means ‘to (do something) hastily or precipitately’: DINGIR.MES=ma zi-anza daššuš [nu ēppwan] įzi UL nuntarnuzi ‘But the determination of the gods is strong. It is in no hurry to seize (an offender), (and when it does seize, it does not let go again)’ KUB 13.5 ii 30–31 (pre-NH/NS) with restorations from dupl. KUB 13.6 ii 14.

25.33. The infinitive with irḫāi- means ‘to perform (an action) in a circular way’: 1 KUB KAš=ya šipandiwanzi irḫaizzi ‘he libates also one pitcher of beer in a circle’ or ‘he makes the rounds libating a pitcher of beer’ KBo 24.45 obv. 12.

25.34. In some cases the finite verb describes the manner of the action expressed by the infinitive and is equivalent to what would be an adverb in languages such as English: nu [k]uitman akkuškanzi kuitman a[kuan]na ħūmanteš irḫānzi ‘and while they are drinking, while all are completing the drinking, that song is being sung, and they are singing it responsively (lit., ‘they are responding [arkuške-] to sing’)’ KUB 25.37 + KUB 35.131 + KUB 51.9 i 38–40 (CTH 771.1); maniyahbjaš išḥan kuin BEL=ŠU iezī nu=ššan apedani URU-ri EGR-an IGI.DU₃.HLA dāmma maknut ‘(This is the man) whom his lord makes a district governor, and behind (the back of) the city he took tribute excessively (lit., ‘behind the city he increased to take tribute’)’ KBo 32.14 iii 13–15 (Song of Release). See also §25.28 (p. 336) on the use of wakkar- plus infinitive.

25.35. Occasionally the infinitive describes the manner in which the action of the main verb is executed: liliwaḫḫuwanzi nai ‘Send quickly!’ ABoT 60 rev. 3–4, VBoT 2:10–12; liliwaḫḫuwanzi arnutten ‘Move quickly!’ HKM 15:12–13; liliwaḫḫuwanzi ūnni ‘Drive here quickly!’ HKM 14:7; nu ina 8 MUŠI penniyawanzi 6 DANNA arruanzi ‘And for eight nights they move them six DANNAS at a trot’ KBo 3.5 i 57–58 (Kikkuli horse training manual); n=šu šakuruwanzi haššiknuanzi ‘And they satisfy them (i.e., the horses) by watering’ KUB 29.40 ii 5.
25.36. The infinitive with natta āra means ‘It is not permitted to (do something)’:

LÚ נּ   -wanzi  āra ‘It is not permitted to give back fugitives’ KUB 19.55 rev. 4 (NH); nu ul=ma āra ugu šēšwanzi ‘Or is it not permitted to spend the night up there?’ KUB 5.1 i 38 (NH). The infinitive with the negated impersonal (third-person singular) verb form ūl ḥapdat/ḥapdari and the dative of the actor means ‘couldn’t/can’t (do something)’ (lit., ‘it was/is impossible for (the person) to (do something)’): nu=maš+kan epurawanzi ūl ḥapdat ‘We couldn’t epura-’ KBo 18.54 rev. 14–15 (NH); epurawanzi=ma+kan ul ḥapdari ‘it will be impossible to epura-’ KBo 18.54 rev. 19.

Supine

25.37. The form of the verb in -(u)wan is called the supine. It is employed only in constructions with an auxiliary verb, either dai- ‘to put’ or tiya- ‘to step, arrive, enter’ (see HE §§184c, 273, and 259c). Principal studies of the supine are Ose 1944 and Kammenhuber 1955a. The supine construction is never negated, and no word breaks the nexus between the supine and its auxiliary verb (dai- or tiya-). This is in contrast to the infinitive (see nu namma kel ša kur.kur-tim lu.[meš] temi] maḥar ʾuṭu-ši uwawanzi ūl tarnaṣ ‘he doesn’t let messengers from these lands come before My Majesty’ KUB 14.1 rev. 30–31 (MH/MS); and ša é.gal.-lim=ma+z numun.ḥl a aniawanzi ūl mimatti HKM 55:27–28 above in §25.30, p. 337). In the supine the verb almost always takes an imperfective stem (see §§11.23–11.24, p. 186; §24.19, p. 322). The older texts show a preference for dai- ‘to put’ as the auxiliary verb; later texts can employ either dai- or tiya- ‘to step, enter’, although tiya- is most commonly confined to the plural: tiyaweni, tier. The form ti(-ya)-an-zi is ambiguous, as it could be parsed as third-person plural present of either verb. Rarer (mostly OH or MH) plural forms of dai- as auxiliary verb are: daišten, dāir and daier; otherwise it is employed in the singular: tehhi, daitti, dāi, daiš.

25.38. One usually translates the supine construction ‘to begin to do something’, ‘to be ready to do something’, ‘to be willing to do something’. It is found occasionally in almost all types of text, but it is used quite extensively in only two types: the NH mythological narratives (see DeVries 1967) and the NH military annals (see Goetze 1933a and Güterbock 1956), but especially in the former. There is a noticable complementary distribution of the two semantically similar constructions (both meaning ‘to begin to . . .’), supine with dai- or tiya- and infinitive with ēpp-: where the supine construction is found, the infinitival one is not, and vice versa. Thus the infinitival construction is not found in the myths or in the annals of Muršili II, but the supine construction occurs, and in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, authored by Muršili II, the infinitival construction occurs, but the supine construction is not found. In the Apology of Hattušili III the supine construction is quite common, while the infinitive + ēpp- occurs once. The infinitive + ēpp- construction occurs rarely prior to New Hittite, while the supine construction was in normal use from Old Hittite times. For dai- with the infinitive see §25.21 (p. 335). For tiya- with the infinitive see §25.22 (p. 335).
25.39. The participle expresses a state. With transitive verbs it usually corresponds to the passive participle of other languages, expressing the state of a person or thing acted upon: *appant-* ‘seized, taken’, *paršiyant-* ‘broken’, *piyant-* ‘given’, *haššant-* ‘born’, *taruppant-* ‘assembled, united’). With intransitive verbs it may indicate an attained state: *akkant-* ‘having died’, *pānt-* ‘having gone’, *uwant-* ‘having come [a river in flood stage]’, but sometimes also an ongoing state equivalent to an English present participle: *arant-* ‘standing’, *ḫuwant-* ‘running’, *naḫḫant-* ‘afraid’. Participles of transitive verbs used generically can be either active (*šekkant-* ‘knowing’, *ištamaššant-* ‘hearing [ear]’, *uwant-* ‘seeing [eye]’, *adant-* ‘having eaten’, *akuwant-* ‘having drunk’, *Wišuriyant-* ‘the strangleress’) or passive. One even finds the very same verbs used in both ways: *šekkant-* both ‘knowing (spirit)’ and ‘known (person)’.

25.40. Like any adjective, the participle can function as an attribute of a noun, as a predicate, or substantivized as a noun itself.

25.41. Like other adjectives, the participle is used attributively to modify a noun. But when it does so, it rarely (see the next paragraph) precedes the noun, as do most adjectives (§17.4, p. 271), but follows it, as do the universal quantifiers *ḫūmant-* ‘all’ and *dapiyant-* ‘all’ (§17.6, p. 271):

\[ gaggapan\ zanuandan\ tianzi \]  
\[ šuppaza\ GIŠ\ ]

25.42. Exceptional preposed participles are: *witantuš* `fortified cities’ KUB 36.108 obv. 6, 8 (OS); *warān\ paḫḫur* ‘a burning fire’ (KBo 6.34 iv 6), *ištu\ ABT=YA\ kaneššanza\ UN-aš* ‘a person recognized/honored by my father’ KBo 4.12 obv. 9; *anda\ ḫūppanduš* `stones gathered together’ VBoT 24 ii 20 (Anniwiyan rit.), ed. Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935: 100–126; *paršiyanduš* `broken breads’ KUB 7.5 ii 9 (Paškuwatti rit.), ed. Hoffner 1987; *Giš.Gídru\ ĠUL\ wallḫantan\ UDU-un* ‘a sheep never struck with a rod’ KBo 15.10+ ii 9–10 (MH/MS); and *a-a-an-du-uš* `warm pebbles’ KUB 7.53 ii 22, KUB 17.23 i 13; *karimnaš\ SIG-\ AND[aš]* `sanctuaries in good condition’, *URU.DIDLI.HLA...ašanduš* ‘settled . . . cities’ KBo 11.1 obv. 33.

25.43. Like other adjectives, the participle can fill the role of a predicate (`the land is large’, ‘the situation is grave’), where it can be regarded as the second component of an equation, \( X = Y \): *ki\ ūppu\ arḫa\ harran\ ēšta* ‘(the prototype of) this tablet had deteriorated (and was recopied)’ KUB 33.120 + KUB 48.97 iv 32–33 (colophon); *harkišš-a* `and the white \( h \)-bread (was) already broken up’ KUB
The participle can be substantivized: ḫuninkanza 3 gǐn kū.BABBAR dāī ‘the injured party takes three shekels of silver’ Hittite Laws §9; akkant- ‘dead person’, LÇpitteyant- ‘fugitive’, LÇmaniyahšt- (CHD s.v.); see also the divine name LÇWišuriyanza ‘the strangleress’ (see Carruba 1966a: 49–52 and the review by Hoffner 1968b).

Since the verbal origin of the participle was not forgotten, it continued to be used with preverbs (anda ḫūppanduṣ NA.H.A ‘stones gathered together’ VBoT 24 ii 20) and with complements qualifying its verbal element, such as nouns in the instrumental case: īSTU ABI=YA kaneššanza UN-aš ‘a person honored by my father’ KBo 4.12 obv. 9; ḫili=ma zeriyalli GAD-it kariyanda karū artari ‘potstands covered with linen cloths are already standing in the courtyard’ KUB 10.21 ii 7–8; nu=sšan 4Telipinuš 1.DUG.GA-it papparšanta KASKAL-ša iyanni ‘O Telipinu, set out on the road sprinkled with fine oil’ KUB 17.10 ii 29–30 (Tel, myth, OH/MS); atš eme-aš gagāš qāša=šmaš=kan parkuin műšriwantan ḫarkin G8.GIDRU ĂL walḫantan UDU-un šipantaḫḫun ‘O mouth, tongue, tooth! Behold I have sacrificed to you (plural) a pure, gleaming white sheep never (lit., ‘not’) struck with a rod’ KBo 15.10 + KBo 20.42 ii 8–10 (rit., MH/MS). This recalls similar constructions involving pure adjectives whose meanings resemble passive participles: marmwwantet šùm ‘full (i.e., filled) with marmwwant-beer’ KBo 21.72 i 13. This use is more common as a predicate than as an attribute.

3. kariyanda (pl. neut.) shows that zeriyalli is a plural. The verbal force of kariyanda is complemented by GAD-it ‘with linen’.
Chapter 26
NEGATION

26.1. During the Empire Period Hittite possessed five negative words: (1) the negative of assertions natta (usually written as an Akkadogram UL or Ė-UL, on which see §31.9, p. 432), rarely as Sumerogram NA), (2) the negative of prohibition le-e, (3) the negative of ‘not yet’, nāwi (older spelling na(-a)-ū-i continuing into latest periods, later na(-a)-wi unattested before New Hittite), (4) the negative of wish or potential nu-u-ma-(a)-jan (or nu-u-wa-(a)-jan), and (5) nekku ‘not . . . somehow?’ (HE §§279–83). All five of these words have been comprehensively treated in the CHD, volume L–N (1990).

natta

26.2. In Hittite the primary negative of assertions na-at-ta (Akkadian UL) may modify any sort of predicate except a verb in the imperative: (1) present or preterite indicative finite verbs, (2) adjectives or participles, (3) nouns (including verbal substantives—see §25.8, p. 331), (4) adverbs. For examples see Hoffner 1986: 91–92 and CHD L–N sub natta b. In addition, natta may modify elements other than the predicate: (subject) natta-an ūk tarnāḫḫun LUGAL-Š=an MUNUS.LUGAL-Š=a tarnaš ‘It was not I who released it, the king and queen released it’ KBo 17.3 iii 4–5 (OS); (direct object) natta apūn geštin-an piyēr ‘It was not that wine that they gave’ KBo 3.34 ii 5 (OH/NS); (other) DUMUL.LU.UL UL Š=U iššū iššū ṣullanni uwanun ‘O mortal, it was not rashly that I came, not in wantonness that I came.’ See CHD L–N sub natta c. Finally, natta may also modify non-predicatival verbal substantives and participles: UL uwawaš ‘one of not coming’ (i.e., ‘one not permitted to come’); UL naḫšariyawanza ‘the unafraid’; UL pittuliantan ‘the unintimidated’; UL zanuwanti ‘uncooked’.

Word Order with natta

26.3. The usual word order is natta (UL) (or other negation: lē, nāwi, nūman) immediately before the verbal form (Hoffner 1986: 86): takku šumeš natta šaktēni ‘If you do not know’ KBo 22.1:5 (OS); luzzi natta karpiyezi ‘he shall not perform corvée work’ KBo 6.2 ii 40 (OS). With preverbal constructions natta (and other negatives; for lē see §26.22, p. 345) breaks the nexus between preverb and verb: nu namma arḫa UL tarnāi ‘he doesn’t let go again’ KUB 13.4 ii 23–24 (pre-NH); nu=war=aš=mu parā UL peštēni ‘and (if) you don’t hand them over to me’ KUB 14.15 i 15 (NH). There are occasional exceptions to this rule with anda: UL anda ešun ‘I was not present’ KUB 21.19 i 35, ii 5; nu=kan UL=ma anda šalikmi KUB 5.1 i 29, but no exceptional examples with arḫa,
26.4  Negation

katta(n), parâ, or šarâ. For further examples, exceptions, and discussion see Hoffner 1986: 86–89.

26.4. The negative natta can be fronted and separated from its finite verb, often in rhetorical questions (Hoffner 1986: 89–90): natta ūk ûd.MEŠ-uš ḤUR.SAG.MEŠ-uš arunušš-a [eğîr-p]a tarmaškîmî ‘Is it not I who restrain the rivers, mountains and seas?’ KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41:12–13 (OH/NS); ūt=wa LUGAL-waš araš=miš zik ‘Are you not the friend of me, the king?’ KUB 29.1 i 35 (OH/MS); emphatic assertion: ūt=at=ši=kan arḫa danzi ‘They shall not take it away from him’ BrTabl. i 99 (Tudḫ. IV). See further examples in §26.9 (p. 343). For other elements fronted to clause-initial position see §30.5 (p. 407).

26.5. In contrastive sentences (often with the finite verb fronted), the negation comes at the end, after the finite verb (Goetze 1927: 114): namma=ma=kan KUR URU Ḥapalla kuventa=ya ūt épta=ya=at ūt. ‘But then you neither attacked the land of Ḥapalla nor seized it’ KUB 14.1 rev. 23 (MH/MS); [nu=war=an] šannattî=ya lē mu[nn]āšî=ya=aw=war=an lē ‘you must neither hide him nor conceal him’ KUB 14.1 obv. 35 (MH/MS); DINAM šarazzi katterajḫi lē kattera šarazziyajḫi lē kui ḫandan apât išša ‘Don’t declare a superior case to be inferior, don’t declare an inferior case to be superior, do what is right’ KUB 13.2 iii 27–28 (MH/NS); paimi nāwi úḫḫi nāwi ‘I haven’t yet gone, nor have I yet seen’ KBo 3.34 i 23 (OH/NS), warpzi=ma=za nāwi ‘but he hasn’t yet bathed’ KUB 13.4 iii 79 (MH/NS). See also the threefold example below in §26.20 (p. 345; categorical negative).

26.6. Negatives immediately precede indefinite pronouns or adverbs (Hoffner 1986: 88–89): kušann⸗a natta kuiški iē [zzi] ‘No one pays a wage’ KBo 6.2 iii 17 (Laws §55, OS); [i]dālu natta kuedanikki takkišta ‘He did harm to no one’ KBo 3.22:8 (OS); nu 𬬻=hippari ḥāppar lē [(ku)]iški iezzi ‘No one shall do business with a hippara-man’ KBo 6.2 ii 49–50 (Laws §48, OS); kinun⸗a⸗wa ANŠE.KUR.RA.H.LA nawi kuiški uezzi ‘But now no cavalry has yet come’ HKM 19:15–17 (MH/MS).

26.7. When an indefinite pronoun or adverb (kuiški, kuinki, kuitki, kuwatqa) is delayed until after the verb, it takes with it any negative associated with it: arruša ṭuwar šanḫzi lē kuiški ‘Let no one seek to defect’ KUB 26.12+ ii 16–17; aššu kuišš iššaḫḫu nu⸗mu? ḫušnuṣṣi ūl kuiški ‘Of those whom I treated well no one saves [me]’ KUB 30.10 rev. 24–25 (OH/MS); and with kui for kuiški: (You must not say:) arḫa=wa parkunummi parkunuši=ma=za ūl kui nu=za anda imma ḫatkišnuši ‘I will thoroughly clean up,’ while however you yourself clean nothing up, but you yourself rather oppress’ KBo 3.1+ ii 43–44 (OH/NS).

Negative Rhetorical Questions (with Negatives of Assertion)

26.8. A rhetorical question is an utterance which has the outward form of a question but which instead of seeking information seeks to make an emphatic contrary assertion. As such, a negative rhetorical question only employs negatives of assertion, and never the imperatival negative lē. And although all examples identified to date use the nega-
tion *natta* (*UL*), there is no reason to doubt that Hittite speakers could have employed any of the negatives of assertion in rhetorical questions. A sentence such as *nāwi ṭãhi utneyaš ḫenkan* (or: *utneyaš ḫenkan nāwi ṭãhi*) ‘Have I not yet see the land’s plague?’ is completely possible, as is *nāman peḥhi DUMU.MUNUS=YA* (or: *DUMU.MUNUS=YA nāman peḥhi*) ‘Do I not wish to give my daughter?’ For discussion of negative rhetorical questions see Hoffner 1986: 89–91 with the earlier literature cited there; also Melchert 1985; and chaper 27 below.

**26.9.** Negative rhetorical questions (‘Has he not done so-and-so?’) are the functional equivalents of emphatic positive assertions (‘He has certainly done so-and-so!’). In Hittite they frequently show the negative in clause-initial position: *nattašamaš* LÚ.MEŠ LU.MEŠ DUGUD *tuppi ḫazzian ḫarzi* ‘Has (my father) not inscribed a tablet for you dignitaries?’ KBo 22.1: 23 (OS); *ūl=war=an=kan tuetaza memiyanaz kuenner* ‘Was it not at your word that they killed it (the Bull of Heaven)?’ KUB 8.48 i 12 (Gilgamesh, NH). See further in §26.4 (p. 342) and §30.5 (p. 407).

**26.10.** But in even more cases (see tabulation in Hoffner 1986: 89) the negative is not clause-initial: (If a mortal were to live forever and the unpleasant illness of such a man were to continue,) *man=atši natta kattawatar* ‘Wouldn’t it be a grievance for him?’ KUB 30.10 obv. 23 (prayer, OH/MS); *man zik ūl aršanieše* ‘Wouldn’t you be upset?’ ABoT 65 rev. 6 (MH/MS); often with *UL imma: ug=wa=za ūl imma LÚ-āš* ‘Am I not indeed a man?’ KUB 23.72 obv. 40 (MH/NS); *nu=wa=mn[aš apāš] ūl imma DUMU EN=E[N]I* ‘Is he not indeed the son of our lord?’ KUB 26.1 i 22–23 (NH); *nu=wa=ta UL imma peḥhi peḥhi=tta* ‘Will I indeed not give it to you? I will (certainly) give (it) to you!’ VBoT 2:8–9 (letter to an Egyptian pharaoh).

**nawi** ‘not yet’

**26.11.** A second negative of assertion is *nāwi*, which is usually translated ‘not yet’. When the accompanying verb is present tense, it is translated with an English present perfect (‘has/have not yet . . . -ed’), while when accompanied by the preterite, it is translated with a past perfect (‘had not yet . . . -ed’). See §22.4 (p. 306).

**26.12.** A common use of *nāwi* is in the construction with *kuitman* ‘while’ (§19.6, p. 290; §30.34, p. 415): *kuitman . . . nāwi uezzi* ‘while he has not yet come’ = ‘before he comes’ (CHD nāwi a 2’); *kuitman . . . nāwi uet* ‘while he has not yet come’ = ‘before he came’ (CHD nāwi b 2’ and §30.37, p. 416).

**26.13.** When *nāwi* occurs in a sentence with unexpressed verb ‘to be’ (*ēš-* see §22.3, p. 306) (CHD nāwi c), the implied tense of *ēš-* is present, and the construction is translated ‘have/has not yet . . . -ed’.

**26.14.** As in the case of the other negatives, certain classes of words may intervene between *nāwi* and the finite verb (CHD nāwi d): indefinite (*kuiški*) and relative pronouns (*kui-*), conjunctions such as *kuitman*, and adverbs such as *anku* and *kuwapikki*.
26.15. Like the other negatives, nāwi breaks the nexus between preverb and verb (Hoffner 1986: 86–89): anda⸗aš⸗šan parna nāwi paizzi ‘(but) he hasn’t yet gone into the house’ KBo 6.3 iv 36 (Laws §93, OH/NS); kuiman⸗wa ḫanneššar [a]ṛḥa nāwi ariyaweni ‘before we seek a decision (by oracle)’ KBo 16.47:16–17 (MS); n⸗ašta kuit⸗man ḫ[aliy]az . . . [ . . ] katta nāwi uwan[zi] ‘before they come down from the district’ KUB 13.1 + 885/z i 6–7, ed. Pecchioli Daddi 2003: 70.

**Imperatival and Categorical Negative lē**

26.16. The imperatival lē, used as both prohibitive (‘Don’t do that!’) and inhibitive (‘Stop doing that!’), regularly occurs with the present indicative (CHD lē a), occurring with all three persons: lē šaggahḫi ‘I don’t want to know’ CHD lē a 1ʹ; lē umēni ‘Let us not see’ ibid. a 4ʹ; nu=wa BEL=NI IN4 URU Ḫayaša lē pāiši ‘Our lord, don’t go to the city of Ḫayaša!’ KBo 4.4 iii 25–26 (AM 124–25); nu ḫippari ḫāppar lē [ku]liški iezzi ‘Let no one do business with a ḫippara-man’ KBo 6.2 ii 49–50 (Laws §48, OS).

26.17. The negative lē rarely associates with the imperative (see Sommer and Falkenstein 1939: 91–92 and CHD lē c; all examples are from NH copies of Old Hittite documents): lē ḫandān⸗pat ēšdu ‘Let it not be determined’ KUB 1.16 ii 51 (OH/NS); nu⸗ta LŪ ḫippari ḫāppar lē iezzi ‘Let the elders of Ḫattuša not speak to you’ ibid. ii 60. Another alleged (CHD lē c) example, lē⸗wa⸗tta nāḫi ‘Don’t be afraid’ KUB 33.24 i 43, KUB 30.33 i 15, and lē⸗ta nāḫi KUB 30.36 ii 8, KUB 30.33 i 15, is better understood as an impersonal third-person singular present with accusative -ta ‘let it not make you afraid’ (see §16.32, p. 250).

**lē=man and nūman**

26.18. The combined form lē=man (CHD lē b) consists of lē and the “speaker optative,” indicating a wish of the speaker (-man, see §23.1, p. 313; §23.10, p. 314; §§23.11–23.12, p. 315; Hoffner 1982). It is slightly more “polite” than lē without the optative particle and is appropriate when the person addressed is a superior: lē=man⸗še LUGAL-ūš kiššan tezzi ‘I wish the king would not speak thus to her’ KUB 1.16 iii 65–66 (OH/NS), and ABU=YA=man⸗wa=kan MUNUS.LUGAL=ya lē ḫannetawenē ammuqq⸗a⸗man⸗wa lē kuitki ḫUL-wēṣzi . . . lē=man⸗wa=mu kuitki ḫUL-wēṣzi ‘I wish that my father and the queen would not be opponents-at-law. I wish it would also not do me any harm. . . . I wish it would not do me any harm’ KUB 31.66 iii 5–8, 19 (NH).

26.19. The compound nūman (§2.59, p. 63) is the negative “subject-optative” counterpart (see §23.12, p. 315; and Hoffner 1982), indicating a negative wish of the subject of the sentence. The NH KUB 31.66 passage with its separation of lē and man (in ammuqq⸗a⸗man⸗wa lē kuitki ḫUL-wēṣzi) shows that that combination had not been

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1. See §24.10 (p. 319). The prohibitive is the negation of the perfective aspect (‘do’), while the inhibitive expresses the interruption of the imperfective aspect (‘is doing’).
frozen into a single word as *lēman, which seems to have been the case with the compound nūman. Whereas the special sense of lē + man as the negation of the speaker optative was so close to simple lē as to be almost indistinguishable (perhaps accounting for its sparse use), the peculiar force of nūman as the negation of the “subject optative” could not be expressed by any of the other negatives. See the table in §26.26 (p. 347). Sommer and Falkenstein (1938: 198) compared lē man to Latin utinam ne ‘would that . . . not . . . ’. On the other hand, “nūman (nūwan) expresses the wish of the subject of the sentence (Hoffner 1982). While LUGAL-uš lē uezzi means ‘may the king not come’ (i.e., ‘I the speaker do not wish the king to come’), LUGAL-uš nūman uezzi means ‘the king does not wish to come’ (regardless of whether I wish it).

Categorical Negative lē

26.20. A rare, but clearly attested usage of lē is the categorical negative (see Hoffner 1977: 151–52 and CHD lē): ‘In a meadow there stands a šišiyamma- tree. Beneath it sit a blind man and a deaf man.’ tašwanza aušzi lē duddumiyanza=ištamašzi lē ikniyanza piddai lē UH. HLA-ašš-a uddamanteš EN.SISKUR QATAMMA lē uwanzi ‘The blind man certainly does not see. The deaf man certainly does not hear. The lame man certainly does not run. In the same way the words of sorcery will certainly not see the man for whom this ritual is performed’ KUB 12.62 + KBo 53.3 rev. 8–10. This use of lē, the usual prohibitive negative, to express an emphatic negative assertion is paralleled by the use of the first-person singular “imperative” (voluntative) to express a positive assertion of strong intention (see §23.4, p. 313). On the post-verbal (contrastive) position of lē here see §26.5 (p. 342).

Word Order with lē

26.21. When lē precedes the finite verb, it usually allows only certain types of words to separate it from the verb, notably indefinites such as kuiški, kuitki. Its occurrence in final position in nominal sentences (CHD lē d) ır=miš lē ‘Let him not be my subject!’ is possible only through the suppression of the implied verb ‘to be’: ır=miš lē ešzi.

26.22. Like the other negatives (§26.3, p. 341), lē usually breaks the nexus between preverb and verb (Hoffner 1986: 86–89): anda lē tarniškanzi KUB 31.86 ii 25; t-at āppa šarā lē uēzzi StBoT 8 iii 12–13 (OS); arḫa lē autti KUB 17.6 i 20 (OH/NS); parā lē uwanzi ‘they shall not come out’ KUB 13.8:8 (MH/NS). The rare exceptions are late (Muw. II) and involve anda: ANA KUR-ıti=ma=at=kan lē anda šanḥti KBo 11.1 obv. 39 (contra rev. 8!); tapa[riya=wa=mu]=za=kan lē anda kištati KUB 14.3 i 20–21 (Ḫattušili III).

ne/ikkú

26.23. There is a kind of negative question that — unlike the rhetorical question (§26.8, p. 342) — does not necessarily assume either a positive or negative answer
but strongly suggests a positive one. This type of question in Hittite is expressed with nekku: KUR-e=wa nikku kuwapikki ḫarkan man=wa URU.DIDL.HI.LA nikku kūwapikki dannatešanteš mān=wa. LĒRIN.MEŠ nikku kuwapikki ḫullanteš ‘The land is not destroyed somewhere, is it? The cities wouldn’t be devastated somewhere, would they? The troops wouldn’t be defeated somewhere, would they?’ (If they aren’t, then why has this deity come to me?) KUB 24.8 ii 16–18 (OH/?/NS), ed. Siegelová 1971: 8–9. We take both the plene ma-a-an and the non-plene ma-an in this sequence to be the irrealis man (see §§23.10ff., pp. 314ff.). The term nelikku (see CHD L–N s.v. ne/ikku for ni-ik-ku, ni-ku, ne-ek-ku, and ne-ku writings) contains the -(a)ku seen in the disjunctive marker -(a)ku, used in ‘whether . . . or’ constructions (§29.60, p. 405; and Eichner 1971).

### Double Negatives

**26.24.** In Hittite a double negative does not equal a positive but rather an intensified negative. Although there seem to be no examples of nāwi, nūman, or nekku in double negative constructions, both natta (ULT) and lē are so used: nu=war=an . . . ḫuwappī DINGIR-LIM-nī ÜL parā ÜL kuwapikki tarnahhun ‘I never turned him over . . . to a hostile deity, never!’ Ḫatt. iv 12–13; [apē-a] ḫusduwāta lē lē ḫandān-pat ēšdu ‘And let [those] false accusations never — never be established!’ KUB 1.16 ii 55 (OH/NS), see ibid. ii 30. But a negated non-finite verb and a negated finite verb in the same clause are independent of each other: ektaš-ma-ddu-ššan irḫaz ÜL nahšariyawanza arḥa ÜL uezzi ‘But even he who is not afraid will not escape (lit., ‘come out of’) the circle of your net’ KBo 3.21 ii 17–18.

#### Carry-Over of Negative Force

**26.25.** The force of a negative in one clause can continue into the following one (Sommer 1922: 8 n. 3; Goetze 1925: 93), as in the English translations: ‘(As malt has no ability to germinate,) ÜL=an AŠ=ni pēdanzi n=an NUMUN-an ienzi ‘they don’t carry it into the field and use it as seed’ KBo 6.34 ii 32–33 (Soldiers’ Oath); see [BÜLUG] māḫḫan tepšuš ÜL=an gimra pēd[anzi] n=an NUMUN-an iyanzi ÜL=ma=an NINDA-an iya[nzi] E NISP 313 IP BAN ḫaššannaš DUMU-an idalu lē kuiški iyazi nu=šši-ššan GİR-an takkešzi ‘Let no one mistreat a son of the (royal) family and drive a dagger into him’ KBo 3.1 ii 35 (OH/NS).

### Summary

**26.26.** To summarize, the following table lists the negatives of Hittite together with translations:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>natta (UL)</strong></th>
<th>makes a negative assertion</th>
<th>‘he(^2) has not (does not, will not) come’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>nāwi</strong></td>
<td>denies action prior to the time of the action in the main clause</td>
<td>‘(until now) he has not yet come’ or ‘(until then) he had not yet come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lē</strong></td>
<td>expresses negative wish or command of the speaker; or (rarely) states a categorical negative</td>
<td>‘may he not come’ or (rare) ‘he never comes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nūman</strong></td>
<td>states a negative wish of the subject of the sentence</td>
<td>‘he does not (did not) want to come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nekku</strong></td>
<td>in negative rhetorical questions this suggests a positive answer, but without the unavoidable positive aspect of natta imma</td>
<td>‘he isn’t coming, is he?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. For the sake of convenience we have chosen the third-person masculine singular present tense to illustrate these usages. But obviously any person can serve as the subject. And in the indicative either present-future or past tense verbs can be used.
Chapter 27
QUESTIONS

27.1. As in other languages, questions in Hittite may be direct or indirect. Direct questions are full sentences that either pose queries answerable by affirmation or denial or that contain interrogative pronouns, adjectives, or adverbs, whose answers require supplying addition information. Indirect questions are subordinate clauses depending on verbs such as ‘to know’ or ‘to see’. Yes–no questions are marked only by prosodic features such as voice intonation (see §27.2; HE §284; and Mascheroni 1980: 53–54). As such they are usually formally unmarked in writing. Marking these questions by inverted word order, as in English ‘Are you going?’ versus ‘You are going’, is not a feature of Hittite, although it remains true that, as in declarative sentences, marked elements within a question could be fronted.

Intonation Marking

27.2. Scribes in Assyria and Babylonia who wrote Akkadian in cuneiform script sometimes indicated the interrogative intonation by a plene spelling of the vowel in the final syllable of the central word in the interrogative clause (von Soden 1995: §153d; Ungnad 1992: §24d). Since the Hittite cuneiform writing system was initially derived from scribes who used it to write Akkadian, it is no surprise that in one of the oldest Hittite tablets, KBo 22.1, an instructions text written in the Old Hittite ductus, one finds the same phenomenon in writing Hittite yes-no questions:

nu kiššan Amacron small/Amacron small 🝷 arḫān ḫar-te-ni-i 'Is this the way you hold my father’s word (as) a limitation?' (lines 30–31; see chapter 12, n. 43, p. 193 above). One further example may be present in a NH letter:

[Amacron small/Amacron small 🝷] me-ma-aḫ-[Amacron small/Amacron small 🝷] ṣa muṣe-r ṣi-ṣa-an ešer nu me-ma-ah-[Amacron small/Amacron small 🝷] ‘And shall I tell (you), how they were [with(?)] your father?’ KBo 18.22 obv. 6. This is the only known example of the form memaḫḫi with a plene writing of the final vowel. Since this phenomenon is found to date only rarely, it apparently did not become a regular scribal method of indicating interrogative stress. See Hoffner 1995a: 88. On the possible functions of plene writing see §§1.46–1.47 (p. 25).

Yes–No Questions

27.3. Sample yes-no questions are: Šeš=Ya=za malāši ‘Are you agreed, my brother?’ KUB 14.3 iii 62 (Tawaglawa letter, NH); Dingir-Lum=za kidaš waškuwaš šēr Tuku. Tuku-uwanza ‘O deity, are you angry on account of these offences?’ KUB 5.10 i 12 (oracle question, NH); kiššan Awāt Abi=Ya paḫšanuten ‘Is this the way you (pl.) have
kept my father’s word (i.e., command)?’ KBo 22.1:4–5 (note the fronting of kiššan ‘in this way’); peḫḫi=wa(r)=at=ši mān=wa=šī īl pe[h]ī ‘Shall I give it to him? (What) if I do not give it to him?’ KUB 12.60 i 21 (OH/NS); and see KBo 22.1:30–31 in the preceding paragraph. In Hittite one probably answered such a question not with a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ word but with a confirming or denying sentence: šeš=ya=za malāš ‘Are you agreed, my brother?’ was answered with malāmi=za ‘I agree’ or ul=za malāmi ‘I don’t agree’ (so assumed by Hoffner 1995a: 89). But since our only examples of yes–no questions are either rhetorical ones which do not elicit an overt reply, or questions in letters for which we possess no specific reply (KUB 14.3 iii 62), or questions in oracles, where the answer only comes in the standard manner of “favorable” or “unfavorable,” we cannot verify this supposition. As just stated, some yes–no questions are also rhetorical questions which expect a denial of the situation claimed in the query: nu ammel dammešḫaš ḫinkan -yattat ‘My punishment is the death of my wife. Has (this) gotten any better?’ (implied answer: No, it has not gotten any better) KBo 4.8 ii 20–21 (NH), ed. Hoffner 1983a: 188; zik=za=kan ammuqqә-1-edomani ḫaššanteš ‘Were you and I born of one mother?’ (implied answer: No, we were not) KUB 23.102 i 14–15 (NH); n=an=kan GIŠ=unik katterraḫḫer ‘If he (Urḫitešub) had not at some time become wanton/disrespectful towards me, would (the gods) have truly subjected a Great King to a minor king?’ Ḫatt. iii 76–77. Others introduce a clause giving the grounds: kinuna apel ūt-i tar idalawēšta ti-anza=<aš> kuit nu nepišaš ʿutu-un igi.H.I.A-ii uškezzi ‘Has her (i.e., Tawannanna’s) life become bad, just because she is (still) living and sees with her eyes the Sungod of Heaven?’ KBo 4.8 ii 18–19 (NH), ed. Hoffner 1983a: 188; see also Luša/tam [. . . HUL]-luš [gšú=a-an] [kušš dašš nu=za ūl ešat šu <gš>bānšur-aš HUL-luš [gš]bānšur-un kušš] [d]ašš nu=za ūl ezatta lušag/la-aš HUL-[uš GAL-in] kušš pāiš nu ūl ekutta ‘Is the

1. Güterbock restored [dumulugal=wa] ma[a-a]n-na-aš, but making dumulugal=wa a separate clause and leaving ma[a-a]n-na-aš without the particle -wa makes for very awkward syntax, and we cannot read [dumulugal=wa]ma[a-a]n-na-aš as one word, because both a-ši-ma-an-wa KUB 11.6 ii 11 (= Hoffmann 1984: 36 ii 64) (OH/NS) and anza=man=wa in this very same passage show that the proper sequence requires -man to precede -wa.

27.4. Negated questions are usually rhetorical questions, which do not seek information but presume a positive answer. See above §§26.8ff. (pp. 342ff.). Although these are often marked by fronted negation, this is not always the case (contra HE §282c; see Hoffner 1986). For fronted examples see §26.9 (p. 343); for non-fronted examples: §26.10 (p. 343). Because of their emotional content, rhetorical questions often (but not always) employ imma ‘actually, really, indeed’ (see Otten apud Rost 1956: 332–33; Melchert 1985; and above sub §26.10, p. 343). For negative questions that do not necessarily assume a positive answer see §26.23 (p. 346).

27.5. A special class of yes–no question is the deliberative question, on which see §24.39 (p. 328).

Direct Questions with Interrogative Pronouns, Adjectives, and Adverbs

27.6. The following are some examples of direct questions using interrogative pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Mascheroni (1980: 60–61) calls them “domande complende” (German “Ergänzungsfragen”), because the reply cannot be merely ‘yes’ or ‘no’ but must supply the information requested (‘where, how, why, when’) (see Hoffner 1995a: 92–104). Hittite, like English and many other languages, has so-called wh-movement, by which interrogative forms are placed at the beginning of their clauses, regardless of the role they play in the sentence (subject, direct object, indirect object, etc.) (Garrett 1994, following Hale 1987). Most interrogatives thus appear in clause-initial position (as in English) or immediately following sequences of clause-initial conjunctions and sentential clitics (which do not “count” as full words for this purpose). Hittite, however, does with some frequency allow one word (or constituent—see the last two examples in §27.7) to occur before the interrogative. Compare the similar phenomenon with relative pronouns (§§30.5ff., pp. 407ff.), but the motivation for the variation with interrogatives is much less clear. We may guess that some pragmatic considerations of emphasis or “focus” are involved (see the example in §27.11, p. 352), but no obvious difference in meaning is discernible for many examples. As in the case of relative pronouns, there are also a few instances where the interrogative word occurs still later in the clause, preceded by more than one constituent (see the examples in §27.12, p. 352, and others below). These require further study.

27.7. Direct questions are formed with the interrogative pronoun (kui- ‘who, what’). Clause-initial: [män ʷt̪u]-un épmi n-an munnāmi nu kuit iēzzi ʾim-as ‘If I seize the Sungod and hide him, then what will the Stormgod do?’ KUB 36.44 i(!) 5–6; nu kuit ‘so what?’ KUB 1.16 ii 9 (OH/NS); kuit iyānum kuit ‘What did I do? What?’ KUB 31.4
Questions 27.9

27.8. With interrogative adjective kui- ‘what?’. Clause-initial: kuit=wašši=kan šum-an [tehhi 4]Gulšuš=wa=mu Dingir.Mah.Hla-uš kuin Dum-u-an sum-er ‘What name [shall I give] to him, the child whom (lit., ‘what child’) the gulša- and kunaštalla-deities have given me?’ KUB 33.93 iii 16–17 (Ullik. I). If the second clause in the preceding example is not another exception to the word-order rule, it would indicate that the coordinated subject [4]Gulšuš=wa=mu Dingir.Mah.Hla-uš was counted as one position. In the following dialogue we see how the interrogative adjective kui- is used to narrow possibilities: haš nu kuēz uwaši šuppaž=wa uwami nu=wa kuēz šuppaž=zaḥaniṭennaz=wa nu=wa kuēz zaḥaniṭennaz UTU-waš=wa E-az nu=wa kuēz “UTU-az ‘Open!’ ‘So, where are you coming from?’ ‘I am coming from the holy thing.’ ‘So, from what holy thing?’ ‘From the z.’ ‘So, from what z?’ ‘From the Sungod’s temple.’ ‘So, from what Sungod?’’ KBo 21.22:22–25 (OH/MS). Both in this dialogue, in the first example in §27.10 (p. 352), in the second example cited in §27.7, and in the second example cited in §27.9 the nu implies that the course of thought (perhaps the “logic”) is consciously carried on by the new speaker (see §29.48, p. 403). In most cases this requires the word ‘so’ in English. Not clause-initial: umma ši=ma [k]i=wa kuit walkuan haššun ‘She said: “What mob is this that I have borne?”’ KBo 22.2 obv. 1–2 (OS); 2 [nue]l=wa Dumu.Mes=Ka kuin šagain iyanzi ‘And what miracle do (i.e., can) your sons perform?’ VBoT 58 i 7; [zi(qq=az)]a kuũs Dingir-lim-ũš nu ǚl [ . . . ] ‘What (kind of a) deity are you, that [ . . . ] not [ . . . ]?’ KUB 33.86 ii 12 with dupl. KUB 36.56 iii 9 (StBoT 14:54).

27.9. With maḥḫan ‘how?’ Clause-initial: maḫḫan iyaweni kištantit ḫarkueni ‘What shall we do (lit., ‘how shall we act’)? We will die of starvation!’ KUB 17.10 i 29–30 (OH/MS). Not clause-initial: nu=wa wattaru maḫḫan iyan ‘So, how is the fountain made?’ KBo 21.22:41–42 (OH/MS).

2. One could also translate ‘What is this mob that I have born?’ with kuit as interrogative pronoun.
27.10. With kuit ḫanda ‘why?’ Clause-initial: [d]́āэтому a tezzi nu=war=an kuit ḫanda ul. wemiyaffles ‘The Stormgod says: “So, why didn’t you (pl.) find him?”’ VBoT 58 i 23. Not clause-initial: [ak=uš] pumuškimi karāwar=set kuit ḫanda lipšan ‘I ask [them]: ‘Why is its (i.e., the bull’s) horn bent/cracked?’’ KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41:16 (OH/NS).

27.11. With kuedani šer ‘on what account?’ ‘why?’ not clause-initial with a fronted adversative element: DUMU.ŠEŠ LUGAL=ma kuedani [(še)ş] ḫarkiškantari ‘But as for the princes, why are they dying (i.e., being put to death)?’ KBo 3.1+ ii 56–58 (OH/NS).

27.12. With kuwat, kuit ‘why?’ Clause-initial: kuit=wa nu=war=mu ‘Why have you given me this little bit?’ KUB 1.16 iii 10 (OH/NS); LUGAL-ušš=ša memahḫun [kuwa]t=war=š akkanzi ‘And I, the king, said: “[Wh]y should they die?”’ KBo 3.1 ii 28–29 (OH/NS); (The Egyptian queen wrote back to Suppiluliuma I:) kuwat=wa apeniššan taqbi=appaleškanzi=wa=mu ‘Why do you speak thus: “They are deceiving me”?’ KUB 5.6 iii 52–53 = DŠ frag. 28 (NH); (Pharaoh Ramses II writes to Puduḫepa:) kuwat=war=an=mu kinun ʿl. peša ‘Why have you not given her (scil., the bride) to me now?’ KUB 21.38 obv. 8 (NH). Not clause-initial: LŪ.ŠEŠ TEMI=ša=mu kuwa ʿl. uieškettani ‘Why are you not sending my envoys (back) to me?’ HKM 53:29–30 (MH/MS?); kuwapi=wa paitte [ni] ‘Tongues! tongues! Where are you going?’ KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 22 (NS). In rhetorical question interrogative kuwapi preceded by the fronted topic: ša LŪ.GAL.GAL-TIM ʾaššunu kuwapi ʿl-at ḥarkēr ‘Where are the houses/estates of the grandees? Have they not perished?’ KUB 1.16 iii 45 (OH/NS).

27.13. With kuwapit ‘Where?’ ‘To what place?’ kuwapit aumen nu anšē-iš ar-katta ‘Where have we seen (it), that a donkey will climb?’ (expressing incredulity; see §18.3, p. 277, with n. 2) KBo 22.2 obv. 10 (OS); [(mān=wa ʾa)]NA ʾāmu URU Nerik pāiwani nu=waššan kuwapit (variant: kuwapit) ešwaššati ‘When we go to the Stormgod of Nerik, where shall we sit down?’ KUB 3.7 iv 6–7 (OH/NS).
Questions 27.15. An example with a mixture of ways of posing questions: nu mašieš MU.HI. A pär [mašieš-a]-kan ūwāir ša lú GAL.GAL-TIM É-SUNU kuwapı ül-at ḫarkēr ‘How many years have passed? [How many] have fled? And where (are) the houses/estates of the grandees? Have they not perished?’ KUB 1.16 iii 44–45 (OH/NS).

27.16. The interrogative clause can be followed by a clause expressing the reason for the query: nu-za kuiš . . . [nu anz]el ū.SAL arḫa wešieškeši ‘Who are you . . . that you devour our meadow?’ KUB 24.7 ii 56–57 (NS); kuit-wa wašṭul-tit nu-war-at-st[a sig₅-ajmi] KUB 24.8 i 45 (pre-NH/NS) could be translated ‘What is your problem (lit., ‘sin’), [that I may remedy] it for you?’ 3 See §27.18 for another example.

Questions Posing Alternatives

27.17. Questions which pose alternatives take a special form (Sommer 1932: 77–78; Hoffner 1995a: 101). The second question of the pair frequently uses -ma to mark the word which best expresses the alternative (see CHD sub -ma a 1’ b’ 4”, where it is shown that the initial nu is only optional): BAL andurza kuiški dū-yazı . . . nu BAL arḥaṣa-ma kuiški dū-zi ‘Will someone revolt from inside (the kingdom), or will someone revolt from outside?’ KUB 5.4 i 33–35; nu-war-at še[šy a IDE nu-w]ar-at ül-ma IDE ‘Does my ‘brother’ know it or not?’ KUB 14.3 i 52 (NH); kuit-at šēš-UTTA n-at kuit-ma ša ḪUR.SAG Ammana uwawar ‘What is it, (this) “brotherhood”? Or what is it, (this) “coming (to) Mt. Amanus”?’ KUB 23.102 i 7–8 (letter to Adad-nirāri of Assyria); see Sommer 1932: 78.

27.18. A special kind of alternative question is that which is also rhetorical in nature, implying a denial of both stated alternatives: DAM=YA MUNUS.LUGAL idalawāhta ku[i]l[k] n-an tepnutta-ma kuiški nu-kan ‘Tawannannaš DAM=YA ku[e]n[d]a ‘Did my wife harm the queen in some way, or did she demote her, so that Tawannanna killed my wife?’ KUB 14.4 iii 21–22 (prayer of Murš. II), with collation by Rüster confirming ku-[e]n-[d]a (cited by de Martino 1998: 28 n. 65).

Indirect Questions

27.19. For indirect questions see §§30.68ff. (pp. 427ff.).

3. Because the ku-iš restored in nu-wa-ra-an-kā[n GE₅-i] ki-pī-ya an-d[a ku-iš(?) pé-e-d[a]? ‘And who will carry him off to the dark netherworld?’ KUB 33.93 + KUB 36.7a + KUB 17.7 iii 30’ (Ullik. I A, ed. Güterbock 1952: 18) would occur later than the second position, the line should probably be restored without ku-iš and the clause understood as carrying over the force of the ku-iš in line 28': ‘Who will . . . and (will) . . . and (will) . . . ?'
Chapter 28
PARTICLES

28.1. Hittite has a wide variety of particles, most of them sentential, but several not. Sentential particles are attached (following clitic conjunctions such as -al-/ma [§§29.23ff., pp. 395ff.], -al-/ya [§29.38, p. 399] or the non-sentential particle -pat [§§28.115ff., pp. 384ff.]) to the first word in the clause. For the order in which these and other sentential clitics appear see §30.15 (p. 410). One must base all conclusions regarding the true positioning of both sentential and word clitics on instances where the phrases in which they occur are written entirely phonetically. Hittite scribes for the most part do not write clitics in the middle of phrases written partially or entirely logographically. We thus find examples such as: MUNUS.MEŠ zintuhiyēš URU Taḫurpa⸗ma⸗kan (KBo 11.73 iii 7–8) for what was likely spoken as *Taḫurpaš⸗ma⸗kan zintuhiyēš or INA É KUS kuršaš⸗ma (KUB 59.2 iii 3) for *kuršaš⸗ma partni, etc. See further p. 396, n. 10.

The Particle -wa(r-)

28.2. Direct quotes are marked by a particle -wa(r-) suffixed to the first word of the quoted utterance (Hrozný 1917: 98 n. 1, 144; Pecora 1984; and Fortson 1998). Rarely, when the particle follows an a-vowel, it is spelled -u-wa(r-)šet=wa amiyantā a-pa-aš-ša-u-wa amiyanza ‘its wings (are) small, and it (is) small’ KUB 17.10 i 38 (Tel. myth, OH/MS); for evidence see Hoffner 1985.

28.3. The longer form -war- is used when another enclitic beginning with a vowel is added: akw=war=š KUB 11.1 iv 20 (OH/NS); ištu dingir-lim=war=š KBo 12.60 i 18 (OH/NS); ki=mu kuit ša "Marrūwa UBU Ḥimmuwa ḥaliyatar ḥatrāeš parā=war=š KBo 3.1 ii 49 (OH/NS); ug=war=š KUB 1.16 ii 65 (OH/NS); iš=war=š KUB 1.16 ii 67 (MH/MS).

28.4. When followed by a consonant or in word-final position, the form is -wa: nu=wa passim; attaš=taš=wa KUB 1.16 ii 71; [kā]ša=wa=z KUB 1.16 iii 67; kinun=wa=z ibid. iii 68; apāš=wa=kan HKM 6:7 (MH/MS).

28.5. For the likely source of the form -wa see §§1.132–1.133 (p. 46).

28.6. Rarely (about 26 times) =war= appears for =war= before a vowel: peḫḫi=wa(r)=at=ši mān=wa=šši Įl peḫḫi KUB 12.60 i 21 (OH/NS); apāš=wa=kan ištarna arḫa uet namma=ma=war=š KUB 13.4 ii 37–38
(pre-NH/NS); nu=wa=mu 1-EN DUMU=KA pāi nu=war=āš ammuṣa 10-MUTTI=YA INA KUR
URU|Mि(?)ri=ma=wa(r)=aš LUGAL=uš KBo 5.6 iv 10–12 = DŠ frag. 28 (NH) (note, however, the evidence of other mistakes in this context); [t]ēlanuṣ=ma=wa(r)=at KUB 33.41 ii 5; našma=wa(r)=at=za=kan KUB 14.8 obv. 2 (PP 2); see also mān=wa(r)=ašt[a] KUB 34.53 obv. 2, which is otherwise always =war=aštā. Note that this omission always occurs before an enclitic beginning with a, never before those beginning with e or u. This restriction tends to suggest that these are examples of the weak articulation of intervocalic -r- (see §1.132, p. 46).

28.7. Quoted speech is frequently introduced by a verbum dicendi, such as mema-, te- or tar-, ḫalzai-, taštašiya-, punušš-, or minma-: nu kišan mematti eni=wa idālu kišaru ‘And you say as follows: “Let that evil thing happen!”’ KUB 6.41 iii 46–47 (Kup.); ḫakkū BEL GUD tezzi ammel=pat=wa=za GUD=un daḫḫi GUD=šu dai ‘If the owner of the ox says: “I will take my own ox”, he shall take his ox’ KBo 6.3 iii 71–72 (Laws §74); UMA=KUB. UD.20.KAM ANA =Uzzū ŠES.DUG.GA=YA QIB=MA PANI =Pulli=kan ammel aššul ḫalzai GUD=ya=wa=mu kuin tet nu=war=an=mu uppi ‘Thus says Mar-ešrē: Speak to Uzzu, my dear brother: Give my greeting to Pulli: “Send me also the ox you promised me!”’HKM 22:9–16; nu=tta uezzi pe[ran kui ški t,aštašiyaizzi] dũ=no=š-wa-du=za-kan iēššer ‘Someone will proceed to whisper in your presence: “His Majesty is planning this and that (lit., “thus and thus”) for evil against you”’KUB 21.1+ iii 17–19 (Alakš.), ed. SV 2: 68–71; Otten 1957; nu=ta mān DINGIR.MEŠ kiššan punuššanzi kī=wa kuit iēššer ‘If the gods ask you as follows: Why were they doing this?”’KBo 17.105 ii 17–18 (incant., MH/MS); na=an punuškewan dā[iš klu]i=wa waʾstuṭ-titi ‘(The Sungod) began to ask him (i.e., Appu): “What is your trouble?”’KUB 24.8 i 44–45 (OH?/NS), ed. StBoT 14:6f.; [(m)]ān DUMU.MEŠ URUḪatti LŪ.MEŠ ILKI uēr ANA ABI LUGAL aruwa[nzi] nu taršikanzi kiššan=naš=za natta kiuški iēz[(zi)] nu=wa=naš=za mimmanzi LŪ.MEŠ ILKI=wa šumeš ‘When the sons of Ḫatti, men owing ILKU, came, they bow to the father of the king and say: “No one pays us a wage; they refuse us, (saying:) ‘You are men owing ILKU’”’ KBo 22.62 + Kbo 6.2 iii 16–18 (Laws §55, OS).

28.8. Occasionally, quoted speech is introduced abruptly, without any verb of speech: nu=kan NAM.RA.MEŠ katta uēr n=at=mu GĪR.MEŠ-aš k[(attr)]an ẖāliyanda[(t)] BEL-NI=wa=naš lē ḫarnikti ‘The civilian captives came down and prostrated themselves at my feet, (saying:) ‘Our lord, do not destroy us!’’ KUB 14.16 iii 16–17 (AM 56–57) restored from KUB 14.15 iii 46–47; other examples of verbs which do not denote speech acts followed by direct discourse: after arnu- KUB 36.90 obv. 7; auš- KBo 24.124 rev. 1, KBo 24.128 rev. 2, KUB 5.24+ ii 12, KUB 44.4+ rev. 9; iya- KBo 11.10 iii 16–17; ēpp- KBo 5.3+ iii 70–71, KUB 33.106+ ii 5, IBoT 1.36 i 56; ešša- KBo 14.21 ii 58; kappuwe- KUB 36.51 rev. 3, KUB 17.10 ii 21; piya- KUB 12.60 i 16, KBo 13.228 i 5–6, RHA 77:83f. B i 21; peda- KUB 13.4 iv 70; šakuvai(a)- KUB 24.8 iv 31; Šuḫḫa-KUB 12.26 ii 22; tarna- KUB 22.70 rev. 44; ēpp- KBo 3.60 ii 13–17, KUB 13.4 iv 27; tešḫaniya- KUB 1.1+ iii 4–5, iv 9; uīya- KBo 3.40:10, KBo 4.14 iii 73, KUB 1.1
28.9. Once a saying is quoted which justifies a legal decision: takku mûnu-na
kuiški pittinuzzi n[u=kan šard]iyaš äppan anda pâ[n]zi[i] takku 3 lû.mes našma 2
lû.mes ak[(kanzi)] šarnikzil nu gâl zik=wa ur.bar.ra-aš kištat ‘If anyone runs off
with a woman, and helpers (of the bride’s family) go after them, if three men or two
men are killed, there shall be no compensation, (because:) “You have become a wolf’’
KBo 6.2 ii 10–12 (Laws §37 , OS) dupl. KBo 6.3 ii 29–30 (NS).

28.10. In at least one case, this indicates that the words constitute a popular saying
(on which see CHD lala- 1b, followed by Beckman 1986):

lalaš-va
(Var. er-ši-aš-va)
armizzi
‘The tongue is a bridge’ KBo 11.72 iii 5 with dupl. KBo 11.10 iii 17.

28.11. Occasionally, especially when there is an introducing verb of speech, the part-
cle -wa can be omitted. Friedrich (HE §292), quoting himself and Sommer, claims
that this is particularly true in the mythological texts and cites a passage from OH/NS
Illuyanka: nu šarâ nepiši attišši ḫalzāiš ammugga eɡir-pa anda ep lê-mu genzuwaši
‘He called up to heaven to his father: “Take me together with (them)! Have no mercy on
me!”’ KBo 3.7 iii 27–30; see edition by Beckman 1982. But the particle is also omitted
in Old Hittite (OS) rituals such as: tu kiššan mēmaḫḫe tuwattu
(OS)–eš
‘And I say
as follows: “Mercy, O gods!”’ KBo 17.5 ii 9 (StBoT 8); and in letters, where quota-
tions are sometimes embedded within quotations:
kišš–ma–mu kui
(OS)–ššan memiškanzi maḫḫan
‘Concerning what you wrote to me as follows: “The troops of the
(wooden) zaltaya who went to Kašepura, they are speaking thus . . . : ‘When the men of
the Kaška [come], we will [go] forth after (them), and we will bring them up’’’ HKM
wallḫzi ḫalkiu šš–a–kan [ar–h]a (collated) waršzi ‘But in [the city] we said: ‘[Then] His
Majesty will [proceed to] strike Taggašta and harvest the crops’ HKM 47:17–19; in a
formal prayer, where the first lines consist of a long series of divine names and epithets:
u nikiššan m=emai 4 utu šamtē u 4 utu uru–tül–na Gaššan=ya munus.lugal Gaššan=ya
munus.lugal š[a ku]r uru–Hatti KUB 6.45 i 10–11; in the instructions text ABoT 53 +
KBo 16.54;17–18 the clause nu lû.mes 4=tukul lû.mes šu.gi anda ḫalz[i] [nu=š]šmaš
kiššan memi ‘Summon the tukül-men and the elders and speak as follows to them’ is
followed by a lengthy quote without any use of -wa; similarly [nu . . . kiššan memahḫi
KUB 57.105+ ii 24 and n=an dumu.munus šuppiššari pai nu wiyeškezzi anda=ma–kan
kiššan memiškezzi VBoT 24 iii 34–36 and n=asuš naššiliš ištu kaš kiššanum nu
kiššan memahḫi ibid. iv 1–2 and šerr–aššišan zfd.da zīz mun=ya šuḫḫai nu kiššan memai
KBo 11.14 i 20 and nu kiššan memai KBo 15.21 i 17 in rituals. Examples are also given
by Mascheroni (1980: 57–58), who claims that in texts from later periods -wa is much

1. Incorrectly read as la-la-na-aš in HW 3. Erg. 22; on HW² sub armizzi ‘bridge’ see correction in
Hoffner 1983b: 412.
less likely to be omitted, and cites KBo 16.61 obv.? 4, where the scribe has inserted the particle as an afterthought above the line.


28.13. It is not uncommon in quoted speeches which stretch over several clauses to find -wa omitted in one or more of the consecutive clauses.


28.15. The above discussion, which is based on the current generally-held view, assumes that consistent use of the particle at the beginning of each clause is the norm and omission is to be explained case by case. This view has been challenged by Fortson (1998), who argues that the use of the particle was limited in spoken Hittite and conditioned by various discourse factors, some traces of which are still visible in more informal text varieties. The consistent use of the particle in every sentence of quoted speech represents in his view a stylistic standardization of the more formal literary standard of Hittite administrative texts.

The Particle -z(a)

Form

28.16. This particle is conventionally referred to as -za, but there is evidence to show that its real form was merely /-ts/. First, in OH and MH it is regularly spelled as -z after a morpheme ending in a vowel: zi-ik-wa-az, lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-az, ta-az, nu-az, neez, ma-ə-ne-ez, and (not final) ta-az-kán, an-da-ma-az-kán, a-ap-pa-ma-wa-az-kán (see Kühne 1988). Second, when it occurs before the local particle -šan, the sequence of the two is spelled simply -za-an, i.e., /-ts-san/ (see §28.83, p. 374). Elsewhere it is spelled -za. Under no circumstances (contra Sturtevant 1933: 105 and Kammenhuber in HW 2) does it take the form -az (see Sommer and Falkenstein 1938: 114 n. 4). The a which precedes it always belongs to the preceding morpheme (=-ma-az = ma=az).

Reflexive Function

28.17. A reflexive pronoun is one which refers back to the subject of the sentence or clause in which it stands. English reflexive pronouns contain the element ‘-self’: ‘myself, himself, herself, yourself, ourselves’. These may function as direct objects, as in

2. The reflexive pronouns are not used to express the ‘-self’ forms in English used for emphasis, as in ‘He said it himself’. For this purpose Hittite uses the suffix -iš(a) (see §18.7, p. 279) or the particle -pat (see
‘he hit himself’, as indirect objects, as in ‘I bought myself a sandwich’, or as objects of prepositions, as in ‘he compares others to himself’. For the first two of these functions Hittite uses either the particle -z(a) or the enclitic dative pronoun (only in the plural) of the same person as the grammatical subject of the clause. Reflexivity may also be indicated without a particle by the medio-passive forms of certain verbs (see §21.6, p. 303).

28.18. In Hittite (as in Latin) the dative forms of the personal pronouns can serve as reflexives. In Hittite this procedure is applicable to the plural: (first person dat.-acc.:) nu⸗maš DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ iyawen ‘and we begat for ourselves sons (and) daughters’ (Ḫatt. iii 4); (third person dat.:) warpanzi⸗ma⸗wa⸗šmaš ÜL ‘but they do not wash themselves’ KUB 16.16 i 28. The unexpected choice of the dative in the last example for a direct object is in order to assure the reflexive meaning, since warpanzi⸗ma⸗war⸗uš ÜL with accusative -uš in place of the dative -šmaš would mean ‘they do not wash them (i.e., a second group)’.

28.19. The usual means of expressing the reflexive idea in Hittite is the enclitic particle -za (alternate form -z), whose position in the chain of sentence enclitics is noted in §30.15 (p. 410), and which serves without inflection for all persons, numbers, and genders.

28.20. When the verb is transitive and the clause has no other accusative form, -za may indicate that the direct object of the verb is the same person as its subject: warpanzi⸗ma⸗wa⸗šmaš ÜL ‘but they do not wash themselves (-z)’ KUB 16.34 i 8–9; kinuna⸗šmaš⸗za LUGAL-üš labarna⸗šmaš⸗za ‘Now (kinuna) I, the labarna, have united (ulanun) myself (-za) to you (-šmaš)’ KUB 29.1 i 33–34 (OH/NS).

28.21. When the verb is transitive and the clause contains a direct object (an accusative), -za may indicate that the indirect object of the verb is the same person as its subject (‘to/for himself’) (see van den Hout 1992): nue⸗za DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ DÛ-nun ‘and I made (iyawun) for myself (-za) sons and daughters’ KUB 21.38 obv. 58; nue⸗za PN . . . DAM-anni ḫarta ‘and he had PN for himself in wifeship’ KBo 3.1+ i 32–33 (Tel. pr., OH/NS); nînda⸗an⸗za wemiyanun . . . wātar⸗ma⸗šmaš⸗za ‘I found for myself bread . . . I found for myself water’ KUB 30.10 obv. 16–17 (OH/MS); n⸗at⸗za⸗kan pedi⸗pat _lr-arṭa ‘he made them (-at refers back to a neuter collective noun for people) subject to himself on the spot’ KUB 19.9 i 15; nue⸗za . . . NAM. RA INA É.LUGAL uvatenun ‘I brought civilian captives into the king’s house for myself’ KBo 3.4 ii 41 (AM); nue⸗za kan INA KUR Ḥatti ḪTU ḪTU.TUL-na ŠUM-AN daiš[a] ‘but in the land of Ḥatti you have placed upon yourself the name “Sungoddess of Arinna”’ KUB 21.27 i 4; nue⸗za kî ALAM⸗ya ṣa KÙ.GI iyawun ‘I made for myself this gold statue of myself’ KBo 10.2 ii 21–22 (OH/NS); n⸗an⸗za ANA DAM⸗šU dāʾi nue⸗za É-er U DUMU.

§§28.115ff., pp. 384ff.).

3. It is likely, but not yet fully established, that Hittite (only NH?) may also use -z(a) as the object of a postposition. A likely example is: nue⸗za ERIN.MEŠ NARÂRu ṣA KUR- ṭī tepawaza GAM-an ēppūn ‘I took with me auxiliary troops of the country in small numbers’ KBo 3.6 ii 7. See Francia 2002b: 53.
MEŠ ienzi ‘and he takes her to himself as his wife, and they make for themselves a house and children’ KBo 6.3 ii 17 (Laws §31, OH/NS); [kui]š*za [hippari ḫāppar iezzi ‘he who makes a business transaction for himself with a ḫipparaš-man’ KBo 6.2 ii 51 (Laws §48, OS); GAL-iš*za dūtu-uš Ezen-tan iēt ‘The great Sungod made a party (lit., ‘festival’) for himself’ KUB 17.10 i 19 (OH/MS); namma*za ut št aḫḫašš⸗uš tuk ‘Maddu-wattan linkiyaš*šaš iēt ‘then my father (lit., ‘the father of My Majesty’) proceeded to make you, Madduwatta, a sworn ally (lit., ‘one of his oath’) for himself’ KUB 14.1 obv. 13–14 (MH/MS); n*ašta dingir MEŠ-aš*pat ni iyatten nu INNA-aš*šašš⸗ma ḫališa⸗šaš iēt ‘Act in the will of the gods, and you will eat bread, drink water, and make a house for yourselves’ KUB 13.4 ii 69–71 (instructions for priests, pre-NH). When the verb iya- ‘to make’ is construed with a double object (‘to make something into something else’), it sometimes takes -za and sometimes does not. In these cases the-za refers back to the subject as a dative of interest.

28.22. Beginning in Old Hittite, the particle -za can serve in a possessive construction to identify the possessor with the grammatical subject of the clause (‘his own’, ‘her own’, etc.; Hoffner 1973a: 523–24): nu*za DUMU.MUNUS MEŠ*šašŠ AŠ NAM ḪITTU.NIT.A MEŠ*šašŠ PAIŠ ‘(The queen) gave her own daughters to her own sons (in marriage)’ StBoT 17 obv. 17 (OS); nu*za*ša SHU SHU šunu šuwešzi ‘(if a mother removes her garment from her son,) she thus disinherits her own son (pl. ‘sons’ is a scribal error)’ Hittite Laws §171 (OH/NS); New Hittite examples: namma*ša*ša an*ša an [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (lit., ‘to his own head’), and us he made swear loyalty to his sons’ KBo 4.4 iv 59–60; ammek*wa*ša Ė.DINGIR-LIM*ša šaḫḫaṣṣi ‘I am guarding my own temple’ KUB 13.4 iii 25–26 (pre-NH), (when someone has paid compensation for homicide,) nu*za*ša xa šaḫḫašš⸗a [ANA DUMU]. MEŠ*šu šer linganut ‘he made him swear loyalty to himself (li
Some verbs exhibit significant differences in meaning, depending upon whether or not they are construed with -za (Hoffner 1973a: 521):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>without -za</th>
<th>with -za</th>
<th>Bibliography</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>au(š)-</td>
<td>‘to see (physically)’</td>
<td>‘to see with insight, experience, understand, see in a dream’</td>
<td>Friedrich 1952: 38 sub auš-; Hoffner 1973a: 523; Boley 1993: 106–16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēpp-</td>
<td>‘to seize, grasp’</td>
<td>‘to betake oneself to, take refuge in’ (with -za + -kan)</td>
<td>Hoffner 1970, 1973a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēš-</td>
<td>‘to sit, remain seated’</td>
<td>‘to take a seat, sit down’</td>
<td>Goetze 1933b: 4–5; Neu 1968b: 27–28; Boley 1993: 73–76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫalzišš(a)-</td>
<td>‘to summon’</td>
<td>‘to call’ in the sense of ‘give a name to’</td>
<td>Boley 1993: 77–86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iya-</td>
<td>‘to do, make’</td>
<td>‘to celebrate (festivals), worship (gods)’</td>
<td>Boley 1993: 77–86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiš-</td>
<td>‘to occur, happen’</td>
<td>‘to become (something)’</td>
<td>But see Neu 1968b: 97–98; and Hoffner 1973a: 522 n. 14; Boley 1993: 49–54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mald-</td>
<td>‘to recite, speak’</td>
<td>‘to take a vow’</td>
<td>Laroche 1964: 8–12; CHD mald-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninink-</td>
<td>‘to move, stir up (something)’</td>
<td>‘to muster (troops)’</td>
<td>CHD sub ninink-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peda-</td>
<td>‘to dispose of’</td>
<td>‘to carry off with/for oneself’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šak-</td>
<td>‘to be aware of, know’</td>
<td>‘to know, master (a skill), to recognize (authority)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šakuwaye-</td>
<td>‘to look (toward something, with d.-l.)’</td>
<td>‘to see (something, with acc.)’</td>
<td>Hoffner 1973a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarḫ-</td>
<td>‘to have the upper hand, prevail, be able’</td>
<td>‘to conquer (someone)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepmu-</td>
<td>‘to demote, curtail’</td>
<td>‘to belittle (verbally)’</td>
<td>Hoffner 1977</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. HW² E 51–52, 63–64.
8. In meaning 1 (‘mobilizing or mustering troops’) the verb can occur with or without -za. But in the other meanings (2–8) -za does not occur.
28.24. The connection between the reflexive meaning of -z(a) and its idiomatic use with particular verbs is far from clear. Some, though by no means all, of the idiomatic uses can be classified under the labels of (1) “transitivity toggle” and (2) “transformative.”

28.25. The particle -za often serves to distinguish a transitive from an intransitive use of a verb (“transitivity toggle”; Hoffner 1973a: 524–26). Note that in this transitive/intransitive opposition the “transitivity toggle” -za always marks the transitive use. The best-established case is with tarḫ-: (1) trans. with -za ‘to overcome, subject’, (2) intrans. without -za ‘to have the upper hand, be superior’. A second case is šakuwai(a) ‘to look, see’ (Hoffner 1973a: 524). The verb šakuwai(a) ‘to look, see’ like its synonym au(š)- occurs sometimes with -za and sometimes without. But the factor determining the need for -za is not the same as with au(š)-, where it has to do with seeing something closely associated with the seer. Rather it is the same factor which operates with the verb tarḫ-: when the verb takes a direct object, the particle -za will regularly accompany it: [(nu-kan ʿUTU-naš nepiša) katta š]akuwai nu-za ʿUllukummin šakukšzezi [(e]Ullukummiš-a=za (nepiš)an ʿUTU-un šakuššzezi ‘The Sungod looked (without -za) down from the sky and saw (with -za) Ullukummi, and Ullukummi saw (with -za) heavenly Sungod’ KUB 33.93 iv 28–29 (Ullik. I A iv 33–34). Beginning in MH, eš- also developed a transitive use ‘to occupy, settle in (a land, area)’. In this usage it shows -za: [k]āša=wa-tta KUR ŠAG Zippašla AD[DIN] nu-za=za apūn-pat eši ‘I have herewith given you the land of Mt. Zippašla; so occupy (or: settle in) it’ KUB 14.1 obv. 19 (MH/MS); see Goetze 1933b: 4 sub e; Hoffner 1973a: 525 with n. 25; and Boley 1993: 73.

28.26. In a few instances the particle -z(a) may be said to have a “transformative” value. That is, it underscores a change of state. This usage, which is attested only in post-OH, is clearest with the verbs kiš- ‘to happen; become’ and eš- ‘to sit (down).’

28.27. The occurrence of -za with kiš- in post-OH correlates rather consistently with its use as a linking verb (i.e., with a second, “predicate” nominative). When no second nominative occurs (and in these cases the subject is always third person), the meaning is ‘to happen, take place, occur’ and there is usually no -za: n=at uezzi šummaš ANA LÛ.MEŠ KUR cIŠIRIša waštul kišari ‘And a “sin” will occur for you men of Ismirika’ (i.e., you men will become guilty of an infraction of the treaty) KUB 23.68 rev. 6 (MH/NS); gašza kišat ‘A famine occurred’ HKM 113:10 (MH/MS), EGR-ann=a-kan INA ša KARAŠ ḥinkan kišat ‘And afterwards a plague occurred (i.e., broke out) in the army’ KBo 5.6 i 9–10 (DS frag. 28); ini=wa=mu ʿuttar karuššiliyaz pe[(ran)] UṬ kuṣapiки kišat ‘Such a thing never occurred before to me’ KBo 14.9 iii 7’–8’ (DS frag. 28); nu maḫḫan ḥameššanza kišat ‘But when spring came (lit., ‘when spring occurred’)’ KBo 2.5 ii 1 (annals of Murš. II).

28.28. When a second nominative occurs (and in these cases the subject can be any of the three persons), the meaning is ‘to become, turn out to be’ and there is usually a -za or equivalent dative clitic pronoun agreeing in person with the subject: nu mu-ri mèniaš armalaš maḫḫan n[u=za ug]a apāš kišhat ‘Like one sick throughout the cycle of the
year, I became that one’ KUB 30.11 rev. 12–13 (OH/MS); nu=za ūk apā[š] kišḫaḫat ‘I became that one’ KUB 36.79a + KUB 31.127 + KUB 31.132+ iii 19 (OH/NS); nu=za ABU=YA kuwapi DINGIR-LIM-ĭš DÛ-AT ‘And when my father died (lit., ‘became a god’)) KBo 3.4 i 4 (NH); amnu=ma=za ANA PANI šeš=YA EN KARAS kišḫaḫat ‘But during the reign of my brother I became an army commander’ Ḫatt. i 24 (NH).

28.29. Exceptionally, in predicate nominative clauses with kiš- no reflexive particle occurs: man=war=aš=mu LÚ kišari ‘he would become my husband’ KBo 5.6 iii 13 (NH); nu=kan ABU=YA kuin LŪ.KÛR Gašgan INA SÅ KUR-TI IKŠUD n=aš 12 šUTI kišat ‘The hostile Kaška which my father encountered in the land turned out to be twelve tribal groups’ KBo 14.3 iii 15–16 (NH).

28.30. The particle -z(a) does not occur with ēš- ‘to sit’ in Old Hittite (i.e., OS). One distinguishes a transformative medio-passive ‘sit down, seat oneself’ and a non-transformative active ‘sit, be sitting’ meaning of the verb ēš- (the latter formally indistinguishable from ēš- ‘to be’, which probably survives in NH in the sense ‘to abide, remain’ (see n. 12, p. 366). Beginning in MH, the medio-passive alone is used for non-transformative ‘sit, be sitting’ and the medio-passive plus -z(a) for transformative ‘sit down’. See Boley 1993: 73–76.

28.31. Very probably the use of -z(a) with nahl- also marks the transformative use ‘to become afraid’ as opposed to the non-transformative ‘to be afraid’: (1) without -za ‘to be afraid of something/someone’; LUGAL-uš=wa lē nahlṭi ‘O king, stop being afraid’ KBo 15.52 v 14, see 21; nahlmi=wa ‘I am afraid’ KUB 14.3 ii 26 (NH); nu nahlun ‘and I was afraid’ KUB 12.27 i 3 (NH); (2) with -za: ‘to become afraid’ nu=wa=za=kan šer nahlun ‘I became afraid on (that) account’ KUB 13.35 ii 33 (NH). Admittedly, it is sometimes impossible contextually to decide which meaning is appropriate. For this reason we should concede that the use of -z(a) to mark the transformative use of nahl- may not have been carried through with the thoroughness that it was with kiš- ‘to become’ and ēš- ‘to sit down’.

Use in Nominal Sentences and with the Verb ‘To Be’

28.32. The particle -za often occurs in clauses with the verb ‘to be’ expressed or merely understood. Friedrich (HE [1960] §243) called such clauses “Nominalsätzen” (nominal sentences), although strictly speaking only the second type deserves that name. The conditions for the use of -za or equivalent dative enclitic pronoun in such sentences are the following (Hoffner 1969; see also 1973a: 520–21): (1) In Old Hittite no -za or enclitic reflexive dative was employed, regardless of the person of the subject; (2) in New Hittite either -za or a dative enclitic reflexive pronoun is required when the subject of the sentence is ‘I’, ‘we’, or ‘you’ (sg. or pl.) — i.e., a first- or second-person subject; (3) Middle Hittite is a transitional period for this rule: earlier texts follow the OH pattern, later ones the NH pattern. Note that this rule applies only to sentences whose verb is ‘to be’. Other rules govern clauses using other verbs and -za. Boley (1993) underesti-
mated the validity of this rule, and many of her alleged counterexamples were explained by Hoffner (1996b). 9

28.33. Since the period when -za is used as the distinguishing mark for first- and second-person subjects of the verb ‘to be’ is New Hittite, we shall consider the New Hittite evidence first. And since most of our texts date from that period, it has the most examples.

28.34. First-person singular subject: ammuk=ma=za parā ḫandānza kuit un-aš ešun ‘but because I was a divinely-guided person’ Ḥatt. i 46–47 (NH); [amm]uk=ma=za nīwa turbo aš ešun ‘but I was still (only) a child’ KUB 19.29 i 10’ (NH); nu=za ḫU-TU-Ši apez linkiyaz . . . paruiš ešun ūn ‘then let me, the emperor, be pure from that oath’ KBo 5.3 iv 32 (MH/NS); ammuk=ma=za Ṣuduhepaš annalliš GEME-KA ‘but I, Puduhepa, am your long-standing maidservant’ KUB 21.27 i 7 (NH); ammuqa=za ‘Puduhepaš ḫarauwaš MUNUS-za ‘I too, Puduhepa, am a “woman of the bearing stool”’ KUB 21.27 i 17 (NH).

28.35. First-person plural: anzāš=ma=wa=naš īr.MEŠ ḫU-TU-ŠI-pat ‘but we are subjects of His Majesty too’ KBo 4.3 iv 15 (Murš. II, ed. SV 1:144–145); anzāš=ma=naš Dum[u].L.U [UN_LU] kuit ‘because we are human beings’ KBo 11.1 rev. 15 (prayer of Muw. II), ed. Houwink ten Cate and Josephson 1967: 109, 119 with comments on pp. 134–35.

28.36. Second-person singular: ḫanu=za ḫaliy [aš] uddanī mekki puḫḫaššantem ūn ‘so be very vigilant concerning the matter of the night watch!’ KUB 13.4 ii 73–74 (pre-NH/NS); anda=ma=za šumaš kuiēš [L.U.MEŠ E DINGIR-LIM ‘furthermore you who are temple servants’ KUB 13.4 ii 52; šummaš=smaš kuiēš L.U.MEŠ ‘you who are eunuchs’ KUB 26.1 i 6 (NH); see also ibid. iii 45; nu=za mān parkuwaēš ‘if you are pure’ KUB 13.4 iv 53 (NS); takku=za papraniteš=ma ‘but if you are defiled’ KUB 13.4 iv 54 (NS); man=wa=za šānteš ‘if you are angry’ KUB 15.32 i 46 (NS).

28.38. The following NH clause sequence contains one first-person subject and one second-person: appan=wa=mu=za=kən eš [namma?=wa=] tu-uk egi-pa ešu ‘be behind me, and I will be behind you!’ KUB 36.35+ i 12–13 (NS), see i 1 (nam-m[a-wa-]du-za tu-uk), ed. Otten 1953a; 1953b; Hoffner 1965.

9. We reject the arguments of Nowicki (2000), followed by Josephson (2003b: 215–17), that ne-pi-iš-za in KBo 3.22:2 (OS) is to be analyzed as an endingless locative nepiš + reflexive -za in a sentence with ‘to be’ in the third person. None of the other alleged examples presented by Nowicki and Josephson for such use of -za from any period are valid. We therefore retain the analysis of nepišza as an ablative. See p. 120, n. 199.

10. Note that there are two clauses in this cited material: MUNUS-nil=ya=z contains a new set of sentence particles.
28.39. The particle’s absence with first- or second-person in NH is extremely rare and perhaps intentionally archaizing: DUMU LÜ.U₆₉.LU-aš ešun ‘I was a mortal’ KUB 6.45 iii 26 (NH).

28.40. Contrast the following examples of NH ‘to be’ sentences with third-person subjects, in which neither -za nor a dative enclitic pronoun is required: n-aš-kan ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ ANA 4İŞTAR URIK Samuḫa naḫḫanza ešdu ‘so let him be reverent to ištar of Samuḫa among the gods’ (Ḫatt. iv 88–89); kuit-wa waštul-tit ‘what is your problem (lit., sin)?’ KUB 24.8 i 45; kuiš-war-aš aši DUMU-aš ‘who is he, this child?’ KUB 33.95 + KUB 36.7b iv 14 (Ullik. I A); kī=wa kuit ‘what is this?’ KUB 6.34 i 30 (MH/NS).

28.41. In Old Hittite and early Middle Hittite this use of the reflexive to distinguish first- and second-person subjects from third-person ones in ‘to be’ clauses was not yet operational. Observe the non-occurrence of the reflexive in OH and early MH ‘to be’ sentences with first- and second-person subjects: First-person singular: [(mḪappi)]š ANA LÜ.MEŠ URIK Zalpa taršikizzi ūk-wa al[(tti)]=m[(i)] natt[a] āššuš ‘Ḫappi says to the men of Zalpa: “I am not dear to my father”’ KBo 22.2 rev. 4–5 (OS); ûgg=a MUNUS annannaš ešmi ‘I too am an a.-woman’ VBoT 58 iv 3 (OH or MH/NS); [ū]k BEL GASTUKUL ešun ‘I was a Lord-of-the-Weapon’ KBO 3.35 i 9 (OH/NS). First-person plural: [k.UB.BABBAR-wa BELI-NI l]ē-Ša=maš-kan kueši weš=wa [nepišaš taknašš-a] lašškimiš ‘O Silver, our lord!’ Do not kill us! We are the luminaries [of heaven] and [earth]!’ KUB 36.19 iv? 13–14 (OH/NS) (see Hoffner 1988b: 160). Second-person singular: zig=a-Ša GAS-TUKUL ‘you are a TUKUL(-man)’ KBO 22.1:21 (OS); maršanza=wa zik ‘you are treacherous’ KBO 3.34 ii 20 (OH/NS). Also in a NH ritual but imitating archaic syntax: DUMU-annašši DAM=SU zik ‘you are his child-producing wife’ KUB 7.8 ii 3–4 (see Hoffner 1987: 280, 285). Second-person plural: šumeš-a [DINGIR.MEŠ-aš u]ddani naḫḫanteš ešten ‘Be respectful toward the word [of the gods]’ KUB 1.16 iii 49 (OH/NS); LÜ.MEŠ ILKU=wa šumeš ‘you (pl.) are men bound to render ILKU-tax’. Notice how in OH the independent pronoun (zik, šumeš) often occurs in final position, when the verb eš- is left unexpressed (§22.3, p. 306).

28.42. A similar use of dative pronouns referring back to the subject is used in nominal sentences in Hieroglyphic Luwian, where one finds in sentences with first-person singular subjects (Latinogram EGO ‘I’) the regular use of the enclitic pronoun -mi: EGO-mi U+rali-li-li-na ‘I am Urhilina’ (Restan and Qalʿat el Mudiq = Hawkins 2000: (2:)409. On this subject see F. Josephson in Houwink ten Cate and Josephson 1967: 135–36 with anterior literature cited there.

The Local Particles -an, -apa, -aštā, -kan, and -šan

28.43. The particles -an, -apa, -aštā, -kan, and -šan belong to a single class of sentence particles which modify the action expressed by the main verb and its “adverbial” adjuncts. The nature of that modification is disputed: some thinking that it marks primarily local relationships (Goetze 1933b; Carruba 1964; HE §§287–88), and another
(Josephson 1972) that it marks verbal aspect. These two viewpoints are not mutually exclusive (Carruba 1964: 432–36; Boley 1989; Hoffner 1992b; and Josephson 1995). We retain here the term “local particles” as a convenient means of distinguishing this group from other sentence particles such as -za (likewise Luraghi 1997a: 52–53).

28.44. The normal position of these particles is last in the chain of sentence enclitics, which chain is suffixed to the first accented word of the clause. Less commonly, these particles can be suffixed to a dative-locative in the interior of the clause (Neu 1993). When this happens, the same particle or another “local” particle in the normal position may also occur at the head of the clause: ni-ašta parā šuḫḫiššan šarrā DINGIR.LŪ.MEŠ-aš pēdai ‘He carries (it) out (+ašta with parā) up onto (+šan with šarrā) the roof for the male deities’ KBo 21.33+ iv 20–21 (Neu 1993: 138); nu-kan ma[hḫ]an NINDA.GUR₃ RA ANA LŪ.MEŠ-SUḪALDIM ḫandāizzi n=ašta šarḫanan ḫašši-kan anda lâḫuwāi ‘When he prepares thick bread(s) for the cooks, he pours out (+ašta . . . ḫašši-) the šarḫana-liquid into the brazier (+kan anda)’ KUB 27.69 ii 4–8. As Neu correctly notes, the two local particles in the same clause refer to distinct local notions.

28.45. The first two of these particles (-an, -apa) are found chiefly in documents composed during the Old Hittite period. With the disappearance of these two, and eventually of -ašta, their functions were assumed by -šan and -kan. This fact makes it impractical to use the majority of Hittite texts, which either originate or were recopied with modernizations during this late period, to determine reliably the original functions of even -šan and -kan, since many of their uses in the late period originally belonged to the now defunct -an, -apa, and -ašta. In our discussion of each particle we present representative examples of their usage, organized into coherent groupings. Speculations about a possible unitary or basic meaning and etymology are reserved for the end. The presentation of the evidence is illustrative, not exhaustive (except for the very rare -an), and even the classification of the material is tentative.

28.46. These five particles occur in complementary distribution, and thus the presence of any one in a given chain of sentence particles excludes the others (Hoffner 1973a; Kammenhuber 1979b).

28.47. Of the five, -kan by far occurs most frequently. It also has the least restrictive sphere of meaning, including in its own semantic range the nuances of several of the other four. For this reason, especially in NH copies of OH or MH compositions, one can find almost identical sentences, one of which contains -kan and the other -šan, -ašta, -apa, or -an. The same cannot be said for any of the other four particles, which differ markedly from each other. The first clues to the meaning of these particles were found in sentences containing verbs of movement (Goetze 1933b; HE §295). This does not, however, indicate that the conditioning factor for the use of the particles is always the main verb in its clause. Good evidence exists that often the more pertinent consideration is

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11. For the same occasional irregularity in Hieroglyphic Luwian see á-mi-ya-za-ta with local particle -tta in KARATEPE §XXX and comments by Meriggi 1966–75: II/1, p. 93.
the presence or absence of a local expression (noun phrase in the locative, local adverb, postpositional phrase, or preverb) (Goetze 1933b: 16–30; Tjerkstra 1999: 131–40).

The Particle -kan

The “Local” Value

In ‘To Be’ Sentences

28.48. The “local” value of -kan is clearest where it co-occurs with a local adverb in nominal sentences and in those with the verb ‘to be’. This usage is not yet attested before MH, although it is found in OS with the particle -šan. For one interpretation of this fact see Boley 2001.

28.49. With anda ‘with’, ‘in’: ANŠE.KUR.RA,HI.A=yašmaš-kan kuiš anda ‘And also the horses that are with you (move them into His Majesty’s presence with haste in three days!)’ HKM 15:8–9 (MH/MS); nu=mu-kan kuiš idaluš memiaš 2n-ni anda ‘The evil thing that is in my soul . . .’ KUB 6.45 iii 45–46 (prayer of Muwtalili II); nu=Ur.la+Ur-lu-iš kuit GIG-at n=yaš=kun aruni anda ēšta ‘and because Uḫḫaziti became ill, he remained on the island (lit., ‘in the sea’)’ KBo 3.4 ii 50–51 (NH).12


28.51. With šer ‘up’: ĖRIN.MEŠ=ya-kan punkuš šer ēšta ‘And the entire army was up (there)’ KUB 14.16 iii 11 (NH); wātar=ma-kan kuit AN‘A URU.SAG Arlanta šer ‘But the water that is up on Mt. Arlanta . . .’ KBo 4.10 obv. 25 (NH).

28.52. But no particle seems to co-occur with kattan ‘below’, ‘down’ in such sentences: nu kuitman ABU=YA IN‘A KUR URU Kargamiššiš kattan ēšta ‘And while my father was down in Kargamiš’ KBo 5.6 iii 1–2 (NH). Lack of a particle also seems regular with peran: [. . . . . . .]=ma=mu peran arpuwanteš ēš[er] ‘[The roads/the mountains] were arduous ahead of me’ KUB 19.37 iii 50 (NH). We do find -kan with the combination peran ēš- when it means ‘be responsible for’ (lit., ‘remain before’12): nu=wa=kan KUR!-e peran ēšten ‘Be responsible for the land!’ KUB 14.16 i 17 (NH).

With Local Adverbs and Non-motion Verbs

28.53. The particle -kan likewise occurs with the same local adverbs in other sentences with non-motion verbs and some local expression. In none of these cases is the

12. This active ēš- is the stative (non-eventive or non-transformative; see §28.30, p. 362) counterpart to medio-passive ēš- ‘take one’s seat, sit down’ (Hrozný 1917: 165; Goetze 1927: 100–105), and not the verb ‘to be’. Supporting this analysis is the example in KUB 14.16 i 17 cited below in §28.52. In the case of the imperative ēšten the verb ‘to be’ would have taken the particle -za.
local adverb a preverb construed with the verb, since it in no way modifies or limits the meaning of the verb.

28.54. With anda ‘in’ (beginning in MH/MS): (The carpenter heard himself being cursed,) nušši=kan anda i [dâl]awetša ‘and (his mood) became sad/bad within him’ KBo 32.14 rev. 44 (MH/MS); also in KUB 33.120 iii67–68 (NS) with Ša-ni added; and in KBo 26.65 iv 10 (NS), KUB 36.25 iv 2 (NS) and KUB 36.35 i 24–25 (NS) with explicit subject zi-anza (NS); the same expression but with [anda]n KBo 32.14 left edge 1–2 (MH/MS);13 nušši=kan ‘Uḫḫaziti died on an island (lit., ‘in the sea’)’ KBo 3.4 i 52 (NH); nušši=kan ‘Uḫḫaziti died on an island (lit., ‘in the sea’)’ KBo 3.4 i 52 (NH); nušši=kan ‘Uḫḫaziti died on an island (lit., ‘in the sea’)’ KBo 3.4 i 52 (NH); nušši=kan ‘Uḫḫaziti died on an island (lit., ‘in the sea’)’ KBo 3.4 i 52 (NH).

28.55. With āppan ‘behind’ and āppa ‘back’: nušši=kan (var. -šan) ḫalkiuš ḫan ‘and I multiplied crops behind(?)’ KBo 3.1 iii 44 (OH/NS), ed. TH 11:38–39; [namma]aš=ta=kkkan EGIS=an=pat ḫittat ‘[then] he kept after you (and kept pursuing you)’ KUB 14.1 obv. 2 (MH/MS); nu=ta=kkkan ḫ Attariššiya ḫar=a k[a[rš]a] ‘and I cut Attariššiya off from (going) after you’ KUB 14.1 obv. 4 (MH/MS); namma=kan =Maḏdiwattas ḫ. MEŠ=URU=Dalawa ANA KUR=URU Ḥatti EGIS=an ḫar=a=pat naiš ‘Then Madduwatta turned the men of Talawa away from following (lit., ‘from behind’) the land of Ḥatti’ KUB 14.1.1 73 (MH/MS); nu=kan antuḫšaṭar =URU=Ḥatti ANA URU.DIDLI.Ḫ.LA URU=Gašga EGIS=an kuiēš ᵇ=arazan ḫarker kuiēš=ma=kan ḫāppiri EGIS=pa pānteš ‘Some of the Hittite population had hostel(s) behind the Kaskean towns, while some had gone back into town’ KBo 5.6 i 15–17 (NH).

28.56. With šer ‘up’: ‘When I arrived in Aštata, I went up in the city Aštata’, nu=kan gurtan šer wetenun ‘And I built a citadel up (there)’ KBo 4.4 ii 61–62 (NH).

With Local Adverbs and Motion Verbs

28.57. The particle -kan is generally absent when a motion verb has no associated preverb, even when an explicit local expression is present: nu INA TÜR pāun ‘and I went to the sheepfold’ KBo 17.61 rev. 8 (MH/MS); INA ḫinapši=war=aš pait ‘he went to the šinapši-building’ KUB 30.28 rev. 4 (NS); ṣTU-ŠI KUIT INA KASIAL =URU=NERIŠ Ḫul pait ‘Because His Majesty did not go on a trip to Nerik’ KUB 2.15 v 22–23 (NS); n=aš INA KUR =URU=Ḫayaša pait ‘And he went to the land of Ḫayaša’ KUB 19.11 iv 41 (NH). But there

13. Aside from nušši=kan zi-anza anda ḫul-ue[ṣta] ‘and she became deeply distressed’ KUB 36.35 i 24–25 (Ašertu and Elkunirša myth), which to our knowledge no one has dated earlier than NH, the NH continuation of this construction lacks anda(n) and the local particle: (If anyone disposes of contaminated materials from a purification ritual on another’s property, he must purify that house,) mān Û-ri=ya kuuk̩izi idalawēšzi ‘and if anything goes wrong in the house, (he shall purify it again and make compensation for the loss)’ KBo 6.4 iv 1–2 (NH); see also Laws §31 NS copy B, and KUB 11.1 iv 26 (OH/NS). The meaning of idalawēšzi in this construction is different from that expressing hostility, which is without anda and local particle: nu 1-aš 1-e=mi idalawēšzi KBo 5.4 rev. 3 (NH), or is a plural reciprocal verb without dative-locative or anda but with -kan: nu=kan lē idalawēštēni ‘don’t be angry with each other’ KBo 5.4 rev. 21 (NH).
are exceptions, especially with the verb ar-/er- ‘to arrive’: māḫḫan-ṣa-wa-kan ammuk  IN A  K U R  URU Išḫupitta ārḫun ‘When I arrived in the land of Išḫupitta’ HKM 10:34–35 (MH/MS); versus mān  ṭUldḥaliyaš LUGAL-[GAL]  URU Ḫattiši ārḫun ‘When I, Tudḫaliya, [great] king, arrived in Ḫattiša’ KUB 23.11 iii 12–13 (MH/NS). The verb ḫuwai- ‘to run’ also takes -kan in combination with ḫaššan, accusative of ‘hearth’: ḫaššan-kan  ṣū ṭuīyanzi ‘they run around(?) the hearth once’ KBo 25.46:5, etc. (OH).

28.58. Use of -kan (or alternatively -ašta or -šan) is frequent with intransitive or transitive verbs of motion when these are accompanied by a preverb, but there are also examples where there is no particle, and the frequency of the use of the particle can vary markedly from one preverb+verb combination to another.

28.59. Examples of anda ‘in(to), ‘to’ + motion verb with -kan: ANA D U M U/M U N U S GAL=ma-kan anda aššuli namma neṣḫut ‘Turn again towards the princess in benevolence’ KBo 4.6 obv. 16 (NH); ANA L U M EŠ  URU Paḫḫuwa=ma-š-kan anda pait ‘But he went to the men of Paḫḫuwa’ KUB 23.72 rev. 17 (MH/MS); anda-kan ḫalinaš teṣšummiš tarlipit šūwamuš 2- t AM pētumini ‘We twice(?) bring in two clay vessels filled with t.’; KBo 17.1 i 26–27 (OS) (see ibid. i 31–32, 34 with particle -an!); mān e g i r-pa kuwatga w a l ᵍ u n zb n-š-š-kan K U R -y A a n d a w e z z i ‘If he turns back somewhere and comes into the country’ HKM 46:10–12 (MH/MS).

28.60. Examples of anda + motion verb without -kan: t=suš anda ḫalentiš [(pēdanzi)] ‘And they bring them into the palace’ KBo 17.11+ i 47 (OS); nu = Ḫimu-DINGIR-LIM kuit ANA = “Kapiya u ANA = “Zilapiya pajiš n=at anda annunun ‘What Ḫimuili had given to Kapiya and Zilapiya I collected (and gave it to the men of Kašipura)’ HKM 68:19–21 (MH/MS); nu=mu KARĀŠ  IN A  URU Ḫarrana anda āraš ‘My army arrived in Ḫarrana’ KBo 4.4 iii 27 (NH); nu=muš ABU=YA anda arnut ‘My father brought us together’ BrTabl. ii 46 (Tudḫ. IV); nu=šši ABU=YA Z AG anda ḫuittiat ‘My father moved in (i.e., reduced) his boundaries’ BrTabl. i 23.


28.62. No particle appears in NH when andan occurs as a postposition with a place-name (see Salisbury 1999: 69) and the motion verb thus is without a preverb: nu IN A K U R  URU Takkwuḫina andan pāun ‘I went to(wards) the land of Takkuwuḫina (and while I was crossing the land of Ištalubba . . . )’ KBo 5.8 i 31 (NH). Note that the example cited makes clear that andan in this construction does not mean specifically ‘in(side)’.

28.63. The preverb āppa ‘back’ plus a motion verb does not regularly take a particle: (And when the King of Egypt had conquered the Land of the Hurrians) (nu e g) IIR-pa K U R A b a pait ‘He went back to the land of Aba’ KUB 21.17 i 17 (NH); lukkatta=ma IN A  URU Iyahrīšša e g i r-pa uwanun ‘But on the next day I came back to Iyahrīšša’ KBo 4.4 iii 40 (NH).
28.64. But a few examples of āppa + motion verb with -kan do occur: nu=šmaš=kan ḏZA.BA.BA.aš GŠTU.K.L.H.LA=KUN[u] āppa nāu ‘May Zababa turn your weapons back against you!’ KBo 8.35 ii 19–20 (MH/MS); ANA URU.DID.L.H.LA=ma kuędaš SIG₃.r[i n]u=kan hiškan egiR-pa ḫe paʿzi[z] ‘(In the cities where people are dying from plague, let there be recovery,) and let the plague not come back to the cities in good health’ KUB 14.13 iv 20–21 (NH); n=an=kan egir-pa iňa KUR=šU pēḫutezial ‘And he leads him back to his own land’ KUB 24.5 obv. 26 (NH).

28.65. Examples of arḫa ‘away, off’ + motion verb with -kan: EN=YA=wa=kan edaṭa arḫa aru ‘May my lord get away from there’ KBo 4.14 iii 34 (NH); ‘Because the booty, civilian captives, cattle, and sheep had become too much for me’, nu=kan namma ammuk IŞTU KARAŠ arḫa ḫu ṭān ‘I could no longer get away from the camp’ KBo 5.8 iv 14–15 (NH); 1-š=ma=kan it[apal]a zunaši šrunaš arḫa ute ‘T. came away from the sea alone’ KBo 3.4 ii 54 (NH); n=an=kan arḫa uwater ‘And they brought him away’ KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125 iii 8 (NH) (vs. n=an arḫa uwater ibid. iii 12!); in addition with the verb kuer- the particle -kan serves to distinguish ‘to cut off from’ (with -kan) from ‘to cut up’ or ‘to cut apart (with a double object)’¹⁴ (both without -kan). See nu=kan IŞTU 9 UR.U arḫa ku[ermi] ‘[I] cut off from nine members’ KBo 13.101 i 13 (NS). See §28.110 (p. 382) for a similar use of -ašta.

28.66. Examples of arḫa + motion verb without -kan. The one clear generalization is that the construction -za arḫa pai- ‘go home’ never takes -kan: n=aš-za arḫa iňa KUR=šU pai ‘He went home to his own country’ KUB 14.1 obv. 65 (MH/MS). Other examples: n=aš arḫa-pai ‘And he went away’, (he didn’t come near me at all) Ḫatt. ii 49 (NH); n=an arḫa pēḫutez ‘He carried them (troops and chariotry) away’ Ḫatt. ii 51 (NH); namma arḫa uwanun nu maḫḫan iňa URU Šammaḫa ārḫun ‘Then I came away, and when I arrived in Šammaḫa’ KBo 3.4 iii 45 (NH); nu arḫa iňa URU Ištaḫara uwanun ‘I came away to Ištaḫara’ KBo 2.5 i 7–8 (NH).

28.67. Examples of katta ‘down’ + motion verb with -kan: nu=kan NAM.RA.MEŠ katta uer ‘The civilian captives came down (and they prostrated themselves at my feet)’ KUB 14.16 iii 16 (NH); n=an=kan ša LUG.UŠ.DAB iwar katta uwanenun ‘I brought him down like a prisoner’ KBo 3.6 + iii 73 (NH).

28.68. Examples of katta ‘down’ + verbs of directional movement without -kan: [LUG]AL URU Kuššara URU-az katta [pa]ngarit u[et] ‘The King of Kuššara came down from the city en masse’ KBo 3.22.5 (OS); GIM-an=ma šeš=ya ŠNIR.GAL. IŞTU AMAT DIN GIR-ŠAŠ=ŠU iňa KUR šAPLIŠI katta paiot ‘But when my brother Muwattalli went down to the Lower Land at the word of his god’ Ḫatt. ii 75–76; n=aš iňa URU-UD URU-ŠAŠ katta pēdaš ‘And he carried them down to Tarḫuntašša Ḫatt. ii 53; n=aš IŞTU KUR URU-UDG-U-TI katta uet ‘He came down from the high country’ KUB 19.10 i 8 (DŠ, NH).

¹⁴. uer=ma an-ši kuwapi tekann=a URU.DUG.kuruζit arḫa ku erreur ‘When they proceeded to cut apart heaven and earth with a cutting tool’ KBo 26.65 iii 42, see iii 52–53 (Ullik., NS).
28.69. Examples of parā ‘out, forth’ + verbs of directional movement with -kan:
parā arnu- ‘to send’ n=aš-kan ANA KISLAḪ parā arnutten ‘And send it (grain, pl.) to the
threshing floor HKM 25:18–19 (MH/MS) (but see also with -asta in HKM 52:44–46);
parā nai- ‘to send’: n=an-kan kāša parā nēḫḫi ‘I am sending him right now’ HKM
2:12–13 (MH/MS) (and often in the MH Mašat Letters, but see with -asta in KUB
14.1 obv. 61, MH/MS); n=an-kan INA KUR [UR] Nuḫašši parā nēḫḫun ‘And I sent him to
the land of Nuhassi’ KBO 4.4 i 40 (and often in NH). See n=ašta ANA MUN [UR] Šārmāna
tamaišt antuḫšaš parā lē paizzi ‘Let no other man go out for the salt of Sarmana!’ BṛTabl.
ii 14–15 (Tudḫ. IV).

28.70. Examples of parā ‘out, forth’ or ‘forward, further on’ + verbs of directional
movement without -kan:
n⸗at ‘Pass it (my plea) on to the Stormgod your father and the Sungoddess of Arīnna
your mother!’ KUB 21.27 iv 21–22 (prayer of Muwatalli); n⸗an parā ḫuittiyanun n⸗an
[ER]a⸗k an ḫavinun ‘I picked (lit., ‘pulled’) him out and made him a lord’ KBo 16.17 + KBo
2.5 iii 25–26; lukkattin=ma INA [UR] Taptina parā iyāḫḫat ‘But on the next day I marched
on towards Taptina’ KBO 4.4 iii 43; LUĞAL-i parā 1⸗aš-ppa⸗ma⸗aš-ppa⸗ma⸗aš⸗kan ‘He goes forward to the
king one time’ KBO 17.43 i 11–12 (OS); nu=mu⸗za ṣeš⸗ya ṣe-zA.R.GAL parā uššet ‘My
brother Muwatalli used to send me forth’ Ḫatt. i 66. The adverb parā with the meaning
‘forward, further on’ appears never to occur with a local particle (Goetze 1933b: 128;
Tjerkstra 1999: 64; CHD parā 3).

28.71. Examples of šarā ‘up’ + verbs of directional movement with -kan (MH and
NH): [šar]a⸗t⸗kan ārškandu ‘let them keep coming up’ KUB 40.56 + KUB 31.88 iii
8 (MH/MS); n=aš-kan [UR] Gašipūraz šarā sig⸗in arnut ‘Pass them (the prisoners) up
well from Kašipura’ HKM 65:11–12 (MH/MS); n=an[z-aš]an URU-ri šarā peḫuteddu
‘And let them (troops) carry it up into the city for themselves’ HKM 24:50 (MH/MS);
[UḪUR]Tamn=na⸗s-aš-kan BUR.SAC Kaššū šarā pait ‘But from Tumanna he went up Mt.
Kaššu’ KUB 19.13 i 42 (NH); n=aš-EGIR-pa paiddu URU-ri=ma-aš-kan šarā lē uezzi
‘Let him go back! Let him not come up into the city!’ KUB 21.29 ii 12 (NH); URU=an-kan
šarā lē uعزzi ‘Let one not bring him up to the city!’ KUB 21.29 iii 37–38 (NH) (see
with -ašta in HKM 43:3, MH/MS). For other exx. (š. ḫuittiya-, iya-⸗aṭari, išpart-,
penna-, peda-, tarna-, ⸗uṭay-, up-, ṣaṭa-, waṭku-) see CHD šarā B. The adverb šarā + some
motion verbs, such as arai- ‘to arise’ and ēpp- ‘hold/lift (up)’, take -kan only when there
is an ablative in the clause (see CHD šarā B 1 a 3’).

28.72. Examples of šarā + motion verb without -kan: s=aš šarā URU-ya pait ‘And he
went up to the city’ KBo 22.2 rev. 14 (OS); n=at INA Ē.DINGIR-LIM UGU pānzi ‘And they
go up to the temple’ KBo 2.8 i 21 (cult inv., NH); i=at āppa šarā lē uezzi ‘And let them
not come back up again!’ KBO 17.1 iii 12–13 (OS).

28.73. The particle is also found in certain other verbal constructions intended to
convey local restrictions (Goetze 1933b: 30 n. 2): pedi ninink- ‘to muster on the spot’,
pedi daliya- ‘to leave on the spot’, ŠÀ-ta tarna- ‘to take to heart’, kiššari dai- ‘to put in the hand’, kaskal-ši dai- ‘to put on the road’.

28.74. An interesting contrast is between šanḫ- with and without local particle (Hoffner 1992b). Without -kan or -ašta, šanḫ- denotes ‘to search for (someone or something)’, but when the verb has one of the local particles, it means ‘to search (an area or place)’. This usage certainly reinforces the other evidence for a local dimension to the presence or absence of this class of particle.

28.75. Goetze (1933b: 30) noted another small class of verbs which regularly employs -kan or -(a)šta—verbs of crossing over: šarra- and zai-. To these should also be added istarna arḫa pai- ‘to pass through, traverse (with acc.)’. In fact, there is an opposition between šarra- without local particle, which usually means ‘to divide, separate’, and with local particle -(ašta or -kan), which means ‘to cross over, transgress’ (see CHD šar(r)a- D). This distribution shows that the earlier assumption (compare the translation “verletzen” in HW 183) that with oaths and commands it meant ‘to break, violate’ (< ‘to divide’) was incorrect: the semantic development was from ‘to go across, traverse’ to ‘to transgress’. The command or oath is also a kind of boundary or limit in an extended sense. In HW it was not even noted that the usage with oaths, like that physical traversing, was associated with -kan. Somewhat in the same semantic domain is the verb šamen- which with -kan means ‘to pass by’ and, by extension as a transitive, ‘to forfeit, relinquish’: (Let no one do business with a hippara-man . . . whoever does business with him) n⸗aš⸗kan ḫāpparaz [šeme]nzi ‘shall forfeit his purchase price’ KBo 6.2 ii 58–59 (Laws §48, OS) restored from KBo 6.4 iv 39 (NH), and other exx. in CHD Š 120. Other exx. are post-OS.

Accompanying the “Dative of Disadvantage”

28.76. The verb akk-ekk- ‘to die’ is a change-of-state verb. Normally it does not take a local particle (-kan, etc.). But when there is a dative expression indicating the person(s) most affected by the subject’s death (almost certainly the “dative of disadvantage,” §16.68, p. 258), -kan regularly occurs (compare informal American English “then my wife died on me”), all exx. NH: nu⸗šmaš⸗kan EN⸗ŠUNU kuit “Pipḫuriyaš immakku BA.UŠ ‘And because their lord, Pipḫuriya (throne name of the pharaoh), had just died on them, (the men of Egypt became afraid)” KBo 5.6 iii 7–8 (NH) (for immakku here see Hoffner 1995b); LŬ-aš⸗wa⸗mu⸗kan BA.UŠ DUMU⸗YA⸗ma⸗wa⸗mu NU.GĀL ‘My husband (lit., ‘man’) died on me, and I have no son’ KBo 5.6 iii 10–11 (NH); and ammel⸗wa LŬ-MUDI⸗YA kuit ščṭa n⸗war⸗aš⸗mu⸗kan BA.UŠ ‘He who was my husband died on me’ KBo 5.6 iv 4–5 (NH); nu⸗kan BE-an ANA LU.GAL ḢR.MEŠ ZI akkanzi ‘If (his) favorite servants die on the king’ KBo 4.14 iii 37–38 (NH), and UMMA ḪTU-MA ANA ḪBA-ÂHI-IDDIN QIBI⸗MA EN⸗KUNU⸗Š maš⸗kan kuit BA.UŠ . . . ABU⸗ŠU⸗ši⸗kan kuit BA.UŠ ‘Thus says His Majesty: Say to “Baba-âhi-iddin: ‘Because your (pl.) lord (the Assyrian king) has died on you (pl.) . . . because his father has died on him’’ KUB 23.103 + KUB 23.92 rev. 8–9,
16 (NH), nusṭṭa ٥Gulšaš ḫul-ahda nəʾaš-ta-ḳḳan bā.ūs ‘your luck turned against you, and he died on you’ KUB 23.85 rev. 6 (NH). The adverb -kan (or -ašta) also regularly occurs with the verb dā- when it means ‘take away from’ and with the combination arḫa dā- ‘to take away from’. This too is the “dative of disadvantage”: našma-šši piyan kuit ḫarmi nušši-kan arḫa kuitki dāi ‘Or takes away from him any of what I have given him’ BrTabl. iv 18–19 (Tudḫ. IV), even if in some instances what is removed is an evil (e.g., ABoT 4a i 11–14, OS). Similar is its use with the verb tuḥš- ‘to separate (from)’: (If the parents disapprove of the marriage of a young woman to the man who abducted her,) n=an-ši-kan tuḥšanta ‘they may separate her from him’ KBo 6.3 ii 10 (Laws §28, OH/NS). See further exx. in §§16.68–16.69 (pp. 258–259).

**The Terminative Value**

**28.77.** Some uses of -kan have no discernible local dimension. The clearest case is that of the verb kuen-, which is not a verb of movement, never occurs with a preverb, and only rarely and coincidentally appears in clauses with an expression for a location. When kuen- occurs without -kan, it means ‘to strike, hit’; with -kan it means ‘to strike dead, kill’. Here, then, -kan seems to have a “terminative” force; it adds finality to the action described by the verb. One finds a similar use of -kan with (arḫa) ḫašp- ‘to destroy, annihilate’. Possibly the OH/OS use of of -kan in ērin.mes-ti-kan mausši ‘the army will fall (be defeated)’ KUB 4.72B:3, and the OH/NS use of -kan with wak- ‘to bite off’ (tu-ḳḳan wāki KBo 17.74+ iv 4) should be explained on this basis. But the nuance added by -kan can be quite subtle. The verb (arḫa) ḫarnink- ‘to destroy’ takes -kan only when the verb’s subject is a deity, whose ‘destroying’ can be seen as having a special degree of finality (Hoffner 1992b).

**With Verbs of Hostility**

**28.78.** Another class of verbs regularly employing -kan has a common semantic element of hostility: pēran walḫ- ‘to strike first, preempt (a competitor)’ (already in Laws §146, OS), šulle- ‘to show disrespect’ (only NH; w/o particle in MH/MS), idalawešš- ‘to become evil, hostile’, ḫuwapp- ‘to be ill-disposed toward’, zammurāi- ‘to afflict, oppress’. See §§28.93–28.94 (p. 377) on -šan with similar verbs.

**Aspect Independent of Verb’s Lexical Meaning**

**28.79.** Since many studies of the particles -kan, -ašta, -apa, etc. focus on the lexical, in that they list all verbs which take a particular particle, it is important to note that the semantic aspect conveyed by -kan (for instance) is shared by all verbs in a lengthy sequence: īštū ʿanbšur=ma-za-kan kuēzza azzikkenun īštū gal=ya-kan kuēzza akkuškenun šašši=ya-za-kan kuēzza arreškenun ‘the table from which I regularly ate, the cup from which I regularly drank, the bed in which I regularly slept, the wash-bowl from which I regularly washed myself’ KBo 4.2 iv 28–32 and duplicates (see Goetze and Pedersen 1934: 10–11, lines
This suggests that the aspect shared by all these clauses is independent of each particular verb's meaning. Note that the same is not true of the particle -za in the above-cited sequence: it is omitted in the akkuškenun clause. For tentative observations on the presence or absence of -z(ə) with eku- see Hoffner 1973a: 524–25.

**Absence of Expected -kan**

**28.80.** Not fully clarified is the circumstance that -kan fails to occur where expected, when the clause begins with takku 'if' (HE §298,2): takku ŠDAM.GAR Ḫatti kuški kuēnzi ‘if someone kills a Hittite merchant’ KBo 6.2 i 3 (Laws §5, OS); takku-uš LÚ-iš wemiyazi t-us kuēnzi ‘if the man (i.e., husband) finds them (his wife and her lover in the act of adultery) and he kills them, (he will not be accused of murder)’ KBo 6.26 iv 8–9 (Laws §197, OH/NS). In both cases the verb kuen- in the meaning ‘kill’ occurs, which normally requires -kan. Both examples which Friedrich cites from the laws in clauses without takku which use -kan kuen-, namely, Laws §§90 and 199, are found in New Hittite copies. In the latter there is even alternation: kuēnzi-uš LUGAL-uš . . . n-kan-kan kunanzi KBo 6.26 iv 17, 21 (OH/NS). All examples of takku-kan occur in NH translations of Akkadian omen texts.

**Summary**

**28.81.** It is hard to make generalizations about the overall use of -kan that are valid for all the available data. We have not handled all problematic attestations. For example, the significance of the use of -kan with OH/OS gank- ‘to hang up (an object)’ and lip- ‘to lick up’ is still unclear, as is its use with dā- ‘to take’ and an instrumental but no dative (‘from’) in KUB 30.30 (OS). Contrary to what was once claimed, the use of -kan, -ašta, or -šan with šipant- ‘to offer, libate, consecrate’ cannot easily be distinguished in meaning or in the nature of the direct object from its use without a particle. There does seem to be some correlation between the lack of a specific starting or end point for an action and the absence of -kan: note examples such as anda pai- ‘to converge’, anda ḫuittiya- ‘to pull in, reduce’, parā pai- ‘to go (further) on’. This pattern suggests that, conversely, the presence of a starting or end point (explicit or implicit) that limits the action described is associated with the use of -kan. However, the positive evidence for this association is not as regular as one would expect. This problem remains even if one excludes OH on the basis that the usage of -kan was not yet fully established then (see Tjerkstra 1999: 144, following others). It does seem reasonably certain that one must allow for both local and aspectual functions for -kan, but the boundary between these is not entirely clear. Starting and end point may be construed in spatial or temporal terms, and development of a “terminative” value from a particle with an original local meaning is commonplace. One may therefore derive -kan from a PIE aspectual particle *-ken seen in Sanskrit (nū) kam and Greek (nū) ken (Josephson 1972: 418 and others), from a local adverb *kom ‘by, with, next to’ seen in Latin cum ‘with’ but also in Latin con-cīdō ‘to cut up/to pieces’, etc. (Josephson 1976: 173), or from both (see Dunkel
1990: 115–22). On the other hand, the view of Boley (2001), that -kan originally had an entirely non-local sense which led to the other uses, is hard to reconcile with the evidence we have presented here.

The Particle -šan

28.82. The particle -šan, like -kan, expressed a relationship largely spatial and so closely related to that conveyed by -kan that it occasionally substituted for -kan in sentences of the type outlined above for -kan. Particularly difficult is the distinction in coordinated sentences such as: nu-ššan para-ya [lē] naitti ēgir-pa-ya-kan lē maušta ‘Neither postpone(?) (the offerings to the gods); nor fall behind(?)’ KUB 1.16 iii 51–52 (OH/NS) (so tentatively CHD L–N 363). Yet these two particles are by no means synonymous. Since -apa and -ašta (particularly -apa) were used principally in Old and Middle Hittite and -apa became rare in New Hittite, their functions tended to be assumed by -kan and/or -šan. In particular, -apa, whose function was to convey the notion of movement up against something, was replaced by -šan. Some functions of -ašta, on the other hand, seem to have been assumed by -kan.

28.83. In Old Hittite texts the writing -za-an can be interpreted either as (1) -za and -an (local particle) or (2) -za and -šan. In New Hittite texts, since the local particle -an no longer existed, the same sequence either had to be (2) or — in the case of n=an=za-an, which one can compare with n=atši=at — the second -an is a meaningless repetition of the first ‘(him)’ (see §30.19, p. 411).

28.84. In Old Hittite texts, where the clitic possessive pronoun ‘his’ on singular common-gender nouns has the vocalization -šan, one must be careful not to confuse this with the local particle, especially in cases where the possessive pronoun occurs on the first word of a clause.

28.85. We noted above in §28.48 (p. 366) that the “local” value of -kan is clearest where it co-occurs with a local adverb in ‘to be’ sentences. From this point of view one should note in OS an example of -šan in a ‘to be’ sentence without šer ‘above, upon’ but with the meaning ‘upon’: n=esššan [N][A]pēruni wetan ‘and it (Labarna’s palace) is built upon a rock/cliff’ KUB 36.110 rev. 15–16 (OS). Its early date, combined with the absence in the clause of complicating factors, such as a finite form of a particular verb of movement or a local adverb, gives this example particular importance.

Co-occurring with the Adverb šer

28.86. The particle -šan is particularly common from OS onward in clauses containing the adverb šer ‘above, over’ or verbs of putting, placing, or standing, which can occasionally also be construed with -kan. The occurrence of -šan probably gives to these verbs the particular nuance ‘stand over’, ‘place upon’, etc. Examples with šer: [u]g=ašmaš-šan ĖRIN.MEŠ-an šē[(r)] 3šu waḫnūmi ‘but I wave the soldier(-bread) over
them’ KBo 17.1 ii 17–18 (StBoT 8 ii 31–32 (OS). In addition to physical superposition (‘upon’), this construction is found from OS on for relative conceptual position (‘upon, in addition to, instead of’): (if someone is in the process of selling a house, a village, a garden, or a pasture, but another (seller) goes and strikes first,) taššan [(ḥappari)] šer ḫappar iēzzī ‘and makes a deal of his own instead (lit., ‘makes a sale upon a sale’’) KUB 29.29 ii 9–10 (Laws §146, OS) restored from NS copy; see Hoffner, LH 121.

28.87. Without šer but with main verbs implying superposition. Physical superposition: t=ażššan ḫalmašuitti iēzzi ‘and he (i.e., the king) steps upon the throne dais’ KUB 43.30 ii 16 (OS); NINDAšarru=m[(a=żšš)]an ĖRIN.IME=aż ēzzi ‘the “soldier-bread” is “sitting” on the šarruwa-bread’ KBo 17.1+ i 30 (OS) restored from KBo 17.3 i 24 (OS); nuššan [. . .] ašaši ‘and seats [. . .] upon [. . .]’ KBo 3.22:27–28 (OS);

Physical or Conceptual Movement toward an Object 28.88. As common as this co-occurrence with šer and notion of superposition may have been for -šan — and in OS texts it is virtually the only usage of the particle — it is by no means the entire range of possible meanings. In post-OH, including in later copies of Old Hittite texts, -šan was used to express other relationships. First among these is movement directed toward an object. With verbs of movement: (The Great Seagod quarreled with the other gods,) n=ażššan [. . .] an nepišaš ḫašši DUMU=ş[=a=żšš]un katta pēḫutet ‘and he brought him, [(namely) the Sungod of Heaven,] down (to his home in the sea, and hid him)’ KUB 12.60 i 3–4 (OH/NS), restored after ibid. i 10; DUMU-la(ş)=ażššan šar[(a nepi)]išši iyanniš ‘but the Sungod went up to heaven’ KUB 24.8 ii 11–12 (OH/NS), see also KUB 33.120+ i 37 (Song of Kumarbi); nuššan 4Wišuriyandan katta [(i=pedahḫi] ‘and [I take] (the goddess) Wišuriyanza down [to] the river’ KBO 15.25 obv. 9 (OS); DUMU-la(ş)=ażššan šar[(a nepi)]išši iyanniš ‘but the Sungod went up to heaven’ KUB 24.8 ii 11–12 (OH/NS), see also KUB 33.120+ i 37 (Song of Kumarbi); nuššan 4Wišuriyandan katta [(i=pedahḫi] ‘and [I take] (the goddess) Wišuriyanza down [to] the river’ KBO 15.25 obv. 5 (ritual);
EGIR-pa=ma=ššan URU-SU šannapiliš nūman paizzi kāši kaninti ‘he did (lit., ‘does’) not wish to go back to his city empty-handed, in hunger and in thirst’ KUB 33.121 ii 15–16 (Kešši story); nu=šmaš=šan kāša Dinam kuit arnummeni n=at ištamašten ‘Hear the case which we are bringing to/before (-šan) you’ KUB 4.1 ii 5–6.

28.89. With other verbs, expressing a kind of conceptual movement (temporal, auditory, visual, attentive, etc.): (If someone sets fire to another’s storage shed, he must feed that one’s cattle,) nu=uš=šan parā ẖamešḫanda arnuzi ‘and bring (i.e., sustain) them to the following spring’ KBo 6.3 iv 60–61 (Laws §100, OH/NS); mān akat lašša ẖuišteni nu=šmaš=šan ‘If you do not keep the word of the king, you will not survive (lit., ‘live’) unto (-šan) [. . . . . . ]; you will perish’ KUB 1.16 iii 36–37 (OH/NS); nu=mmaš=šan anda miyēš nu=mmaš=šan anda talliyēš ‘be gentle toward us, be pleasant toward us’ VBoT 24 iii 38–39. With -šan, ANA followed by a place designation, and the medio-passive form of nai-, the meaning is ‘to turn toward’. Whether one uses the translation ‘toward’ or ‘against’ depends upon the qualifying adverb of manner: aššuli ‘in a favorable manner’ or lū.Kūr-li ‘in a hostile manner’: (nu=šš) an ANA KUR URU Hatti aššuli anda namma naišḫut ‘turn again toward the land of Ḫatti in favor’ KUB 9.31 ii 59–60; see also KUB 15.32 i 54–55; nu=zaš=šan ANA KUR URU Hatti lū.Kūr-li igliša dāi ‘(whoever) sets his eyes against the land of Ḫatti in enmity’ KBo 3.7 iii 18–19 (OH/NS). Post-OH references: (You come up from the sea, O Sungod) nu=ššan nepiši ti(ya)ši ‘and you enter heaven’ KUB 31.86 + 1203/u ii 22 (MH/NS).

28.90. In some cases (mostly with anda) the implication of -šan is more than direction (‘toward’) and practically amounts to movement which reaches the goal and enters into it (‘into’). Old Hittite references (including one OS ex.): anda=šš[(a-an parna nāwi paizzi)] ‘(If they capture a free man at the beginning of his act of breaking into a house,) that is, he has not yet gone inside’ KBo 6.2 iv 37 (Laws §93, OS) restored from NS copies but clearly showing the beginning of -šan in the OS original; nu=zaš=šan (if this is ez=šan instead of ez=šan) a-im-aš ẖuišteni šakuwa=šē(t)ti=pat a EGIR-pa ẖarkteni ‘and so the Stormgod took back into himself his heart and eyes’ KBo 3.7 iii 18–19 (OH/NS). Post-OH references: (You come up from the sea, O Sungod) nu=ššan nepiši ti(ya)ši ‘and you enter heaven’ KUB 6.45 iii 14–15 (NH); namma=ššan Bād.meš-ni anda le kiški [(paddā)]i ‘let no one dig into the city wall’ KUB 31.86 + 1203/u ii 22 (MH/NS).

28.91. Related to the idea of ‘into’ or ‘inside’ is that of things which rightfully pertain to or belong to an object or person. The passage concerning the Stormgod’s eyes and heart cited above (KBo 3.7 iii 18–19) certainly shares this notion. Another example is a rare instance of -šan in a ‘to be’ clause (for an OS instance with a different nuance of -šan
see §28.85, p. 374): [ša amat=niššan 4 gišeš=šu kūn=ma=wa=za ša 2 gišeš=šu kuvat ḫāšun ‘my [calf] should have four feet (lit., ‘my [calf]’s four feet should be in/on it’); why then have I borne this one with only two feet?’ KUB 24.7 iii 22–24 (NS).

28.92. A sexual idiom, similar to biblical Hebrew bôª ªel ‘to go in unto (a woman), is: ANA UDU.U=maššan UDU.SHIR-AS KUWLANI NĀWI PAIIZZI ‘a ewe to which a ram has not yet gone (sexually)’ KUB 9.32 rev. 21–22.

28.93. When physical or conceptual movement ‘toward’ is hostile, we translate ‘against’. Old Hittite references: isḫuš[s]aššuššan tašṭušškewan dāir ‘and they began to whisper/conspire against their lords’ KBo 3.1 i 22 (OH/NS); ANA ESŠU=maššiššan U ANA DUMU.MEŠ=ŠTU IDALU LÉ TAKKIŠZANJI ‘but let them not plan evil against his house or his sons’ ibid. ii 55–56; uk=wa=z=ššan [šūnu] ‘I became angry at (them)’ KUB 33.10 ii 6 (OH/MS), restored from KUB 33.9 ii 13, where -šan is lacking; mān-šan 4Telipinuš-a KUWLANKI NĀWI PEŠ ḫURUŠ ‘but (mān-) when Telipinu becomes difficult against anyone’ VBO T 58 iv 8–9 (OH/NS). Post-OH references: mān-šaš šūllet nu-šša UTURU Palḫuša UTURU PAIIZZI ‘when he became ambitious, he began to plot evil against (his new) city’ KBo 32.14 ii 19–20 (MH/MS); nu-šša UTURU Pešḫuruš UTURU PAIIZZI ‘behind Palḫuša, the hostile (city) Pešḫuru advanced against me for battle’ KBo 3.4 ii 2–3 (NH).

28.94. The particle -šan also occurs in clauses containing verbs of contending, contesting, quarreling, and striving. Middle Hittite example: nu=wašša[n] ḥannešnanni [h]annuwanzi ūt. tarratta ‘you are not able to judge lawsuits’ KUB 40.62 + KUB 13.9 i 7–8 (MH/NS).

28.95. The only common denominator of the contexts in which -šan appears is that of physical or conceptual proximity, usually but not always produced by movement toward one person or thing by another, a very broad characterization that fails to distinguish -šan sufficiently from -(a)pa (§§28.100ff., pp. 378ff.), on the one hand, and -kan (§§28.48ff., pp. 366ff.) on the other. Nevertheless, such a meaning is quite compatible with the most likely derivation of the particle, from PIE *som ‘(together) with’ (Josephson 1972: 419 and others). The problem of the precise difference in the nature of the proximity expressed by PIE *elopi, *kom, and *som extends far beyond the use of Hittite -(a)pa, -kan, and -šan. It is hard to see how the many uses of -šan in cases with no reference to verticality could have developed from a specific original value ‘(up)on, over’, as implied by the alternative account of -šan < *saran (Carruba 1964: 429). One may still wonder whether the favoring of -šan in contexts referring to vertical contact is due to a secondary association of -šan with šarà and šer based on their phonetic resemblance.

The Particle -an

28.96. -an, the rarest of the local particles, was first identified by Otten and Souček (1969: 81). Following the plural clitic pronoun -e it takes the form -n (KBo 17.1 i 20, OS). That this change is morphophonemic is shown by the sequence nuššeš=an KBo 6.2
iv 10–11 (OS). It is attested scarcely a dozen times in a handful of OH compositions. Its usage falls into two broad categories.

28.97. With anda and various verbs: t=an anda 3-ıš LUGAL-uš MUNUS.LUGAL-š=a zēriya allapahḫanzi ‘And the king and queen spit into the cup three times’ StBoT 8 iv 34–35 (OS); anda=ad=an ḫarakzi ‘And it perishes therein’ KUB 17.10 iv 17 (OH/MS) (see anda=at=kan/[a]nda=at=šan ḫarakku in the NS copies KUB 33.8 iii 14 and IBOT 3.141 iv 13); 4Andaliyaš=an anda iyanniš . . . 4UTU=an DUMU-aš anda pait ‘Andaliya started to go in . . . the son of the Sungod(dess) went in’ KUB 12.63 rev. 19,22 (OH/MS); ERIN.MEŠ-n=an kuš anda pētai ‘The one who brings in the troops . . .’ KBO 17.1 i 32 (OS) (also with anda peda- ibid. i 31, 33; ii 12; and iii 29), but see anda=kan . . . pētumini ibid. i 26; takku GUD-un kuški kuššaniezzi nu=šše=an KUŠḫušan našma KUS tarušḫa anda dāi ‘If anyone rents an ox and then puts on it a leather . . . or a leather . . .’ KBO 6.2 iv 10–11 (Laws §78, OS; -an replaced by -kan in NS copy).

28.98. Elsewhere: [n]=e=en kiššari-šmi dāi ‘And he puts them in their hand(s)’ KBO 17.1 i 20 (OS); ḫarkanzi=ma=an 4Hantašēpeš anduḫšaš ḫaršā [(rr⸗) a GIŠ ⟨.//Hbrevebelowsmall⟩. a⸗ya ‘The Ḫantašēpeš-deities hold human heads and spears’ KBO 17.1 i 22–23 (OS); takkuw=at=an parna⸗ma kuēlka peššiezzi ‘But if he disposes of them in someone’s house’ KBO 6.2 ii 35 (Laws §44b, OS); ḫappēni=ma=an [(-it -n⸗a) pešši]emi ‘But in(to) the open flame I [throw] the honey and fat’ KBO 17.5 ii 7–8 (OS); 9-ti(an mu-ti ‘in the ninth year’ KUB 33.120 i 12,18 (Song of Kumarbi); t⸗an karda-šma ša KUŠḫušan našma KUŠ tarušḫa anda dāi ‘If anyone rents an ox and then puts on it a leather . . . or a leather . . .’ KBO 6.2 iv 10–11 (OS); and others.)

28.99. Since the notion of ‘in(side)’ is clearly present even in the examples without anda (the figurines of the deities may be assumed to be holding the objects in their hands), there seems little reason to doubt that -an underscores this meaning and is etymologically related to PIE *en ‘in’ (and also to anda). See Oshiro 1990 [92].

The Particle -apa

28.100. The particle -apa shows the following writings: The rarest writing is -aba in LUL-ši-ya-ša-ba (for LUL-ši-ya-š(e?)=aba, i.e., LUL tarašiyaš(=e?)=apa) KBO 17.43 i 9 (OS) with dupl. KBO 17.18 ii 10 (OS), LÚ.MEŠ GĂŠBANŠUR-ša-ba KBO 20.32 ii 6, LÚ GĂŠBANŠUR-aš-ša-ba KBO 20.32 ii 11 (compare LÚ GĂŠGIDRU-aš-ša-pa KBO 20.32 ii 16), LUGAL-ša-ba KBO 41.101 6’. The writing -ap is found in šu-ša-ap (š=un=ap) KBO 3.60 iii 3 (OH/NS), compare ša-na-ap (š=an=ap) ibid. ii 3, 5, 18, iii 9. Following certain vowels the a elides, giving -pa (§1.74, p. 32): še-pa KUB 36.27:2 (OH) and še-e-pa KUB 43.36 (OH) (i.e., še=apa, nu-šše-ša KUB 36.110 obv. 11 (OS), na-aš-ši-pa KUB 33.21 iii 19, see KUB 33.31.2; and as late as the Appu myth KUB 24.8 i 43 (OH?/NS); nu-aš-ši-pa KUB 24.8 i 15, 16 (OH?/NS); na-at-ši-pa KUB 24.9 + JCS 24 37 iii 8, na-an-ši-pa KUB 35.148 iii 14. The most usual writing is -apa: na-pa (for n(a)=apa)15

15. The unique nu-pa KUB 35.148 iii 29 is probably to be emended to naL-pa.
KBo 3.67 ii 5 and KBo 3.1 ii 20 (both Tel. pr., and passim in that text), KUB 43.60 i 11, na-ta-pa (n=at=apa) KUB 43.36;5; an-da-ma-pa (for anda=mu=apa, §1.72, p. 32) KBo 3.7 i 13 (OH/NS), see Carruba 1964: 420 and in CHD sub -mu b 4'; ša-an-za-pa KBo 12.18 i 6; nu-za-pa KBo 19.92:7; nu-ša-pa (n=uš=apa 'and them + -apa') KUB 1.16 ii 24 (OH/NS), nu-wa-ra-ta-pa (nu=war=at=apa) KBo 3.1 ii 49; the alleged nu-un-na-p[a?] of KBo 12.63 ii 5 claimed by HW2 sub -a–2 is worthless because, among other reasons, the context is broken and the -p[a?] is highly uncertain; one expects something like nu-un-na-š[a- . . . ] (< nu-nnaš-).

28.101. So far as dating is concerned, -apa occurs often in OS and continues to be written in NH copies of OH texts down to the end of the empire. It is not yet attested, however, in MH historical texts (treaties and letters). The alleged example in the Ḫukkana Treaty (e.g., HW2 sub -apa) does not exist (see Hoffner 1973b and CHD P s.v.). In addition to assured OH texts, -apa does appear in a few compositions that may be OH or MH (notably the Appu myth and the Ritual of Alli).

28.102. Most uses of -apa may be assigned to one of two broad categories, but there are a few examples that do not seem to fit either of them.

28.103. As noted by Carruba (1964: 422–24 and especially 430), many instances of -apa appear to share the notion of convergence: bringing one thing into physical contact with another (transitive verbs) or coming into physical contact with something (intransitive verbs). Examples: with anš- 'to wipe (something) onto, besmear, daub': šerḥalaš ār[a] [ʃ]erḫan ḫarzi n=apa pīrišš anškezi ‘The š. man stands, holds š. (a substance), and wipes his lips (with it)’ KBo 19.163 i 22–23; with arnu- ‘to bring’: n=apa arnu-wanzi KBo 21.95 i 15; with anda ṭep- ‘to include’: ammuggaz=za=apa anda ṭep lē=mu genzuwašši ‘Include also me (with your enemies); don’t spare me’ KBo 3.7 iii 29–30 (OH/NS); with ħamank- ‘to bind, intertwine’: ħušwatar-šu (u) ḫušwanni-apa anda ħušwanni-šu ‘Life for me is bound up with death; death, however, for me is bound up with life too’ KUB 30.10 obv. 20 (OH/MS); with -zaḫandāi- ‘to fit (something) to (something else), mate, match, combine’: nu kuin kaskal-ān ħarzi uren kaskal-ān ħarzi marnuwalan kaskal-ān ħarzi š=an=za=apa kaskal-ši lū.kaskal-laš ḫandāi ‘And what road does (the human soul) travel (lit., ‘hold’)? It travels the great road; it travels the invisible (?) road. The traveler has fitted it to his road’ KUB 43.60 i 28–30; with (anda) ħar(k)- ‘to hold close’ (verb conjecturally restored): [nu=šše] uddār=met [ʃak]iškemi šiₕ₂-an[za=mu ārri] [taggan]iya=ia=mu=za=apa and[a ōa] ūnu=mu tagga[niya=ta] taknaz pahšši ‘I am making my words known [to her]: Wash [me] well, [hold] me tightly to your breast, and protect me at your breast from the earth’ KUB 30.10 obv. 20 (OH/MS); with anda iyann/- ‘to go to’: n=asši(a)=apa anda iyann[iš] n=an punuškewan da[iš] ‘he went to him and began to question him’ KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 i 43–45 (Appu story); with anda lag- ‘to lean against/upon’: [/labarnaš lugal URU] Hatti šaḫeššar=summe[t] ēštu nu=za=apa utniyanza ūḫušša iškiš=šmet anda URU Hattuša lagan ūḥad[u] labarnaš lugal-uš inarwanza nu=šše=š(a)pa utniyanza
ḫūmanza anda inaraḫḫi 'Let the Labarna, the King of Ḫatti be our fortress. The entire land should lean its(!, text ‘their’) back against Ḫattuša. The Labarna, the king, is vigorous; and the entire land shall be vigorous with him’ (i.e., by the contact with him; the force of anda is carried over from the sentence with anda + lag- KUB 36.110:9–12 (OS); with anda + mugāi- ‘to invoke’: parḫuen[aš kita] n+āšši=ša anda mugānza [ēšdu] ‘p. [lies here; may] he [be] invoked by it’ (i.e., be attracted to it) KUB 33.21 iii 18–19; with andan +pai- ‘to give in addition (to)’: andan⸗apa apē[(niššuwan pāi)] ‘he shall give the same amount in addition to it’ KUB 29.23 :14 = Laws §110 (OH/NS); with dai- ‘to place’: kī⸗wa ēšnaš 16  utter tuppiaz au karū⸗wa ēšḫar URU Ḫattuši makkešta nu⸗war⸗at⸗apa [ēšdu] ‘Behold this tale of bloodshed from the tablet! Formerly bloodshed in Ḫatti was rife, and the gods laid it on the royal family (lit., “Great Family”)’ KBo 3.1 ii 47–49 (OH/NS); with takk- ‘to match’: aiš⸗šit⸗apa [ēšdu] ‘His mouth matches (his) mouth’ KUB 43.53 i 4 (OH/NS) (multiple examples ibid. i 5–15); with tarupp- ‘to gather, bring together, unite’: n⸗apa ašša (=šaš a LÚ.MEŠ ḪaššantišMUŠ) šannaš (var. + šaš a LÚ.MEŠ ḪaššantišMUŠ) ‘And his sons, his brothers, his in-laws, his family, and his troops were united’ KBo 3.1 i 1–3 (Telipinu pr.); with anda tiya- ‘to come together, convene’: (The Stormgod convoked all the gods:) anda⸗m(u)=apa tīyatten ‘Come (lit., “step”) together to me!’ KBo 3.7 i 12–13 (OH/NS); with anda turiya- ‘to unite, hitch together’: kinun⸗a⸗m(u)=apa [dingir=y]a innaraw[ə]r ur uṣṭ.amma anda tūriya ‘But now, [O my [god], unite with me vigor and good luck (lit., ‘the Patron Deity’))’ KUB 30.10 rev. 19–20 (Kantužili prayer, the plene writing of innarawar here is unique; with udm⸗apa ‘to bring’: ṣın. lał. tēriyaš ud-aš miuwa(š) ud-aš kaskal-an pāndu n+apa iya[tar=mit udandu ‘Let the bee(s) go a journey of three days (or) four days, and let them bring (to me) my prosperity’ KUB 43.60 i 10–12; in a nominal sentence: Lugal-i=ma=apa lē kuitki ‘Let there be nothing for the king’ = ‘Let the king have nothing to do with it/no involvement’ KUB 11.1 iv 21, ed. TTheth 11:52–53.

28.104. In other cases -apa appears to have a “terminative” sense.17 In most of these it underscores that an action is brought to a conclusion (“endterminativ”). Compare §28.77 (p. 372) for this use with -kan. Examples: with appai- ‘to finish’: n+apa aššēšar pankus⸗a āppai ‘the seated group and the entire congregation finish (worshiping)’ KUB 53.14 ii 1 (OH/MS); n+apa dumu.Lugal appai ‘and the prince finishes’ KUB 53.14 ii 2 (OH/MS); t+apa āppai KBo 21.93 ii 8; with ḫašš- ‘to open (up)’: [m]ān luwaytta=ma t+ap[(a ḫaššanzi KUŠ[NIG.BAR-a]]=n [(uššia)n]i ‘When the morrow comes, they open up and pull back the curtains (in the temple)’ ABoT 9 + KBo 17.74 + KBo 21.25 i 31–32 (OS?); n+apa [ . . ] EIGIR-па ḫaškešti KBo 11.14 iii 25–27 (OH/NS); mān+apa ḫalentwuwa ḫaššanzi KUŠ[NIG.BAR=ṣta uššiyanzi ‘when they open the residential palace and pull back the curtains’ KUB 25.16 i 1–3 (OH/NS); with ʾiya- ‘to make into (with double obj.)

17. For the notion “terminativ,” including both “endterminativ” and “anfangsterminativ” see among others García Ramón 2002: 111.
Let them cut (a tree) down and make it into tables’ KBo 22.6 iv 17–18 (OH/NS); with pâi- ‘to go’: nu tuliyan ḫalzišten mān-apa uttar-šet paizzi nu sag.du-naz šarnikdu ‘Convene the assembly. If his plan (lit., ‘word’) goes to its conclusion, then let him pay with his head’ KBo 3.1 ii 51–52 (OH/NS); with šanḫ- ‘to seek for, avenge (blood/death/murder)’: mān-apa šanḫer šarnikdu KBo 3.1 i 66–68 (OH/NS); with medio-passive tarupp- ‘to be completed’: ēšḫar šanḫer KBo 3.1 i 69–71 (OH/NS); with uwa- ‘to come’ or ur- ‘to return’: mān-apa laḫḫaz-šet idālu uddār-šet ṭabpa. The use with ēd- ‘to eat up’ and karap- ‘to devour’ could either be the terminative use (‘eat up’) or an extension of the convergence aspect: complete assimilation or envelopment of the eaten object. Examples: š-pan-azzikanzi ‘and they eat him’ KBo 3.60 ii 3 (OH/NS); š-pan-ap ēṭa KBo 3.60 ii 18 (OH/NS); with ēd- ‘to eat up’ and karap- ‘to devour’: ḫēwēš-[k]iša BURU₂<14. Lawazzantiya uwanun ‘When I, the king, came to Lawazzantiya’ KBo 3.1+ ii 20–21 (OH/NS); with ininne ‘to destroy, wipe out’: n-uš-apa uetz zi[n]<nai ‘she will proceed to wipe them out’ KUB 1.16 ii 24 (OH/NS). The use with ēd- ‘to eat up’ and karap- could either be the terminative use (‘eat up’) or an extension of the convergence aspect: complete assimilation or envelopment of the eaten object. Examples: š-pan-azzikanzi ‘and they eat him’ KBo 3.60 ii 3 (OH/NS); š-pan-ap ēṭa KBo 3.60 ii 5 (OH/NS); š-pan-ap ēṭa KBo 3.60 ii 18 (OH/NS); with karap- ‘to devour’: ḫēwēš-[k]iša BURU₂<14.

28.105. The motivation for the use of -apa with the verb arai- ‘to arise’ remains unclear: [araiš-a(?)]pa KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 i 24–26 (OH/NS); araiš-a(?)]pa Appuš GisN-az n-uša ḫarkin šil₄-an dāš n-uš [utu-i kattan iyan]s ‘Appu aroese from his bed, took a white lamb, and set out for the Sungod’ KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 i 38–40 (OH/NS); ḫē-ṣpat natta-az[a[pa]]rā ‘(s)he keeps on sitting; (s)he does not get up’ KBo 19.163 ii 33–34 (OH/NS) (reading na-at-ta-ša’[-pa a-r][a-i]); n-apa Nin.Dingir ara[i . . . ] KBo 21.90 obv. 11–12 (OH/MS); [mā]n lukkatta-ṣa n-apa Nin.Dingir-āš

18. Note, however, that this construction also exists with -ašta and without sentence particle (CHD sub šanḫ- mg. 5).

19. Although ḫēwēš is common-gender plural, its verb kiša(r) is singular here. See 15.17 (p. 241).

20. Although ḫuitār is formally neuter singular, semantically it is a collective, indicating many animals; hence, the shift to the plural verb here.

21. For the ambiguity of clitic boundaries here see §29.47 (p. 402).

22. The very fact that -a[p]a appears to have gone out of use after OH points to an OH archetype for this text.
arāi ‘when morning comes, the nin.dingir priestess arises (and . . . )’ KBo 21.95 i 17 (OH/NS).

**28.106.** The use of -apa with waqqar- ‘to be lacking’ does not seem to fit into any of our categories: nu-šši-pa Ļl. kuītikī waqqari nu-šši-pa 1-an utter waqqari DUMU.NITAIš DUMU.MUNIŠ-iš NU.GAL. ‘Nothing was lacking to him; only one thing was lacking to him: he had neither son nor daughter’ KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 i 15–17 (OH?/NS).

**28.107.** The grouping of the examples just given obviously is quite tentative. The notion of physical contact of one object with another seems to be shared with -šan (see §28.95, p. 377), and most of the verbs cited in §28.104 (p. 380) refer to actions that are inherently “telic.” Verbs such as pai- ‘to go’ and uwa- ‘to come’ occur dozens of times without -apa. Nevertheless, the frequent co-occurrence with anda specifically in its derived sense ‘(up) to’ is noteworthy (contrast the usage with -an in §28.97, p. 378), and in the example with pai- it appears to be -apa that adds the nuance ‘to its conclusion’. Development of the “terminative” sense from that of physical contact would be trivial. See Latin op-primō ‘to press against’ but also ‘to overwhelm, destroy’. As suggested by Carruba (1964: 429), an etymological connection of Hittite -apa with Latin op-/ob- and related forms is likely (and with Hittite āppa).

**The Particle -ašta**

**28.108.** Like -apa (-pa) and -an (-n), the particle -ašta elides its a-vowel after an e- or i-vowel, thus: ta-aš-ši-iš-ta KUB 31.1 + KBo 3.16 ii 14 (OH/NS); nu-uš-ši-iš-ta KUB 17.10 iv 2 (OH/MS); peran arḫa=ma-šši-šta KUB 23.11 iii 17; nu-uš-še-eš-ta KUB 33.5 iii 12 (OH/MS).

**28.109.** But (as with -apa KBo 3.7 i 13 in §28.100, p. 378) an immediately preceding u-vowel elides, leaving an a vocalization (see §1.72, p. 32): nu-um-ma-aš-ta KUB 31.130 rev. 7 (OH/MS) and nu-ma-aš-ta KUB 36.75 iii 12 (OH/MS) and KBo 14.74:3 (from nu + -mu + -ašta).

**28.110.** Most discussions of -ašta have emphasized its use to mark separation or divergence, often with the preverbs arḫa and parā (see, e.g., Carruba 1964: 408–12). Examples of this kind are in fact frequent: n-ašta parā paiwani ‘And we go out/leave’ KBo 17.3 i 15 (OS); t-ešta pānzi ‘They leave’ KBo 17.9 iv 9 (OS); ḥāranan-šaṭa parā pētanzi ‘They remove the eagle’ KBo 17.1 i 37–38 (OS); t[uš-š]ta šarā tumēni ‘We pick them up’ KBo 17.1 iv 25; š-šan-ašta arḫa pēḫuter ‘They led him off’ KBo 3.34 ii 6–7 (OH/NS); n-šaṭa zaq-an 1[(a)geš]tu-an arḫa kuērzi ‘He cuts off the right ear’ KUB 27.67 ii 48–49. See §28.65 (p. 369) for a similar use of -kan. As already noted by Goetze (1933b: 128),23 it is the presence of -ašta (or another particle; see CHD parā) that gives the sense ‘to go out, leave’ to parā + pai-, which without the particle means ‘to go forward’ or ‘to go further/on’.

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23. See also CHD P parā mngs. 1 and 3.
From the basic idea of separation one may easily derive a partitive sense, selection from a group, explicit or implicit (see Carruba 1964: 412–13, who aptly compares Italian ne): \text{n-ašta} ¹t⁴-

\text{Hattušaš-pat} \text{ uru-riaš} ¹-aš-ašta ‘Out of (all other cities) the city of Ḫattuša alone remained’ KBo 10.2 i 26 (OH/NS); perhaps also \text{nepiš-z-ašta} \text{ aššuš ū ruta} ‘To the Stormgod from heaven he was dearest (of all)’ KBo 3.22:2 (OS). Similar is the use of -ašta to mark comparison: \text{iški(s)ešet-ašta} \text{ iškiši GAL-li} \text{ [paltan]aššiš-ta paltani šalliš} ‘His back is bigger than (his) back; his shoulder is bigger than (his) shoulder KUB 43.53 i 23–24 (OH/NS).

In many cases, however, -ašta occurs in contexts referring to arrival at a goal, including entry (with \text{anda}): \text{mān-ašta} \text{ GALŠUN} \text{ [u} \text{ Lugal-i ūa} \text{ ndāitta} ‘When their leader draws even with the king’ KBo 20.14 + KBo 25.33 i 9 (OS) (ibid. i 13 without particle!); \text{n-ašta māḫḫan šarkantin} \text{ āššuš} \text{anda} ‘In the midst of the lands the Sungod stood’ KBo 10.2 ii 52–53 (either OH/NS or NH); \text{nu azzikkeddu akkuškedd} \text{ u mān-aš aššuš} \text{n-ašta šarā uškettaru} ‘Let him continue to eat and drink. [So long as he is on good behavior,] let him continue to come up (to the palace)’ KUB 1.16 ii 33–34 (royal edict, OH/NS).

With verbs of movement it seems to be associated with the idea of transition or crossing: \text{[lē=ma] šarkaliyatumari lē ku[iš]ki [ku]ru} \text{rur n-ašta uttar} \text{lē kuš-ki šarratta} ‘Do[n’t] elevate yourselves (over your brothers)! Let there be no hostility! And let [no] one transgress the word (of the king)!’ KUB 1.16 ii 49–50; \text{n-ašta nepišaš kā-uš zik-pat} \text{aššušu} ‘They transgress the oaths’ KUB 17.21 iv 16–17 (prayer, MH/MS); \text{n-ašta kuš kiš niš dinkir-lim šarrizzi} ‘Whoever transgresses these oaths’ KBo 6.34 ii 46–49 (Soldiers’ oath, MH/NS), ed. Oettinger 1976a: 10–11; \text{lingaun} \text{ašta šarranzi} ‘They transgress the oaths’ KUB 36.75 + Bo 4696 i 7–8 (OH/MS); ‘(The Kaskaeans) come and take the gifts, then they swear (oaths), but when they arrive back (home)’, \text{n-ašta lingaun šarranzi} ‘If you transgress these oaths’ KBo 8.35 ii 16 (treaty with the Kaška, MH/MS); \text{mān-ašta kuš šarradduma} ‘If you transgress these oaths’ KBo 31.101:6–7 , but see with -kan in ibid. 10–11.

One possibility for uniting the apparently diverse meanings just cited is to suppose that -ašta originally marked passage from one spatial domain across a boundary into another domain (see Josephson 1995: 171, comparing the Russian verbal prefix za-). The specific uses with reference to separation, transition, and arrival would merely reflect varying focus on one aspect of the movement according to context (and choice
of the speaker). It is also easy to see why overlap with -(kan and -(šan might occur when -ašta was used with reference to arrival.24 Luwian -(ta shows a similar range of uses: see especially [[(w)ärša=tt своими [nan]amman . . . [w]ärša=tt zill[a ū-b-i] anda [(m)awu

ii] ‘The water is led from the river . . . the water does not henceforth go into the river’ KUB 35.54 iii 17–20. This correspondence makes attractive the suggestion of Josephson (1972: 419) that Hittite -(a)šta is etymologically derived by a resegmentation from *(a)-te seen in Luwian and Palaic -(ta, Greek ὅτε ‘when’ etc. (see also Josephson 1997: 50–52). For another very different view see Carruba 1964: 427–28.

The Particle -(pat)

28.115. Hittite -(pat is an enclitic particle of specification, limitation, and identity, attested since Old Hittite (Hart 1971; Hoffner 1973b; and CHD P with full discussion and anterior literature).

28.116. Normally it was written with the ที่เรา sign (HITL sign no. 13, pp. 96–97), which in Boğazköy texts has several syllabic values. The problem of the correct transcription of HITL sign no. 13 is particularly important for this particle, since the particle is almost always written with the same sign. For evidence establishing the reading /pat/ see Hoffner 1973b and CHD P s.v.

28.117. Its position. Since it is not a sentence particle, -(pat does not occur within the chain of such sentence particles as -wa(r), -aš, -mu, -za, and -(kan (see Friedrich, HE §288; Hart 1971: 102; Hoffner 1973b: 104). If a chain of sentence particles attaches itself to any word which also carries -(pat, -(pat will precede the entire chain: e.g., in OH ammel=pat=wa=za KBo 6.3 iii 71 (Laws §74, OH/NS).

28.118. When -(pat is construed with a word and its modifiers (noun + attributive adjective, noun + genitive modifier, verb + preverb, verb + adverb, verb + negative), it will usually attach itself to that modifier which serves to particularize or define the construction to the highest degree (Hoffner 1973b: 105). Hart (1971: 102) describes the distribution differently: -(pat is regularly attached to the first word in nominal groups. Hart points out (1971: 103) that “a consequence of this fixed position . . . is that position cannot be used to decide whether -(pat belongs functionally with the adjective etc. or to the noun.”

28.119. With pairs of nouns in distributive expressions it occurs on the second (i.e., last) noun, suggesting the phrase is felt to be a unit: KASKAL-ši KASKAL-ši=pat KBo 3.5 ii 13–15 (NH); ḫu-mi ḫu-mi=pat KUB 22.7 obv.? 3; UD-at UD-at=pat KUB 1.13+ iii 7. See §19.10 (p. 291).

28.120. As established by Hart (1971), Hoffner (1973b), and others, the basic function of -(pat is to call attention to the marked items’ identity with a previously stated or

24. On its alternation with -(kan see already Güterbock 1964.
implied entity. But this meaning is realized in a number of ways. In the following discussion we have tried to classify the different uses according to inner Hittite criteria and then present the various alternative translations suitable for each. We have made every effort to avoid the trap of imposing an outside standard conditioned by our own native language. Nevertheless, some usages that we have kept apart would probably have appeared indistinguishable to native speakers of Hittite, and they may have perceived further distinctions that we overlook. In many instances one simply cannot decide between competing interpretations. Hart (1971: 116–21) discusses many examples that are ambiguous. For a listing of possible uses see CHD P s.v.

Anaphoric

28.121. The first major use of -pat may be termed “anaphoric.” It is used to indicate that a person, object, circumstance, or action is in some sense identical to one mentioned previously in the discourse (Sommer 1921). The fact that various translations are used to express this function (‘the (very) same, the aforementioned, likewise, continue to . . .’) should not obscure the fact that the basic meaning is the same. In some cases, however, the notion of identity seems to have been relaxed to include an action that is not identical to a preceding one but a natural continuation of extension of it. These examples are best expressed in English by ‘also, furthermore’ or the like. Finally, since one reason to stress that someone continues to do something is that the action is unexpected, -pat can acquire a meaning ‘nevertheless, anyhow’.

28.122. When the particle is attached to a noun or attributive adjective, it is best translated in English as ‘the (very) same, the aforementioned’. When it is attached either to a verb or to the predicate noun or adjective, one may wish rather to translate it ‘likewise’. The fundamental significance of the particle, however, remains the same in these cases.

28.123. With nouns we may cite the following: 1 munus-tum ‘Kattittaḫi- ’ Tatilēni š[um-šu] I dumumunus šeš-šu ‘Kattittaḫi- pat š[um-šu] ‘one woman, her name Kattittaḫi of Tatileni. One daughter of her brother, her name Kattittaḫi likewise’ Otten, St-BoT 1:20; ‘When a slave has stolen, and his lord/owner says: ‘I will make the compensation in his behalf’, he shall make the compensation’ [takku m]immai=ma nu iš-an=pat [(šuwezzi)] ‘But if he (the owner) refuses, he forfeits the aforementioned slave’ KBo 6.3 iv 47 = Laws §95 (OS), restored from KBo 6.2 iv 48 (OS).

28.124. When a verbal phrase is repeated, and the speaker/writer wishes to call attention to the repetition, he may affix -pat to the second occurrence to the verb. And, although this is simply the verbal equivalent of the usage noted above (§28.122) with substantives, one cannot translate into English smoothly as ‘the aforementioned’ but must use ‘likewise’, or ‘continues to . . .’, or ‘. . . s as before’. This is the usage discussed by Hart (1971: 135–36) and Hoffner (1973b: 111–12). For example, aruwāizzi . . . ta namma aruwāizzi n=aš=kan kuitman ilanaš šarā āri aruwiškezzi=pat ‘He bows . . . he
bows again; and all the while he is mounting the stairs he keeps on bowing’ KUB 20.46 iii 11–16.

28.125. But one can also use the English word ‘also’ to translate Hittite predicates marked with -pat, where the second action is no repetition of the first but a new and additional action. While in the examples adduced above the particle could be translated by German ‘ebenfalls’, in those which follow one would have to employ German ‘auch noch’; ‘And, when my father had become a god, my brother, Arnuwanda, seated himself on the throne of his father’ EGIR-an-šuma-šaš irmaliyattat-pat ‘but afterwards he also [auch noch] became (deathly) ill’ KBo 3.4 i 5–6, ed. HE I §293c; ‘If from the palace they give to (some)one silver, gold, garments, bronze utensils as a gift for him, let it be named: “The king gave it to him,” and however much is its weight’ n=at iyan=pat ešdu ‘let that also [auch noch] be recorded [lit., ‘made’]’ KUB 13.4 ii 35.

28.126. The particle -pat can mean ‘nevertheless’ in the sequence ‘although . . . , nevertheless . . . ’ (contrary to expectation; Tenner 1926: 101; Pedersen 1935; Hoffner 1973b: 112–13); on the semantic development from ‘ebenfalls’ to ‘trotzdem’ in Tenner and Pedersen’s thinking see Hart 1971: 107; [nu]za mān irmalanzaš-a ešta 𒀀MariⅡ-pat ‘although you were also ill, nevertheless I, My Majesty, installed you [in] the place of your father’ KBo 5.9 i 16–17 with dupl. KBo 16.19: 2’–3’ (Murš. II), ed. SV 1:10–11.

28.127. The second major use of -pat is to restrict a particular exemplar or representative of a class of things. One may call this “emphasizing,” and in some cases -pat may be be translated with the English emphatic reflexive (‘we ourselves’), but the implied restrictive contrast with other members of a conceived class is always present (‘we’ and no one else). -pat may also be used to underscore an overt contrast between actions: natta X . . . Y-pat ‘not X . . . (but rather) Y’. Finally, the stricture ‘X, and only X’ can lead to a meaning ‘even X’ (compare English ‘the very thought of’ = ‘even the thought of, the mere thought of’).

28.128. When the particle is attached to proper names, it can occasionally be translated ‘himself, herself, itself’, Latin ‘ipse’, German ‘selbst’; Ḫattuši-pat ‘in Ḫattuša itself’ (= ‘even in Ḫattuša’) KBo 6.2 i 39 (Laws §19b); “Pittaggatalli-pat ‘Pittaggatalli himself’ KBo 5.8 iii 15, ed. AM 156–57, see also line 31).


28.130. With the possessive pronouns -pat corresponds to English ‘(his, her, its) own (i.e., and no one else’s)’, German ‘eigen’ (HE § 293b; Hart 1971: 122–23; Hoffner
1973b: 115); ammel-pat=wa=za gud-un daḫḫi ‘I will take my own ox’ KBo 6.3 iii 71 (Laws §74); apē[(l=pat)]t annaš=šaš katta ‘with his own mother’ KBo 6.26 iii 26 (Laws §189); SAG.DU-ka=pat ‘your own head’ KBo 5.3 ii 19 (Ḫukk.).

**Restrictive**

28.131. Also exceedingly common are passages in which the particle imparts a restrictive or exclusive meaning. In most cases this thought is best translated into English by means of the word ‘only’. This usage is particularly frequent in legal texts (laws, instructions, treaties), in which the precise limits of obligation and liability must be drawn.

28.132. In the treaty between Zidanaz and Piliya of Kizzuwatna the allotment of cities between the two powers is made quite precise by means of -pat: n=ša ʾatu-ša-pāt ašantu ‘let these (cities) belong exclusively to His Majesty’ and n=ša m=Piliyaš-pat ašantu ‘let these belong exclusively to Piliya!’ KUB 36.108 obv. 4–5.

28.133. The precise limits of Madduwatta’s feudal holding are expressed with the words: ‘I have given to you the mountain land of Zippašla’ nu=wa=za apūn=pāt eši ‘occupy only it!’ KUB 14.1 obv. 19.

28.134. The limits of liability are often defined with it: nu SAG.DU-az-pat šarnikdu ‘Let him pay with his (own) person only, (but let no one harm his house or his children)!’ KBo 3.1 ii 55–56; ‘If someone steals the slave of a Luwian from the land of Luwiya and transports him to the land of Ḫatti, and his owner recognizes him’, nu=zaš ʾir-šu-pat dāi šarnikzil nu=gāl ‘he shall take only his slave, there will be no compensation’ KBo 6.2 i 47 (Laws §21).

28.135. In the Telipinu Proclamation the restrictions as to which persons qualify for succession to the throne make good use of -pat: Lugal-uš-šan ḫantezziyaš-pat dumu Lugal dumu-ru kikk((iš))taru ‘let only a first-rank prince, a son, become the king!’ KBo 3.1 ii 36 (royal edict, OH/NS).

28.136. Exceedingly common in the oracle inquiries is the use of -pat to eliminate all possible causes for divine wrath other than the one under consideration (HE §293d): be-an ki-pat kilmin nu mušen ḫurri sig, ru, ‘if this and only this ‘ditto’ (i.e., ‘is the cause of the god’s wrath against us’), then let the mushen ḫurri omen-taking be favorable!’ AT 454 i 16, ii 12, 24; for confirmation of the sense ‘only’ see also namma=ma gur-i ul kui[tiku] ‘And there is noth[ing] else in addition’ AT 454 i 27.

28.137. Occasionally, restrictive -pat modifies an entire clause: ammel kāš-pat 1-aš dammešḫaš ki=ya=an 1-an dammešḫanunun ištu ʾēgal-lim-pat=kan kuit katta uyanun ‘This was my only punishment (for her); in this way only I punished her: just the fact that I expelled her from the palace’ KBo 4.8 ii 12–14 (Murš. II); n=aš kuwapi=pat sa₃-eḫi ‘Only when it becomes red’ KBo 21.20 i 8 (NH).
Contrastive

28.138. The particle -pat may also highlight a positive statement contrasted with a negative statement of identical import. First the negative, then the positive: \textit{ina k}ur \textit{ur}u\textit{hatti ̃ul ḫūiššēezzi aki-pa-a[t=š]an} ‘(he who does such a deed) will not go on living in the land of Ḫatti: he will die there (=*šan)’ KBo 5.3+ iii 31 (Ḫukk.), ed. SV 2:124–25 with note “Zu S. 151” on p. 170; \textit{ūl=ma=mu ̃g̃ĩt̃uk̃ul l̃ū.kūr kuwapikki šer waḥnut d̃īṣṭãr=mu=zãkan gašãn=ya ḫūmandãzãpat dašket} ‘At no time did she let the weapon of an enemy be waved (threateningly) over me. In all this Iṣṭaṛ my lady took me to herself’ Ḫatt. i 41–43.

28.139. First the positive, then the negative: \textit{n=an=za šakaššara[(n=pa-t d)]āi \textit{I}ũnī}. \textit{zu=an natta ēpzi} ‘(If the owner of an animal which has strayed to another man’s pen finds it there,) he shall take it as his rightful property, but he shall not seize him (i.e., the owner of the pen) as a thief’ KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 iii 49–50 (Laws §66, OS); [\textit{n=za d̃ũt̃ũ=š̃l̃} tuk=pα̃t \textit{m̃ãlãš̃ũña}=ma=za \textit{[ũl šaggah]hi} ‘I, My Majesty recognize you alone, Alakšandu; I do not recognize him’ KUB 21.5 ii 9–10 (Muw. II).

28.140. ‘Even’ modifying a single word within a clause: \textit{n=za=kan irmalaš=pα̃t š̃a d̃ĩngĩr̃-l̃im ḫ̃ãndα̃ñãt̃ar š̃er ušκẽñũn ‘Even as an ill person (although I was ill,) I kept seeing the divine power of the deity over me’ Ḫatt. i 44–45; \textit{I}ũnī\textit{g̃ĩm̃ẽš̃} ħ̃ãppananteš=pα̃t ̃ũl ašĩwanteškantari ‘do not even the rich become poor?’ KBo 4.14 ii 52–53; \textit{ñu=mu kapp̃ĩñẽ=pãt d̃ũmũ-ãn d̃ĩṣṭãr \textit{ũr}ũr̃ĩ Š̃ãm[ũl̃]̃ã ñãã ñũb̃ũ-ỹa w̃ẽk̃t̃a ‘even when I was but a small child, d̃ĩṣṭãr of Šãmũl̃ã requested me from my father’ KBo 6.29 i 7–8; \textit{ñu=kãn ũr̃ĩZ̃ĩppaš̃nãn g̃ẽz̃ãz̃ẽ=pα̃t š̃ãr̃ā p̃ãn ‘Even at night (i.e., one expects military operations during the day, but at night they are unusual and unexpected) I went up to Žippašṇa’ KBo 10.2 ii 49–50 (OH/NS).
Chapter 29
CONJUNCTIONS

29.1. Clause linkage is marked either by conjunctions or by simple juxtaposition (what is traditionally called asyndeton). There are five clause-linking conjunctions in Hittite: n(u), šu (š-), t(a), -al-ya, and -al-ma. Two of these (-al-ya and -al-ma), however, can serve other purposes in the sentence: contrasting a single word in one clause with one in a corresponding position in an adjacent clause (-al-ma) and linking members of a series of words (‘X, Y, and Z’) in a single clause (-al-ya). These two therefore do not connect clauses in all their occurrences. The conjunction šu (š-) occurs only with attached enclitics and never stands alone,1 while free-standing nu and ta are common. The possible significance of this difference is not yet clear.

29.2. The Akkadogram 𒌍 (written with the sign に基) can also serve graphically to represent nu or -al-ya, but only when it immediately precedes a logogram, including logographically written proper names2 and numerals. When 落到实 connects nouns in a series, it stands for -al-ya on the following word; rarely, a syllabically written noun (or even another logogram) immediately following it can redundantly indicate ‘and’ by an explicit -al-ya: "KI.MES.KUŠ, 落到实 MI.KARUḪALIŠŠMEŠŠ=SA KBo 6.2 ii 14 (OS), IŠTU MUŠEN. HI.A IŠTU SU.MEŠ=YA KBo 4.4 ii 50 (NH). Akkadian prepositions are normally repeated after 落到实 in coordinated logograms, whether nor not the coordination indicates multiple persons/objects or apposition (on the latter see Sommer 1932: 130): ANA . . . 落到实, ŠA . . . IŠTU . . . IŠTU, ITTI . . . U MAHAR . . . U MAHAR, PANI . . . U PANI, QADU . . . U QADU.3 But UMMA is not repeated: UMMA PN, U PN.4

1. A possible exception, šu-u in the broken context of KBo 12.14 rev. 4 (OH/NS), was suggested to Weitenberg (1992: 338 n. 9) by Houwink ten Cate.
2. Rarely even a name with its case ending: "Zinwašeliš 落到实 Lelli[š] meggaš KBo 3.1+ ii 24–25 (OH/NS).
3. Also nu, 𒌔Tapigga 𒌌Anziliya 𒌃Ḫariya U ANA 𒌌Ḫaningawašaša še-am u zīs-ya K‘iš anniyan āšta HKM 54:8-13 (MH/MS), gim-an-na=mu-kān aš-Sin-u-aš dumu aš-Zidā ša  NVIC AŠŠAR VAŠAN=ša ša šes+ya+ša aššušun aššuḪaṭṭ. ii 74–75 (NH) and 落到实 ḪḪaššušiššaša qadu ašša,gāršu [ANA] aškūr šipandaža KUB 19.37 ii 23 (AM 168).
4. E.g., HKM 23 obv. 1–2 and 25:1–3 (MH/MS). But see Hagenbuchner-Dresel 1999: 54 for differing conventions at Ḫattuša and Tapikka (Mašat).
5. E.g., HKM 33:35–36 (MH/MS); but not in HKM 82:3.
6. E.g., HKM 48:2–3 (MH/MS).
Clause-Initial Clause-Linking Conjunctions

Distribution

29.3. Old Hittite uses all three of these clause-linking conjunctions. The conjunctions *šu (š-) and ta (t-) are in complementary distribution, the former with preterites and the latter with present-futures (Weitenberg 1992: 327), as well as with imperatives (see §15.11, p. 239, last example)\(^7\) and the analytic present perfect ḫar(k)-construction (cf. KBo 4.9 vi 6–7 [OH/NS]). As per Weitenberg, the preponderance of ta in ritual texts and its rarity in historical texts is merely a function of the typical use of tenses in these genres, and likewise its extensive use in the Laws together with the total absence of šu there. In post-OH copies of OH texts both šu and ta are quite frequently preserved by scribes, and there is no noticeable tendency for ta to be preserved more frequently than šu. Claims that šu was eliminated from active use earlier than ta (Weitenberg 1992: 309; Rieken 2000a: 411–12) must therefore be regarded as unproven.

29.4. Weitenberg (1992: 325) stresses that nu, šu, and ta always serve to link clauses and thus never occur in discourse-initial position. This is strictly true for šu and ta (see §29.48, p. 402). But nu is used discourse-initial when a new question follows logically upon an earlier answer: ‘So . . .?’ or ‘If that is the case, then . . .?’ See §27.8 (p. 351).

29.5. Establishing differences in the usage of nu, šu, and ta has proven difficult. The complementary distribution of šu and ta according to tense suggests that they are functional variants, and in many respects their use is parallel. Many of their uses indeed are also shared with nu. For attempts to discern patterns in the use of šu and ta see Weitenberg 1992 and for a very different account of ta see Rieken 1999b. We content ourselves here with illustrating use of the conjunctions with different clause types, with special attention to cases where they seem to overlap (e.g., §29.15, p. 393).

nu

29.6. nu connects independent clauses from OS onward. In the following examples the actions are definitely sequential (at times the second or final clause expressing a result, ‘so that . . .’, ‘therefore’): kalulupi(t)-šmit-ašta išg[(ara)]nta dāi [n]-e[n kīšari]-šmi dāi n+ašī[(a pa)]rā paiwani ‘He takes the things fastened to their fingers and puts them in their hand(s), and we leave’ KBo 17.1 i 19–20 (OS); 100 gipeššar a.Ša kar[(a)]ššiyeẓzi n=an=za dāi ‘he shall cut off 100 gipeššar of field and take it for himself’ KBo 6.2 i 8 (Laws §6, OS); kinun=a LUGAL-uš ŠA É.GAL-LIM peššiet nu=za ḫūnikanza=pat 3 GIN KUBBBAR d[āi] ‘But now the king has waived the palace’s share,

\(^7\) There is only one exception to this distribution in OS: šēr-aššan GAD-an peššiyami š-uš LÚ-aš natta aušzi ‘I throw a cloth over them, and no man will see them’ KBo 17.3 iv 18–19. Even when one includes copies, the complementary distribution remains clear: of slightly more than 100 examples of š(u) where the context can be determined, only five occur with present-futures. Examples of t(a) with preterites are also rare even in post-OH copies, less than a dozen out of several hundred.
so that only the injured party shall take 3 shekels’ KBo 6.2 i 15 (Laws §9, OS); [takku LÚ-a]n našma MUNUS-an ELLAM wallzi kuiš[k]i n=aš aki ‘[If] someone strikes a free [man] or woman, so that s/he dies’ KBo 6.3 i 6 (Laws §3, OH/NS); kāša=wa ki-ya ki=ya uttar iyami nu=wa=muššan ziqq=ḫarphut ‘I am about to do such-and-such, so you too join me!’ KBo 3.7 i 21–23 (OH/NS); nu=kan kāšma aNŠE.KUR.RA.HI.LA parā neḫḫun nu=za PANI LÚ.KÚR mekki pahḫaššaunuansa eš ‘I have just dispatched chariotry, so be much on the alert toward the enemy’ HKM 1:8–13 (MH/MS); zik=ma=wa=za DUMU-aš nu=wa UL kuški šakti ‘You are a mere child, and so know nothing at all’ KUB 19.29 iv 16 (NH).

29.7. nu connects two subordinate clauses: takku īr-aš ḫuwāi n=aš ANA KUR Luwiya paizzi . . . ‘If a male slave runs away and goes to the land of Luwiya . . . ’ KBo 6.2 i 51 (Laws §23, OS); kuiš ammel āppan URU ḫattušan āppa ašāš ‘Whoever becomes king after me and resettles Ḫattuša . . . ’ KBo 3.22:49–50 (OS); . . . ‘Whoever becomes king after me and resettles Ḫattuša . . . ’ KBo 3.22:49–50 (OS); ša =Piḫinakki=nu kui[i] utter ḫatrāeš = Piḫinakkiš=za maḫḫan URU Lišipra ēški[ti]ari nu=wa=za karu 30 É-TUM aššān [h]arzi ‘Concerning the message you sent me about Piḫinakki: how Piḫinakki is settling the city Lišipra, and (how) he has already settled (there) 30 households’ HKM 10:3–6 (MH/MS); mān āššu⸗ma /Umacronsmall Pē ḫarzi n⸗an⸗kan šullannaza kuški kuenzi ‘But if he (scil., the merchant) does not have goods in his possession, and (the offender) kills him out of wantonness’ KBo 6.4 i 6–7 (Laws §III, NH); d[v]-ma maḫḫan iyaḫḫat nu maḫḫan ANA URU Šallapa arḫu ‘When I, My Majesty, marched, and when I [reac]hed Šallapa’ KUB 14.15 ii 7 (NH, Murš. II). See §29.18 (p. 394), where ta, -a/-ya-, and .viewport also fill this role.

29.8. nu connects a subordinate clause to a following independent clause. This usage occurs already in OS with temporal clauses (see §30.36, p. 416): mān URU Tamar[mara] arer nu taršikanzi ‘When they arrived in T., they said (historical present; see §22.6, p. 307)’ KBo 22.2 obv. 8 (OS); mlājn lukkatta⸗ma nu LUGAL-aš kiṣar[i] ‘But when it dawns, the physician and I go’ KBo 17.1 iv 7 (OS); mān in[A U]D.2.KAM ā[p]pa paiva[ni] n=apa haššauni ‘When we go back on the second day, we open up’ KBo 8.74+ ii 9 (OS); mān MUŠEN ḫāranan ḫuš[uwandan appanzi] n=an udanzi ‘When they catch a live eagle, they bring it’ StBoT 8 ii 19–20 (OS); also in OH/NS: nu mān (7) māi šešzi nu EZN̄ purulliyaš (8) iyanzi ‘And when prosperity and abundance come, they celebrate the festival of purulli’ KBo 3.7 i 6–8 (OH/NS). But in OH an independent clause following a subordinate temporal clause can also be introduced by šu (§29.12, p. 392), by ta ([m]ān lukkatta⸗ma t=apa haššanzi KBo 17.74 + KBo 34.10 i 31 [OH/MS], see also KBo 17.4 ii 10–11 [OS]), or by asyndeton (marked † in this and the immediately following paragraphs): mān MUŠEN ḫāranan ēRIN.MEŠ-ann-a 3*[̃]šu wahnumi † ḫāranan+ašta parā pētanzi ‘When (i.e., after) I wave the eagle and the troops three times, they carry the eagle out’ KBo 17.1 + KBo 25.3 ii 37–38 (OS), see also KBo 3.22 78–79 (OS).

29.9. nu also connects a preposed relative clause to a main clause, already from OS onward: ʿUTU-aš utnė [kui]t=utpat araš n=us ḫumandaš=pl[at ḫu][llanu]n ‘Whatever lands rebelled. . . , I fought all of them!’ KBo 3.22:11–12 (OS); nu kui[t] ([LU]) GAL-aš
tezzi nu apāt iyami ‘And what the kings says, that I do’ KBo 17.4 ii 12–13 (OS); kuiš=an āppa=ma uwavezzī n=an=za apāš=pat dāi ‘whoever brings him back shall keep him for himself’ Laws §23 (OS). This usage is also attested for šu, ta, and asyndeton: for šu see example in §29.14 (p. 393), for ta see §29.20 (p. 394), for asyndeton see: kuiš-at ḫull[ezzi] † URU[Nēš]aš LÚ.kūrššū ē[štu] ‘Let whoever defaces it (scil., the inscription) be the enemy of the city Neša’ KBo 3.22:35 (OS).

29.10. In OH and MH texts conditional clauses (‘if’ clauses) are often connected to following main clauses without conjunction (i.e., asyndeton; marked with †): takku LÚ.DAM.GAR (dpl. KBo 6.3 i 10 adds Ḫatti) kuiški kuēnzi † 1 ḫer[ak]ši ‘If someone kills a (Hittite) merchant, he shall give 100 minas of silver’ KBo 6.2 i 3 = Laws §5 (OS); takku LÚ.ḪU₉.LU-an ELLAM kuiški dašuwaḫḫi našma zu₉.šu lāki † karīt 1 MA.NA KŪ.BABBAR pišker ‘If someone blinds a free person or knocks out his teeth, they used to pay 40 shekels of silver’ KBo 6.2 i 9–10 (Laws §7, OS); takku šu, ta, and asyndeton: for šu see example in §29.18 (p. 394), for ta see §29.21 (p. 394), for asyndeton see: kuiš-at ḫull[ezzi] † URU[Nēš]aš LÚ.kūrššū ē[štu] ‘Let whoever defaces it (scil., the inscription) be the enemy of the city Neša’ KBo 3.22:35 (OS).

29.11. In post-OH (including most OH/MS and OH/NS manuscripts) nu is normally used to introduce main clauses following subordinate ones: ‘(But if it is not cultivated land, but uncultivated (steppe), (they shall measure) 3 ērt in this direction and 3 ērt in that,) nu-kan kuiš kuiš tuvaḷ[nižzi] nu-šše 20 ērt KŪ.BABBAR pāi ‘If someone breaks a free person’s arm or leg, he shall give to him 20 shekels of silver’ KBo 6.2 i 20–21 (Laws §11, OS); mān (var. našma) ina KUR Ḫatti nu-za (var. nu-uz-za) unattallan=pat arnuẓzi ‘If (var. ‘or if’) it is in the land of Ḫatti, he shall “bring” (the dead body of) the merchant himself’ KBo 6.3 i 12–13 (Laws §5, OH/NS), dupl. KBo 6.2 i 5–6 (OS). The conjunction nu is used mainly when a clitic is attached, but see also the first example in §29.18 (p. 394). For an example with ta and no clitic see §29.21 (p. 394).

šu

29.12. šu connects independent clauses, which typically refer to sequential actions: tuppuš šakanda šunnaš nu DUMU.MEŠšū andan zikēš šuš ū[a] tarnaš ‘She filled (the
interstices of) the baskets with grease (in order to waterproof them), put her sons inside, and released them to the river’ KBo 22.2 obv. 2–3 (OS); Šarmāššun Ṣunnun-a ḫur-sag Taḥayai peḫetér n-uš GUD-lu tirier Ṣunu-ušš-a ḫur-sag Ṣunnun-a ḫuēkta ‘They led S. and N. to Mount T. and (nu) yoked them like oxen. They also seized the in-law of N. and (šu) slaughtered him before the eyes of S. and N.’ KBo 3.34 i 15–18 (OH/NS). Note the apparently parallel use of nu and šu in the last example, usage assured as OH by the OS duplicate KUB 36.104 obv. 14–15; ḫur-sag-ša ḫaššaš išanniš ‘The king heard (about it), and he set out’ KBo 22.2 rev. 7 (OS); ḫur-sag-ša ḫaššaš išanniš ‘But the men of the city would not give (them), so they oppressed them, and they died’ KBo 22.2 rev. 12–13 (OS); ḫuēkta ḫaššaš išanniš ‘Then Ḫalmaššuwi, their god, handed it over, and I took it at night by force’ KUB 31.4+ obv. 8–9 (OH/NS); ḫuēkta ḫaššaš išanniš ‘I will proceed to carry ice with this basket. And I will fight, and I will destroy the land with this arrow, and you (the arrow?) shall penetrate their hearts’ KUB 31.4+ obv. 8–9 (OH/NS); ḫuēkta ḫaššaš išanniš ‘The king washes his mouth three times and pours it (the water) into the basin. The queen also washes her mouth three times and pours it into the basin’ KBo 17.1 i 15–16 (OS). Note the apparently completely parallel use of nu and ta here; [ . . . ] Ḫantašepuš teššummišš-a dāi teššummišš-a dāi teššummišš-a dāi ‘He puts [ . . . . . ] in my hand, and we leave’ KBo 17.1 I 38–39 (OS). See the use of nu in [ . . . . . . ] kiššarti-mi dāi n-ašṭa parā paiwānī ‘The queen also washes her mouth three times and pours it into the basin’ KBo 17.3+ i 15’ (OS).
29.16. *ta* introduces the last clause of a multi-clause apodosis: *takku* A.ŠA.HLA nfg. BA LUGAL. kuški ḫarzi šahḫan luzzi nat[*ta karipiezzi*] † LUGAL-*uš* gÂŠ.BANšUR-az NINDA-an dāī *ta*-šše pāī ‘If someone holds fields as a gift from the king, he shall not [render] šahḫan (or) luzzi: the king shall take food from his table and give it to him’ KBo 6.2 ii 43–44 (Laws §47a, OS).

29.17. *ta* introduces a result clause: *kinuna* LUGAL-*uš* idalu mekki ūḫḫun *ta* LUGAL-ua[š] uddârr-a=met lē šarruttuma ‘But now I, the king, have seen much evil, so you (plural) must not transgress even (-a/-ya) the words of me, the king’ KBo 3.28:20–21 (OH/NS). In the following example, the NH scribe has used *nu* to introduce the second result clause: /Hbrevebelowsmall .-an tarmaemi *ta* [*(arun)*] an tarmāmi *nu* āppa natta lāḫui ‘I will fix the mountain in place, so that it may not move; I will fix the sea in place, so that it may not flow back’ KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 13–14 (OH/NS) with dupl. KBo 13.78 obv. 15.

29.18. *ta* connects two subordinate clauses: *((takk)) u LÚ,u10.LÚ-an kuški ḫûnikzi t-an ištarnikzi *nu* apûn šāktāizzi ‘If someone injures a person, and (ta) he falls ill, he must care for him’ KBo 6.2 i 16–17 = Laws §10 (OS) with dupl. KBo 6.3 i 25–28 (OH/NS); a wide variety of conjunctions join the following multi-clause protasis: *takku* LÚ-âš GUDššU ūd-an zinûškezzi tamaîš-a=an š[(uwaizzi)] *nu* GUD-âš KUN-an ēpzi *ta* ūd-an zâi U BEL G[(UD ūd-âš pēdai)] ‘If a man is making his ox cross a river, but (-a/-ma-) another (person) shoves him off and (nu) seizes the ox’s tail, and (ta) crosses the river, and (u) the river carries off the owner of the ox, . . . ’ KBo 6.2 ii 30–32 = Laws §43 (OS) with dupl. KBo 6.3 ii 52–53 (OH/NS).

29.19. *ta* connects a subordinate temporal clause to an independent clause: *[k]uiš šagaīš kīšari *ta* LUGAL-ia munus.LUGAL-ya tarweni* ‘We tell the king and queen what portent occurs’ KBo 17.13 rev. 9 (OS); [mēn lukkat]la=ma t-apa ḫaššanzi ‘But when it dawns, they open up’ KBo 17.11+ i 31 (OS); *nu* mēn LUGAL-un munus.LUGAL-â[nn=â (aniem)]*ta* LUGAL-ia ḫāppan tēmi ‘And when I treat the king and queen, I say to the king as follows:’ StBoT 8 ii 15–16 (OS).

29.20. *ta* connects a preposed relative clause to a main clause: *[k]uiš šagaīš kīšari *ta* LUGAL-ia munus.LUGAL-ya tarweni* ‘We tell the king and queen what portent occurs’ KBo 17.1 iv 9 (OS); [nu ḫantezziyaš] *ta*-šše šarnikzi ‘He compensates the first man for whatever he gave’ KBo 6.3 ii 6–7 (Laws §28); [kui]šza=â hippari ḫâppar iezzi n=aš=kan ḫâpparaz [šeme]nzi Âš. hipparāš kuit ḫâppraît t=â(t)=e āppa dāī ‘Whoever makes a purchase from a hippara-man shall forfeit his purchase price, and the hippara-man shall take back what he sold’ KBo 6.2 ii 51–52 (Laws 48). Note the use of both *nu* and *ta* connecting a relative clause to a main clause in the same passage.

29.21. *ta* connects a complex conditional clause to a following main clause: *takku* iwaruaš iškîš A.ŠA-kulêi ārki našm[=âšše] LÚ.MEŠ URU-ÂLIM A.ŠA.HLA-an pianzi *ta* luzzi karpiiezzi ‘If an heir cuts out for himself/herself idle land, or the men of the village give him/her land, (s)he shall render the luzzi-services’ KBo 6.2 ii 41–42 (Laws §46, OS).
29.22. *ta* connects a single conditional clause to a following main clause (so far only in post-OH copies): *takku*.transliterated=waššan ki ḫazzizi *ta*=wa DINGIR-STEM takku=waššan natta=ma ḥa[zzizi] *ta*=wa antuwahheš ta=wa [ . . . ] zahḫuweni ‘If he guesses this correctly, it is a god; if he does not guess correctly, it is a human being, and we will fight [ . . . ]’ KBo 3.60 ii 14–17. The absence of a subject clitic in both apodoses may be due to the subject being non-referential (‘it is’, not ‘he is’: meaning essentially ‘we are dealing with’ a god or a human being).

Enclitic Clause-Linking Conjunctions

29.23. In addition to the clause-initial clause-linking conjunctions *nu*, *šu*, and *ta*, Hittite has two enclitics, topicalizing/contrastive *-a/-ma* (cf. CHD *-ma*) and conjunctive/additive *-a/-ya*, which among other uses can serve to link clauses.

*-a/-ma*

Form

29.24. In OH the topicalizing/contrastive enclitic conjunction appears as *-a* after words ending in a consonant and as *-ma* after vowels (see Rieken 2000a: 412, following Melchert). As first pointed out by Houwink ten Cate (1973b), topicalizing/contrastive *-a* does not geminate a preceding consonant, whereas conjunctive/additive *-a* does. See below, §29.38 (p. 399), for more on this feature.

29.25. In MH/MS *-ma* is generalized as the topicalizing/contrastive marker also after words ending in a consonant. The non-geminating *-a* is regularly still used only after independent personal pronouns (see end of §29.30, p. 397, below, on this usage): e.g., *ugَا* KUB 14.1 obv. 26, KUB 23.72 obv. 40; *ammugَا* HKM 10:26; *zigَا* HKM 10:30; *tugَا* HKM 52:10; *wešَا* KUB 23.77 lower edge 50; *šumešَا* KBo 16.27 i 7; *šumāšَا* HKM 75:22. It is also still found occasionally with personal names, but alternating with *-ma*: "*Madduwattašَا* KUB 14.1 obv. 18 etc. but also "*Madduwattašَا* KUB 14.1 obv. 72 etc. Other use of non-geminating *-a* in MH compositions is extremely rare: *antuḫšašَا-kan* HKM 38:5; *memiyanušَا-kan* KBo 16.27 iv 27; *kaštitَا-man* KUB 14.1 obv. 12; *išnašَا-šmašَا-šan* KBo 39.8 ii 7 (MS, cf. Miller 2004: 219). In NH only *-ma* is used productively. *kinuna* serves as a mere variant of *kinun* ‘now’, and an isolated example such as *ugَا-kan* ANA "*NIR.GÁL* . . . ‘In me, Muwatalli . . .’ in KUB 6.45 iii 60 is surely an imitation of older usage in the context of a prayer.

Position

29.26. *-a/-ma* is usually attached to the first accented word in the clause. There are two systematic exceptions (see the CHD under *-ma* f for further details). First, in OH and

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8. We do find in OS a few examples of *-a* after *-e*: e.g., *kēَا* KUB 31.143a iii 23 and *kēَا-šta* in KUB 8.41 i 9 vs. *kēَا-šta* ibid. i 13 in parallel contexts. See also p. 399, n. 14.
MH -al-ma is not attached to the subordinating conjunctions takku, mān, and disjunctive našma but is postponed to the second accented word. Takku=at-an parna=ma kuēlka peššiezzi ‘But if he disposes of them in someone’s house’ KBo 6.2 ii 35 (Laws §44b, OS). In NH one finds instead regularly mān=ma. Second, when it is used to mark alternatives in double questions (see CHD -ma a 1’ b’ 4” and §29.31, p. 397, below), -al-ma is attached to that word in the second question which constitutes the alternative, wherever that word appears in the clause (see the first example cited in §29.31).

29.27. -al-ma occurs only on the second and succeeding members of a sequence of topic changes. In what at first glance seems to be an exception: ḫuišwat=ma=pa anda ḫingan=ma=pa anda ḫuišwanī=ya ḫaminkan (so HED H 66, CHD -ma a 2’; same mistaken analysis on ki-nu-na-ma=pa by HW2 A 128b) we must rather segment ḫuišwat=mu=apa . . . ḫingan=ma=apa and render ‘Life for me is bound up with death; death on the other hand (ḥingan=ma) is for me bound up with life too (-ya)’ (so CHD -mu a, correcting the above earlier analysis). The loss of u before the a in -apa is in accord with the rule stated in CHD -mu a (and see above in §1.72, p. 32), and explains the a between ḫingan and -ma=pa. The -a is the correct form for topicalizing -al-ma following a consonant.

Function

29.28. The main function of -al-ma is to signal a change of topic with respect to some constituent in the preceding clause. Although there is a semblance of clause contrast, in most cases it can be seen that what is being contrasted is a particular constituent in each of the two clauses.

29.29. Thus (as in the CHD article on -ma a) the first and primary function is “marking the correlation of single words in adjacent clauses”: karū . . . kinun=ma ‘formerly . . . but now’ Laws §81 (OS) and passim in the laws; karū . . . [app]ezziyan=ma ‘formerly . . . but subsequently’ KBo 3.22:39, 41 (OS), see ibid. 46; šarāzzī . . . kattirra=ma ‘above . . . below’ KUB 31.127 ii 1, 3 (OH/NS), ZAG-az=tet . . . GŪB-laz=ma=tta ‘on your right
... on your left’ ABoT 44 i 59–60 (OH/NS); GUD-uš-za AMAR-un UL KAPPUWAiZZI [UD]u-ušma-za SILAM-an UL KAPPUWAiZZI ‘The cow doesn’t take care of her calf; the sheep doesn’t take care of her lamb’ KUB 33.37 + KUB 33.39 iv 4–5 (OH/NS); nu=za kušš-sa (var. [ku]šš) DUMU.NITA-li [N]INDA-]an uzul=ya pāi [kušš]ma=za DUMU.NITA-li akul[(wa)]ma pāi ‘One (of the men in the community) gives bread and meat to his son, and another gives something to drink to his son’ KUB 24.8 i 19–21 (OH/NS) with dupl. KUB 43.70b:6–8. Several of the above marked pairs are lexically contrastive (right-left, upper-lower). But we also find the particle marking identical pronouns or pronominally based adverbs in a sequence where each has a different referent: 3 wattaru iēt kēdani ... kēdani=ma ... kēdani=ma ... ‘He made three wells: at this one ... , at this (other) one ... , and at this (other) one ... ’ KUB 33.59 iii 7–9 (OH/MS); kāš-man kūn ēpz [k]ūš=ma=za kūn ēpzi ‘This one might seize that one, and this (other) one might seize that (other) one’ KBo 6.2 ii 56–57 (Laws §49, OS); kēz ... kēz=ma ‘on this side ... but on this (other) side’ KUB 19.37 ii 20, 21, 24 (NH).

29.30. From the above examples and the others cited in the CHD -ma a 1’ it can be seen that the translation ‘but’ rarely fits and that, while there is contrast, the primary concern is signaling a change of topic: from the cow to the sheep, from the right hand to the left, from the springs to the harvest, from the one well to the other two in the sequence, or the one father giving food to the other father giving drink. Sometimes a change of subjects is marked by -al-ma: išḫaššiš uzul dāi ašš=ma kuš UDU dāi ‘his (the shepherd’s) master shall take the meat (of the sheep), but he himself (i.e., the shepherd) (-al-ma) shall take the sheepskin’ KBo 6.2 iv 14–15 (Laws §80, OS); māluš=ma=za ABU=YA "Muršiliš DINGIR-LIM iššušša šeš=ma=za=kan "NIR.GÁL ANA GISGU.ZA ABUŠU ešat ammek=ma=za ANA PANI šeš=ya EN.KARAŠ kāššašat ‘But when my father Muršili died (lit., became a god), and my brother Muwatalli sat down on the throne of his father, I during my brother’s reign became commander of the army’ KUB 1.1 i 22–24 (NH). It is this common use of -al-ma to mark a change of subject that accounts for its popularity in being affixed to (often fronted) independent pronouns: ú-ga ‘but I’ StBoT 25 #3 ii 6 (OS); StBoT 25 #4 iii 37 (OS); zi-ga ‘but you’ HKM 58:30 (MH/MS), KUB 1.16 ii 67 and KUB 31.110 10’ (OH/NS), KUB 1.16 ii 67 and KUB 31.110 10’ (OH/NS), KUB 1.16 ii 67 and KUB 31.110 10’ (OH/NS); ú-e-ša ‘but we’ KBo 22.2 obv. 11 (OS), KBo 16.50:11 (MH/MS); šu-me-ša ‘but you (pl.)’ KUB 1.16 iii 49 (OH/NS); šu-me-e-ša KUB 23.72 rev. 64 (MH/MS); [šu-me-]e-ša KUB 23.68 rev. 11 (MH/NS); a-pa-a-ša ‘but she’ KBo 6.2 iv 15 (OS); a-pa-ša KBo 3.22:72 (OS), VBoT 58 i 16 (OH/NS); a-pé-e-ša ‘but they’ KBo 20.26 + KBo 25.34 obv. 14 (OS).

29.31. Obviously a construction so well fitted to mark a change in topic and signal a contrast was perfectly adapted to mark alternatives in double questions which pose contrary or at least mutually exclusive alternatives: n=at pānzi ANA DINGIR-LIM ĮSTU NA₃ pianzi ... n=at ANA DINGIR-LIM ĮSTU KŪ.GI=ma pianzi ‘Shall they proceed to give it to the deity with gems ... or shall they give it to the deity with gold?’ KUB 22.70 obv. 51–53 (NH); especially common when the second alternative is a simple negation: nu=war=at ŠE[Š=YA IDE nu=war AT UL=MA IDE ‘Does my brother know it, or does he not know it?’
KUB 14.3 i 52 (NH). That the -ma in these cases is not a clause connective is obvious in the cases where its clause is already introduced by nu.

29.32. It may well be that from the established use of -al/-ma to mark change of topic within two adjacent clauses there developed a more general use to contrast the adjacent clauses themselves. One can probably see this in the first -ma occurring in the example from KUB 1.1 i 22–24 (‘but when . . .’) cited above in §29.30 (p. 397). But most of the examples cited in CHD -ma b (pp. 93–94) to support this usage can instead be used as illustrations supporting the former use. What makes some of them appear to mark clause contrast is the fact that the element within the clauses that is contrasted is the verb itself, even identical verbs, or the negation: aliyaš⸗wa ūl wāi ūl⸗ma⸗wa wāki ūl⸗ma⸗wa išparrezzi ‘The deer makes no (loud) cry, nor does it bite, nor does it trample’ KUB 14.1 rev. 91 (MH/MS) (further exx. in CHD -ma b 4’); ūl gud-ūṣ ūl⸗ma⸗wa udu-ūṣ ‘there were no cattle, nor were there sheep’ KUB 36.51 obv. 7 (OH/NS). Nevertheless, there do appear to be rare examples where the contrast is probably12 the entire clause: ‘If a girl is betrothed to a man, and he pays the bride-price for her, and subsequently the parents abrogate it and withhold her from the man, they shall repay double the aforementioned bride-price,) takku LŪ-š⸗a (-al/-ma) DUMU.MUNUS nawi dāi n=an=za mimmai ‘but if the man has not yet taken the girl, and he refuses her, (he must forfeit the bride-price which he paid)’ KBo 6.3 ii 14 (Laws §§29–30); takku=za MUNUS-za LŪ–an m[immai] . . . takku=za LŪ–š⸗a MUNUS-an šuw[ezzi] ‘If a woman rejects a man (i.e., wishes a divorce) . . . If on the other hand a man expel[s] (i.e., divorces) a woman’ KUB 26.56 ii 1, 4 (Laws §26, OH/NS); takku addaš⸗še⸗a ḫuišwanza ‘but if his father is (still) living’ KUB 33.66 ii 8–9 (OH/MS?);

29.33. The use in the expression namma=ma . . . tamai- (CHD -ma b 8’) may have to do with the implied topic change signaled by the adjective tamai- ‘another’. See also: [(tamāi)]š⸗a⸗kan pēran wal[alz]i ‘but another man strikes first’ KUB 29.30 + KUB 29.29 ii 18 (Laws §148, OS); takku addaš⸗še⸗a ḫuišwanza ‘but if his father is (still) living’ KUB 29.34 iv 13 (Laws §190, OH/NS).

29.34. The use with anaphora (CHD -ma d) also grows out of the topicalizing function, although the change of topic may not always be very clear. That it does grow out of this topicalizing function is seen in the fronting of the repeated word, to which then -al/-ma is suffixed: ʰuti-š⸗at aruni pēda[ṣ] § aruni=ma urudu-aṣ palhaṣṣ kianda[r?] ‘The Sun-god took it off to the sea, and in that sea copper vessels are lying’ KUB 33.66 ii 8–9 (OH/MS?); ana dingir-lim pēran ḡṣeyan a[l] ḡṣeyaz⸗ma⸗kan udu-ūṣ kurṣaṣ kank[anz]a ‘Before the deity a fir tree stands, and from that fir tree a hunting bag is han[ging]’ KUB 33.38 iv 6–7 (OH/MS).

29.35. The CHD proposes to see another extension of the root use of -al/-ma in its use to show concurrent actions, with or without kuitman in the immediately preceding

12. The motivation here too could be change of subject from ‘girl’ and ‘parents’ to ‘the man’.
clause (-ma b 7’): nu kuitman ABU*YA INA KUR Kargamisša kattan ėšta “Lupakkin= ma=kan . . . parā naiša ‘And while my father was in the land of Carchemish, he sent out Lupakki . . .’ KBo 5.6 iii 1–3 (NH); n=at parā tiyanzi LÚ,DU=ma=š=kan ḫa[tti]li lamnit ḫalziššai ‘(those who spend the night up in the palace) step forward, (while) the gateman calls them by name in Ḫattic’ KBo 5.11 i 6–7. And although here too the actual motivating factor may sometimes be either a change of subject, verb, or topic, there does seem to be good reason to believe that this extended usage exists.

29.36. The root use of marking a change of topic is further extended in the use of clause-initial anda⸗ma ‘now in addition’,13 which (often immediately following a paragraph break) signals a change to another matter for discussion (see CHD -ma e 2’ a’). In the Akkadian letters from Amarna the same function is performed by the word šanītam ‘now in addition (e.g., on another subject; lit., ‘secondly’).’ Another good example is found in a MH letter from Kuşakli-Šarissša: § ANA DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ=ya laḫraš (42) MUŠEN.H.L.A aumen nu laḫraš (43) MUŠEN.H.L.A arḫa pe[šš]ier § (44) anda=ma=mu ANA GA[L] KÚ.GI (45) kuit ḫatrāeš n=an kankaḫḫun (46) nu 30 ǧn.ǧn.NU KILLAL=SU (47) n=an ANA =Walwalli ADDIN ‘And about the young women we observed the (oracle) birds of laḫraš, and the birds gave a negative answer. § On another subject: regarding what you wrote to me about the gold cup: I weighed it, and its weight was 30 shekels. And I gave it to Walwalli’ KuT 50 41–47, ed. Wilhelm 1998: 181–84.

29.37. For -al/-ma in kuiša see §8.4 (p. 150).

-a/-ya

Form

29.38. Conjunctive/additive -a/-ya takes the form -a after syllabically written Hittite words ending in a consonant, which consonant is then geminated, but -ya after syllabically written words ending in a vowel: a-pa-a-aš-ša (apāšŠ-a) ‘(s)he too’, a-pé-e-ya (apē-ya) ‘those too’.14 In Old Hittite the topicalizing/constrastive particle would be written a-pa-a-ša (apāšŠ-a) ‘he on the other hand’ and a-pé-e-ma ‘those on the other hand’. In NH there occasionally arises a double writing of the conjunction (-aya) following a word ending in a consonant, usually with the gemination of that consonant

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13. This is similar to the use of anda in anda=ya=šši ‘and in addition to it’ KBo 6.3 iii 61 (OH/NS, older andašše KBo 6.2 iii 57, OS) = Laws §70. The example an-da-še-ya Laws §110 in copy d (LH 107, 269) shows the same order of clitics as parna=šše=ša šwawayzi.

14. There is only one small set of exceptions to this rule. We do find in the older language a very few examples of -a after -e (HW A 43b): (As he chants before the ḫalputi), kē=ša QATAMMA ‘these things too (he chants) in the same way’ KBo 25.112 ii 14–15 (OS); nu kē=a QATAMMA[=pat l]inker ‘These (men) too have sworn an oath in the [very] same way’ KBo 8.35 ii 28 (Treaty; MH/MS); i-NA NINDA.H.L.A a-ku-wa-an-na-e-a LÚ,MEŠ=šasša-[aleš] [. . .] zī ‘the špunaššu-men […] in food and drink’ KBo 11.34 i 9-11, where the extra -a shows that the -e is not simply a mistranscription -ya. See also LH 168 on parna=ššē=a in the Laws (and in §30.17, p. 411, below). These examples may reflect the use of -e-a to spell -ya/-ya in word-final position. See AHP 35 and 141. Apparent exceptions such as me-ma-al-ya KBo 15.34 iii 8 and i-ya-at-ya KUB 21.38 obv. 54 are the result of weary, careless, or unskilled scribes.
29.39 Conjunctions

(HW² 43b): a-pá-da-ya ‘that too’, a-ra-wa-an-na-aš-ša-ya ‘and the a.-ritual’, ḫa-da-an ḫa-ra-a-an-na-ya ‘dried and crushed’, GAD-it-ta-ya ‘and with a linen cloth’, but rarely without the gemination: ki-na-na-ya ‘now too’, a-pa-a-ša-ya ‘and that one’. In Old Hittite the gemination or lack of such before -a, which distinguished the conjunctive-additive from the topicalizing/contrastive marker, was often obscured by logograms by the occasional practice of writing only one syllabic Hittite sign after the logogram. If LUGAL and MUNUS.LUGAL were nominative, the pair could be written either LUGAL(⁻uš) MUNUS.LUGAL⁻aš⁻ša or LUGAL⁻uš(⁻) MUNUS.LUGAL⁻ša (standing for *ḫaššuš ḫaššušarašš⁻a) ‘the king and queen’. But in post-Old Hittite the same combination would be written LUGAL⁻uš MUNUS.LUGAL⁻ya. Because the topicalizing/contrastive -a had disappeared in New Hittite (see §29.25, p. 395), copyists did not always understand its usage in older texts and replaced it incorrectly with geminating -a rather than with -ma. One must therefore sometimes interpret geminating -a in such copies as the topicalizing/contrastive marker. Rarely the opposite is true: intended conjunctive/additive -al⁻ya is wrongly written without gemination of the preceding consonant: [ku⁻i] ḫa-a-an da⁻ya-na ‘what was taken and stolen’ HKM 30:24 (MH/MS).

Position

29.39. When it connects clauses, conjunctive/additive -al⁻ya regularly is attached to the first accented word in the clause. Like -ma (see §29.26, p. 395) it can be postponed to the next accented word following takku, mān, etc. Since these subordinating conjunctions are regularly clause-initial, this means that postponed -al⁻ya and -al⁻ma must attach to the second accented word in the clause. If for some reason the subordinating conjunction itself is postponed, -al⁻ya and -al⁻ma will appear on the next accented word following the conjunction: [nu⁻za mān irmalanzáš⁻a eštá ４UTU⁻ši⁻ma] [⁻t]ta [ANA] AŠAR AB=KA ttitanun=pat ‘Even though you were ill, I His Majesty still installed you in the place of your father’ KBo 5.9 i 16–17 (NH). For further examples of -al⁻ya postponed to the second word of the clause see CHD mān 7d. When -al⁻ya connects a series of words in the same clause, it attaches to the last word in the series (see §29.40).

Function

Connecting Individual Words

29.40. -al⁻ya is the only connective which joins individual words. Some examples are: nu⁻ttِta DINGIR.MEŠ ４É⁻ašš⁻a ḫannaš LUGAL⁻uš aššuli paḫšantaru ‘May the gods and Ea, the (divine) king of wisdom, keep you in good health’ HKM 3:18–20; kāša⁻wa LUMESŠ apašalliēš AŠPûR nu⁻wa URB Malazzian URB Taggaštann⁻a şapašiyar ‘I have just sent scouts, and they have scouted the cities Malazzia and Taggašta’ HKM 6:18–22 (MH/MS).

Connecting Clauses

29.41. -al⁻ya- can also be used to connect clauses, when actions are viewed as parallel to one another: (he shall pay so many shekels of silver) aššu⁻ya ３šu šarnikzi ‘and he shall replace the goods threefold’ KBo 6.4 i 5 (laws parallel series §III, NH), (he
shall give six shekels of silver to the injured man’) \( \text{LG}_\text{A} \) \( \text{ZU} \) \( \text{ya} \) \( \text{ku} \) \( \text{ššan} \) \( \text{ap} \) \( \text{šš} \) \( \text{pat} \) \( \text{pā} \) \( \text{i} \) ‘and he shall give the fee to the physician’ KBo 6.2 i 19 (Laws §10, OS); (If a man defiles a vessel, previously they gave 6 shekels of silver, who he defiles (used to) give three shekels of silver,) \( \text{LUGAL} \) -\( \text{ann} \) -\( \text{a} \) \( \text{par} \) \( \text{na} \) 3 \( \text{gin} \) \( \text{KUBABBAR} \) \( \text{da} \) \( \text{šker} \) ‘and they used to take three shekels of silver for the house of [the kings]’ KBo 6.2 i 58a (Laws §25, OS). It is important to note that Hittite -\( \text{a} \) -\( \text{ya} \), unlike English ‘and’ or German \textit{und}, is not used to connect consecutive actions (see correctly Friedrich HE I §304). That is, it does not stand for ‘and (then)’, for which Hittite uses one of the sentence connectives \( \text{nu} \), \( \text{ši} \), or \textit{ta} (see §29.6, p. 390; §29.12, p. 392; §29.15, p. 393).

Correlative ‘both . . . and’

29.42. The Hittite equivalent of ‘both . . . and’ is a pair of correlative -\( \text{a} \) -\( \text{ya} \), whether connecting individual words or clauses. Examples: \( \text{āppann} \) -\( \text{a} \) \( \text{perann} \) -\( \text{a} \) ‘both behind and in front’ KBo 7.14 i 9 (OS); \( \text{ištama} \) -\( \text{nš} \) -\( \text{a} \) \( \text{kēt} \) -\( \text{t} \) -\( \text{a} \) ‘on both this side and that side of the altar’ KUB 32.117 rev.’ 12 + KBo 19.156 iii 5 (OS); \( \text{erma} \) -\( \text{n} \) -\( \text{šma} \) -\( \text{š} \) -\( \text{kan} \) \( \text{dā} \) \( \text{ḥhun} \) \( \text{kard} \) -\( \text{i} \) -\( \text{šmi} \) -\( \text{y} \) -\( \text{a} \) -\( \text{at} \) -\( \text{kan} \) \( \text{dā} \) \( \text{ḥhun} \) -\text{[}\( \text{ḥarša}\)\text{]} -\( \text{ni} \) -\( \text{šmi} \) -\( \text{y} \) -\( \text{a} \) -\( \text{at} \) -\( \text{kan} \) \( \text{dā} \) \( \text{ḥhun} \) ‘I have taken the sickness from you. I have both taken it from your heart(s) and taken it from your head(s)’ KBo 17.1 i 12–13 (OS). Double -\( \text{a} \) -\( \text{ya} \) plus the negative is equivalent to ‘neither . . . nor’: \( \text{namma} \) -\( \text{ma} \) -\( \text{kan} \) \( \text{KUR} \) \text{ÜL} -\( \text{Ḫapalla} \) \( \text{kuent} \) -\( \text{a} \) -\( \text{ya} \) -\( \text{at} \) -\( \text{UL} \) ‘But then you neither attacked the land of Ḫapalla nor seized it’ KUB 14.1 ii 23 (MH/MS).

Additive ‘also, too’ and Concessive ‘even’

29.43. In some cases clause-connecting -\( \text{a} \) -\( \text{ya} \) has an additive force best expressed by ‘also’ or ‘too’: (If I, My Majesty, go to war . . . ) \( \text{nu} \) -\( \text{mu} \) \( \text{ziqq} \) -\( \text{a} \) \( \text{QADU} \) \( \text{ÉRIN} \) \( \text{MEŠ} \) \( \text{ANŠE} \) \( \text{KUR} \) \( \text{RA} \) -\( \text{MEṢ} \) -\( \text{kattan} \) \( \text{lah} \) \( \text{ḫeškeši} \) ‘you too shall go to war with me with your troops and chariots’ KUB 21.5 iii 21 (NH); \( \text{nu} -\text{za} -\text{ā} \) -\( \text{iŠTAR} \) \( \text{GAŠAN} \) -\( \text{ya} \) -\( \text{par} \) -\( \text{ḥand} \) -\( \text{d} \) -\( \text{at} \) -\( \text{a} \) -\( \text{r} \) -\( \text{par} \) -\( \text{ā} \) -\( \text{pē} \) -\( \text{d} \) -\( \text{ani} \) -\( \text{ya} \) -\( \text{me} \) \( \text{l} \) -\( \text{j} \) -\( \text{uni} \) -\( \text{tik} \) -\( \text{ku} \) -\( \text{š} \) -\( \text{an} \) -\( \text{ut} \) ‘IŠTAR My Lady displayed her providence also at that time’ Ḫatt. iii 15–16 Also Ḫatt. iv 18–19 in a variant of the same sentence. See the position of \( \text{api} \) -\( \text{ya} \) -\( \text{ya} \) ‘then too’ in Ḫatt. ii 37, 38, 45.

29.44. Sometimes -\( \text{a} \) -\( \text{ya} \) has the concessive sense ‘even’ (see German \textit{auch}): \( \text{našma} \) -\( \text{škan} \) \( \text{kēl} \) \( \text{tappi} \) -\( \text{a} \) 1 -\( \text{ann} \) -\( \text{a} \) \( \text{mem} \) -\( \text{ian} \) \( \text{wa} \) \( \text{ḫnu} \) -\( \text{zi} \) ‘or changes even one word of this tablet’ BrTabl. iv 19–20 (Tudḫ. IV). This use is especially common with the conjunction \textit{mān} in the meaning ‘even if’ (see §30.46, p. 419).

29.45. When -\( \text{a} \) -\( \text{ya} \) functions in one of these two senses, it occurs on the focus word, wherever that word occurs in the clause.

Asyndeton

Form

29.46. Asyndeton is the simple juxtaposition of coordinate discourse elements without conjunction. Our concern here will not be with juxtaposed nouns and noun phrases
(e.g., ezzan giš-ru 'straw (and) wood', and the Hittite equivalents of GUD UDU 'cattle (and) sheep'\textsuperscript{15}), but with clauses.

\textbf{29.47. Conjunctions}  

The absence of a conjunction is normally obvious and therefore easily recognized. But there is at least one situation in which it is masked. When a clause-initial word ending in a consonant hosts a clitic pronoun beginning with the vowel $a$, a situation is created in which the presence of the clitic conjunction -$a-/-ma$\textsuperscript{16} in OH or the clitic conjunction -$a-/ya- in NH is uncertain. In Old Hittite a combination such as zi-ga-an could be analyzed either as zig$a$-an (with -$a-/ma-\textsuperscript{16}$) or as zig$an$ (asyndeton). One can disambiguate such cases only by comparison with clear examples in parallel constructions: kuel-$a$aš arḫi aki 'on whoever's property he is killed' KBo 6.2 i 7–8 (Laws §6, OS) can be shown not to be asyndeton on the basis of clear examples such as kuiš$-a$šmaš LÜ.KUR LÜ TEMI īezzi 'whatever enemy sends an envoy to you' KUB 23.72 rev 22 (MH); kuitmān-$a$ lazziatta 'until he recovers' KBo 6.2 i 17–18 (OS) is shown to be asyndetic by other examples of postposed kuitman clauses (§30.37, p. 416). The situation is even more obscure when the host word is a logogram, in which case gemination of the final consonant might not be shown by the writing of the phonetic complement. In OS LUGAL-$ša$-$an$ can stand for *LUGAL-$uš$-$a$-$an$, *LUGAL-$uš$-$a$-$an$, or *LUGAL-$uš$-$an$! In post-OH, when -$ma$ assumed the role of its allomorph, there remained no possibility of confusing such clauses in which topicalizing -$ma$ occurred with cases of asyndeton: the former was written zi-ik-$ma$-$an$ (e.g., KBo 10.13 + KBo 10.12 ii 32); ēgīr-$a$-$ma$-$a$-as KBO 6.4 ii 21); LUGAL.$GAL$-$ma$-$a$-$an$ (KBO 10.2 ii 47), LUGAL-$uš$-$ma$-$a$-$an$;\textsuperscript{17} and the latter zi-$ga$-$a$ KBO 5.9 ii 41; LUGAL-$uš$-$a$-$at$-$za$ BrTabl. iv 23, or DINGIR-$LUM$-$a$-$n$ KUB 5.1 i 65, 68, iii 62. While further study is needed, it appears that in NH ambiguous spellings with logograms such as LUGAL-$ša$-$a$-$n$ were avoided in favor of indicating asyndeton either with a fuller phonetic complement (e.g., LUGAL-$uš$-$a$-$n$) or no complement at all (e.g., LUGAL-$a$-$n$).

\textit{Function}

\textbf{29.48.} The most obvious situation in which asyndeton is appropriate is where there is no connection to a previous clause. One finds this use primarily at the beginning of compositions, or at the beginning of recorded speech. Beginning entire compositions:

\textsuperscript{15} The combination LUGAL $MU$NUS.LUGAL `king and queen', on the other hand, is shown by OH examples to have contained a clitic conjunction.

\textsuperscript{16} Weitenberg (1992: 319) failed to notice this, when he claimed $iš$-$ša$-$a$-$š$-$[i]-šja$-$a$-$an$ KUB 29.25 i 8 (Laws §121, OS) as asyndetic *$iš$ḫa$š$-$š$-$a$-$an$, whereas in its context as a fronted contrasted subject it clearly contained topicalizing -$a-/-ma$ (*$iš$ḫa$š$-$š$-$a$-$an$).

\textsuperscript{17} But there are examples of -$a-/ma-$ erroneously written with gemination by NH scribes, such as a-$ki$-$iš$-$ša$-$a$- $KBO$ 3.36 18', where its duplicate A ii 12 has a-$ki$-$iš$-$ma$-$a$-$ş$ tepšawanni 'but he died in poverty', showing that the OH original had *a-$ki$-$ša$-$an$ (akiš-$a$-$an$), with topicalizing -$a-/ma$-and OH local particle -$a$ (but see Dardano 1997: 98–99, who takes it as asyndeton akiš-$a$-$an$). Both Dardano’s interpretation and Kamenhuber’s interpretations (the latter reading akiš-$a$-$an$ ‘zostar ihn’) require asyndeton. But since asyndeton is not attested to introduce strong contrast (‘but’, ‘rather’), one may doubt these analyses.
When there is a preceding clause, the relationship of the two clauses determines whether or not a conjunction is called for. If the subsequent of two or more juxtaposed clauses expresses the same thought in a different form, usually no conjunction is employed: *ammuk-*ma-*za parā ḫandānza kuit **UN-aš ešun** † **PANI DINGIR. MEŠ kuit parā ḫandannün iyaḥḥaḥat** † **ŠA DUMU NAM.LU.UJ.LU-UTTI HUL- Lu uttar UL kuwapikki iyanun** ‘But because I was an upright person, † because I conducted myself in uprightness before the gods, † because I never committed the evil deeds of (other) mortals, (you, O goddess, my lady, rescued me from all harm)’ Ḫatt. i 46–50 (NH). The most common form of this repetition of the same thought in other words is when one of the two clauses is negative and the other positive (or vice versa): exx. *takku/**Umacronsmall** ḫūmanza ḫūmanza parā ḫūmanza parā ḫūmanza** † **kuwapikki iyanun** ‘If the cultivated land is not given him in (its) entirety, (that is) what is given to him is partial’ KBo 6.4 iv 23–24 (Laws §XXXVIII, NH). See also KBo 12.38 ii 4–10 (NH) cited in §7.1 (p. 142).

A circumstantial clause essential to the subordinate conditional clause can be asyndetic (further exx. in HE §310e): *takku LÚ ELLUM arawanniš annanekuš anna(n)=-šmann-a uenzi † kāš takiya utnē kāšš=a takiya utnēya † ÜL ḫara[tar]** ‘If a free man has sex with free maternal sisters and their mother — † the one (being) in one country and the other in another, † there is no crime’ KBo 6.26 iii 32–34 (Laws §191, OH/NS). Often such clauses serve as inserted explanatory glosses (HE §310d): *kuwiš=aš imma kl[ui]š ŠA É.GAL-LIM MUNUS † mān=aš ELLUM † mān(<aš) MUNUS,SUḤUR.LÁ ‘Whatever palace woman — † whether she is free or (she) is a hierodule’ KBo 5.3 iii 44–45 (MH/NS).

Another variation of this use is when a question is asked and then answered by a rhetorical question: *ŠA LÚ.GAL.-TIM É=SUNU kuwapipi † ÜL=at harkēr ‘Where are the estates of the great men? † Have they not perished?’ KUB 1.16 iii 45 (OH/NS); *kāš=ma ibur QARTAPPU kuiš † ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL=za kuit ŠA MĀS-TI ḥarzi † INA KUR ÜRSUḪATTI.
ša munus.lugal māš-tum mekki šalli n-aš=mu Ļl imma LG HA<DA>NU ‘But who is this chariot driver? † Because he belongs to the family of the queen — † in the land of Ḫatti the queen’s family is extremely important — is he not my son-in-law?’ KUB 14.3 ii 72–74 (= Sommer 1932: ii 73–75, NH).

29.52. Conditional clauses, both with takku and mān ‘if’, even if they do not start a new section of the composition, often take no introductory conjunction: mān-šiš=kan bel-šu(!) šer Ļl šarnikzi ‘If his master does not make compensation for him (i.e., the slave who has incurred a penalty)’ KUB 8.81 + KBo 19.39 iii 6 (MH/MS); mān 2 zu₈ našma 3 zu₈ läki ‘If he knocks out two teeth or three teeth’ KBo 6.4 i 18–19 (NH).

29.53. In Old Hittite it is common for the apodosis following a conditional clause using takku ‘if’ to lack an introductory conjunction (see §29.10, p. 392, and §30.48, p. 420, and the first example in §29.50, p. 403). Old Hittite compositions, even in NS copies, and where mān instead of takku is the ‘if’ word, sometimes preserve this pattern: mān=samaš=sta [ēšar] šiyāri † apē tandukiš ‘If [blood] spurts from them, † they are mortals’ KUB 31.1 + KBo 3.16 ii 8–9 (OH/NS). In NH compositions, however, this is no longer the case, even when the NH author has used takku as conscious archaizing: takku uru-aš nu.gal n-aš=kan šamenzi ‘If there is no town, (the heir of the murdered man) shall forfeit them (i.e., the indemnifying payments)’ KBo 6.4 i 13 (Laws §IV, NH).

29.54. Sometimes the main clause following a subordinate temporal clause with mān is asyndetic (see §30.36, p. 416; KBo 6.2+ iii 16–17).

29.55. Postposed kuitman clauses show no advance in time and dispense with any conjunction, just as is the case with foregrounded clauses following a background-imperfective (see Hittite Laws §43). Virtually all relative clauses (§§30.58–30.64, pp. 424–426) in Old Hittite are asyndetic, whereas those introduced by nu are less rare in Middle Hittite and become rather common in New Hittite. Postposed temporal mān clauses are asyndetic (for preposed ones see CHD mān 5): n-ašša apat-ta 3-šu dà n-at=mu ul[p]i † mān damaiš kušš[i] uezzi ‘then take three times that (property stolen from me by the slave woman) and send it to me whenever any other (messenger) comes (here)’ HKM 30 left edge 1–4 (end of the piggyback letter).

29.56. Clauses with potential-irrealis man/mān are introduced asyndetically (HE §310–311 and exx. in CHD man): mān=war=aš=mu=kan šulliyat kuwapī Ļl † mān ḫandān lugal.gal ana lugal.tur katterahher ‘If (Urḫi-Teššup) had not at some time treated me disrespectfully, † would (the gods) have subjected a great king to a minor king?’ Ḫatt. iii 76–77 (NH).

29.57. When describing a situation by a sequence of disjointed clauses that are not intended to convey a temporal sequence, asyndeton can be used: Ge luṭtāuš kammarāḫ isbat † É-er tuḫḫuiš [isbat] ‘mist seized the windows; † smoke [seized] the house’ KUB 17.10 i 5 (OH/NS). Perhaps it is this timeless quality of a prescriptive ritual that lent itself to the extensive use of asyndeton (HE §309b).
Some clauses with double finite verb forms and idiomatic meaning (§24.32, p. 325, final two exx.) can be classified as asyndeton.

Disjunction

naššu . . . naš(šu)ma

Disjunction is regularly expressed in Hittite by našma ‘or’ or by naššu . . . našma ‘either . . . or’. našma developed by syncope from naššu=ma (§1.77, p. 33), which contains the topicalizing/contrastive conjunction -a/ma. These may conjoin clauses or individual words:

(clauses) n=an=kan ANA GIGIR waqgariyanun našma=an=kan šA É-TI waqgariyanun ‘Did I rebel against him in the chariot, or did I rebel against him in the house?’ Ḥatt. iii 67–68; nu=šši naššu adanna peškezzi našma=šši akuwanna peškezzi ‘He either gives him to eat or he gives him to drink’ KUB 13.4 i 24; (individual words) takku LU.10 LU-aš LÚ-aš našma MUNUS-za takiya URU-ri aki ‘If a person, male or female, is killed in another town’ KBo 6.2 i 7 (Laws §6, OS); LUGAL-uš uezzi naššu GIGIR-ıt našma GIGIR-ıt uezzi ‘The king proceeds to travel to the Great House either by chariot or by cart’ KBo 19.128 i 2–5. For further examples see the CHD articles for našma and naššu.

-(a)ku . . . -(a)ku

A pair of enclitic disjunctive markers is -(a)ku . . . -(a)ku ‘whether . . . or’, attested from the oldest written stage of the language: U 4 SAG.DU pāt LÚ-n=aku MUNUS-n=aku ‘and he shall give four persons, whether man or woman’ KBo 6.3 i 2 (Laws §1, OH/NS); [(andan)]=a É-ri kuit ḫarkzi LU.4 LU.10=ku GUD=ku [UD]=ku ēšzi ‘and whatever perishes in the house the estate, whether it be human being, ox or [she]ep’ KBo 6.3 iv 53 (Laws §98, OH/NS); nu kuwapi ḫUTU-uš mumiēzzi [ . . . ]=ammu ḫaḫḫali=kku GIGIR=akku ḫemēzzi ‘So where will the Sun-god fall? Will he fall into the [ . . . ], or in the flame(?) or in the brush?’ KUB 36.44 iv 8–9. Very likely it is this construction, not naššu . . . našma, that underlies the Akkadographic LÚ . . . LÚ ‘whether . . . or . . . or’ in KBo 3.22:60–63 (OS), which is only attested in OS (see §31.35, p. 440). On the Akkadian construction see GAG §117 c/d, AHw 559–60 lū C 2–3, CAD L 224–27, or CDA 184 lū C.

In some cases the pair -(a)ku . . . -(a)ku is equivalent to takku . . . takku ‘if . . . (or) if’: UMMA D5NIN.TU lē=wa=tta nāḥi tuē[l=ku wašta]iš ug=at SIG.ziyami UL-a=kku (var. [ˌ)a]tta=kku) tu[(el w)aštaiš] ug=at SIG.ziyami ‘Thus says (the goddess) NIN.TU: Don’t be afraid! If it is your fault, I will make it right; (or) if it is not your fault, I will (still) make it right’ KUB 33.24 (+) KUB 33.28 i 43–45. For -(a)ku in the negative nekkku see §26.23 (p. 346).
Chapter 30

CLAUSES

Word Order

30.1. The following description of Hittite word order applies to both independent and dependent clauses. The latter differ only in the presence of a subordinating conjunction, for whose positioning see §§30.31ff. (pp. 414ff.). In nominal sentences (§30.22, p. 412), which contain no finite verb, the subject regularly precedes the predicate (but see §30.29, p. 414).

Major Constituents

30.2. The functionally neutral or “unmarked” word order in Hittite is S(subject) O(object) V(erb). The clause negation immediately precedes the verb (for details and exceptions see §26.3, p. 341). In nominal sentences (§30.22, p. 412) the clause negation precedes the predicate noun, adjective, or adverb (for an example see §30.24, p. 412). Within the predicate the order of the direct object and indirect object relative to each other and to other constituents such as postpositional phrases, dative-locatives, and adverbs is yet to be established.


30.4. Various discourse factors not infrequently lead to deviations from the neutral S-O-V word order. In formal terms, we may distinguish at least four processes: front-
ing, extraposition, and left- and right-dislocation. By far the most common of these is **fronting**, by which any constituent can be moved either to absolute initial position in the clause or to the position immediately following clause-initial conjunctions and any clitics dependent upon them.

### 30.5. Examples of fronting to clause-initial position

(verb; see also §26.5, p. 342) 
\[\text{eḫu pāiweni ina URU Apzuwa mahar} \]  
'Come, let us go to Apzuwa into Ea’s presence’ KUB 33.106 ii 19 (Ullik. III);  
\[\text{waḫnumi-an-kan kuwapi} \]  
'When should I alter it?' KUB 21.38 obv. 40;  
(preverb) \[\text{anda-kan ḫalinaš teššummiš tarlipit šūwamuš} \]  
'Twice(?) we bring in cups (made of) ḫalina- filled with tarlipa-drink' KBo 17.1 i 26–27 (OS);  
(temporal adverb) \[\text{annaz URU yaruwataš URU-aš ša KUR Ḫatti} \]  
'Formerly the city Iyaruwata had belonged to the land of Parga' KBo 3.3 i 3–4;  
(direct object) \[\text{Ḫatipa-ḫarzi URU Kuzuruwi kakkapuš marakta URU Ankuwa kakkapiš maklanteš} \]  
'In Kuzuru he butchered kakkapa-animals; in Ankuwa the kakkapa-animals are emaciated' KBo 3.34 ii 12–14 (OH/NS).

### 30.6. Examples of fronting to “first” position following clause-initial conjunction

(verb) \[\text{nu-mu memišket} \]  
'As she had been telling me, (so it also happened)' Ḫatt. iv 17;  
(negative) \[\text{nu /Umacronsmall ḫa kuit iyan ēšta} \]  
'And even that which had not been made, (she gave that away)' KUB 14.4 ii 10–11;  
(temporal adverb) \[\text{nu ziladuwa kūn memian lē kuiški ḫulliyazzi} \]  
'Henceforth let no one contest this word' KBo 4.10 obv. 46;  
(indirect object) \[\text{nu-za} \]  
'I sacrificed to the goddess as priest’ Ḫatt. i 18–19.

### 30.7. When fronting occurs, usually the fronted constituent is marked by the topicaizing/contrastive conjunction -a/-ma (see §29.28, p. 396), but fronting also occurs without -a/-ma, as examples in the preceding paragraph show. Subjects may also undergo fronting, as shown by examples in “determinate” relative clauses, where the subject appears before the relative pronoun that has itself undergone “wh-movement” (see §30.59, p. 424, and see Hale 1987: 47–48 and Garrett 1994: 45–46): \[\text{DUMU=šu=mawašši=za-kan kuiš ANA gis GUZA ABI=šu ešat} \]  
'But his son, who sat down on the throne of his father, (was already a mature man)' KBo 3.4 i 11–12.4

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3. The following account couched in terms of “movement” of constituents is intended to be purely descriptive and makes no claim regarding how these facts are to be analyzed in terms of syntactic theory.

4. It is possible, but by no means proven, that any constituent marked by -a/-ma has been fronted. If this is true, then all subjects thus marked have been fronted, even those in non-relative clauses where otherwise there is no visible sign of fronting.
30.8. Fronting of more than one constituent in a single clause is well attested (against the claim of Garrett 1994: 39): nu-šši ziladūwa ša `KUR` URU Hatti laḫḫiyanni 2 ME iyattaru `Henceforth let 200 of his (men) go on a military campaign of the land of Hatti` KBo 4.10 obv. 43–44; 28 pa. zū.ḪLA INA URU Ḫariya Ḫimu- Dingir- lIM (`MARWAŠ =Tiwa-LÜ LIKUŠ, KU,[G]I šumiskanzi `Ḫimili, Maruwa, and Tiwaziti sow twenty-eight measures of barley in Ḫariya` HKM 111:24–27 (MH/MS); ṬUPPA ANNIYAM INA URU Tāwa ANA FANT `Neriqqaili Ḫumu.LUGAL ... Ḫalwaziti LI.DUB.SAR DUMU Ḫi-pakki LŪ URU Ukkiya ELTUR `Ḫalwaziti, the scribe, son of Lupakki of Ukkiya, inscribed this tablet in Tawa in the presence of Prince Neriqqaili ...` BrTabl. iv 30–43.

30.9. Far less frequent than fronting is extraposition, by which a constituent other than a subject or direct object is moved to the right of the finite verb: 5 Ḫantašepu-š harwani gīš-aš `We are holding two Ḫantašepa-deities—of wood` KBo 17.1 i 22; ḫalkin . . . ispiyatarr-aš (Telipinu went away), and he carried off grain . . . and abundance—to the steppe, to the meadow, into the m.` KUB 17.10 i 10–12; DUMU.E.GAL šuppi wātar parā ēpzi LUGAL-i MUNUS.LUGAL-i `The palace official holds out pure water—to the king and queen` KBo 17.1 i 14–15; nu-mu-kan zī-ya dankui daganzipi kattanta pānza apēdani uddāni peran `My soul has gone down into the Dark Netherworld because of that matter` KBo 13.62:10–11. Noun phrases that are in apposition to the subject or direct object may also be extrapoosed, but the latter remain in their regular position: Ḫar. du pāi Ḫalwaziti, the scribe, son of Lupakki of Ukkiya, inscribed this tablet in Tawa in the presence of Prince Neriqqaili . . .` BrTabl. iv 30–43.

30.10. By left-dislocation a subject or object is moved outside its clause to the left. Its extra-clausal position is shown by its appearance before a clause-initial conjunction or another clause-initial constituent to which sentential clitics are attached (see Garrett 1990c: 266–69 and 1994: 38): (Subject) HUR.SAG.MEŠ-aš widār gīš.KIŔ.HLA wēllu nu tuel warīšala-š-teš paišgataru (var. [pa-iš-k]at-ta-ra) n-uš lē šinnu Ḫalwaziti, the scribe, son of Lupakki of Ukkiya, inscribed this tablet in Tawa in the presence of Prince Neriqqaili . . . `As for Ištar, she is my goddess` Ḫatt. iv 74; Ḫu-dum-ḫat-tu-šmi URU.Talmaliyaš nu=za linkiya takšulaš uttar kattan QATAMMA=pat daiēr `As for Piya, Šunupāšši (and) five men with them of Talmaliya, they placed the word of treaty under oath for themselves in the very same way` KBo 8.35 ii 30–31 (MH/MS); (Direct Object) Ḫui-dud-duwa-šuš n-an URU Ṣallašna aṣašer `As for Ḫuidudduwalli, they settled him in Ṣallašna` HKM 113:14–15 (MH/MS); (Indirect Object) 5 ŠEŠ.MEŠ šu nu-šmaš Ế.MEŠ taggašša `As for his five brothers, for them he fashioned houses` KBo 3.1 ii 13 (OH/NS). As the preceding examples illustrate, whenever possible the left-dislocated constituent is resumed by an enclitic pronoun (so-called ‘clitic

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5. See McCone (1979), who does not, however, make the distinction between “extraposition” and “right-dislocation,” referring in general to “amplified sentences.”
doubling’). The last two examples cited appear to show that left-dislocated objects appear in the nominative case, but further study is needed to determine whether this is a regular feature of left-dislocation.

30.11. By right-dislocation either a subject or object is moved outside the clause to the right, following the finite verb (see Garrett 1990c: 252–56). As in the case of left-dislocation, there is “clitic doubling” of subjects of “unaccusative” intransitive verbs and of direct objects. Right-dislocated direct objects appear in the accusative case: [(n-a)n lē šannatti memian ‘Do not conceal it, the matter’ KUB 26.1 iv 14; n-at kutruwēš ašandu 4UTU ŠAME 4UTU URU Arinna ‘Let them be witnesses, the Sungod of Heaven, the Sungoddess of Arinna’ BrTabl. iii 81 (Tudḫ. IV); n-aš šarā t((iyat 4Kù)marbiš ‘He stood up, (did) Kumarbi’ KUB 33.102 ii 17; kuit=war=aš uezzi AN-aš 4UTU-aš [(KUR-e)ax ÔL, SIPA. UDU-aš] ‘Why is he coming—the Sungod, shepherd of the lands?’ KBo 26.58 iv 44–45 (JCS 5:158–59) (with dupl. KUB 33.104 iv 3ʿ–4ʿ). Right-dislocation is especially frequent in translations of Hurrian literature (see McCone 1979: 470), where it is probably used to mirror Hurrian word order,7 but the first two examples cited here show that this usage appears also in native Hittite compositions.8

Deletion Processes

30.12. Hittite shows various types of discourse-conditioned deletion or omission. None has received systematic investigation, and the description here is limited to a few illustrative examples.

Ellipsis

30.13. Ellipsis refers to the omission of any element of a sentence that can be recovered from the context. It may, but need not be, identical to undeleted material. Examples from Hittite: ėšḫar INA KUR URUKU.BABBAR-ti āra n- at UL ‘Is bloodshed in the land of Ḫatti permissible? It is not!’ KUB 14.3 ii 8 (NH); LUGAL-UTTA=wa=mu kā ped-iši pāi mān=wa UL=ma nu=wa UL uuwni ‘Give me the kingship here on the spot! If (you do) not (give me the kingship here on the spot), I will not come!’ KUB 14.3 i 14–15 (Taw.); SIG₃ dān nu-kan anda sud-li ‘Well-being is taken and (is put) into sud’ KUB 5.24 i 21–22 (KIN oracle); see SIG₃ dān nu-kan DINGIR-LIM-ni karpi gar-ri ‘Well-being is taken and is put with the deity’s anger’ KUB 5.24 ii 10–11; takku GUD.MAḤ-aš ħāli kuiški šamanuzzi DIN LUGAL ḫapparranzi ‘If someone dispenses with a bull’s pen (i.e., lets it run free), it is a case for the king; they shall put (the bull) up for sale’ KBo 6.26 ii 21–22 = Laws

6. The clitic doubling is impossible when the left-dislocated element is the subject of a transitive verb: See §18.13 (p. 280).

7. In at least one case where the Hurrian archetype is preserved, the order of constituents is identical (peššiyandu-ya- an alīvanan 1Ô.L.MES SĪDÎTIM ‘Let them, (namely) the hunters, fell it, (namely) the deer’ KBo 32.14 ii 13–14 (StBoT 32:113)). In most cases in the Hittite translations the Hurrian original is unavailable to us.

8. Another example of right-dislocation in a native Hittite composition (in this case with fronting of the verb) is: puḫši-ya-an 4UTU-SI ‘Also protect him, His Majesty’ KBo 5.3 i 16.
§176 (OH/NS) (see LH 220); šarnikzi (šarnikzi) ‘he shall make compensation’" KBo 6.26 i 27 = Laws §163 (OH/NS).

**Gapping**

30.14. Gapping is the deletion of a repeated verb or verb plus other elements from the second and any subsequent clauses in a sequence related by coordination. The phenomenon is known from many languages, both ancient and modern. It is illustrated in English by the following example: “I will be giving some help to mother on Monday, and Bill ⟨⟩ on Tuesday.” In this case the elements gapped are both the verb and its objects (“will be giving some help to mother”). Here are two examples from Hittite: kuptarr-a-kan [gœ̄s.ZA.LAM.GA]r-a[ژ] [katt]a udanzi šēnann-a ⟨gœ̄s.ZA.LAM.GAR-a-z katta udanzi⟩ n=an fo-i [išyun]nanzī ‘The remnants they bring down out of the tent, and the figure ⟨they bring down out of the tent⟩, and they [threw] it into the river’ KUB 12.58 iii 14–16, ed. Goetze 1938: 16–17; nu mān 1.Ü-iš akkanza nu=ššan šelīya anda ša gœ̄sINBI ALAM gušanzi mān MUNUS-za-ma akkan(za) nu=ššan Zuddled šelīya anda ISTU gœ̄sINBI ⟨ALAM gušanzi⟩ ‘And if it is a man who has died, they depict (his) figure out of fruits in a grain pile, but if it is a woman who has died, ⟨they depict (her) figure⟩ with fruits in a pile of wheat’ KUB 30.24 iii 38–41, ed. Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel’tsev 2002: 398–99, 410 (commentary).

**Sentential Clitics**

30.15. Hittite makes widespread use of sentential clitics, which are attached to the first word in a clause (the so-called Wackernagel position). These clitics include: (1) the quotative particle -wa(r)-, (2) the reflexive particle -za, (3) the enclitic personal pronouns, and (4) the local particles -an, -ap(a), -(a)šta, -kan, and -šan. When they co-occur, there is a specific sequence in which they appear (see Laroche 1958: 161, HE §288). This ordering is illustrated below, first by means of a chart showing the “slots” in the sequence and the clitics capable of filling each. Comments on the occupants of each “slot” and various co-occurrence restrictions follow.

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<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
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<th>4</th>
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<td>Accented Word (+ -al-ya)</td>
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30.16. The first column contains the host on which the clitics of slots 1–6 depend. If an accented word through fronting appears in initial position, it may take either of the

9. If one assumes ellipsis of a verb šarnikzi. But one may also assume (with LH 131) an existential sentence ‘compensation (will exist)’, i.e., ‘there will be compensation’.
conjunctions -al-ma or -al-ya followed by the sentential clitics. If the sentence begins with nu, šu, or ta, however, neither -al-ma nor -al-ya can follow. Although -al-ma and -al-ya are enclitics, they are not properly sentential ones. They owe their occasional position before the chain of sentential clitics (slots 1–6) entirely to their dependence on a fronted accented host word. This is not, however, the only position where they may appear (see §29.26, p. 395, and §29.39, p. 400).

30.17. There is one situation, attested in two OH constructions, in which the enclitic conjunction -al-ya ‘and’\textsuperscript{10} follows rather than precedes the third-person singular dative-locative clitic pronoun -še of slot 4. One sees it in the archaic expression parna=šše=šušwayezzi ‘and he shall look to the house for it’ that concludes a number of laws (see LH 292–93) and in the equally archaic expression anda=(š)šše=ya ‘and in addition to it’ in Laws §110 (NH copy d\textsuperscript{11}). Already in OS (Laws §128, copy aa) the expression was altered to anda=ya=šše, and in post-OH to anda=ya=šši (§70, §110, and §128; see LH 78–79, 107 [with n. 346], 116–17, and 201), but no modernized version of the former expression (*parni=ya=šši) is attested.

30.18. Slot 1 contains the quotative particle -wa(r) that indicates direct speech. For more on its form and use see §§28.2ff. (pp. 354ff.).

30.19. Slots 2 to 4 are occupied by the enclitic personal pronouns, for whose form see chapter 5 and for whose use chapter 18. The dative-accusative pronouns of the first- and second-person plural and the dative of the third-person plural appear in Slot 2, the nominative and accusative third-person pronouns in Slot 3, and the dative-accusative pronouns of the first and second singular, as well as the dative pronouns of the third-person singular, occur in Slot 4. The pronouns of Slots 2 and 4 are mutually exclusive and never co-occur. Slot 2 contains the plurals; slot 4 the singulars (Hoffner 1986: 93–94). In late New Hittite the nominative-accusative pronoun of Slot 3 may be repeated after the dative-locative pronouns (so far attested with -ši, -naš, and -š(a)maš) or -za: e.g., na-at-ši-at, na-aš-ši(-ya)-aš, na-an-za-an, na-at-za-at (Goetze 1930b: 19–20; for further examples see HW\textsuperscript{1} I 41b sub -a–2 to which add the rare examples with the plural dative-locative: with -naš in nu-\textsuperscript{nu}war=an=naš=an anzel zi-ni piyâwen KUB 13.4 iv 72–73 (Hoffner 1986: 93–94); with -š(a)maš in nam=ma-at-ša=maša-at-ša-at-kán KUB 27.67 i 36 (with dupl. KBo 53.21 i 8’). The sequence n=an=za=an occurs for the first time in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, written by Muršili II,\textsuperscript{12} although it may have been introduced

\textsuperscript{10} Since in OH the expected form of this expression with -al-ma would have been *parna=šše=ma, it is certain that we are dealing with -al-ya here.

\textsuperscript{11} Although found only in a NH copy, the very strangeness of this form and its exact correspondence to the admittedly OH parna=šše=a guarantee that it is an isolated survival of an OH formation antecedent to anda=ya=šše in Laws §128 in OS copy aa.

\textsuperscript{12} n=an=za=an in ĐŠ frag. 15 F iv 30 and ĐŠ frag. 26 KUB 34.23 ii 8, and ĐŠ frag. 28 A KBo 5.6 iv 6–7 dumu=maša=wa=mu Nugal ša=ya=ma=wa núšan daḫḫi nu=waš=za=an\textsuperscript{14} mutim=ša=ša=ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-ša at-
by the later scribe who recopied the text. This double writing is a late conflation of the two configurations DAT-LOC-PL + Slot 3 and Slot 3 + DAT-LOC-SG. There are exceptional cases (but not many; see Hoffner 1986) where a Slot 2 plural pronoun occurs in Slot 4. For example, LÚ.MEŠŠAGI+ya-at-naš parā+ya=aš=naš piškanzi (text erroneously piškiwani) LÚ.MEŠMUHALDIM-š-at-naš arraškanzi=ya=aš=naš ‘On the one hand, they are our cupbearers, and they give them (-aš, i.e., cups) to us. They are our cooks, and they wash them (-aš, i.e., dishes) for us’ KBo 32.15 ii 27–29 (MH/MS); and tet=war=at-naš iyaweni=war=at ‘Tell it to us! We will do it!’ KUB 12.63 obv. 24 (OH/MS). Again: kuwapit . . . uwatettani n=an=šamaš āppa apiyaku peḫḫi ‘Whither will you escort him, that I should give him back to you there?’ KBo 8.35 ii 6–7 (MH/MS), and n=at=šamaš [егир-an ara|nta ‘(The guards who hold spears) stand behind them’ IBoT 1.36 iii 46 (MH/MS). In all the above cited examples the plural pronoun, whether first-, second-, or third-person, is a dative (never accusative), and all examples are from texts originally composed in the OH or MH periods. On the overall issue see Hoffner 1986: 93–94.

30.20. Slot 5 contains the reflexive particle -za, for which see §28.16ff. (pp. 357ff.). For the late NH repetition of Slot 3 pronominal clitics between Slots 5 and 6 see above in §30.19 (p. 411).

30.21. Slot 6 is occupied by the local particles -an, -ap(a), -(a)šta, -kan, and -šan, on whose use see chapter 28.

Nominal and “To Be” Sentences

30.22. If a clause has as its verb ‘am, is, are, was, were, will be’ (see Cotticelli-Kurras 1992a; 1992b), its predicate will be either (1) a noun or pronoun, (2) adjective, (3) adverb, or (4) adverbial phrase. For example, ‘the king is (1) a warrior, (2) brave, (3) nearby, (4) in the palace.’ When the verb ‘to be’ (ēš-) would appear in the present tense, it is often omitted, producing so-called nominal sentences (see §22.3, p. 306).

30.23. Adjective predicates of ‘to be’ sentences (2) agree with the subject in number (singular, plural), gender (common or neuter), and case (nominative) (see above in chapter 15).

30.24. Noun, pronoun, and numeral (the cited 1-edaz 1-edaz) predicates can be any number or gender and any case except accusative, ergative, allative, or instrumental. Examples of ‘to be’ or nominal sentences with predicates in various cases: nu=wa=za ša 1-EN ḨALISI LUGAL-ūš ‘I am king (nom.) of one fortress’ KUB 1.7 iii 38 (Ḫatt.); šumeš=ašši=kan takšulaš ‘but you are at peace (lit., of peace) with him’ KUB 26.40:98 (MH/MS) (gen.); ki=ma tuel ēštu ‘let this be yours (gen.)’ KBo 7.28 + KBo 8.92 17,

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KUB 31.115 11 (OH/NS), and namma=aš=za=an in KUB 23.11 iii 14 (MH/NS). But none of these is in OS or even MS; they are NH copies, subject to the same modernizing that we see in KBo 6.3 of Laws §23, where the OH copy is extant.
etc. (OH/MS); n栀 Interpretation ‘it (scil., an irrigation ditch and its flow) is his (gen.)’ Laws §162 (OH/NS); tuqq⸗a úl kuiški ëšzi ‘also to you is nothing’ = ‘you also have nothing’ KUB 21.38 obv. 16 (dat.), žr. meš⸗wa⸗kan anše kuiškii INAmerica INUr _MT.MURMU.ɪgɪ ṣer ‘What army (was) up in Murmuriga (d.-l.)’ KBo 5.6 ii 24 (NH); kī⸗ma awaṭe Mes. ūl kuiš[ki] 1-ēdağ 1-ēdağ ištu kur ṫṛṭṭu ‘These matters (i.e., treaty regulations) (are) by no means reciprocal (lit., from [this] one, from [that] one (abl.)); they are (solely) from the land of Ḫatti (abl.)’ KUB 21.1+ iii 76–77 (Murš. II).

30.25. Sentences where the verb ‘to be’ predicates the existence of the subject may consist merely of the subject and the verb, but the verb may take a complement: mān nūmūn dumu:nita⸗ma ūl ëšzi ‘but if there is no male progeny’ KBo 4.10 obv. 12; ūrū bāḏ ekir-pa appannaš āṣru nu giól kuiškii ëšta ‘there was no fortified city, no place of retreat’ KBo 5.8 ii 24–25; ninda.kur⸗ra paršiyawanzi nu giól ‘there are no fortresses for breaking’ KUB 12.12 v 32. The verb ‘to be’ may be omitted in the present tense: ūl guḍ–uṣ ūl ⸗ma⸗wa udu–uṣ ‘there were no cattle, there were no sheep’ (historical present) KUB 36.51 obv. 7 (OH/NS); ūrū–ašt ūm–a–šet ṫṛṭṭu Šudul . . . nu–kan ṣer lū–ašt =Appu ūm–a–šet ‘There was a city, its name was Šudul . . . and there was a man up there, his name was Appu’ KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 i 7–10.14

30.26. The adverb kāša/kāšma may be employed (always clause-initial), if it is intended to convey the notion that the equation of subject and predicate has just taken effect (performative use; see §7.21, p. 148; §22.15, p. 309; §§24.27–24.30, pp. 323–324) or that the situation described is presented vividly: nu–za kāša śumeš lu giól. fête ḫūman kūš ṭā ṭā ṭā ‘All you men of Išmirika are hereby (men) of his oath (gen.) with respect to His Majesty’ KUB 23.68 + ABoT 58 rev. 7 (MH/NS); kāša–za ṫṛṭṭu Ḫattuṣi maḥar lō.mesapsulation tapṭi⸗ni ‘I am now in Ḫattuṣa in the company of our colleagues’ (d.-l.) HKM 36 left edge 3 (MH/MS).

30.27. If the subject is either first- or second-person (‘I’, ‘we’, ‘you’), the reflexive particle -za (§§28.16ff., pp. 357ff.) must be employed in Middle and New Hittite (see examples in the previous paragraph and §§28.32ff., pp. 362ff.). The particle is not used in this function in Old Hittite.

30.28. It is normal for the subject to precede the predicate, whether that predicate be a noun, accented pronoun, adjective, or adverb(-phrase): see the examples in §30.24 (p. 412). For an example of a predicate adjective see kī⸗ma uttar nakki ‘This matter, however, is important’ KUB 7.1 iii 27. However, nominal sentences and those with ‘to be’ are subject to the same movement rules as other clauses (see §§30.4ff., pp. 406ff.): (fronting) ammel kāš–pat 1–aš dammeš[i]aš ‘Mine is only this one punishment’ KBo 4.8 ii 12–13; kā–ya ina 𒅵š KUḪUḪA MEŠ SİG₁ in ‘also here in your house all is well’ HKM 2 left

13. There is disagreement on the reading of the first sign: as kī or silim. See Singer 2002b: 27 n. 2.
14. It seems more likely to take ūrū–ašt as nominative as understood here and translated by Hoffner (1998b: 83 §2; likewise Siegelová 1971: 5), although it is also possible to take it as genitive in a split genitive construction: ‘the city’s name was Šudul’ (for which see §16.38, p. 251).
edge 1–2 (MH/MS); (left-dislocation) *IŠTAR DINGIR-LIM=as=mu* ‘(As for) IŠTAR, she is my goddess’. Examples of right-dislocation appear to be limited to accented pronominal subjects. In the following example the first and last clauses show right-dislocation and fronting, the second merely fronting: *parkuš=as apas mišriwanza apas ħarkiš=as apas* ‘She is pure, that one. Lovely is that one. She is white, that one’ KBo 4.6 obv. 13–14. The only example with a right-dislocated noun subject (also with fronting of the predicate adjective) is from a translation of a Hurrian sentence and may only mirror Hurrian word order (§30.11, p. 409): *daššuš=war=as ħalluwazi* ‘strong is it, the strife’ KUB 33.96 iv 10’ (Ullik. I).

30.29. Old Hittite appears to show a different pattern in nominal sentences with accented pronominal subjects, where the regular word order is predicate + subject: *UL DUMU=ya apas* KUB 1.16 ii 14 (OH/NS), (but *natta=as DUMU=ya* is also permitted); *maršanaza=wa zik* ‘you are treacherous’; *kinun=wa=kan arha namma le nelyanza zik* ‘Now do not any longer be turned away!’ KBo 20.82 ii 18–19 (pre-NH); *ḥandanza maniya|h|ṣayaš iṣhāš zik[k] ‘you are a just lord of government’ KUB 31.127+ i 20 (OH/NS); *dankuwayaš kur-e(aš) aṭaš annaš zik[k] ‘you are father and mother of the dark land(s)’ KUB 31.127+ i 21 (OH/NS); *ḥannešnaš iṣhāš zik ‘you are a lord of judgment’ KUB 31.127+ i 24 (OH/NS).15 See further examples in §26.4 (p. 342), §28.36 (p. 363), and §28.41 (p. 364). On this as a characteristic of OH see Hoffner 1987: 280, 285. The reverse sequence (accented personal pronoun subject followed by the predicate) is found when there are two virtually identical adjacent clauses with contrasted pronoun subjects: *zikke=a=wa gis-tukul apašš=a gis-tukul* ‘both you are a TUKUL-man, and he is a TUKUL-man’ KBo 22.1:20 (OS); *attaš=miš ēš ug=a DUMU=as=tiš ēšlit ‘(You) be my father, and I shall be your son’ KUB 26.35:6 (OS); *takku gud šaudišza natta g[UD-MAH]-as . . . takku gud ġušušza apaš gud.MAH-as* ‘If it is an unweaned calf, it is not a bull . . . (but) if it is a two-year-old bovine, that (contrastive!) is a bull’ KBo 6.2 ii 23–24 (OS).

30.30. In nominal sentences with non-referential subjects the third-person clitic subject pronoun is usually omitted, and if no conjunction is used, the result is sometimes a one-word nominative case predicate (§18.17, p. 282; and §30.13, p. 409).

Dependent Clauses

30.31. Most Hittite dependent clauses are formally marked by various subordinating conjunctions, never by word order or verbal mood (as in English ‘Were I rich . . .’ or German ‘Wäre ich . . .’). For occasional unmarked conditional clauses see §30.56 (p. 423). Sentences may be composed either of one or more coordinate independent clauses, or by the combination of one or more dependent clauses and an independent one. The apodosis can be implied but unexpressed, such as ‘may the gods destroy me/
us/you/him/them’ (see CHD mān 7e). Example: našma=kan mān 4UTU-ŠI kuedani anda idālu šīltamašṭi n=at=mu=kan mān šannatti n=at=mu ūl mematti apūnn=š=mu antuḫšan ūl tekkuššamuši n=an anda imma munnaši ‘Or if you hear evil about My Majesty from someone, (if) you keep it from me and don’t tell me and do not reveal that person to me and even hide him, (implied: the gods will punish you)’ KBo 5.3 i 27–30 (MH/NS). Since this type of suppressed apodosis is confined to divine punishments, it is likely that the suppression was prompted by a fear of mentioning the punishments. See HKM 34:13–17 (HBM, pp. 180–83) and CHD L–N mān 7e2’ for further examples.

30.32. In the terminology of traditional grammar one can identify the following types of dependent clauses in Hittite: (1) temporal (‘when’, ‘while’, or ‘until’), (2) causal (‘because’), (3) concessive (‘although’), (4) conditional (‘if’), (5) relative (‘who’ or ‘which’), (6) indirect statements or questions (‘that’, ‘how’, or ‘whether’).

30.33. The manner of constructing such clause types varies over time in the Hittite textual record. The details have not yet been worked out for many of these syntactic structures.

30.34. Each of the six types of dependent clause mentioned above in §30.32 is marked by a characteristic subordinating conjunction. The following table summarizes the Hittite subordinating conjunctions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Old Hittite</th>
<th>New Hittite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. temporal ‘when; until’</td>
<td>mān; kuṭman</td>
<td>māḫḫan, kuwapi; kuṭman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. causal ‘because’</td>
<td>kuṭ</td>
<td>kuṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. concessive ‘although’</td>
<td>mān</td>
<td>mān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. conditional ‘if’</td>
<td>takku, (rarely mān)</td>
<td>mān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. relative ‘who’, ‘which’</td>
<td>kui-</td>
<td>kui-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. indirect statement ‘that’</td>
<td>kui-</td>
<td>kui-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A seventh type frequently found in other languages, namely final or result clause, is not a dependent clause in Hittite, but rather a coordinate independent one (HE §322), or the same meaning is conveyed by means of an infinitive (see §§25.10–25.36, pp. 332–338). Compare the following example: n=aš ūl tarmahjun n=an=kan ūl kuenna ‘I did not allow them; and they did not kill him’ > ‘I did not allow that they should kill him’ KBo 6.29 ii 27–28. Or this example from the laws: [takku lū-a’n našma munus-an ELLAM walḫzi kuši[k]i n=aš aki ‘[If] someone strikes a free [man] or woman, so that he dies’ KBo 6.3 i 6 (Laws §3, OH/NS). The suggestion of Stefanini (1988: 255), followed by Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani (1990: 50 n. 8) and García Trabazo (2002: 85 n. 26), that in KBo 3.7 i 6–7 one should assume a use of mān introducing a dependent clause to express purpose seems unlikely, because no other example of this alleged use has ever been found.
30.35. A complex sentence containing a preposed subordinate clause can itself naturally be linked to its preceding context by the connective *nu: nu ABU=YA mahḥan nannai nu-kan edani pangawi LÚ.KÛR 1-anki-pat anda ḫandaizzi* ‘And as my father was driving, he encountered that whole enemy all at once’ KBo 40.293 + KBo 14.3 (DŠ frag. 15 F) iv 28–31; or by the more contrastive -ma: *namma=aš EGR-PA gimmandari= yà[(uwanz)]i URRḪatušši uet mahḥan=ma=za-ka[n (EZEŅ, MU.KAM-TI)] karpta n=aš INA KUR URRḪiašara pait* ‘Then he came back home to Hattuša to spend the winter; but when he had finished the annual festival, he went to Išṭaḫara’ KBo 5.6 (DŠ frag. 28 A) i 40–42.

**Temporal Clauses**

30.36. **Temporal** clauses in Old Hittite (OH) are frequently marked by *mān* ‘when’, which in OH was only beginning to gain the secondary meaning ‘if’ that it acquired in NH (see CHD mān, and see §§30.47ff., pp. 419ff.). Post clause-initial *kuwapi* ‘when’ first appears post-OH. But since in OH *mān* had uses other than ‘when’ — for example, postpositional ‘like’, ‘just as’, interrogative ‘how?’, and indirect question ‘whether’ (CHD mān mngs. 1–4), the temporal use ‘when’ was marked by a consistent fronted position in the clause. Many examples can be found in the CHD mān article sub mng. 5. Here we cite only a few examples: *mān DUMU.MEŠ URRḪatti LÚ.MEŠ ILKI uēr † ANA ABI LUGAL aruwa[nzi] nu taršikanzi* ‘when Hittite men subject to ILKU-tax came, they did reverence to the father of the king and said’ KBo 6.2 + KBo 22.62 iii 16–17 (Laws §55, OS); *mān URRḪama[rmar] arer nu taršikanzi* ‘when they arrived at Tamarmara, they said’ KBo 22.2 obv. 8 (OS); *mān-šaššaš ma nu=za DUMU.MUNUS 4Ḫuluyankaš DAM-anni daš* ‘when he grew up, he took the daughter of the serpent as his wife’ KBo 3.7 iii 6–8 (OH/NS).

30.37. Other **temporal** clauses meaning ‘while’ or ‘until’ are marked by *kuitman* (see §19.6, p. 290; §26.12, p. 343; §30.34, p. 415; and §24.3, p. 317). ‘Until’ clauses follow the main clause asyndetically: *nu ḫi=rišši anniškezzi † kuitmān=aš lazziatta* ‘and he shall work on his estate until (the injured man) recovers’ KBo 6.2 i 17–18 (Laws §10, OS); see also KBo 6.3 iv 6–8 (Laws §79, OH/NS). ‘While’ clauses usually precede the main clause. They are connected to what precedes by *nu* or another conjunction, unless they are the first sentence in a discourse (see §29.4, p. 390; see HKM 10:24–28 cited below for an example beginning a discourse). Although the following main clause is usually asyndetic (e.g., *nu=za kuitman nōwa TUR-aš ešun † ša KUS.KA.TAB.ANŠ=E=za ešun* ‘While I was still a child, I was a bridle-holder’ KUB 1.2 i 11 = Ḫatt. i 12), it is sometimes introduced by *nu* or other conjunction (~a in HKM 10:24:24–28 below): *nu kuitman ABU=YA INA KUR URRḪittanni ešṭa nu LÚ.KÛR † URRḪAruwannaš kišš KUR URRḪiššiyā GUL-anneškit n=at mekki tamaššan ḫarta* ‘and while my father was in the land of Mittanni, the Arawannean enemy, who was attacking the land of Kiššiya, had greatly oppressed it’ KBo 3.4 iii 47–49 (AM); *kuitman=wa=mu 4_UTU-ši ki ša LÚ.MEŠ URRḪaška takšušaš*

16. Present tense verbs here describe past acts; see §22.6 (p. 307).
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Clauses  30.39

utter ḫatrāši ammuq⸗a=wa memian ina kur URU Išḫupitta ḫuškemi ‘While you, Your Majesty, send me this word about making peace with the Kaška people, I am awaiting word in the country of Išḫupitta’ HKM 10:24–28 (MH/MS); parā⸗ma MU.KAM.HIA-

aš kuitman šeš=ya mNIR.GAL-iš ina kur URU Ḥatti āšta nu kur URU GašgaḫI.ḪA ḫumanteš kururiyah河水 ‘But further, in the years while my brother Muwattalli was in the land of Ḥatti, all the Kaskean lands become hostile’ Ḫatt. ii 16–18; kuitman in copies B and E, kuedaš in copy A). Several kuitman ‘until’ clauses in a row are asyndetic, when they are synonymous, merely expressing the same idea in different terms (see LH 167–68):

‘This official will remain where he is’ kuitman⸗aš uezzi kuitman⸗aš apiya ḫe⸗pa uezzi ‘until (the person whose safety is guaranteed) comes (to me) and returns there’ KUB 14.3 ii 71–72 (= Sommer 1932 ii 72–73, NH); on apiya here see §7.18, p. 147). ‘Before’ is expressed by kuitman . . . nawi (see §26.12, p. 343). In a few cases kuitman occurs in main clauses with a meaning something like ‘in the meantime’: (If someone whispers to you ‘His Majesty is plotting thus and so against you’)

zik⸗[m] a apūn memiyan ḫatrāi ḫatrāi ‘In the meantime write of that matter to His Majesty’ KBo 5.4 obv. 29–30 (Murš. II).

30.38. The regular ‘when’ word in NH is mahḫan (also written gim-an). It usually appears clause-initially but may also be preceded by nu (with any clitics) or by a fronted constituent (see examples below). The most common pattern is temporal clause followed by a nu-introduced main clause: mahḫan=ma ABI ABI=YA apēz eGIR-{pa u}et n=aš ina kur URU Ḥayaša pait ‘But when my grandfather came back from there, he went to the land of Ḥayaša’ KUB 19.11 iv 40–42 (DŠ); [nu=kan] mahḫan ABI=YA ŚA KUR-TI āraš [nu=kan] L.U.KUR URU Gašga kuiš ina ŚA KUR URU Ḥatti uwanza āšta nu kur-e mekki idalawaḫta ‘[And] when my father arrived in the land, the enemy Kaškaean who had come into the land of Ḥatti had greatly ravaged the land’ KBo 14.3 iii 12–14 (DŠ); mahḫan=ma URU.DIDLI.HIA wetummanzi zinništ n=as URU Almina andan pait ‘But when he finished fortifying (lit., building) the cities, he went to Almina’ KBo 5.6 i 5–7 (DŠ); mahḫan=ma ḫamešḫanza kišat ‘But when it became spring’ KUB 14.15 i 23; with several ‘when’ clauses in a row: 4UTU-ŠT=ma mahlḫan iyahbat nu mahlḫan ANA URU Šallapa [arḫu]n ‘But when I was marching, and when I [reached] Šallapa’ KUB 14.15 ii 7 (AM).

30.39. In New Hittite one also finds temporal use of kuwapi in the “second” (Wackernagel) position as ‘when’ (§19.6, p. 290): apeneššuwantan=ma memian kuwapi [(išša= mašti)] nu=za=kan memiyani (var. memiyanni) šer lē k[(aruššiyašši)] ‘But when you hear of such a matter, do not be silent about the matter’ KUB 21.1 + KUB 19.6 + KBo 19.73 + KBo 19.73a ii 82–83 (Alaš.).; ABI=YA kuwapi =Ḫattušiliš ANA =Urḫiteššupaš DUMU =Muwattalli menaḫḫanda kururiḫaṇa n=an LUGAL-eznani arḫa titaḫtu ‘When my father Ḥattušili became hostile towards Urḫiteššub, son of Muwattalli, and he removed him from the kingship’ BrTabl. i 6–8; nu ṭUPPU ṭIKLI ḫuwapi īr apūn=ma=za MUNUS-an =LAMMA-š ANA PANI ABI=YA datta=pat nawi ‘And when they made the treaty tablet, Kurunta had not yet taken (in marriage) that woman in the presence of my father’ BrTabl. ii 86–87; anda=ma=kan UDU-un kuwāpi kuewēn nu linkiya kattan kīššan dāwen ‘But in
addition when we had killed a sheep (as part of the treaty-making ceremony), we placed the following obligations (lit., placed as follows) under oath’ KBo 16.47:15–16 (treaty); see §25.15 (p. 333) for KBo 15.60 vi 3–11.

30.40. Instead of a single temporal adverb, a form of the relative kui- modifying a noun of time (hour, day, year, night, time) may occur: kāša⸗kan kī tuppi kuedani UD-iti parā neḫḫun n⸗ašta ėr[N].MEŠ KUR UGU apēdani UD-iti arḫa ḫuittiyunun n⸗mu⸗ššan ziqq⸗a KARAŠ-pat ḫūdāk arnut ‘On that day I have dispatched this tablet, on that day I have drawn forth troops of the Upper Land, and you too must promptly bring troops to me’ HKM 71:24–31 (MH/MS); n⸗ašta ANA LŪ.MEŠ KUB Paḫḫuwa kuedani UD-iti kururaš memian anda ištamašteni nu apēdani [UD-iti] ārten ‘On what day you hear a word of hostility among the men of Paḫḫuwa, on that [day] get there, (and strike Paḫḫuwa!)’ KUB 23.72 + rev. 27–28; n⸗ašṭa n⸗ašṭa URU Paḫḫuwa kuedani mēḫuni ārḫun ḫūdāk arnut ‘On what(ever) time (an angry deity) seizes, he doesn’t ever let go’ KUB 13.4 ii 23–24; nu ‘stn-aš kueda[ni] GE₄-ti šakiyazi nu apēdani GE₄-ti ĚL kuiti ienzi ‘And on what night the Moon gives a sign, on that night they do nothing (i.e., all normal activities are suspended)’ KUB 17.28 iii 21–23.

Causal Clauses

30.41. Causal clauses regularly precede the main clause and contain the word kuit ‘because’ in the “second” position (HE §323). In a sequence of two consecutive causal clauses, kuit is optional in the second clause (§30.73, p. 428).

30.42. In “second” (Wackernagel) position: KUR Kizzuwatna⸗ya kuit ḫantezziš aurīš ‘And because the land of Kizzuwatna is the first border watch point’ HKM 74:12–14 (MH/MS); nu⸗mu inṣṭar GAŠAN⸗ya kuit kaniššan ḫarta ŞEŠ⸗ya⸗ya⸗nu⸗mu Ɱ[N.R.GAL dāšu ḫarta ‘Because Ḫentar, my lady, had honored me, and my brother Muwatalli held me in favor’ KUB 1.11 i 28–30 (Hatt. III); nu⸗za 4Upelluriš kuit GE₄-yaš KI-aš KI.BAD-aš nu⸗za aši nu⸗tariyan DINGIR-LIM-in ĚL šakī ‘Is it because you are remote from (see §16.49, p. 254) the Dark Earth, O Upelluri, that you do not know that upstart deity?’ KUB 33.106 iii 38–39 (Ullik. III); KUR-e⸗ma ḫuūman kuit iSTU LŪ.KÛR [dann(attachgan)] ēšta ‘Because the whole land had been depopulated by the enemy’ KUB 19.11 iv 12–13 (DŠ); and URRU Gašgaš⸗ma ḫuūmanza kuit takšūl ēšta ‘Because the entire Kaška (group) was at peace (with us)’ KBo 5.6 i 14 (DŠ).

30.43. Later than the “second” position: ẑalkiš⸗ma⸗⟨šm⟩aš apiya aniyanza kuit nu EGR-AN tiyatten n⸗an anda ēpṭen n⸗an⸗kan ĖSAG-ḫi anda išḫūitten ‘because grain has been sown for you there (see §7.18, p. 147), get behind (the matter): gather it in and store it in a storage pit!’ HKM 18 left edge 2–5 (MH/MS); z[i]q⸗a⸗za Ḫuīlliš (37) [M]A⸗[ʕ]AR ḪU-ŠI kuit ēšta ‘But because you, Ḫuilli, were with His Majesty’ HKM 55:36–37 (MH/MS); KUR URRU Nerigga⸗ma⸗Z LŪ.MEŠ URRU Gašga kuit dān ḫarkanzi ‘But
because the Kaška-men have taken for themselves the land of Nerik’ KUB 17.21 iv 6–7 (MH/MS).

30.44. Note that in the first example cited in §30.43 kuit is preceded by three constituents (subject ḫalkiš, adverb apiya, and predicative participle aniyanza). The following example appears to show four constituents before kuit: ammu₇₃ ma luₗ₇₃ gₗ₇₃ u₇₃ t₃₇₃ ᵐ₇₃ ᵇ₇₃ ishtar gₜ₇₃ an₇₃ nisran = pat kuit memišket ‘But because ḪSTAR, My Lady, had previously promised me the kingship . . . ’ Ḫatt. iv 7–8.

30.45. Either the causal clause or its result clause or both may be asyndetic, but in NH usually both are introduced by nu: nu₇₃ = mu₇₃ ᵇ₇₃ ishtar gₜ₇₃ an₇₃ nisran = pat ka₇₃ nisran = y₇₃ ‘Because ḪSTAR, my lady, had recognized me, and my brother Muwatalli held me in favor, when (mean-spirited) men saw the recognition of ḪSTAR and the favor of my brother, (nu) they envied me’ KUB 1.1 i 28–32 (Ḫatt. III); n₇₃ = aš katta asanna kuit sixṣ₃₃ – at n₇₃ = an katta aša₇₃ Ḧun ‘And because she (i.e., the Tawananna) was indicated by oracle to be removed (from her office) (lit., made to sit lower), I removed her’ KBo 4.12 i 24–26; [nu] = za mān ḫal- ḫal- mu₇₃ = ḫal- t₃₇₃ ḫal- ā₇₃ ma₇₃ = ḫal- t₃₇₃ ḫal- ‘Although Urḫi-Teššup was hostile toward me, yet I was not silent’ KBo 4.12 i 24–26; [nu] = za mān ḫal- ḫal- mu₇₃ = ḫal- t₃₇₃ ḫal- ‘Although you were sickly, nevertheless (-ma . . . -pat) I, My Majesty, installed you in the place of your father’ KBo 5.9 i 16–18. When the causal clause follows the main clause, it is introduced asyndetically: ana pani š₇₃ = [ka₇₃] = wa₇₃ = du₇₃ ši₇₃ ḫetta † ḫul₃₇₃ – nat₃₇₃ = wa₇₃ kuit pa₇₃ ‘Are you rejoicing because you have swallowed my “manhood”?’ KUB 33.120 i 28–29 (myth, MH/NS).

Concessive Clauses

30.46. Concessive clauses (‘although’, ‘even if’) can be introduced with mā₇₃ . . . -(y)a or man mā₇₃ . . . -(y)a ‘even if’:Urḫi₃₇₃ = ḫal- mu₇₃ = ḫal- ḫal- lu₇₃₃ = ḫal- ā₇₃ ḫal- ‘But although Urḫi-Teššup was hostile toward me, yet I was not silent’ KBo 4.12 i 24–26; [nu] = za mān ḫal- ḫal- mu₇₃ = ḫal- t₃₇₃ ḫal- ‘Although you were sickly, nevertheless (-ma . . . -pat) I, My Majesty, installed you in the place of your father’ KBo 5.9 i 16–18. When the apodosis expresses a hypothetical situation, both protasis and apodosis are introduced by potential man (‘irrealis’): man₇₃ = ḫul₃₃ ḫal- mana₇₃ ḫal- ḫal- ‘Even if you had been in no way a party to the crime, couldn’t they have taken away from you the house of your father and your land and given it to someone else?’ KBo 5.13 i 19–20 (see CHD man b 2’ [p. 142]); see man₇₃ = mu₇₃ m₇₃ k₇₃ k₇₃ ḫal- mana₇₃ ḫal- t₃₇₃ ḫal- ‘Even if the roads before me had been impassable, I would still (-pat) have ascended Mt. Ḫḫšina’ KUB 19.37 iii 51–53 (AM 176–179.).

Conditional Clauses

30.47. A conditional clause expresses the premise that must hold if the action or state of the main clause is to be fulfilled. Conditions may be fulfillable or non-fulfillable.
Simple fulfillable conditions may refer to past, present, or future time. Contrary-to-fact conditions are based on a premise that is known to be false and are thus unfulfillable. Simple conditions are introduced either by takku (in Old Hittite) or mān (in post-Old Hittite), both meaning ‘if’ (see §30.48 on the diachrony). Contrary-to-fact conditional clauses (CHD man b 2’) are introduced by the potential particle man (usually written ma-an or ma-n”) and mān ‘if’. Often these two words are blended as ma-am-ma-a-an (from *man+mān).

30.48. Preliminary study indicates that in the case of conditional sentences the manner of connecting dependent ‘if’ clause (protasis) with result clause (apodosis) was significantly altered between Old and New Hittite. But even in OH the method seems to have varied. In the OH Hittite laws and elsewhere the protasis was introduced by takku ‘if’, and the apodosis followed without introductory conjunctive particle (Friedrich 1959: 88; LH 12). That is, the main clause was joined asyndetically to the preceding dependent clause. This type is also found in other passages in OH/MS and OH/NS texts (e.g., takku ḫ. ṣam-um-man (see §1.118, p. 43) ištarna šūm-š(UNU) kuiški tezzi † ḫ. r =miš le ‘If among my servants someone speaks their name, † let him not be my servant’ KBo 3.27 obv. 10–11, see also KBo 3.28:12, VBoT 58 i 40–41). These include OH/NS omen texts showing the sequence of takku . . . (asyndeton) . . . ’ (e.g., takku=za Ḫ. ḫ. ᵚ⁻šišna tar-tan kiša † apedani UN-ši kallarešzi ‘If the kidney (in extispicy) resembles (lit., becomes) a sheep’s tetan, † it will be unlucky for that person’ KUB 4.1 iv 29). In post-OH the ‘if’ word changed to mān, but the asyndetic introduction of the apodosis remained in isolated examples in MH/MS and even in NH: mān ḫ. ᵚ⁻šišna ṫuwaši ḫar (a) kši ‘But if not (i.e., if you do not bring the prisoners), you will surely die’ (see §24.31ff., pp. 324ff.) HKM 35:8–9 (MH/MS), mān=at [i]yazi † lē=at kuiški šakki ‘If he does it, let no one know it’ KUB 21.17 iii 31–32 (Hatt. III). In some Old Hittite rituals, however, a different pattern is found: the conditional clause is introduced by mān or takku, and the apodosis by nu (so Otten and Souček 1969: 91–92). In MH and NH compositions (not copies of OH texts made by post-OH scribes), on the other hand, nu almost always introduced the apodosis following a protasis containing mān ‘if’.

Simple Conditions

30.49. By far the most common type of conditional clause in Hittite is the simple future (open or fulfillable) condition, attested especially in the Laws, in omen texts, in instructions, and in treaties. In Old Hittite: takku ḫ. ᵚ. ᵗ. ᱖-našma MUNUS-aš takiya URU-ri aki † kuel=aš arḫi aki † 1 ME ḫ. ᵗ. ᵗ. gi₃e₃e₃šar AŠ kar(a)ššiyezzi n=an=za ᵗ₄₄

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17. Conditions may also be either particular (‘If the king sends/will send 1,000 troops, we will defeat the enemy’) or general (‘If anyone violates/shall violate the oath, he will die’), but this distinction does not appear to be relevant for Hittite grammar.

18. takku šumeš natta šakteni † kāni ¹šu. ᵗ. e₃e₃-a NU.GAL nu-našma memai AWAT ABI=YA ‘If you do not know, is there here not even an old man, that he may tell you the word of my father?’ KBo 22.1 5–6 (OS).

19. Many of the above observations on asyndesis in Hittite texts were made by Hoffner (1996c).
'If a person, man or woman, is ever/shall be killed in another(?i) city, (the victim's heir) shall deduct three acres from the land of the person on whose property the person was killed and shall take it for himself' KBo 6.2 i 7–8 (Laws §6, OS); note that the apodoses clauses contain present-future tense verbs (kar(a)ššiezzi and dāi) and are introduced asyndetically and by nu.

30.50. Other examples from OH texts copied by NH scribes (OH/NS): takku DUMU. LUGAL. ḫantezzi NSS. GÁL nu kuš tin ṭēdać DUMU-RU nu LUGAL-uš apāš kišaru ‘If there shall not be a first-rank prince, then let a prince of second rank become king’ KBo 3.1 ii 36–38 (OH/NS); takku DUMU.LUGAL=ma waštai nu SAG.DU-azpat šarnikdu ‘If a prince ‘sins’ (i.e., attempts homicide), let him pay only with his own person (not with those of his extended family)’ KBo 3.1 ii 55–56 (OH/NS); takku MUNUS-[za h]āši nu annazepat ša-az [a]ša arḥa ḫāši nu memai † 多元化 kur-e zāḥi ‘If a woman gives birth, and right from the mother’s womb it (the infant) opens its mouth and speaks, the Stormgod will strike the land’ KBo 6.25+13.35 iii 5–7 (birth omen).

30.51. Simple future conditions with mān ‘if’: mān INA UD.12.KAM 多元化 aš aki † KUR-e anda BURU, arāi ‘If the Moongod ever dies (i.e., is eclipsed) on the twelfth day, a swarm of locusts will arise in the land’ KUB 8.1 iii 3 (lunar omen); mān=wa [LŪ] sun pl. Aṣṣur uezzi nu=war=an zaḥ[ḥi]ytten ‘If the Assyrian comes, fight him’ KUB 14.16 i 16 (AM 26–27); mān=war=ān ĠU=ma ēptēni nu=war=an=mu parā ĠU pešēni nu=wa uwami nu=wa=šmaš QADU KUR*KUNU arḥa ḫarnikmi ‘If you do not seize him (the fugitive) and do not give him over to me, I will come and destroy you together with your country’ KBo 5.13 i 7–9 (Treaty with Kupanta-Kurunta). Here, as often, the force of mān ‘if’ carries over into an additional protasis introduced by nu.

30.52. Hittite also has the equivalent of what are traditionally termed “less vivid” future conditions, marked with man to express greater uncertainty. Compare the Greek construction with optatives in both protasis and apodosis and the irrealis particle ēv in the apodosis (Goodwin 1965: 301 §1408). With man in both the protasis and apodosis (for the omission of ‘if’ see §30.56, p. 423): man=kan 多元化 UTU-ŠI BELI=YA BELU kuinki parā naitti man KUR-I LŪ.KUR ĠU dammišhaizzi ‘(If) you, Your Majesty, were to send a lord (to lead an army), the enemy would not oppress the land’ HKM 46:15–17 (MH/MS).

By his use of the irrealis man particle the speaker is not excluding the possibility of the king’s sending an army; instead he appears to be making a greater concession to the king’s freedom to choose: ‘If you were to send . . . , this would be helpful, but you may have good reasons for not doing so’. With the first man-irrealis written plene (see CHD man b 2’ c’): mān=wa=mu 1-an DUMU-ka paišti man=war=aš=mu [LŪ] MUIT=YA kišari ‘If you were to give me one of your sons, he would become my husband’ KBo 5.6 iii 12–13 (DŠ).

20. We cannot accept Puhvel’s interpretation of this example as an optative ‘If you give me a son of yours, may he become my husband!’ (HED M 37). Indeed we explicitly deny his claim that ‘there is insufficient evidence to sustain a ‘potential’ category with man and present tense . . . or a ‘subject-optative’ . . .
Examples of a simple present condition: *nuššan mān ḫalkiēš aranteš n=aż= kan arḫa wasṭan* ‘If the crops are ripe, harvest them!’ HKM 25 15–17 (MH/MS); *n=aż mān karū pānza* ‘If he is/has already gone . . .’ HKM 66 23–24 (MH/MS); ‘(Does my brother then have nothing?)’ *mān ana dumu ʾUTU našma dumu ʿUL kuški ešzi našma aruni ʿUL ešzi tuqqa ʿUL kuški ešzi* ‘If the son of the Sungod or the son of the Stormgod has nothing, or the sea has nothing, (then) you also have nothing!’ KUB 21.38 obv. 15–16 (Letter of Puduḫepa to Ramses II). For an additional OH example see p. 420, n. 18. An example of a simple past condition is: *NIN-DAnza wemiyanyun n=aż=aza AḪITU=YA natta kuwapikki edun wāt̿ar=ma=z weminya(nun) n=atz AḪITU=YA ʿUL kuwapikki ekun* ‘(if ever) I found bread, I did not eat it secretly; (if ever) I found water, I did not drink it secretly’ KUB 30.10 obv. 16–17. The following example of a simple past condition employs the “historical present” (see §22.6, p. 307): *mān=mu ʾištarakzi kuwapi nu=in kan ʾirmalat=pat ša ʾINGIR-ŠIMḪANANDATAR šer uškenun* ‘If I ever became ill, even (while) ill I experienced the divine power of the deity’ Ḫatt. i 44–45.

Contrary-to-Fact Conditions

Unfulfillable (contrary-to-fact) conditions or undesirable future situations (§23.15, p. 316) are marked with *man* or *mān + man* in the protasis and *man* in the apodosis. One attested example of a present contrary-to-fact condition shows a pret erite tense verb in the first protasis, but present tense in the second protasis and in the apodosis: *mām=man (= mān man) dandukišnaš-aš uktūri ḫuišwanza ešta man=ašta mān antuwahḫaš idāluwa inan arta man=at=cı natta kattawatar* ‘If a mortal were to live forever, and the evil sickness of man were to remain (lit., stand), would that not be a grievance for him?’ KUB 30.10 obv. 22–23. Another has a preterite verb in the protasis and the first two clauses of the apodosis, but present verbs in the last two clauses of the apodosis: *ma-a-am[=ma-anša-ma-ḫaš] (i.e., *mān=manš(a)maš)*


alleged examples have found better integration in the optative and contrary-to-fact constructions discussed above” (HED M 39).

21. The parallel text KUB 36.79 ii 50 has *artari=ya* in the second apodosis, confirming the present tense. The omission of the verb ‘be’ in the apodosis shows that it is in the present tense (see §22.3, p. 306).

30.55. Past contrary-to-fact conditions show consistently preterite verbs in both the protasis and apodosis. Examples: *man=kan mān ANA "Attaršiya ḫuišwetenn=a kāštit=a-man ākten ‘Even if you had survived Attaršiya, you would have died of hunger’ KUB 14.1 obv. 12 (MH/MS); nu=šmaš Ḻauriyaluš kuit arantar mān=kan mān ANA "Pitaggatalli=pat warpa teḫḫun man=mu Ḻauriyaluš (var. Ḻauriyatalluš) kuit ša "Pitaggatalli auēr man=mu ūL duḫušiyait ‘And because sentries were in place, if I had tried to surround Pitaggatalli himself, because the sentries of Pitaggatalli would have seen me, he would not have waited for me’ KBo 5.8 iii 14–18 (NH). As the second example shows, when the potential-irrealis *man is employed together with conditional clauses, no clause connective (*nu or *-ma) is used. For further examples of past contrary-to-fact conditions see CHD *man b 2ʹ c’.

30.56. Sometimes mān ‘if’ is unexpressed in conditional clauses: *INa ITU.12.KAM DUMU-aš miyari † apāš DUMU-aš ḺSU GI-ešzi ‘(if) a child is born in the twelfth month, that child will live to an advanced age’ KUB 8.35 i 9 (menology); wašdul kuēlqa autti . . . nu=za pankun EGIR-pa punuške ‘(if) you see a crime, always consult the pankuš’ KUB 1.16 iii 59–61 (OH/NS); *INnda-an=za wemiyanun n=an=za AHITI=YA natta kuwapikki edun wātar=ma=z wemiyar<man> n=at AHITI=YA ūL kuwapikki ekun ‘(if ever) I found bread, I did not eat it secretly; (if ever) I found water, I did not drink it secretly’ KUB 30.10 obv. 16–17. A similar use with the present-future tense (both in real future conditions and past contrary-to-fact conditions) exists in informal USA sports-TV jargon: ‘He catches that ball, and the game is over’.

30.57. Often, in sequences of ‘if’ clauses, instead of takku or mān, the word našma ‘or (if)’ introduces the conditional clause without mān: našma ḺUR GUL-aḫzi nu pē ḫarzi zik=ma peran šarā ūL wa[(rrīšš)][atti nu ḺUR ūL zahḫiyaši ‘or (if) the enemy attacks, and holds (the acquired position), but you don’t come to assist in advance, and you don’t fight the enemy’ KUB 21.1 iii 50–52 (NH). On occasions, however, the more complete našma mān is employed: našma mān KUR-TUM kuikin zahḫiyaša LUGAL KUR ŪRḪ Ḥatti anda ḫatšišnuzi ‘of if the King of Ḫatti besieges some land in battle’ KBo 5.9 iii 23–24 (NH); našma mān ANA IR-DI kuadaniki waštlul wašṭul=ma=za=kan ANA PANI EN=ŠU tarnāi ‘or if some slave sins, he shall confess his sin before his master’ KUB 14.8 rev. 25–26 (NH); našma mān BELU kuinki [(kēz)] [(KUR-āz)] laḫḫiawayanzi iyyami ‘or if from this land I send out some lord to campaign’ KUB 21.1 iii 7–8; našma mān DINGIR-LIM-ni kuđani Ezen ga .espresso ‘or if for some deity there is a Festival of Milk’ KUB 13.4 iv 41 (pre-NH).

Relative Clauses

30.58. The most common type of dependent clause in Hittite is the relative clause (see chapter 8 for the relative pronouns). There are two fundamental differences between relative clauses in Hittite and those in languages such as English. First, since relative clauses in English must immediately follow the noun they describe or modify, they are
most often inserted into the main clause: ‘The horse that he rode was strong’ or ‘The man who(m) I saw walked away’, especially when the modified noun is the subject of the main clause. When the modified noun is the direct object of its clause, the unmarked word order is subject-verb-object (SVO), with the object last, and therefore the relative clause does not interrupt the main clause: ‘I know a woman who likes cats’. Most Hittite relative clauses precede the main clause, while a few follow; relative clauses never interrupt a main clause. Second, while in English the noun phrase referred to by the relative clause (the “antecedent”) always stands in the main clause (underlined in the examples given), in Hittite preposed relative clauses (by far the most common type) the antecedent stands in the relative clause (in the appropriate case) and is resumed in the main clause by (1) an enclitic pronoun, (2) a demonstrative pronoun, or (3) a demonstrative plus the repeated noun, again in the appropriate case. In rare instances (4) there is no resumptive word, but the antecedent still stands in the relative clause. Examples: (1) nu dumu-an kuin ḫukkiškemi n⸗an⸗kan šum⸗šu tēmi ‘Which child I am saying spells over, him I say his name’ = ‘I call by name the child whom I am saying spells over’ KUB 7.1 i 7; (2) kur.kur.Hla kue dannatta aṃmuk eģir-pa ašešanunun nu-mu-kan apē-ya ḫumanda ʿarja dāš ‘Which empty lands I resettled, all those too he took away from me’ = ‘He also took away from me all those empty lands that I had resettled’ Ḫatt. iii 57–58; (3) [((GU)]d pūḫugarin-ma kue[(d)]ani ud-ṭi ʿuniēr nu-zA ti[UTU[(_xml:math xmlns:xlink="http://www.w3.org/1999/xlink" xlink:href="#m17">seven</xml:math>)]tani ud-ṭi war[(p)]ta ‘On which day they adorned the substitute ox, on that day His Majesty bathed’ = ‘His Majesty bathed (on) the day on which they adorned the substitute ox’ KUB 43.50 + KUB 15.36 obv 18–19 (NH); (4) [LUB.M.NA tarḫzi kuiš † 1 MA.NA KUB.BABBAR . . . pianzi ‘Which runner wins, they give one mina of silver’ = ‘They give one mina of silver to the runner who wins’ KBo 20.33:12 (OS). For the asyndeton in (4) see §29.55 (p. 404).23

30.59. Hittite and English relative clauses do share one important feature: the relative pronoun must undergo “wh-movement,” that is, it is fronted in its clause, regardless of its function (subject, object, locatival expression, etc.): see Berman 1972a: 4–5. But this pattern is complicated in Hittite by another factor not present in English: Hittite distinguishes between determinate and indeterminate preposed relatives (see Held 1957; Hale 1987: 46–49; and Garrett 1994: 43–49). Determinate relative clauses refer to specific things whose existence has already been established in the discourse, as in all four examples given above in §30.58. Indeterminate relatives, on the other hand, refer to indefinite things whose existence is not necessarily established: (5) kuiš ammel āppan lugal-ūš kīšari nu Ḫattušān āppa ašāši n⸗an nepišaš ḫuškur-āš īazzet[(tu)] ‘Who(ever) becomes king after me and resettles Ḫattuša, let the Stormgod of Heaven strike him!’ KBo 3.22: 49–51 (OS); (6) nu-šši-ššan kuit śahhan lugal-ūš dāi nu apāt ʾēššai ‘What(ever) service the king imposes upon him, he shall do it’ KBo 6.4 iv 16–17 (Laws §XXXVII, NH). Notice that since indeterminate relative clauses do not estab-

23. The present description could not take into account the newly published analysis of OH relative clauses by Probert (2006).
lish the reality of what is said, they are always equivalent to conditional clauses (= ‘If someone becomes king after me and . . .’), and ‘If the king imposes some service upon him . . .’) and take present-future verbs. As first shown by Held (1957), in Hittite indeterminate relative clauses, the relative pronoun must occur in clause-initial position or follow directly a clause-initial conjunction and any attached clitics (for the latter possibility see example 6 above); it cannot be preceded by any accented constituent. In determinate relative clauses the relative pronoun must be preceded by at least one accented constituent, as the result of “fronting” (see §30.5–30.6, p. 407). Sometimes only one constituent of a noun phrase is fronted, resulting in a noun being separated from its modifiers or from a coordinated noun: (7) nu-ža kē kue AWATE MEŠ ANA 4iškur ABI-KA U ANA 4UtU URU-TUL-NA ANA ARKA arkuwar علاعلا ‘These words which I make as a plea to the Stormgod your father and to the Sungoddess of Arinna your mother . . .’ KUB 21.27 iv 44–45; (8) nu NUMUN.HLA kue ḫūman ṣanḫuta ‘all the seeds which were roasted’ KBo 4.2 i 62 (rit.); (9) NAM.RA.HLA KUR URU Nuḫašši kuiēš U NAM.RA.HLA KUR URU Kinza ABU-YA arrnut ‘The civilian captives of the land of Nuḫašši and the civilian captives of the land of Kinza that my father removed . . .’ KBo 5.9 ii 38–39 (NH). See also example 2 cited above: KUR.KUR.HLA kue dannatta ammuk EGIR-pa aššanunun ‘the empty lands that I resettled’.

30.60. In the vast majority of determinate relative clauses, the relative pronoun is preceded by only one syntactic constituent (Hale 1987: 49; Garrett 1994: 46). But there remain genuine exceptions in which more than one constituent precedes the relative pronoun. In addition to example 4, LE KAS.E tar(α)ḫzi kuiēš cited above, where the relative pronoun follows the subject noun and the verb, note also the following: (10) [(nu=mu LUGAL).MEŠ MAHRU=YA ǎššauwaš memiyaša kuiēš ešer ‘The kings senior to me who had been on good terms with me . . .’ Ḫatt. iv 50; and (11) nu =Urḫi- ᾱ-U-upaš BELU.HLA kuiēš kuwapi arḫa EMON ‘The lords whom Urḫiteššub had sent away somewhere . . .’ (Ḫatt. iv 19–20). For similar exceptions with interrogatives see §27.7 (p. 351) and §27.12 (p. 352), and see also §30.43 (p. 418) on the position of the causal conjunction kuit. Further research and some revision of the formal description in Hale and Garrett may be needed. For understanding the crucial distinction between indeterminate and determinate relatives, it is enough to determine whether or not the relative pronoun is preceded by at least one accented constituent.

30.61. In extremely rare instances Hittite does employ a pair of preposed relative clauses where the first must be understood as subordinate to the second: DINGIR-LIM=kan kuedani ANA DUG.GIR.GAN ANDA ARANDI n-ašša wātar kuit ANA DUG.GIR.GAN ANA n-at PANI DINGIR-LIM apēz=pat ǏSTU DUG.GIR.GAN dāi ‘In which vessel they wash the god, the water which is in the vessel, it he places before the god with that very same vessel’ = ‘He puts the water which is in the vessel in which they wash the god before the god with that very same vessel’ KUB 27.16 i 30–33 (NS).

30.62. Occasionally, Hittite relative clauses follow the main clause. Their structure superficially matches that of English: the antecedent is in the main clause and is not
30.63. Also postposed after the main clause are “indefinite relatives.” Unlike preposed indeterminate relatives, these presuppose the existence of the noun phrase referred to. But unlike preposed determinate relatives, the noun phrase is indefinite, not something specific that has already been mentioned: e.g., น fetched by eight boys who have not yet gone to a woman’ KUB 9.31 ii 9–10 (NS); น then (and) who(ever are also there)’ (Ortaköy 90/1400 1–3 [letter], cited in Süel 1992: 491; the lines which follow contain second-person plural imperative verb forms). Note: the absence of clitic -al-ya on kuedaš may indicate that Kuikuišanduwa is included.

Indirect Statements and Questions

30.65. Indirect statements and indirect questions generally follow the main clause and are introduced asyndetically (the point of asyndeton is indicated below by †). Almost all of our examples come from NH or at least NS texts. Indirect statements usually contain kuit ‘that’: น fetched by eight boys who have not yet gone to a woman’ KBo 4.8 ii 12–14; often after verbs of perception (seeing, hearing, knowing): น fetched by eight boys who have not yet gone to a woman’ KBo 4.4 iv 28–29 (NH); (nu “Aitaqq)amaš kuiš Lugal Úru Kinza ēšta nu-šši “Niqma-Š-u-aš [kuiš] [hant]ezziš Dumu-laš ēšta nu maḫḫan ausṭa † [anda]-kan kuit ḫatkešnuwanteš nu-šmaš ḫalki 10A,uš namma [tepaw]ešzi nu-za “Niqma-Š-u-aš “Aitaqqaman Abu-ššu kuenta ‘When Niqmadda, the oldest son of Aitaqqama, king of Kadesh, saw † that they were besieged, and that their grain supplies were low, Niqmaddu killed Aitaqqama, his father’ KBo 4.4 ii 3–6 (AM 112–113).
30.66. Instead of a *kuit* clause, verbs of perception or speaking can take an adjective, noun, or participle as a second direct object: *ammuk=war=an akkantan IQBT* ‘he told me it was dead’ KUB 13.35 iii 17; *mahḥan=ma KUR.KUR.MEŠ LÚ.KÚR* [Arwuanda šEŠ=YA irman ištamaššer ‘But when the enemy lands heard that my brother Arnuanda was ill’ KBo 3.4 i 6–7 (AM)].

30.67. With the verb ‘to know that . . .’ one can also use a construction in which the indirect statement precedes the main clause asyndetically: *kinun=wa=z nūwa MUNUS.MEŠ.[uš][pu nuškez] zi /Ur[x]išamaššer ‘I don’t know (if) she is still consulting Old Women’ KUB 1.16 iii 68–69 (OH/NS).

30.68. Indirect questions (Mascheroni 1980: 58–59) are often formed in conjunction with clauses containing the verb šak- ‘to know’, auš- ‘to see’, or ḫatrāi- ‘to write’, as well as punušš- ‘to ask’. They usually follow their main clause but occasionally precede, as the examples cited below show.

30.69. Using *mān* ‘if, whether’ (HE §333; Mascheroni 1980: 58; and CHD sub *mān* 4) — with single *mān*: *nu BELU LÚ.MEŠ KUR-ti=pat punuš mān ammuk šahḫan luzzi ištamaššer ‘O lord, just ask the men of the land if I ever had to perform šahḫan and luzzi obligations!’ KHM 52:38–39 (MH/MS); — with *mān . . . mān* ‘whether . . . or’: *nu [Urhiṭeš]uṣaš kuit apiya n=an punuš šaḫḫan mān kēz ištamaššer ‘Since Urḫi-Teššub is there (see §7.18, p. 147), just ask him if it is so or not so’ KUB 21.38 obv. 11–12 (NH); nu ŠAGGA [ḫḫun] šaḫḫan mān za [kamma]n iytan ḫarzi  ... ša-a-ak-ta⟨ ⟨-aš ⟩ ⟩ ‘I don’t know if the King of Egypt has rendered tribute to my father for those lands or if he has rendered nothing’ KUB 31.121a ii 12–15; cf also KUB 31.121 i 11–14.

30.70. Using a form of *kuw-api* ‘where? what?’ (all exx. NH or NS): *nu DINGIR.MEŠ UL [šekteni ḫuēl=aš dammešḫaš ‘O gods, don’t [you know] whose is the injury?’ KBo 4.8 iii 3–4, ed. Hoffner 1983a: 188; ŠAGGA [ḫḫun] šaḫḫan mān za [kamma]n iytan ḫarzi ‘don’t you gods see who has done this (lit., thus) to me?’ KUB 54.1 i 20–21 (NH). With subject matter of inquiry preceding: KUR [U][RI] WILUŠA=A MA A KUR [U][RI] Ḥatti kuwedani LUGAL-i aiwan arṇa tiyat nu memiyas kuit[i(())][(i)][štantanza n=an ŠAGGA [ḫḫun] ‘Since the incident occurred long ago, I don’t know from what Hittite king Wiluša defected’ KUB 21.2 + KUB 48.95 i 6–9 (Alaḳš., NH); kuwedani=wa uddani uwanun nu=mu ŠUL-anza punušdu witenanza ‘Let the spring, the water, ask me why I have come’ KBo 10.45 ii 23–24 (OH/NS).

30.71. Using *kuw-api* ‘where?’: *kiššan=mu kuit ḫatrāeš kāša=wa LÚ.KÚR uet nu=wa=za=kan U[RI] Ḥaparan iniššan tamašṭa U[RI] Kašipuran=ma=wa=kan kēz tamašṭa apāš=wa=kan ištarna arṇa uet namma=ma=wa=r=aš kuw-api pait nu=war=aš ŠUL IDE Š nu apāš LÚ.KÚR alwaŋaḫananza imma ešta n=an ŠUL ša-a-ak-ta⟨⟨-aš ⟩⟩ ⟨Concerning⟩ what you wrote me as follows: “The enemy has come and has besieged the city Ḥapara on that
side, and has besieged the city Kašipura on this side; and he has passed through (and got-ten away). But I do not know (text: ‘he does/did not know’) where he was going.” Was that enemy perhaps bewitched, that you did not know him?’ HKM 6:3–14 (MH/MS), ed. Alp 1991a: 126–29. With question preposed: † kuwapi=wa paʾissi ammuk=ma=wa=tta lē šaggahhi ‘Let me not know where you are going’ KBo 5.9 i 44–45 (NH).

30.72. Using mahḥan ‘how?’ (see CHD L–N, mahḥan mng. 3) — with mahḥan clause preceding: [ḥ]anteziuš=ma-at LUGAL.MEŠ mahḥan [a]rḫa pitṭalāer n=at ḪUR-TUL-na GAŠAN=YA [ṣ]akṭi ‘How the earlier kings neglected it (i.e., Nerik), you, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my Lady, know it’ KUB 21.27 i 16–18 (prayer, NH), ed. Sürenhagen 1981: 108–111, see ibid. i 43; nušmaš=kan ḫūmandaz mahḥan [ . . . . . . ] nu apātt=an Dingir. MEŠ-eṣ=pat šekteni ‘You gods also know how [ . . . . . . -ed] you from/with everything’ KBo 53.10 ii 11–12 (MH/MS); — with mahḥan clause following: zik ʿišTAR URU Nenuwa GAŠAN-NI ḪAL šakti † KUR URU Ḫatti gim-an dammešḫan ‘Don’t you know IŠTAR of Nineveh, our Lady, † how the country of Ḫatti has been oppressed?’ KBo 2.9 i 38–39 (prayer in a rit., NH); nu tuel LŪ TEMU kuwat ḪAL punušta † memahḥun=ni giš gim-an ‘Why did you not ask your messenger how I spoke to him?’ KUB 23.101 i 5–6 (NH).

Multiple Dependent Clauses

30.73. The force of a subordinating conjunction can continue in multiple subsequent clauses: (conditional) [(takk)u L.U,LU=an kušši ḥūnikzi t=an ištarnikzi nu apūn šāktāizzi ‘If someone injures a (free) person and incapacitates him, he shall treat him’ KBo 6.2 i 16–17 (Laws §10, OS); mān kī-pat namma=ma da mái nu.GAL kuški nu igi-zi [SU.MEŠ SIG,ru] ‘If it is only this, and there is nothing additional, let the first [extra be favorable] KUB 22.70 rev. 1 (NH); (temporal) ABU=YA kuwapi =Ḫattušiliš ANA =Urḫitešupaš DUMU =MŪ wattalli menahḫanda kururiḫta n=an LUGAL-eznani arḫa ti-ttanut ANA =šī.LAMMA=ma=kan waštul /Umacronsmallḫa /Ḫatti /Urḫitešupaš /Menahḫanda /Kururiḫta /Nan /Lugal-eznani /Arḫa /Tittanut /Ana\[. . . (?)\] /Kubaba? /(\[. . . (?)\] /Kubaba) /Umacronsmallkuinki tarnaš ‘When my father Hattusili became hostile towards Urḫitešup, son of Muwattalli and removed him from the kingship, no sin inhered in Kurunta’ BrTabl. i 6–9 (NH); (causal) ammuk ḪAL kuški kuit dammišḫān ḫarmi ḪAL=ma=kan dān kuedani kuitku ḫarmi QATAMMA=ma=nu kuwat dammišḫiškanzi ‘Because I have damaged nothing, and (because) I have taken nothing from anyone, why are they injuring me in that way?’ HKM 68:4–7 (MH/MS) (and §30.75).

30.74. A temporal clause can be followed by a causal clause (here connected by -ma) and then its main clause: nu=za mahḥan URU-an tarḥ[ta] [ABU=YA=m]a=kan DINING.MEŠ-aš kuit nakhḫa[nza ūštata] [(nu)] šarāzzi gurti šA ḪA[Kubaba? (U šA)] šī.LAMMA ma[= . . . (?)] ḪAL kuški tarnaš ‘When (i.e., after) my father had conquered the city (of Carchemish), because he feared the gods, he allowed no one [to spoil()] the upper citadel [or the temples()] of [Kubaba] and the Patron Deity’ KBo 5.6 iii 31–35 (DŠ frag. 28.A). The reason for the adversative =ma here may perhaps be made clear by a slightly different translation: ‘(Although) my father had conquered the city, yet (-ma) because he feared the gods, he allowed no one. . . .’ The same pattern can be seen with kuwapi: nu ABU=YA
kuwapi in.GIS-PA-LÚ-in inA KUR[URU]Mezi ƎSPUR n=an kiššan kuit watarnaḫta ‘When my father sent Ḫattušaziti to Egypt, because he commanded him as follows . . .’ KBo 5.6 iii 45–47 (DŠ frag. 28.A).

30.75. The opposite order of causal followed by temporal clause also occurs: nu=mu ƎSTAR GAŠAN=YA kuit kaniššan ʰarta šEš=ya=mu ƎNIR.GAL äššu ḥarta nu=mu=kan GIM-an UN MEŠ-anna=n ga šA ƎSTAR GAŠAN=YA kaniššūwar šA šEš=ya=ya [aššulan auēr nu=mu 3aršaniyēr ‘And because IŠTAR, my lady, had recognized me, and my brother Muwatalli held me in favor, when people saw the recognition by IŠTAR and the favor of my brother, they envied me’ Ḫatt. i 28–32.

30.76. A conditional clause can be followed by a causal clause, a temporal clause, and then its main clause: mān GUD pūḫugariš=ma EGIR KASKAL ak[i KASKAL? k(uit)] tūwa n(at) GIM-an apiya [ara(nzi nu tamain GUD pūḫugarin . . . apēzza . . . [n(ann)]anzi ‘But if the substitute ox dies on the way, because it (i.e., the destination city) is far, when they [arrive], they will drive another . . .’ KBo 4.2 iv 46–49 = MSpr rev. 32–35.

30.77. Relative clauses also co-occur in the same sentence with other dependent clauses: nu ammel kuwapi ƎWATE MEŠ DINGIR MEŠ ištamaššanzi nu=mu=kan kuš idaluš memiaš 3i-ni anda n=an=mu DINGIR MEŠ EGIR-pa SIG3-ahḫanzi šarlanzi ‘When the gods hear my words, the bad thing that is in my soul, they will make it right and lift it from me’ KUB 6.45 iii 45–47.
Chapter 31
SUMERIAN AND AKKADIAN

31.1. Much in Hittite language and literature is elucidated by Assyriology. Ancient Mesopotamian civilization (law, religion, economy, etc.) can be studied in any number of popular handbooks. Those aspects of Akkadian grammar and writing system which affect the reading of Hittite texts can be found in HE, pp. 170–182 (grammar) and HZL (writing system).

Sumerograms

31.2. One needs to know relatively little about Sumerian grammar in order to properly understand the Sumerograms in Hittite texts. They consist of the root forms of a limited number of nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

Nouns, Adjectives, and Participles

31.3. Noun case is normally not indicated by means of the common Sumerian suffixes, nor are any of the Sumerian verbal suffixes employed. For details see §31.17 (p. 434). When the plural markers are affixed to Akkadograms or syllabically written Hittite words, they are postpositional determinatives and are written in superscript (e.g., QA-TE^HLA-YA ‘my hands’). When they occur on Sumerograms, we follow the convention of the CAD and CHD in not superscripting them (e.g., UDU.HLA ‘sheep’); see §31.11 (p. 432). Plurals of nouns or adjectives are sometimes indicated by double writing: KUR. KUR.(MEŠ) ‘the lands’, DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ TUR.TUR ‘the great gods (and) the lesser gods’. None of the overt plural markings is obligatory: the simple noun or adjective root can stand for the plural (see §31.18, p. 435, for details).

Pronouns

31.4. Sumerian pronominal suffixes are limited to the third-singular -BI ‘its’, seen in KI.LAL.BI ‘its weight’.

Verbs

31.5. Rarely a verbal prefix, proper in Sumerian texts only to the preterite but employed more broadly in Hittite, BA- occurs in the complex BA.ŬŠ ‘he died’ (ŬŠ ‘to die’).

Akkadian Grammar

31.6. The best preparation for understanding Akkadograms in Hittite is a formal course in Akkadian. If only self-study is possible, either H. A. Hoffner’s English tran-
lation of A. Ungnad’s concise outline of Akkadian grammar (1992) or the two-volume introductory grammar by J. Huehnergard (2005a; 2005b) is recommended. The comprehensive grammar is by von Soden (1995; abbr. GAG\textsuperscript{3}). There are two grammars of the Boğazköy corpus of Akkadian, that is, the Akkadian unilingual texts written by scribes in the Hittite capital. The older is by Labat (1932); the more recent is by Durham (1976). The latter was a Ph.D. dissertation at Harvard University and is not available commercially. It is not the purpose of this chapter to treat the material examined by these authors. Instead, what follows is a brief synopsis of Akkadian grammar as it appears in logograms found in Hittite contexts. It may seem strange to treat the grammar of what are essentially logograms scattered in sentences controlled by Hittite grammar. But it is important to have an orientation in Akkadian grammar in order to properly understand the Hittite scribes’ use of these logograms.

31.7. Akkadian words and forms in Hittite context are called Akkadograms and are transcribed in printed publications in uppercase italic (§1.13, p. 14). For the nature of the cuneiform writing system see above, §§1.5ff. (pp. 10ff.).

Orthography

31.8. Hittite scribes did not use separate cuneiform signs to indicate voiced and voiceless stops (see above in chapter 1). For example, the orthographic system they inherited used both the DA and TA signs for either /da/ or /tal/. Akkadian bēlti-ni ‘our lady’ was usually written BE-EL-DI-NI, using the DI sign for what in Akkadian is a voiceless stop. Akkadian labka ‘moist’ (masc. sg. acc.) was written LA-AB-GA, using the GA sign for voiceless KA, which required more strokes to form. In transliteration it is possible to use the ṫ的价值 of the DI sign to write BE-EL-ṬI and the ḲΑ value of GA to write LA-AB-ḲΑ. The transliterator in this way aids readers in identifying the intended Akkadian word, but such writings may tend to mislead readers into thinking that the ancient scribe has sought to represent the voiceless phoneme by a particular sign, when in fact he has not. In this grammar,\textsuperscript{1} when representing Akkadograms in bound transcription, we consider it proper to render Akkadograms in a way that they can be correctly identified in an Akkadian word list or dictionary. We willingly sacrifice the accuracy of reflecting the signs the Hittite scribe wrote for the sake of clarity of meaning. Thus the Akkadogram BE-EL-DI ‘(my) lady’ intends Akkadian bēlti (or bēlti) and in this grammar is written in bound transcription as BĚLTI. Similarly, TE-ŠI ‘spring’ comes from the Akkadian plural diši,\textsuperscript{2} and GIŠ-GA-AN-NU(M) ‘pot-stand’ represents GIŠ-KANNU(M). In restricted contexts rare values of signs were used: in writing Akkadian bēlti-ni ‘our lord’, Hittite scribes did not write BE-LI-NI but BE-LĪ-NI, using the NI sign with its unusual value LĪ.

\textsuperscript{1} In Hittitological literature in general it is more usual to find the Akkadograms rendered according to the main values of the cuneiform signs: BELDI, TEŠI, GANNUM, etc.

\textsuperscript{2} There is a very real possibility that the similarity in shape of TE and DI caused Hittite scribes to confuse the two signs in di-ŠI as TE-ŠI, for at no time and in no geographic region in which Akkadian was written was this word vocalized as *dēšū but rather dišū (Babylonian) or dašʾū (Assyrian).
31.9. The negative word *ul (§§26.1ff., pp. 341ff.), is regularly written *ū-ul with two signs in Akkadian texts, not because there is vowel length but because this was the accepted spelling of the word in the writing system of the Akkadian scribes who introduced cuneiform writing at the Hittite capital. It is the regular way of spelling the word in Old Babylonian Akkadian. It is likewise written with two signs in all but the last century of scribal practice at Boğazköy. In texts written there during the thirteenth century the word was written with only one sign (*ūl, not *ū-ul). In the convention of the CHD, when representing the two-sign writing in broad transcription the u-vowel is written with a long mark, ūl. We follow this convention in order to indicate the spelling. But by this writing we do not mean that we believe there was any difference in vowel length indicated by the different writings. In Hittite texts no phonetic complement indicates the underlying Hittite equivalent natta. That is, we find no writing *ū-ul-ta.

**Superscripting**

31.10. In transcribing Hittite texts superscripting is employed mostly with determinatives (§1.39, p. 23, §1.43, p. 24). Sumerian words such as gis ‘wood, tree’, uru ‘city’, kur ‘country’, urudu ‘copper’, na₂ ‘stone’, tug ‘cloth, garment’, ninda ‘bread’, lu ‘man’, munus ‘woman’, hur.sag ‘mountain’, ùd ‘river’, dug ‘vessel, container’, etc., are often prefixed to words in order to identify their semantic class, category, or material. A few determinatives are not prefixed but rather suffixed to their nouns (§1.42, p. 24): mushen ‘bird’, sar ‘vegetable’, and ki ‘place’ (in Urk Hatti, uru Arinna, uru Halpa and kā.dinguiri.rai). The occasional writing uru.ki (in maškim uru.ki and en uru.ki) is a (false) Hittite abstraction from the fuller form with specific place names, just as ud.kam ‘day’ and dub.kam ‘tablet’ were abstracted by Hittite scribes from longer expressions with numerals (see §9.51, p. 167; and p. 434, n. 5).

31.11. The most common post-positioned determinatives are the plural markers meš and ḫla. Limited to the earliest written phases of Hittite is didli, often combined with ḫla as didlí.ḥla. Although none of these was originally a plural marker in Sumerian itself but were first used to indicate the plural of Sumerograms in Akkadian texts, we follow the CAD and CHD convention and do not superscript them when they pluralize Sumerograms. Thus we write uru didlí.ḥla, not uru didlí.ḥla, but šiptum.ḥla ‘incantations’, heritum.ḥla ‘ditches’, nammantum.ḥla ‘measuring vessels’. While the Sumerian plural marker ḫla was occasionally employed on Hittite words (kururi ḫla, lapanallu ḫla-uš, halki ḫla-uš), the other plural markers meš and didlí were not.

3. Rarely, superscripting is used in transliterations to indicate the function of a sign as the scribe’s hint as to the correct reading of the immediately preceding polyvalent sign. An unusual example of this, which seems to have no purpose in Hittite, is in the sequence of signs tug + al/tuḫ + ša, which we transcribe tugʰ-ša, superscripting the al/tuḫ sign, in order to show that it intends to show that the tug sign is to be read with a CVC value ending in vowel + ḫ. This seems unnecessary, since in Hittite the tug sign only has values ending in vowel + ḫ (i.e., ṭaḫ, tuḫ, ḫuḫ, duḫ).
Phonetic Complements

31.12. We follow the procedure of the CHD in not superscripting phonetic complements, either Hittite or Akkadian. We therefore write ĐINGIR-LIM ‘god(dess)’, and ĐINGIR-LIM-iš. Even such apparently awkward forms as E.H.LA-TIM ‘houses’ (for Akkadian bitātim), KĀ.GAL.H.LA-TIM ‘city gates’ (for Akk. abullātim), KĀSKAL.H.LA-TIM ‘roads’ (for Akk. ḫarrānātim), DUB.H.LA-TIM ‘clay tablets’ (for Akk. ṭuppātim), TUR. H.LA-TIM ‘small (ones)’ (for Akk. ṣehrūtim), NĪG.BA.H.LA-TIM ‘gifts’ (for Akk. gišātim), and KUR.KUR.H.LA-TIM ‘countries’ (for Akk. mātātim) are not essentially different from lapanalliHI.-uš and ḫalkiHI.-uš cited above. And there is no doubt that the final TIM in BE-LUHI.-TIM ‘lords’ was intended to be read as part of the Akkadian word. Admittedly, there were a few inept scribes who falsely regarded TIM (or TIM, without mimation; see §31.20, p. 436) as a kind of universal plural for Akkadian words. When this happened, it was affixed to words where a final syllable -TIM or -DIM cannot reasonably be assumed: ĠīBANŠUR.H.LA-TIM ‘tables’ is inappropriate for the Sumerian loanword in Akkadian paššūru, which inflects in the plural as a masculine noun: paššūrū/. But since this happened rarely, it does not justify our treating TIM like a postpositional determinative.

31.13. While Hittite phonetic complements on Sumerograms are quite common (e.g., LUGAL-uš ‘king’), those on Akkadograms are understandably rare, because with an Akkadographically written noun there is little chance of ambiguity of either number or case, and with finite verb forms the person of the subject and the tense are also normally quite clear. There are few instances of unnecessary Hittite complements on Akkadograms, and never on those in the construct state: n=at-mu=kan talza AŠPUR-ZI UL ‘he(!)4 will not send it to me’ KUB 40.1 rev! 17; EL-LAM-aš qāssu ‘his hand (that) of a free man’ KBo 6.3 i 29 (Laws §11). For BE-LU-uš(-ša-an) ‘lord’ (sg. nom.) HKM 52:25 and HKM 80 obv. 5 there may be a better explanation (see p. 22, n. 30).

Phonology

31.14. Akkadian possesses three basic vowels (a, i, and u) and a secondary vowel e derived from either a or i. These all occur both short and long, although the long vowels are rarely written plene. Real diphthongs are rare. There are two semi-vowels in Akkadian: y and w. A glottal stop (transcribed ʰ but often omitted in cuneiform writing) reflects a prehistorical merger of five distinct Proto-Semitic sounds. The presence in the noun or verb root of a Proto-Semitic laryngeal (ḥ or ʿ) in contact with an a-vowel colored that a (and sometimes also any a in the neighboring syllable) to the secondary vowel e. This shift was followed by the loss of the laryngeal and the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel: *baʿl- ‘lord’ > *beʿl- > bēl; feminine *baʿlat- ‘lady’ (= queen) > *beʿlāt- > bēlet; *malqaḥ- ‘that which is taken (as a tax or impost)’ > *malqēḥ- > melqēt-. In Hittite texts the first two nouns are seen in the singular as BĒLÚ

4. The Hittite complement -zi shows that the verb is third-person singular, but the Akkadian form AŠPUR (versus İSPUR) should be first-person singular!
The consonants of Akkadian are represented in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>voiced</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>emphatic</th>
<th>nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dentals</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labials</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velars</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibilants</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>s, ŝ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŧ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquids</td>
<td>l, r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31.16. The sibilant š immediately preceding a dental stop became l, as seen in MB ilituḫḫu ‘whip’ from OB ʾiṣṭuḫḫu and in ʾilṭur ‘he wrote’ from ᵅishṭur (infinitive šatāru). In the opposite sequence—dental followed by š—the š first shifted to s, whereupon the dental fully assimilated to the s, producing ss. This development is most frequently seen in the nominative-accusative construct forms of nouns whose stems end in a consonant when followed by a clitic possessive pronoun beginning with š (e.g., -šu ‘his’, -ši ‘her’, -šunu ‘their’, etc.). Among Akkadograms in Hittite one finds it routinely in the word qa-as-sū (less commonly written šu-sū) for Akkadian qāssu ‘his hand’ (nom. or acc.), which derives from the construct state qāt of the noun qātu ‘hand’ and the third-person masculine pronominal suffix -šu ‘his’. Other examples where the gemination of the sibilant is masked by a Sumerogram are: kur-sū for Akkadian màssu (< māt-šu) ‘his land’, sag.du-su for Akkadian qaggassu (< qagqad-šu) ‘his head’, ē-sū for Akkadian bīssu (< bit-šu) ‘his house’, šr-sū for Akkadian warassu (< varad-šu) ‘his man-slave’, ū-sū-nu ‘their house(s)’, tūg-sū-nu (šubāssunu < šubāt-šunu) ‘their garment(s)’, nam.ra.hla.sū-nu (šallassunu < šallat-šunu) ‘their captives, prisoners of war’, nin-sū-nu (aḫāssunu < aḫāt-šunu) ‘their sister’, dumu.munus-sū (mārassu < mārat-šu) ‘his daughter’.

Morphology

Nouns and Adjectives

31.17. Noun case is normally not indicated by means of the common Sumerian suffixes, nor are any of the Sumerian verbal suffixes employed. Only six Sumerian suffixes are employed on nouns or adjectives: (1) the genitive in -a(š), seen in anš.e.kur.ra
(‘donkey [anše] of the foreign country [kur + -a(k)]’), (2) the adjectival/participial ending -a, seen only occasionally, as in î DUG.GA (‘oil [i] that is fine/good [dug + -a]’), and (3, 4, 5, and 6) the plural indicators MEŠ, ĤĻA, E.NE, and DIDLI, as well as the combinations MEŠ.ĤĻA and DIDLI.ĤĻA. The suffix DIDLI alone (i.e., without ĤĻA added) is very rare and occurs only in the oldest texts. In a small number of cases a Sumerian word is doubled in the plural, such as KUR.KUR.MEŠ or KUR.KUR.ĤĻA ‘countries’, and in the case of ĐINGIR.MEŠ GAL.GAL ‘the great gods’, ÚR.U.DIDLI.ĤĻA GAL.GAL-İM ‘the large cities’, 4 GISBAN TUR.İM ‘four small bows’, the attributive adjective alone is doubled. This usage is occasionally extended even to a syllabically written Hittite noun: 5 gapinan TUR. TUR ‘five small threads’.

31.18. Sumerograms did not need to have plural markers, especially when the context or preceding numbers made the plurality clear. Since the Hittite nouns behind NAM. RA ‘deportees’, GUD ‘cattle’, and ÚDU ‘sheep’, when conceived in the plural, were grammatically singular but with collective meaning, it was natural for them to often dispense with overt plural markers. And since, even in Hittite, the syntax of numbering permitted the counted item to be in the singular (§9.22, p. 159), it is not surprising to find 5 GUD instead of 5 GUD.ĤĻA. The Akkadian noun inflects through three cases in the singular (nominative, genitive, accusative) and two in the plural (nominative and genitive-accusative). Only in the earlier phases of Akkadian (Old Akkadian, Old Assyrian, and Old Babylonian) does the ending of the nominative and accusative singular consistently differ. Beginning in Middle Babylonian, both cases were written with the ending of the nominative (-u or -um with mimation).

31.19. šarr-6 is the masculine noun stem meaning ‘king’, while šarrat- is the feminine noun stem meaning ‘queen’. Similarly, bēl- is the masculine noun stem ‘lord’, while bēlt- is the feminine equivalent meaning ‘lady (= queen)’. In the singular these nouns decline as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>šarrum</th>
<th>šarratum</th>
<th>bēlum</th>
<th>bēltum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>šarrim</td>
<td>šarratim</td>
<td>bēlim</td>
<td>bēltim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>šarram</td>
<td>šarratam</td>
<td>bēlam</td>
<td>bēltam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31.20. From this it is apparent that šarr- and bēl- are the basic root of the words, -at- (or -t-) is a feminine stem-forming suffix, and the endings of the singular are -um, -im, and -am. Another Akkadian noun whose feminine suffix is -t- is mārtum ‘daughter’ (compare mārum ‘son’). The final m on these endings is omissible in the Hittite time-frame. The final m in the feminine noun forms is also omissible (sg. -(a)tu, pl.

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6. When we discuss Akkadian forms in their own right (for instance, in the following paradigms), we will often write them in lowercase italic, as we would if we were discussing an Akkadian text. When Akkadian words or forms occurring as logograms in a Hittite context are discussed, the Akkadian parts of the logogram will be written in uppercase italic, while the Sumerian parts will be written in uppercase roman letters.
-ātu). This omissible final m is called “mimation.” In the plural the forms in classic Old Babylonian are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>šarrā</th>
<th>šarrātum</th>
<th>bēlū</th>
<th>bēlētim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>šarrā</td>
<td>šarrātum</td>
<td>bēlū</td>
<td>bēlētim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive-accusative</td>
<td>šarrī or šarrē</td>
<td>šarrātim</td>
<td>bēlē/bēlē</td>
<td>bēlētim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31.21. In the Hittite usage the genitive-accusative forms were often used in place of the nominative. What makes the masculine noun-stem plural is the long vowel in the endings, which is not indicated in the Hittite writings of Akkadian nouns. What makes the feminine noun-stem plural is the long ā vowel in the feminine root-forming suffix, -āt- (in some cases -ēt-), likewise normally unrepresented by plene writing in Hittite. Some Akkadian nouns which are masculine in the singular form feminine plurals: nāru ‘river’ (pl. nārātum), ḫarrānu ‘road’ (pl. ḫarrānātum), ikkaru ‘farmer’ (pl. ikkarātum). These can also be found in Hittite texts: fēd. MEŠ-TIM, KASKAL MEŠ-TIM, LÖ MEŠ-ENGAR.

31.22. Akkadian adjectives decline like the noun, except that in the masculine plural the ending is not -ū, -i, but -ātu(m) and -āti(m). Hittite scribes, like their contemporary Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian scribes, often used this adjectival masculine plural ending on nouns. Thus BĒLŪTI (written EN. MEŠ-TIM or BE-LU MEŠ-TI) was the plural of BÈLU ‘lord’. And since in Hittite masculine and feminine are not distinguished in any grammatical category, it is rare — especially in post-OH — that any scribe uses a feminine form of the Akkadian adjectives. Common Akkadian adjectives used in Hittite texts as logograms are: ellu ‘free’, emṣu ‘sour’, ḫaṣartu ‘green’, labku ‘moist’, rīqu ‘empty’, and šalmu ‘complete’. As used by the Hittite scribes, whose knowledge of Akkadian was rudimentary, the properly nominative ending -u(m) is often used for the accusative, while the proper endings for accusative and genitive are much less frequently used for the nominative. For example, the Akkadian nominative DINGIR-LUM (= Akk. ḫum) ‘god’ can be a direct object in Hittite context, while the Akkadian genitive DINGIR-LIM is often used as a nominative, when there is also a clarifying Hittite nominative case ending added (DINGIR-LIM-š for šiuniš). The Akkadian accusative form DINGIR-LAM is extremely rare as anything but a direct object.

31.23. The combination of two nouns in a possessor + possessed relationship (‘the king’s son’) is constructed differently in Akkadian than in Hittite. In Hittite one wrote ḫaššuwaš DUMUNI (i.e., ‘of the king + the son’). In Akkadian the noun denoting the possessed comes first, assuming a form called the “construct state.” This construct form is followed by the possessor in the genitive case: mār ‘son (in construct)’ + šarrī(m) ‘of the king’ (gen.). The construct state of a noun is formed by removing the case ending: māru(m) ‘son’ (sg. nom.), mār ‘son (of)’ (construct); šarratu(m) ‘queen’, šarrat ‘queen (of)’ (construct); bēlūt(m) ‘lady’, bēlet ‘lady (of)’ (construct); and thus mātāt ‘lands (of)’, amēlūt ‘men (of)’. When the resulting stem would end in a doubled consonant, sometimes the doubling is preserved by adding a short i (ṭuppi ‘tablet (of)’, libbi ‘heart
(of)’) and at other times, when the final doubled consonant is a liquid or resonant, it is simplified (šarrum ‘king’, šar ‘king (of)’. Hittite phonetic complements are never added to Akkadograms in the construct state. The most frequent construct forms encountered in Hittite contexts are Bēl ‘lord (of)’, TUPPI ‘tablet (of)’, PĀN ‘face (of), before’, QĀT ‘hand (of)’, ŠAPAL ‘underside (of), below’, AŠŠUM (contracted in Akk. itself from earlier ana šūm) ‘for the sake of’, and AŠAR ‘place (of)’. The construct of māru ‘son’ is found in the personal name of a Hittite scribe: Mar-ešrē ‘son of (i.e., born on) the twentieth (day of the month)’. The logogram for ‘name’ has become a frozen form in Hittite, written with the single sign ŠUM, as though it were always in the construct state, never as ŠU-MU, ŠU-MA or ŠU-MI (see §31.37, p. 441). The familiar Akkadian prepositions INA ‘in(to)’, ANA ‘to’, ‘for’, IŠTU ‘from, with’, QADU ‘with’, ITTI ‘together with’, and MAHAR ‘before’ are followed by nouns in the Akkadian genitive case or by a Sumerogram with an Akkadian complement to indicate case, e.g., IŠTU KUR-TI (= Akk. īstu māti) ‘from the land’.

Pronominal Suffixes

31.24. Akkadian nouns take possessive suffixes. With singular nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nominative-accusative</th>
<th>genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mārī-ya 7</td>
<td>māri-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār-ka</td>
<td>mārī-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār-ki 8</td>
<td>mārī-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār-šu</td>
<td>mārī-šu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār-ša</td>
<td>mārī-ša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār-ni</td>
<td>mārī-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār-kunu</td>
<td>mārī-kunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār-kina</td>
<td>mārī-kina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār-šunu</td>
<td>mārī-šunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mār-šina</td>
<td>mārī-šina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31.25. Most examples of possessive suffixes in Hittite texts are affixed to Sumerograms, much less often to Akkadograms (BE-LĪ-NI ‘our lord’,9 UM-MA-NI ‘our mother’), and not at all to Hittite words. And since in Hittite there was no masculine-feminine distinction in inflectional forms, the suffixes -KI ‘your’ and -ŠA ‘her’ are quite rare, and -KINA ‘your (pl.)’ and -ŠINA ‘their’ virtually nonexistent. See §31.16 (p. 434).

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7. In classical Old Babylonian this would be mār-i, but Hittite scribes always wrote the suffix ‘my’ as -YA. Similarly, Hittite scribes wrote nominative-accusative bēl-i ‘my lord’ as BE-LĪ-LĪ-YA.

8. Often in Hittite texts the distinctively feminine Akkadian suffixes (-ki, -ša, -kina, -šina) are replaced by the more common masculine forms: -ka, -šu, -kunu, -šunu.

9. The correct form of ‘our lord’ in the nominative and accusative is bēlni, genitive bēlīni. The Hittites, however, used the genitive form for all cases.
Numbers

31.26. Numbers. The following Akkadian cardinal numbers are found in syllabic writing in Hittite texts: 1-EN (ištēn) ‘one’, ešrē ‘twenty’ (gen. of ešrē; see §31.23, p. 437). The following ordinal numbers are found: šanū ‘second’, šalšū ‘third’ (in LUGALŠU ‘third man’). Akkadian multiplicative expressions (‘x times’) are formed with the genitive of the ordinal numbers plus the third-person singular possessive suffix -šu ‘its’: šalši-šu ‘three times’, hamši-šu ‘five times’. One finds this in semi-logographic form (e.g., 1-šū, 2-šū) everywhere in Hittite as the equivalent of the Hittite multiplicatives in -anki (see §§9.54ff., pp. 168ff.).

Verbs

31.27. Verbs. Since, especially in NH, the scribes utilized Akkadian verbs as logograms for their Hittite counterparts, a brief summary of the Akkadian verb is necessary here. But since the Hittite scribes used only a few of the most common Akkadian verbs as logograms — and usually in the preterite tense, even when in good Akkadian the present-future is called for — the student of Hittite does not require the detailed control of Akkadian verbal paradigms which would be required for reading Akkadian texts. The Akkadian language belongs to the Semitic family. As such, its verbal conjugation is based upon a combination of prefixes, suffixes, and patterns of internal vowels. Each Akkadian verb has a consonantal skeleton which we call a root. Most of these are triconsonantal (sometimes called “strong” roots), e.g., špr ‘to send’. The dictionaries list the verbs by their infinitive form. For those attested in the G- or Basic Stem this infinitive takes the form C₁aC₂āC₃u(m), where C₁, C₂, and C₃ represent the first, second, and third consonants of the strong root. The verb ‘to send’ would be listed as šapāru(m).

31.28. The combination of prefixes and suffixes used for the preterite (past tense) paradigm follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘I sent’</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>špur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘You (masc. sg.) sent’</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>špur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘He sent’</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>špur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘We sent’</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>špur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘You (pl.) sent’</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>špur</td>
<td>-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘They (masc.) sent’</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>špur</td>
<td>-ā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31.29. The present-future tense forms in Akkadian — paradigm forms ašappar, tašappar, išappar — are extremely rare as logograms in Hittite. In the land grant texts

10. špur is the preterite stem of šapāru. The corresponding present-future forms of the paradigm contain the present-future stem -sappar-.

11. The corresponding feminine form tašpūrī is unused in Hittite logograms, since Hittite did not distinguish masculine from feminine grammatically.
the form \textit{iraggum} from \textit{ragāmu} ‘to (legally) contest (a claim)’ is found, going back to OH or MH usage. But otherwise, such forms are not to be found. ‘You (pl.)’ forms of Akkadian verbs (\textit{tašpurā}) as logograms are rare, if they exist at all.

\textbf{31.30.} So-called “strong” roots, triconsonantal with no weak consonants, inflect largely as indicated in the above simplified paradigm. See \textit{akrub} ‘I vowed’, \textit{ikrub} ‘he vowed’, \textit{amqut} ‘I fell’, \textit{asqut} ‘I became silent’, \textit{išpur} ‘he sent’, \textit{niškun} ‘we placed, laid’. The so-called “weak” verbs substitute a semi-vowel (\textit{y} or \textit{w}) or a long vowel for one or more of the three consonants of the root.\textsuperscript{14} Some “weak” verbs are actually biconsonantal. In traditional Akkadian grammars it is customary to identify the position of the so-called “weak” radical in a hypothetical triconsonantal pattern. Hence, the verb \textit{mātu(m)} ‘to die’ is traditionally identified as “middle weak” (as if the triradical skeleton were \textit{*mwt}). The verb \textit{qabû} ‘to say’ is “final weak,” and \textit{epēšu} ‘to do, make’ is “initial weak.” The presence of a weak consonant in one or more positions of the root results in an inflectional paradigm that is quite different from that given above. For students of Hittite who cannot take a formal introductory course in Akkadian it is more practical simply to learn the individual inflected forms of weak verbs — which are limited in number in Hittite texts — as vocabulary items, than to seek to explain the paradigms of all types of weak verb.

\textbf{31.31.} Middle weak verbs occurring in Hittite logograms are: \textit{ušmit} (causative \textit{š-}stem preterite of \textit{mātu} ‘to die’). Final weak verbs include \textit{qabû} ‘to speak’ (finite forms \textit{iqbi}, \textit{aqbi}, impv. \textit{qibi}, etc.), \textit{leqû} ‘to take’ (forms \textit{išoqē}, written \textit{išq-e}), \textit{šemû} ‘to hear’ (forms \textit{ašme}, \textit{išme}), \textit{banû} ‘to build, fortify’ (forms \textit{abni}, \textit{ibni}). Initial weak verbs include \textit{amāru} ‘to see’ (forms /\textit{imru} ‘he saw’), \textit{epēšu} ‘to make’ (participial form \textit{ēpiš} ‘maker of’). Initial and final weak verbs include \textit{idû} ‘to know’ (form \textit{idē}).

\textbf{31.32.} The paradigm given above in §31.28 is of the Basic (or Primary) Stem (called G-Stem, for German \textit{Grundstamm}). There are also derived stems in Akkadian: the so-called intensive-factitive D-Stem (with doubled middle radical),\textsuperscript{15} the causative \textit{š}-Stem,\textsuperscript{16} the passive N-Stem,\textsuperscript{17} and variants of each of these with infixed -\textit{ta-}\textsuperscript{18} and -\textit{tan}\textsuperscript{19} syllables.

\textbf{31.33.} Some verbs color the \textit{a} vowels in the prefixes of the G- and N-Stems to \textit{e}: \textit{tēpuš} (from root \textit{pš}). In the ‘we’ form of the G-stem the vowel \textit{i} replaces \textit{a}: \textit{niddin} ‘we

\textsuperscript{12} In Akkadian there is also a ‘she sent’ form \textit{tašpur}, but in Hittite texts the ‘he sent’ form is used for both genders.

\textsuperscript{13} The corresponding feminine form \textit{išpurā} is unused in Hittite logograms, since Hittite did not distinguish masculine from feminine grammatically.

\textsuperscript{14} This statement represents an oversimplification of the complex nature of the Akkadian verbal system, but it will serve the purpose of this brief survey.

\textsuperscript{15} One of whose basic roles is to form factitive verbs.

\textsuperscript{16} Principal use to form causatives.

\textsuperscript{17} Principal use to form passives of the G-Stem.

\textsuperscript{18} Usually adding a reflexive or reciprocal idea.

\textsuperscript{19} Usually adding an iterative or frequentative idea.
gave’, nilqe ‘we took’, niškun ‘we put’. In the D- and Š-Stems the prefix always contains a u-vowel, e.g., ušmīt ‘he killed’, tušmīt ‘you killed’, uškēnnū ‘they bowed’.

31.34. The most common Akkadian verbs used as logograms in Hittite are ṣabātu (IŞBAT
to seize, used for Hittite ḫwata), nadānu ‘to give’ (iddin ‘he gave’, addin ‘I gave’, iiddin ‘they gave’, niddin ‘we gave’ from Akkadian nadānu, used for forms of pai-/piya- ‘to give’), qebū (final weak) ‘to say’ (IQBI ‘he said’, TAKQBI ‘you said’), and šemū ‘to hear’ (išme ‘he heard’, tašme ‘you heard’, nišme ‘we heard’). These forms occur so frequently and in such predictable contexts that they pose no serious problem to recognition. Imperative forms of Akkadograms are limited to šupur ‘send!’, qibī ‘speak!’ (sg.), normally at the beginning of letters, and misī ‘wash!’ (written ṢTEM- in Babylonian-influenced rituals. Participles are limited to LÜ/EPS ‘maker (of)’, LÜ/SÈBU ‘brewer’, LÜ/NASHI ṢIDITT ‘provisions bearer’, ṢUMNABTU ‘fugitive’, and LÜ/SIRIDU ‘hunter’. A fairly complete list of all inflected Akkadian verb forms found in Hittite texts can be found in HZL 362–69. A commonly occurring Sumerogram verb which contains the verbal prefix BA is: BA.UŠ ‘he died’.

Conjunctions

31.35. The principal conjunction of Akkadian is u ‘and’ (Semitic wa), which von Soden (AHw, GAG) distinguished in transcription from the disjunctive ū ‘or’ (Semitic *aw, Hebr. ḫē). In many periods of Akkadian different u-signs are conventionally and more or less consistently used to distinguish u ‘and’ from ū ‘or’. ‘And’ was written ū in most periods and dialects, but often ū in Old Assyrian and u in Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian. In Hittite texts the Akkadogram u ‘and’ is always written with the sign ū. Akkadian ū ‘or’ occurs in Hittite texts only as a component of the Akkadian disjunctive combination là . . . là . . . ū là ‘whether . . . or . . . or’ (see §29.60, p. 405), written LÜ-. . . LÜ-. . . ū LÀ-[ū] in KBo 3.22:61–62 (OS), but LÜ-. . . LÜ-. . . ū LÀ in the NS dupl. KUB 26.71 i 9’. An Akadian enclitic conjunction -MA (GAG §123a; AHw 569–70) occurs much less frequently, principally in the combinations um-ma PN-MA ‘thus says/said PN’ and um-ma šu-ū-MA ‘thus (s)he says/said’.

Calques

31.36. Calques are literal translations of foreign idioms. Hittite possessed a small number of calques derived from Akkadian idioms based upon bēl ‘lord of’: ḥannešnaš isša- ‘opponent in court’ (lit., ‘lord of the judgment’) (< bēl 딥니, auriyas isša- ‘district commander, provincial governor’ (lit., ‘lord of the watch-post’) (< bēl madgaliti), ešhanaš isša- ‘heir of a murdered man, kinsman avenger of blood’ (lit., ‘lord of the blood-money’) (< bēl đamī21), iwaruaš isša- ‘holder of a dowry or inheritance share’

20. The uppercase italic forms represent forms actually found in Hittite Akkadograms. They are also found in Akkadian texts.

21. Korošec (1931: 38, followed by CAD D 80 with literature) thought that only in Hittite did the expression derived from Akkadian bēl dami have the meaning ‘avenger of blood’, since Akkadian bēl dami
(Bēl Šeriktı), parnaš išḫa- ‘home owner, householder’ (Bēl/Bēlet É-tim), tiuzziyaš išḫa- ‘military commander’ (< En Karaš), maniyahšayaš išḫa- ‘administrator, judge’, uddanaš išḫa- ‘opponent in court(?)’ (< Bēl Awatım), etc. The syllabic Hittite writings of other similar combinations, such as Bēl Dingir-Lim ‘worshiper’, En/Sīskur (Bēl Niqē) ‘sacrificer’, En Qāti ‘craftsman’, have not yet been found in extant texts. And some of the Hittite idioms with išḫa- seem modeled on the Akkadian calques yet have no known Akkadian counterparts: mukišnaš išḫa- ‘person who commissions the m.-ritual’. Several of the syllabic Hittite examples take the Lu determinative on the genitive, as though the genitive + head noun were regarded as an indivisible compound (on such forms see Neu 1986).

Prepositions

31.37. Prepositions. The following Akkadian prepositions are attested in Hittite contexts (see §31.23, p. 436, for the cases they govern): ANA ‘to, for’, Aššum ‘for, as’, INA ‘in’, Ištu ‘from, with’, Iitti ‘with’, Māhar ‘before, in the presence of’, Pān(i) ‘before’, Qadu ‘together with, along with’, Šapal ‘under, below’. Some of these originated as constructs of nouns: Māhrū, Pānū, Šaplu. They and other nouns often combine with a preceding preposition to form compound prepositions: ANA Pāni and INA Pāni ‘before’, INA Māhar ‘in(to) the presence of’. The preposition Aššum ‘for the sake of, on account of’ is such a formation, being derived from ana šūm ‘in/for the name of’. The Sumerogram erg without Hittite complement often stands for the Akkadian pseudo-preposition (w)arkı ‘behind, after’. In general ANA covers the Hittite allative and dative cases, INA generally the locative, Ištu the ablative and instrumental, Pān and INA Pān(i) the postpositional peran with preceding noun in dative-locative, and Šapal the postposition kattan with preceding noun in dative-locative.

only means ‘slayer, murderer’. This claim is now disputed. Mishali (2000) describes the functionary in Neo-Assyrian legal proceedings as ‘an intermediary responsible for carrying out the redemption of blood or redemption payment . . . (it) does not refer to the murderer or the avenger.’ Barmash (2004: 52–56), on the other hand, claims that Akkadian bēl dami encompassed the two meanings: ‘killer’ and ‘avenger’.
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   Part 1: *Reference Grammar*
   Part 2: *Tutorial*
A Grammar of the Hittite Language

Part 2

Tutorial

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**Comprehensive Vocabulary**

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INTRODUCTION TO THE LESSONS

The following lessons are designed to help you master step-by-step the essentials of Hittite morphology and syntax. Each lesson begins with references to the sections of the grammar where you will find descriptions and illustrations of the grammatical categories being introduced. When you have read this material and memorized the necessary paradigms, you may test your knowledge by working through the translation exercises from Hittite to English. Footnotes give help with special problems or points not yet treated systematically. The vocabulary lists for each lesson give the new words introduced. Words from previous lessons may conveniently be found in the comprehensive vocabulary.

Before beginning Lesson 1, you should familiarize yourself with the basics of the Hittite writing system and phonology by reading in Chapter 1 of the grammar, §§1.1–1.44 (pp. 9–24; orthography), §§1.46–1.65 (pp. 25–35; vowels), and §§1.84–1.109 (pp. 35–41, consonants). You are welcome to read Chapter 1 in its entirety, but you should focus on learning the main distinctions in vowels and consonants and how they are spelled and not try to digest every orthographic and phonological detail all at once.

In the vocabularies provided below, information is sometimes given as to the grammatical gender of the Hittite word known to underlie Sumerograms or Akkadograms. These notations do not refer to the grammatical gender of the Sumerian or Akkadian words themselves, but to the Hittite words for which they stand in Hittite contexts.

Many of the exercise sentences, particularly those in later lessons, are drawn from actual Hittite texts. Those drawn directly from texts, without alteration, are marked with ◆. Sentences drawn from texts but reproduced here with minor modification are marked with ◇. Absence of one of these symbols marks sentences that are created by the authors.
Lesson 1

Grammar

All Hittite nouns and adjectives are inflected with essentially the same set of endings. For both nouns/adjectives and verbs there are a number of ways of forming the stems to which the endings are added. This lesson introduces the largest class of nouns and adjectives, those with stems in -a-. Look carefully at the table of nominal endings in §3.14 (pp. 69–70). Then learn how these endings appear with a-stem nouns and adjectives by reading §§4.1–4.11 (pp. 79–85) and memorize the paradigms for antuḫša- ‘human being’ (§4.2, pp. 79–80), pēda- ‘place’ (§4.6, p. 82), and kunna- ‘right-hand’ (§4.10, pp. 83–84). The use of the nominal cases in Hittite resembles that in other case languages: the nominative marks the subject, the accusative the direct object, the genitive possession, the dative-locative the indirect object or place where or to which, the ablative place from which, the instrumental means or accompaniment. The Old Hittite allative marks only place to which. For further details see chapter 16.

Hittite verbs are of two types (the so-called mi- and hi-conjugations), whose inflection differs in the singular but not in the plural. This lesson introduces the present indicative of two classes of mi-conjugation verbs: consonantal root stems and stems with the suffix -nu-. Examine the present tense endings of the mi-conjugation in the table in §11.6 (p. 181).

I. Some consonantal root stems simply add the endings to an invariant stem. Look at and memorize the present tense portion of the paradigm for naḫḫ- ‘to fear’ in §12.8 (pp. 191–192). Note in particular the spelling patterns for verbs ending in two consonants, given in the same paragraph.

Other consonantal root stems show an alternation between e and a. Read §12.2 (p. 187) and learn only the present tense portion of the paradigms for ēpp- ‘seize’ and ēd- ‘to eat’ (§12.3, p. 188), noting the special features of the latter.

Other verbs show an alternation between e and zero. Read §12.5 (p. 190) and learn only the present tense portion of the paradigm for kuen- ‘strike; kill’ (§12.6).

II. The stem of the verbs in -nu- does not change. Look at and learn only the present tense portion of the paradigm for verbs with stems in -nu- (§12.44, p. 210). Note the special change of the ending -(nu)weni to -(nu)meni (see §1.126, p. 44).

Translate the Hittite present tense with an English simple present (e.g., ‘goes’), present progressive (‘is going’), or future (‘will go’), according to what seems most natural for a given sentence. Read §§22.1–22.13 (pp. 306–309) for further details on the uses of the present tense.

These lessons with few exceptions use the most common Hittite word order. Read §§30.2–30.11 (pp. 406–409) and §§26.3–26.7 (pp. 341–342) for the basic principles of word order.
There is no definite article ‘the’ in Hittite. A word like antuḫšaš can be translated either ‘a person’ or ‘the person’ and the plural antuḫšeš as either ‘people’ or ‘the people’.

Since Hittite scribes did not provide punctuation marks, one of the more difficult tasks in learning Hittite is determining the boundaries of clauses. Certain features of word order provide clues. (1) The conjunctions *nu*, *ta*, and *šu*, when they are present, always mark the beginning of a clause. (2) The enclitic personal pronouns such as *-mu ‘me’, *-ta ‘you’, and *-an ‘him, her, it’, the quotative *-wa(r),* and the reflexive particle *-za* are always attached to the first word in a clause, and the local particles such as *-kan, -ašta, -šan* regularly appear there. (3) If the clause begins with a phrase based upon Akkadian or Sumerian words (Ana Lugal), these pronouns and particles will be attached to the final word in that short phrase (e.g., *Ana Lugal Kur [Hatti=wa=mu=kan]). (4) The finite verb normally stands at the end of its clause. In some cases it stands instead at the very beginning for emphasis, but it almost never occurs in the middle of a clause. A combination of features 2, 3, and 4 places the clause boundary in the sequence of words *parā=ma [Hitt] Karaššuwa warnunun (verb) * ištu nam.ra=ma=an (pronoun) GUD UDU Ṗippun (verb) after the finite verb warnunun and before ištu nam.ra, where we have placed the * mark. The two clauses are translated: ‘Next I burned (the city of) Karaššuwa, but I took it along with its civilian captives, cattle and sheep’.

**Translation Exercise**

1.1. *annaš NINDA-an GĪR-it kuṛzi*  
1.2. *nu NINDA-an atti ZAG-it ŠU-it parā ēpzi*  
1.3. *attaš annašš-*a NINDA-an adanzi GEŠTIN=ya² akuanzi  
1.4. *attaš=za³ DUMU.MUNUS=sū ŠU.MEŠ-it karpzi*  
1.5. *LÚ.MEŠ-eš MUNUS.MEŠ=ya takšan ašanzi³*  
1.6. *mān+mu⁵ NINDA-an zanuši n=an⁶ ēdmi*  
1.7. *LÚ.KUR-aš=kan antuḫšuš GĪR-it kuęnzi*  
1.8. *NINDA-an Ėzzazzi GEŠTIN-an=ma UL ekužzi*  
1.9. *attaš DUMU-lan GŠ.GIDRU-it walḫzi*  
1.10. *L[NUMALDIM-aš ŠAḤ-an UL=i-it zanuzzi*  
1.11. *natta LÚ.MEŠ-eš ēšteni⁷*

1. For exceptions see §28.44 (p. 365).  
2. Read as GEŠTIN-ann=*a and see §1.115 (p. 42).  
3. See §28.22 (p. 359).  
4. We intend ašanzi here to be a form of eš-*laš- ‘to reside’, as in Laws §53.  
5. *-mu is ‘for me’ (dat.).  
6. *-an is ‘it’ (sg. acc. com.), referring back to a common gender noun in the preceding clause.  
7. The syllabic writing of natta (rather than its more common logogram [UL=UL]) and the absence of the particle *-za* illustrate features of Old Hittite. See §28.32 (p. 362) and §28.41 (p. 364). natta placed before
Lesson 1

1.12. DUMU._MEŠ.É.GAL. MUNUS.LUGAL.-aš padānā. GĪR.GUB. karpanzi
1.13. LŪ. MEŠ. KÚR-uš-kan. kiššeruš GĪR-az arḫa kuermi
1.14. GUD-aš ZAG-an. UZU.ZAG.LU-an IZI-it zanumeni n-an adueni
1.15. mān NINDA-YA ēzši MĒ=YA=ya eukši nu IR=YA ēšši
1.16. UR.MAH-aš LŪ-an naḫšarnuzzi
1.17. Šumeš DINGIR.MEŠ-eš HUR.SAG.MEŠ-uš GIŠ.HLA-it warḫunutteni
1.18. LŪ.KÚR-i peran. A.ŠA.HLA-uš pahlḫašnumeni

Vocabulary

-a (conj.) (geminanting preceding consonant)/-ya (after vowel) ‘and; also’ (see Latin -que)12
-a (conj.) (non-geminanting)/-ma (after vowel) introduces new topic (see Greek ὅτε); ‘but’ (weakly adversative)13
anna- (AMA-(n)a-) (com.) ‘mother’
antuḫša- (UN-(š)a-/LU_UV-š)-a-) (com.) ‘man, human being’
arḫa ‘away, off’ (preverb), with some verbs (like warnu- ‘burn’) it denotes completeness (‘burn up’)
atta- (ABU/LABI) (com.) ‘father’ (for the Akkadian case endings see §§31.19, p. 435)
eku/-laku- ‘to drink’
ēpp/-app- ‘to take, seize, grasp, hold; parā ēpp- ‘to hold out (toward someone)’
ēš/-laš- A ‘to be’
ēš/-laš- B ‘to sit, reside’ (see §28.30, p. 362)
ēd/-lad- ‘to eat’ (see paradigm in §12.3, p. 188)
ḫaššušara- (MUNUS.LUGAL-(r)a-) (com.) ‘queen’ (see for the stem §2.39, p. 59, §3.6, p. 66).
-kan (see below sub kuen-)
karp- ‘to lift, raise’

the nominal predicate rather than before the finite verb indicates that the negation is specific to the particular noun predicate.

8. This form is Old Hittite (§3.23, p. 73). A genitive normally precedes the noun on which it depends (§16.50, p. 254).

9. For the construction of LŪ.MEŠ KÚR-uš kiššeruš see §16.24 (p. 247). For the meaning of ablative GĪR-az see §16.98 (p. 267). These two features are specifically New Hittite. For the use of -kan see §28.58 (p. 368).

10. The verb forms and absence of the particle -za illustrate Old Hittite features (see also n. 7 above).

11. Instead of prepositions Hittite has postpositions, place-words that follow the nouns they modify (§§20.11ff., pp. 297ff.). Thus LŪ.KÚR-i peran ‘before/in the face of the enemy’.

12. For the use of this conjunction see §§29.38–29.45 (pp. 399–401).

13. For the use of this conjunction see §§29.24–29.37 (pp. 395–399).
ke-liššara- (ŠU-(r)a-, qātu) (com.) ‘hand’
kue-n/ku-n- ‘to strike’ (without -kan); ‘kill’ (with -kan) (see §28.77, p. 372)
ku-er/-kur- ‘to cut’
kunna- (ZAG-(n)a-) ‘right-(hand)’ (adj.)
mān ‘if, whenever’ (in Old Hittite also ‘when’)
naḫšarnu- ‘to frighten, terrify, scare’
natta ‘not’ (usually written as ülü or ul)
nu (conj.) (marks beginning of a clause; indicates progression of the action; sometimes
‘(and) then’, but usually best left untranslated in English) (see §§29.6–29.7,
pp. 390–391). nu appears as just n- before clitics beginning with a vowel (see
§1.72, p. 32).
paḥšašnu-, paḥšanu- ‘to protect, guard’ (with d.-l. and peran ‘against . . . ’)
paltana- (UZUZAG.LU-(n)a-) (com.) ‘shoulder’
parā ‘forth, out’ (preverb)
pada- (GiR-a-) (com.) ‘foot’
peran ‘before, in front of’ (postposition)
pišnali- (lū-(n)ali-) (com.) ‘man, male person’
šumeš ‘you’ (plural, nom.)
takšan ‘together’
walḥ- (gul-ahi-) ‘to strike, hit’
walwa/i- (Ur.MAH-ali-) (com.) ‘lion’
warišnu- ‘to make rough, bushy’
wiyana- (geštin-(n)a-) (com.) ‘wine’
zanu- ‘to cook, bake (something)’
A.Šl-(n)a- (com.) ‘field’
DiNGIR.MEŠ ‘gods’
DUMU-(l)a- (com.) ‘child; son’
DUMU.É.GAL-i- (com.) ‘palace official’ (pl. DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL)
DUMU.MUNUS-a- (com.) ‘daughter’ (in this exercise, a baby daughter)
GiŠGIDRU-a- (com.) ‘staff, stick’
GiR-a- (neut.) ‘knife’
Giš.GUB-iš(n)- = GišKuppiš(n)- ‘stool’ (§4.90, p. 120)
Giš.HLA (neut. pl.) ‘trees’
GUD ‘bovine, cow, steer’

14. The complementation -iš, which points to an underlying kuppiš(n)-, is found in KBo 20.8 obv. 19
(OS!); see StBoT 26:239. Other occurrences of GišGir.Gub may cover the Hittite word hapšalli.
Lesson 1

Hu.A (pl. marker) (used almost exclusively with logograms, and then mostly with those referring to animals or inanimate objects)

Hur.Sag-(r)a- (com.) ‘mountain’

Ir-(n)al-i- (com.) ‘(male) servant, (male) slave’ (also read as Arad-(n)ali-)

Izi ‘fire’ (neut.)

Lú.Kúr-(n)a- (com.) ‘enemy’ (also used as an adj. ‘hostile, enemy’)

Meš (plural marker) (used almost exclusively with logograms (such as Šu.meš ‘hands’, Munus.meš ‘women’); sometimes inserted between components of a complex logogram, such as Dumu.meš é.gal or Lú.meš Kúr). See §1.14 (p. 14).

Lú.Muḫaldim-a- (com.) ‘cook’

Munus ‘woman’ (for its declension see §4.78, p. 113, and “Grammar” of Lesson 7).

Ninda-a- (com.) ‘bread’; rarely in general sense ‘food’

Šaḫ-a- (com.) ‘pig’

Mé ‘water’

-Šu/stú (see §31.16, p. 434) ‘his, her, its’ (suffixed only to Sumerograms and Akkadograms, not to syllabically written Hittite words)

-Ya ‘my’ (suffixed only to Sumerograms and Akkadograms)
Lesson 2

Grammar

This lesson introduces -i-stem nouns and adjectives. Most nouns in -i- add the endings already learned in Lesson 1 to a fixed stem in -i- (with an inserted glide -y- before endings beginning with -a-). Read §§4.13–4.21 (pp. 85–87) and memorize the paradigms of ḫalki- ‘grain’ (§4.23, p. 88) and išpantuzzi- ‘libation’ (§4.24, p. 90). Adjectives in -i- regularly show an alternation (called ‘ablaut’ [§3.37, p. 78]) between a stem in -i- and one in -ay-. In some cases the -y- of the latter is deleted, leading to possible confusion with -a-stems. Read §§4.36–4.37 (p. 94) and memorize the paradigm of šuppi- ‘holy’ (§4.38, p. 95). Note the forms with and without -y- in their endings. A few i-stem adjectives show a fixed stem -i(y)- like the nouns: see the forms of karūili- ‘former, primeval’ (§4.38).

This lesson also introduces the present indicative of mi-verbs with stems in -iya-. Verbal stems in -iya- form one of the largest classes in Hittite. In addition to verbs that appear exclusively with this stem, there are many more that show a stem in -iya- alongside another. Read §12.28 (p. 202) and look over §12.29 (p. 203), memorizing only the present indicative portion of the paradigm of iya- ‘to do, make’. The stem variant with an -e- vowel is more common in some persons than others (e.g., third singular) and much more frequent in the older language than in the later, but one can find either -iya- or -ie- in any period.

Translation Exercise

2.1. šallayaš DINGIR-LIM-aš īštanani peran tiyaweni nu ḫaliyaweni

2.2. namma šuppin NINDA-an GEŠTIN=ya mekki DINGIR-LIM-ni parā appueni n=an=za15 apeniššan iyaweni

2.3. mān šallai pedi tiyaši nu DINGIR.MEŠ-aš SISKUR.MEŠ lē karšanuši

2.4. 4-U-aš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ḫantezziš (ēšzi16) ŠUM=ȘU=ya nakki (ēšzi16)

2.5. IGI-zian GILSḫurkin EGIR-ziš anda17 ŬL wemiyazi

2.6. mān dankui=ya18 pēdi tiyami nu=mu19 nakkiš DINGIR-LIM-iš ḫuišnuzi nu ŬL ḫarkmi

15. -an is ‘him’ (sg. acc. com.), referring back to a noun in the preceding clause.
16. See §30.22 (p. 412).
17. For the position of IGI-zian GILSḫurkin see §30.5 (p. 407). For the position of the preverb anda see §26.3 (p. 341).
18. The conjunction -a/-ya here has the meaning ‘even’. See §29.44 (p. 401).
19. -mu is ‘me’ (acc.).
Lesson 2

2.7. alpaš mahḥan ḫarkiš (ešzi)<sup>20</sup> nu TŪG.Ḫ.LA ŠA DINGIR-LIM<sup>20</sup> QATAMMA Ḫargaeš (ašanza)<sup>19</sup>

2.8. Ḫarkin NINDA-an DINGIR-LIM-ni parā appanzi ŪL=ma=an<sup>21</sup> ēzzazzi

2.9. īr-naš Ḫuwappaš (ešzi)<sup>16</sup> nu Ḫalkin AŠkueraz tāyazzi n=an AŠkueran EN-aš ēpzi

2.10. LŪ.KŪR-an šallayaz URU-riaz arḫa parḥanzi nu=kan meqqauš<sup>22</sup> kumanzi

2.11. attaš DUMU=ŠU weriyyazi n=an<sup>15</sup> punušzi

2.12. kuwat=wa DINGIR-LIM-aš Ḫalkin arḫa warnuši

2.13. šūppi SĪSKUR karūiliyaš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš iemi

2.14. mān DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ĞIS.ZAG.GAR.RA-az GEŠTIN-an tāyatti nu Ḫūdāk Ḫarkteni

2.15. LŪ.KŪR-aš meqqauš AŠkueruš arḫa warnuzzi ĖGIR-ezziaz=ma=an<sup>15</sup> arḫa parḫueni

Vocabulary

alpa- (com.) 'cloud'
anda (see wemiya-)
apeniššan (QATAMMA) 'thus, so'
appezzirma-(EGIR-(ez)zi(ya)-) 'rearmost, last'<sup>23</sup>
appezziyaz (EGIR-(ezzi)az) 'afterwards, later'
ḫaliya- 'to bow, prostrate oneself'
ḫalki- (com.) 'grain; barley'
ḫantezzi(ya)- (IGI-zi(ya)-) 'front, foremost, first'<sup>23</sup>
ḫappiriya- (URU-(ri)ya-) (com.) 'city'
ḫark- 'to perish'
ḫarki- 'white'
ḫušnu- 'to keep alive; rescue, save'
ḫurki- (com.) 'wheel'
ḫūdāk 'immediately; suddenly'
ḫuwappa- (ḪUL-(p)่า-) 'bad, evil, malevolent'
išḥa- (EN-া-, BElu) (com.) 'lord, master; owner'
ištanana- (ZAG.GAR.RA-(n)ा-) (com.) 'altar, sacrificial table'
iya- 'to do, make; treat (as)'; (with -za) 'to worship'

20. On the word order here see §§16.53–16.54 (p. 254).
21. -an is 'it' (sg. acc. com.) referring back to a noun in the preceding clause.
22. As in other languages, the singular of 'enemy' is often used with a collective sense, and subsequent
   references may use a plural (but see also sentence 15!).
23. This adjective is inflected as an a-stem in Old Hittite (stem in -ziya-), but as a non-alternating
   i-stem in Middle and New Hittite (stem in -zi-). See §4.11 (p. 85).
karšanu- ‘to omit, neglect’
karūili- ‘former; primeval’
^κuēra- (com.) ‘field’
kuwat ‘why?’
lē (plus indicative) ‘do/shall not’ (prohibitive negative) (see §26.16, p. 344)
mahjan (GIM-an) ‘as, like’
mekki- ‘much, many’ (often follows its head noun)
nakki- ‘heavy; important; revered, august’
namma (clause-initial) ‘then, next’; (non-initial) ‘again’ (Ul namma ‘no longer’ will be introduced in exercise 3)
parḫ- ‘to chase’
pēda- (neut.) ‘place, spot’
punušš- ‘to ask, question, interrogate’
šalli- (GAL-(l)i-) ‘great, large; adult’
šium(i)- (DINGIR-LIM-(i)-) (com.) ‘god’ (see §4.50, p. 100)
šuppi- ‘holy, sacred, consecrated’
dankui- (GE₆-i-) ‘dark, black’
tāye- ‘to steal’ (§12.23, p. 199)
tiya- ‘to step; station oneself’
-wa (-war- before vowel) (introduces direct speech) (see §§28.2ff., pp. 354ff.)
warnu- (BIL-nu-) ‘to burn’ (trans.); + preverb arḫa ‘to burn up’
wemiya- ‘to find’; + preverb anda ‘to reach, attain, overtake, catch up with’
weriya- ‘to call, summon’
sfkur ‘sacrifice, ritual’
TÚG-a- (com.) ‘cloth, garment’
^u-a- (com.) ‘Storm-god’
ša ‘of’ (marks following logogram as representing a Hittite genitive)
šûm (neut.) ‘name’

24. This i-stem adjective has a fixed stem like i-stem nouns (§4.38, p. 95).
Lesson 3

Grammar

This lesson introduces u-stem nouns and adjectives. Stems in -u- are inflected in a manner completely parallel to those in -i-: most nouns show a fixed stem in -u- (with insertion of a glide -w- before endings beginning with -a-). Read §§4.42–4.46 (pp. 97–98) and memorize the paradigms of ḥaššu- (LUGAL-u-) ‘king’ (§4.47, p. 99) and ġēnu- ‘knee’ (§4.51, p. 101). Adjectives show an alternation (called “ablaut”) between a stem in -u- and one in -aw-. The stem -aw- is constant (the -w- is never deleted), but note the special form -amuš for expected *-awuš in the accusative plural of the common gender (see §1.127, p. 45). Read §§4.55–4.56 (p. 102) and memorize the paradigm of idālu- ‘bad’ (§4.57, p. 103).

This lesson also introduces the present indicative of mi-verbs with the very productive suffixes -ešš- and -āi-. Verbal stems in -ešš- add to a fixed stem the endings already learned in the previous lesson. Study the present tense examples in §12.20 (p. 197). Note that these verbs consistently take the second singular ending -ti instead of -ši. Verb stems in -āi- are very numerous, and some verbs that originally belong to another class also come to inflect as āi-stems. Read §12.35 (p. 206) and memorize only the present tense portions of the paradigms of ḥatrāi- ‘write, send a message’ and ḥandāi- ‘prepare’ (§12.36, p. 207). Note that in the present tense only the third singular regularly has the stem -āi-, while all other forms have -ā- (the length of the vowel is not always indicated in the spelling).

Translation Exercise

3.1. NINDA ḥāršauš mahḥan šā LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL ḥandānzi nu ša DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL apeiššan ḥandānzi
3.2. idālaweš antuḫšeš LUGAL-waš āššū tāyanzi
3.3. māḥḥan=za LŪ.KŮR-aš URU-an tarḫueni nu šāru mekki wemiyaweni
3.4. mān ANŠE.KUR.RA.HLA welluwaz parḫteni n=uš26 ĪL namma wemiyat yeni
3.5. DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ=YA27 LŪ.MEŠ KŮR É.MEŠ DINGIR-LIM=KUNU šaruwānzi
3.6. DINGIR.MEŠ-aš nemuš28 giš-ruwaš ḥaššuš iyaweni

26. -uš is ‘them’ (acc. pl. com.) referring back to the noun in the preceding clause.
27. This phrase is a vocative. See §§16.11–16.14 (p. 244).
28. nemuš is the regular accusative plural common gender of newa-. See §1.127 (p. 45).
Lesson 3

3.7. LUGAL-uš LÚ puntušzi DINGIR-LIM-iš=wa kuwat kartimmiešzi

3.8. nu ANA ABU=ya MUNUS.LUGAL (KUR) Miziři²⁹ tuppipayaz EGIR-pa kiššan ḥatraižzi kuwat=wa apeniššan TAQBI³⁰

3.9. LUGAL-waš DUMU.MEŠ-eš makkeššanzi šalleššanzi=ya

3.10. DUMU.GAL genuwaš GAD-an LUGAL-ui parā ēpzi

3.11. LUGAL-waš tueggaz idālu arḥa paršmi

3.12. daššuš DINGIR-LIM-iš HUR.SAG-an pedi=šši³¹ katta tarmāizzī

3.13. LÚ SANGA-iš pargawaz HUR.SAG.MEŠ-az ḥalluwaz ḥariyaz DINGIR.MEŠ-uš weriyazzi

3.14. mān=za parkuiš ēšmi nu=mu³² DINGIR.MEŠ-eš ganeššanzi nu daššešmi

3.15. DINGIR.MEŠ-eš parkuin antuḫšan šarlānzi daššanuwanzi=ya=an³³

Vocabulary

āppa (EGIR-pa) ‘back; again’
āššu- ‘good’; as neuter collective noun ‘goods’ (see §3.20, p. 72, end, for the spelling āššū)
ḫallu- ‘deep’
ḫandāi- ‘to arrange, prepare’
ḫāriya- (com.) ‘valley’
NINDA ḫarši- (NINDA.GUR.i-ra-i-) (com.) ‘leavened bread’³⁴
ḫašša- (GUNNI-a-) (com.) ‘hearth’
ḫaššu- (LUGAL-u-) (com.) ‘king’
ḫatrāi- ‘to send a message (about), write (about)’
idālu- (ḪUL-(l)u-) ‘bad, evil; hostile’
ganešš- ‘to recognize, acknowledge’
kartimmiešš- ‘to become angry’
katta (GAM) ‘down(ward)’
gēnu- (neut.) ‘knee’

²⁹. KUR added here from the dupl. (see “Sources of Exercise Sentences”, p. 72 below). Although we write Miziři in upper-lower case, like a Hittite word, in constructions like KUR x the word written ‘x’ is an endingless (or stem) form used like a logogram. In purely non-logographic terms MUNUS.LUGAL KUR Miziři stands for *Miziřiyaš utne(y)ša ḫaššuššaraš ‘queen of the land of Egypt’ with Miziřiyaš utneyaš ‘of the land of Egypt’ as genitives dependent upon the nominative ḫaššuššaraš ‘queen’.
³⁰. TAQBI is Akkadian ‘you spoke’ (pret. sg. 2), see §31.28 (p. 438) and §31.34 (p. 440).
³¹. The -šši is possessive ‘its’.
³². -nu is ‘me’ (acc.).
³³. -an is ‘him’ (sg. acc. com.) referring back to a noun in the preceding clause.
³⁴. This i-stem noun shows an alternating stem ḫarši-/ḫarša- (see §4.28, p. 91).
kiššan 'thus, as follows'
makkešš- ‘to multiply (intrans.), become numerous’

Mizra/i- 'Egypt'
newa- (GIBIL) 'new'
parku- ‘high’

parkui- ‘pure’
šallešš- ‘to grow large; grow up’

šankunni- (LÚSANGA-(n)i-) (com.) ‘priest’
šarlāi- ‘to exalt, praise’
šāru- (neut.) ‘booty, plunder’

šarawāi- ‘to plunder’
tarḥ- (+ -za) ‘to conquer’, (without -za) be superior’ (-za is necessary when this verb takes an accusative object)
tarmāi- ‘to nail, fasten’
tāru- (GIŠ-(r)u-) (neut.) ‘wood; tree’
daš(ša)nu- ‘to make powerful’
daššešš- ‘to become powerful’
daššu- ‘mighty, powerful’
tuegga- (NÍ.TE) (com.) ‘body, limb’
tuppi- (neut.) (Sum. DUB; Akkad. ṬUPPU) ‘clay tablet’
wellu- (Ū.SAL-u-) (com.) ‘meadow, pasture’
ANŠE.KUR.RA-u- (com.) ‘horse’

AZU (com.) ‘exorcist’

DUMU.LUGAL-a- (com.) ‘prince’
É.DINGIR-LIM (neut.) ‘temple’
GAD-a- (com.) ‘(piece of) cloth’
KUR (neut.) ‘land, country’

ANA ‘to, for’ (marks a following uninflected word as dative-locative case)
-KUNU ‘your’ (plural) (used only after Sumerograms and Akkadograms)
Lesson 4

Grammar

This lesson introduces the common verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’, infinitives, and enclitic pronouns. Memorize only the present tense portion of the paradigms for pa(i)-‘go’ and uwa-‘come’ (§12.41, p. 209). Besides functioning as ordinary motion verbs, pa(i) and uwa- are also used in a serial construction with another finite verb. For the meaning of this construction in the present tense, read §§24.31–24.42 (pp. 324–329).

Hittite has a single infinitive formed with one of the two suffixes -anna and -wanzi. Read §§11.20–11.21 (pp. 185–186) for a description of which suffix occurs with a given verbal stem. For reading texts it is unnecessary to memorize the suffix for every individual verb, although it is helpful to distinguish uwanna ‘to see’ (au-/uw) from uwauwanzi ‘to come’ (uwa-). What is important is to recognize verbal forms in -anna and -wanzi as infinitives. Read §§25.10ff. (pp. 332ff.) to learn how infinitives are used, with special attention to the unexpected use of the dative-locative for the direct object of an infinitive (§25.15, p. 333).

One of the most widely known and characteristic features of Hittite is its extensive use of “enclitics”: unaccented morphemes that always occur attached to the end of independent words. Examples have already been given, such as the conjunction -a/-ya ‘and, also’. The largest class of enclitics consists of those that are attached to the first word in a clause, frequently to the conjunction nu (or one of its alternates in Old Hittite). Read §§30.15ff. (pp. 410ff.) to familiarize yourself with the basics of how this system works, with special attention to the fixed order in which various enclitics occur. The usage of many enclitic particles is too complex to be presented in a single lesson (for full discussion see chapter 28). Footnotes will convey their meaning as they occur in individual sentences.

One class of enclitics must be learned as a whole in this lesson: the enclitic pronouns. Memorize the forms in §5.12 (p. 135), read about their use in §§18.8ff. (pp. 279ff.), and note the rules for their order in §30.19 (p. 411). The vowel of the conjunction nu is deleted before those beginning with a vowel: nu+aš > n-aš, etc. (§1.72, p. 32). Hittite pronouns function like English ones: they refer back (rarely ahead; see §18.22, p. 283) to nouns mentioned in the discourse. Hittite has accented pronouns, which are only used for emphasis or contrast (treated in chapter 5 and Lessons 10 and 11). Since the person and number of the subject are marked by the verbal endings, Hittite does not for the most part use a pronoun for subjects. There are no enclitic subject pronouns for the first and second persons (‘I, we, you’), and third-person enclitic subject pronouns are not needed with most verbs. Some intransitive verbs—a few of which occur very frequently (‘go’,
'come', etc.)—require enclitic pronominal subjects. Read §§18.13–18.18 (pp. 280–283) for a description. It isn’t necessary at this point to memorize all the details of this distribution. What is important to remember is that **transitive** verbs never take enclitic subject pronouns. This fact can help greatly in disambiguating the meaning of -e, -aš, and -at. If one of these pronouns occurs in the same clause as a transitive verb, it must represent the direct object. Conversely, if it co-occurs with an intransitive verb, it must be the subject. Keep this in mind in translating the sentences in this and following lessons.

Hittite regularly uses enclitic pronouns to mark direct and indirect objects. Note that for the first- and second-persons the same form is used for both direct and indirect objects—which is intended must be determined from the context. The third-person pronouns share some endings with the nouns (-aš, -an), but others are peculiar to the pronouns (-at, -e). A special difficulty is presented by the fact that several of these are ambiguous in meaning: note carefully the two meanings of Old Hittite -e and of Middle/ New Hittite (henceforth NH) -aš, and the three meanings of MH/NH -at (see again §5.12, p. 135).

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**Translation Exercise**

4.1. mān-zā LUGAL-ūš MUNUS.LUGAL-ašš-e DINGIR.MEŠ-muš35 iyanzi n=aš

4.2. mahḫan-kan ùTU-uš šallayaz arunaz šarā uezzi nu=ssi-kan36 menaḫḫanda tiyaweni

4.3. LUGAL.GAL INA KUR LÚ.KÚR paizzi nu mekkauš URU.HI.A-uš walḫzi

4.4. LÚ.MEŠ-halliriese SÌR-RU LÚ.MEŠ-zinhirieš tarkuanzi t-ešta pānzi37

4.5. mahḫan LÚ.KÚR-an arḫa parḫueni n=aš aruna paizzi

4.6. mān-kan38 šarkun DINGIR-LAM NINDAḫaršit aššanumeni nu=mas39=aš genzuwalaš

4.7. mān(=za) 1-EN URU-LUM=ya ēpti nu kāšma NIŠ DINGIR-LIM ĻL pahḫašnuši n=an40 uwammì LÚ.KÚR-aš iwar GUL-aḫmi

4.8. nu=šmaš-kan EN=šUNU kuit BA.ŪŠ41 nu LÚ.MEŠ KUR URUMIZRI nahiḫariyanzi42

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35. For the shape of acc. pl. DINGIR.MEŠ-muš (šimuš) see §1.127 (p. 45) and §4.50 (p. 100).


37. For the conjunction tu see §§29.3ff. (p. 390) and §29.15 (p. 393) and for the particle -(a)šta §28.108 (p. 382) and §28.110 (p. 382).

38. A local particle (one in the class of -kan) is obligatory with the verb aš(ša)nu-.

39. -naš is dative here.

40. -an (sg. acc. com.) refers back to the 1-EN URU-LUM.

41. The particle -kan underscores here that the action of the verb principally affects those referred to by -šmaš (see §28.76, p. 371).

42. The context shows that nahiḫariyanzi refers to a past action. For this use of the present tense see §22.6 (p. 307).
4.9. [našm]a⁴šmaš DINU=ma kuitki⁴⁴ nu lē nuntarnutteni . . . [nu=kan⁴⁵] lē
idālawēššēni

4.10. nu=kan⁴⁶ LUGAL-uš šuḫḫi šarā paizzi n=aš ANA⁴⁷ UTU ŠAMĒ UŠKEN

4.11. kuwas utwaši DINGIR.MEŠ-aš UZUšappa šandawanzi uvami

4.12. nu=kan UTU-Šī URI Piqainarišaz arḫa URI Aštírugqa anda paizzi

4.13. maḫḫan=ašta⁴⁸ MUNUS.LUGAL-aš ÍŠTU É.GAL-LIM parā uezzi nu DUMU.MEŠ
É.GAL kunnaz GŪB-lažzi=ya⁴⁹ tiyanzi

4.14. mān LÚ.KUR-aš ANA ZAG.ḪLA KUR URI Hatti GUL-ahḫwanzi uezzi
KUR=KA=aš=kan⁵⁰ ištarna arḫa lē paizzi

4.15. mān LUGAL-i āššu⁵¹ nu adanna akuwanna paizzi

**Vocabulary**

*anda* (preverb) ‘in(to)’

*aruna-* (A.AB.BA) (com.) ‘sea’

*aš(a)n*- ‘to make right; arrange’

*Ḫalliri-* (com.) (a cult functionary)

*irḫa-* (ZAG-a-) (com.) ‘border; border territory’

*Ištanu-* (UTU-u-) (com.) ‘sun; sungod’

*ištarna arḫa* ‘through, across’

*idālawēšš-* ‘to become bad/inimical’

*iwar* ‘as, like’ (with preceding genitive) (§§16.59–16.60, pp. 255–256)

*kāša/kāšma* (The word itself need not have a separate translation. For its effect on the aspect—and therefore translation—of the finite verb see §§24.27–24.29, pp. 323–324.)

*genzuwala*- ‘merciful’

*kuit* ‘because, since’ (see §8.9, p. 151; §§30.41–30.45, pp. 418–419)

*luluwāi*- ‘to cause to prosper, cause to thrive’

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43. *našma* should be translated ‘or if’ here, as the first clause is a conditional one.

44. *kuitki* is ‘some’ (sg. nom.-acc. neut.) modifying DINU.

45. See §28.78 (p. 372) on the use of -kan.

46. See §28.71 (p. 370).

47. Asyndeton is regular in the first clause of direct quotes. In a dialogue the first clause of each successive speaker will be asyndetic. See §27.8 (p. 351) and §29.4 (p. 390).

48. See §28.110 (p. 382).

49. For the ending of GŪN-lažzi see §1.116 (p. 42).

50. See §28.75 (p. 371).

51. This clause illustrates a common expression for ‘if it please(s)...(plus dative)’. Note the lack of an enclitic subject pronoun for non-referential ‘it’. Such clauses can also have a real subject: namma-išši mān Ḫaršiyalli i āššu ‘Then if he wishes Ḫaršiyalli-vessels, . . .’ KUB 7.5 iv 12–13.
mahḥan (GIM-an) ‘when’
menaḥḥanda (IGI-anda) ‘towards, facing’
naḥšariya- ‘to be(come) afraid’
našma ‘or’
nuntunu- ‘to hasten, act hastily’
pai- ‘to go’ (with preverbs indicating direction)
šarā ‘up, upward’
šarku- ‘exalted’
šuḫḫa- (com.) ‘roof’
UZU šuppa- ‘sacralized/consecrated meat’ (collective plural only)52
tarku- ‘to dance’ (§12.12, p. 194)
UWA-, UE- ‘to come’
LÚ zinḫuri- (com.) (a cult functionary)
BA.ŬŞ ‘died’ (see §31.34, p. 440)
É.GAL-LIM ‘palace’
GŬB-(l)a- ‘left-(hand)’
sîr-ru ‘they sing’ (= IZAMMARŪ see §§31.27ff., pp. 438ff.)
dUTU-Šī ‘my Sungod’ (royal title; usually translated ‘His Majesty’)53
1-EN ‘one’ (the complement -EN represents the end of the Akkadian word ištēn ‘one’, see §31.26, p. 438)
DINU ‘legal case, dispute’
INA ‘in, into’ (marks dative-locative case)
ištU (marks ablative or instrumental case, thus ‘from’ or ‘with’)
-ka ‘your’ (sg.) (used only after Sumerograms and Akkadograms, §31.24, p. 437)
NIŠ DINGIR-LIM ‘oath’
ŠAME ‘of heaven’
-šunu ‘their’ (used only after Sumerograms and Akkadograms, §31.24, p. 437)
UŠKEN ‘bows’

52. This noun is originally the collective nom.-acc. plural of the adjective šuppi-. See §4.37 (p. 94).
53. This royal title, indicating an identification of the king with the Sungod, the god of justice, whose typical dress he at times shared, is also indicated on the royal seal by the use of the winged sun-disk over the royal name. The Hittite king was not, however, considered divine while he was alive.
Lesson 5

Grammar

This lesson introduces nouns in -t-, nouns and adjectives in -nt-, and the present indicative of verbs with an infix -ni(n)-. For nouns in -t- read §§4.91–4.98 (pp. 120–123) and memorize the paradigms of aniyyatt- ‘ritual’ and šiwatt- ‘day’ (§4.94, pp. 121–122). For adjectives in -nt- read §4.97 (p. 123) and memorize the paradigm of ḫūmant- ‘all’ (§4.98, p. 123). Nouns in -nt- (all common gender—see §4.96) are inflected just like the adjectives (see the paradigm of išpant- ‘night’ in §§4.98, p. 123).

Hittite has a single participle, formed with a suffix -ant- and inflected just like other adjectives in -nt-. It is built to the regular verbal stem, the same stem as the present third plural in those cases where there is stem variation (e.g., appant- ‘seized’, kurant- ‘cut’, ḫandānt- ‘prepared, arranged’). Read §§25.39ff. (pp. 339ff.) for the meaning and usage of the participles. Note that, with rare exceptions (§25.39), participles have a passive meaning when formed from transitive verbs. Like other adjectives, Hittite participles may modify nouns (§§25.41–25.42, p. 339), but they much more frequently occur as predicates (§25.43, p. 339). When they serve as attributives, they follow rather than precede their head nouns. Sometimes they form a “compound perfect” tense with the verbs ḫar(k)- ‘to have’ or ēš- ‘to be’: carefully read §§22.19ff. (pp. 310ff.) on how these constructions are used, focusing for the present only on the construction with ēš-54 and noting that the verb ‘to be’ is sometimes left unexpressed (§22.3, p. 306).

A small class of verbs ending in a -k- form their stem by inserting an “infix” -ni(n)- before the final -k-. Memorize the present tense portion of the paradigm of ḫarnink- ‘destroy’ (§12.18, p. 196), noting the distribution of the variants -nik- and -nink-.

Note on Transliteration. In the first four lessons the translation exercises have been presented in so-called “bound transcription,” with the morpheme boundaries before enclitics marked with (*). But published editions of Hittite texts use transliteration, for it more directly reflects how the texts are written in the cuneiform originals. Therefore, beginning in Lesson 5 the exercises are given in transliteration. To aid students make the transition from bound transcription, in Lessons 5–9 transliterated Hittite texts are followed by the same selections in bound transcription. The latter should help in interpreting the former. Beginning with lesson 10, only transliteration will be used.

54. For the ḫar(k)- construction see Lesson 6.
Translation Exercise

5.1. LUGAL-uš LÚ.KÚR-an UD.KAM-az wa-al-ah-zi iš-pa-an-ta-az-ma-aš\(^{55}\) tu-uz-zi-ya-zi


5.4. LŪ.MEŠ\(^{56}\)SANG-er-ēš DINGIR.MEŠ-uš pu-nu-uš-ša-an-zi kar-tim-mi-ya-at-ti-wa pé-ra-an\(^{56}\) Ū-UL ú-wa-at-te-ni

5.5. MU.KAM-za ku-it LUGAL-wa-aš ÉRIN.MEŠ-ťi še-er te-pa-u-eš-ša-an-za na-at a-ap-pa\(^{60}\) ḫa-at-tu-ša pa-a-an-zi


\(\star\) 5.7. tāk-kū LŪ.UL\(^{57}\) ku-iš-ki\(^{57}\) ḫu-ū-ni-ik-zi ta-an iš-tar-ni-ik-zi nu a-pu-u-un\(^{58}\) ša-a-ak-ta-a-iz-zi

5.8. ma-a-ah-ḫa-ān ki-iš-ša-an iš-ta-ma-aš-mi LÚ.KÚR-aš-wa ú-ez-zi nu-za ÉRIN.MEŞ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ya ní-ni-ik-mi

\(\Diamond\) 5.9. nu-za LUGAL-uš\(^{60}\)Tu-wa-wa-aš-aš za-ah-hi-ya-u-wa-an-zi e-ep-zi\(^{59}\)

5.10. an-tu-uš-ša-an Ū-UL-ya wa-aš-ta-an-ta-an ša-an-ja-ān-zi

5.11. EN-aš ku-it me-ek-ki kar-tim-mi-ya-wa-an-za nu na-ah-ša-ra-az ĪR.MEŠ-uš e-ep-zi

5.12. LUGAL-uš-za ŠA LÚ.KÚR ÉRIN.MEŠ-an tar-ah-zi nu ku-na-an-za-ah-ša\(^{60}\) me-ek-ki\(^{61}\) LŪ-ap-pa-an-an-za-ša me-ek-ki

\(\Diamond\) 5.13. nu-ut-ta\(^{62}\) ka-a-ah-ša ma tar-pa-aš-ša-an ú-nu-wa-an-da-an pi-ya-mi na-aš-kān\(^{63}\) ḫu-u-ma-an-da-az\(^{64}\) aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za

\(^{55}\) The ablative išpantaz is used to mean 'at night' (see §16.95, p. 266).

\(^{56}\) On this use of peran see §20.23, end (p. 299).

\(^{57}\) kuški is 'someone, anyone' (sg. nom. com.).

\(^{58}\) apūn is 'him, that one' (sg. acc. com.), referring to the injured party.

\(^{59}\) For the meaning of ēpp- plus infinitive see §25.20 (p. 335).

\(^{60}\) The double use of the conjunction aš (geminating) means 'both . . . and' (see §29.42, p. 401). For the spelling see §1.114 (p. 42).

\(^{61}\) Both kunanza and appanza should be understood as collectives, and mekki is predicatival 'much'. Idiomatic English demands plurals: 'Those slain are many . . .'.

\(^{62}\) This sentence is addressed to an angry deity.

\(^{63}\) A local particle (one in the class of -kan) is obligatory with the verb aššanu-.

\(^{64}\) The use of the ablative here is essentially instrumental: 'made right with everything' = 'well prepared in every respect'.
Lesson 5

5.1. LUGAL-uš LŪ.KUR-an UD.KAM-az wahlzi išpantaz=ma=aš tuzziyazi
5.2. weriyanteš ŬL-ya weriyantyeš DINIR.MEŠ-eš ĀNA SĪSKUR uwanzi
5.3. DINIR.MEŠ-aš weriyawanzi paiweni ħantezzi=ma=at UD-ti ĬL uwanzi
5.4. LŪ.MEŠ, SANGA-eš DINIR.MEŠ-uš punuššanzi kartimmiyatti=wa peran ĬL uwatteni
5.5. MU.KAM-za kuit LUGAL-waš ĖRIN.MEŠ-ti šer tepaveššanza n=at ĪRU Ḫattuša āppa ṭanži
5.6. išpanti=ššan šašti šanezziš tešḥaš antuḫšan pittuliyanan natta ēpzi
5.7. takku LŪ.ULU₁₅, LU-an kušši ħūnikzi ṭ-an ištarnikzi nu apūn śaktāizzi
5.8. māḫḥan kiššan ištamašmi LŪ.KUR-aš=wa uezzi nu=za ĖRIN.MEŠ ANŠE, KUR. RA.MEŠ=ya ninikmi
5.9. nu=za LUGAL-uš ĪRU Tuwanuwan zaḫḫiyauwanzi ēpzi
5.10. antuḫšeš Ḫūmantes dalugauš MU.KAM.ḪL.A-uš dušgarattann=ša šanḫanzi
5.11. EN-aš kuit mekki kartimmiyawanza nu nalšaraz IR.MEŠ-uš ēpzi
5.12. LUGAL-uš=za ŬL.KUR ĒRIN.MEŠ-an tarḫzi nu kunanzašš=ša mekki LŪ. Meššanzašš=mešša mekki
5.13. nu=ta kāšma tarpaššan unuwandan piyami n=aš=kan Ḫūmandaz aššanuwanza
5.14. ¤Mezzulla GAŠAN=YA ĀNA dIŠKUR-zA U ĀNA dUTU ĪRU Arinna aššiyanza DUMU.MUNUS-aš
5.15. nu KUR ĪRU Ulman Ḫarnikmi nu=šši=kan pēdi=šši ZĀ. AH.LI^SAR śuniyami

Vocabulary

aššiyant- ‘dear, beloved’
Ḫarnink- ‘to destroy’ (with or without arḫa)
Ḫūmant- ‘all, whole’ (follows(!) the noun it modifies, see §25.41, p. 339)
Ḫūnink- ‘to injure’
išpant- (GE₃,-ant-) (com.) ‘night’
ištamašš- ‘to hear’
ištarnink- ‘to make sick, incapacitate’

65. See §28.36 (p. 363) for this use of -za.
Lesson 5

\textit{kartimmiyatt-} (TUKU.TUKU-(at)t-) (com.) ‘anger’
\textit{kartimmiyawant-} (TUKU.TUKU-(w)ant-) ‘angry’
\textit{mekki} ‘very’
\textit{\textsuperscript{4}Mezzulla-} (com.) (a deity)
\textit{nahšaratt-} (com.) ‘fear, awe; fearsomeness’
\textit{ninink-} ‘to raise, mobilize; (re)move’
\textit{pittuliyant-} ‘worried, anxious’
\textit{piya-} ‘to send’
\textit{šaktaĩ-} ‘to tend to, care for’ (the sick or injured)
\textit{šanezzi-} ‘fine; sweet’
\textit{šanḫ-} ‘to seek; search; sweep’
\textit{šašt-} (com.) ‘bed; sleep’
\textit{šer} ‘above; on; for’ (with preceding dative-locative)
\textit{šiwatt-} (UD/UD.KAM-(at)t- §9.51, p. 167) (com.) ‘day’
\textit{šintya-} ‘to sow, scatter, sprinkle’
\textit{ta} (conj.) (Old Hittite only; for its use see §§29.15ff., pp. 393ff.)
\textit{takku} ‘if’ (Old Hittite only)
\textit{daluki-} ‘long’
\textit{tarpašša-} (com.) ‘ritual substitute’
\textit{tepawešš-} ‘to become (too) small’
\textit{tešha-} (com.) (û) ‘dream’
\textit{dušgaratt-} (com.) ‘joy’
\textit{tuzziya-} ‘to encamp, make camp, go into camp’
\textit{unu-} ‘to adorn’ (also inflected as a stem unuwāi-)
\textit{wētt-/wītt-} (MU/MU.KAM-t- see §9.51, p. 167) (com.) ‘year’
\textit{zahhiya-} ‘to fight’
\textit{ÉRIN.MEŠ-t-} (com.) ‘troops’\textsuperscript{66}
\textit{GAšAN} (com.) ‘lady’
\textit{\textsuperscript{4}iškur} (com.) ‘Storm-god’
\textit{ZĂ.AH.LI\textsuperscript{6AR} (neut.) ‘weeds’}
\textit{u} (written with the sign û) ‘and’

\textsuperscript{66}. This noun is grammatically singular but collective in meaning, and Hittite sometimes refers back to it with plural pronouns.
Lesson 6

Grammar

This lesson introduces noun stems in -r/-n-, the verb ẖar(k) ‘hold, have’, the present indicative of mi-verbs with alternating stems in -e/-a-, and verbal stems with the suffix -ške-.

One large class of neuter nouns in Hittite shows an r-suffix in the nominative-accusative but an -n- suffix in all the other cases (“heteroclitics,” §§4.99ff., pp. 124ff.). The very productive suffixes -ātar/-ann- and -eššar/-ešn-(/ssn/) form very regular paradigms. Memorize those for paprātar ‘impurity’ (§4.104, pp. 126–127) and ūanneššar ‘legal case’ (§4.108, p. 128). Learn also the similar paradigms of mēḫur ‘time’ (§4.101, pp. 124–125) and ħuitar ‘wild animals’ (§4.104, end, p. 127). A small set of nouns shows variation in their stem in addition to the alternation between r and n. Memorize the paradigms for ȅšẖar ‘blood’, paḫḫur ‘fire’, uttar ‘word; matter’ and wātar ‘water’ (§4.101, pp. 124–125), paying special attention to the difference between nominative-accusative singular and plural. Verbal nouns in -war (i.e., the “verbal substantive”) show -war in the nominative-accusative and -waš in the genitive, with no trace of -n- (§4.114, p. 130; §11.20, p. 185). For the use of the verbal substantive read §§25.4–25.9 (pp. 330–332). While the paradigm of per ‘house’ is unique, it resembles that of r/n-stems enough to be conveniently learned here (§4.115, pp. 130–131).

The verb ẖar(k) ‘to hold, have’ loses its final -k- before endings beginning with a consonant. Memorize only the present tense portion of the paradigm (§12.10, p. 193). Besides functioning as an ordinary main verb ‘to hold, have’, ẖar(k) also occurs in a construction with the nominative-accusative singular neuter form of the participle. Read §§22.19–22.24 (pp. 310–312) on the two different meanings of this construction.

For mi-verbs with alternating stems in -e/-a- read §§12.23–12.27 (pp. 199–202) and study only the present tense portion of the table found there. Also learn the present tense of the irregular verb tē-/tar- ‘say’ (§§12.48–12.49, pp. 211–212). Read §§12.31–12.33 (pp. 204–206) for a description of the formation of stems in -ške- and memorize the present tense forms of daške- ‘take’ (§12.33, p. 205). The function of verbal stems in -ške- (and alternates that need not concern you at this point) is very broad. Learn the basics of their use by reading chapter 24. Footnotes will aid in recognizing which meaning is intended in a particular example.

Translation Exercise

6.1. ma-a-an DINGIR,MEŠ an-tu-ûḫ-ša-an i-da-a-la-wa-az ud-da-na-az û-ūL
pa-ah¬ša-an-zi na-aš ẖar-ak-zi

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Lesson 6

6.2. LÚ.MEŠ KUR Mi-iz-ra-ma ma-ah-ha-an šA KUR Am-ka GUL-ah-ḫu-wa-ar
iš-ta-ma-aš-sha-an-zi na-at na-ah-ša-ri-ya-an-zi
67
6.3. nu-za DINGIR. MEŠ i-da-a-la-u-az ud-da-na-az e-eš-ḫa-na-az iš-ḫa-ah-ru-wa-az
ḫu-u-ma-an-da-az-zi-ya pár-ku-wa-e-eš
6.4. tāk-ku ird-āš ē-er lu-uk-ke-ez-zi iš-ḫa-a-ah-ši-ša 68 še-e-er-ši-it 69 šar-ni-ik-zi
... tāk-ku na-at-ta-ma šar-ni-ik-zi nu a-pu-u-un-pār 70 šu-ū-e-z-zi
6.5. ḫal-ki-iš-wa ma-ah-ha-an DUMU. NAM. LÚ. U₁₄ LÚ GUD UDU ḫu-i-tar-ra
Ḫu-u-ma-an ḫu-ir-sa-aš-ke-ez-zi 71 LUGAL MUNU. LUGAL ki-i-ya 72 Ė-er ka-ah-āś
Ḫal-ki-iš kal-la-ri-it 73 ud-da-na-az QA-TAM-MA ḫu-ir-šu-zi
6.6. DINGIR. MEŠ-āš 73 UZU ẖu-up-pa pa-aḥ-ḥu-e-e-ni-it za-nu-me-ni nu EGIR-an-da
pa-ah-ḫur ā-i-te-ni-it ki-ah-ta-nu-me-ni
TI-an-na-ah-āś-zi-ik-ke-ez-zi
6.8. ne-ku-uz me-e-ḫur UN. MEŠ-e-esh ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš pár-na pa-a-an-zi
6.9. ḫA DUZ ŠA EN. ĪSKUR Ė-er iš-ḫa-na-ah pa-ap-ra-an-na-az-zi-ya pär-ku-nu-zi
6.10. ḫA DUZ-āš-ta ḫa-a-ah-ša-an a-ra-aḥ-ḫa-an-da ši-i-eš-ni-it gūl-aš-zi
Ḫu-u-ma-an-da-az pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-mi
DUMU-ŠU ū-ḪU-⌊wa-ii-li-in ti-i-e-et nu-za-kān ū-Ti-ti-ya-ah ḫa-ah-ša-ṭar
ku-en-ṭa

67. The context shows that nāḫšāriyanzi refers to a past action. For this use of the present tense see §22.6 (p. 307).
68. The enclitic -šiš is a possessive adjective meaning ‘his’ (likewise -šaš in sentence 13). For the final
-a see §29.30 (p. 397).
69. For the grammar and sense of šēr-šiš see §20.26 (p. 300).
70. apūn is sg. acc. com. of the anaphoric/demonstrative pronoun apā-, thus ‘him, that one’, referring
back to ṭa-ah-āś.
71. The -ške-form marks omnitemporality here. The statement is gnomic, i.e., true at any time (§24.15,
p. 321).
72. ki (sg. nom.-acc. neut.) and kāš (sg. nom. com.) both mean ‘this’.
73. For this use of the instrumental see §16.109 (p. 269).
74. This word is a complete nominal sentence. The reference is to a priestess removed from her office
(but spared the death penalty) for committing murder.
75. For the alternate writing of -za see §28.16 (p. 357).
Lesson 6

6.15. ḫar-na-u-aš-za ku-it MUNUS-za\textsuperscript{76} A-NA DINGIR-LIM EN-YA še-er SAG.DU-za šar-ni-in-kán ḫar-mi

**Broad Transcription**

6.1. mān DINGIR.MEŠ antuḫšan idālawaz uddanan zūl paḫšanzi n=ōs ḫarkzi
6.2. LŪ.MEŠ KUR\textsuperscript{URU} Mizra-ma maḫḫan ša KUR\textsuperscript{URU} Amka GUL-ahḫuwar istamaššanzi n=at naḫšariyanzi
6.3. nu=za DINGIR.MEŠ idālawaz uddanan ešḫanaz išḫahrwaz ūḫmandazzı=ya parkuwaēš
6.4. takku ḫa-ēr-lukkezi išḫāš-šiš-sa šēr-šiš šarnikzi . . . takku natta=ma šarnikzi nu apūn=pat šuwezzi
6.5. ḫalkiš=wa maḫḫan DUMU.NAM.LŪ.U\textsubscript{19} LU GUD UDU ḫuitarr=ā ḫūman ḫušnuškezi LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL ki=ya ē-er kāš ḫalkiš kallarit uddanan QATAMMA ḫušnuzi
6.6. DINGIR.MEŠ-āš\textsuperscript{UZU} suppa paḫḫuenit zanumeni nu EGR-anda paḫḫur witenit kištanimeni
6.7. Ti-anza=āš nu ḫUTU ŠAMĚ IG.LA-it uškezzi NINDA=an=āz Ti-annaš azzikkezzi
6.8. nekuž mēḫur UN.MEŠ-ēš ūḫmanteš parna pānzı
6.9. LŪ.AZU ša EN.SĪ.KUR ē-er išḫanaz paprannazzi=ya parkunuzi
6.10. LŪ.AZU-aš-āš ta ḫaššan arahzanda šiyešnit gul(a)ṣzi
6.11. DINGIR.MEŠ taranteš ūl=ya taranteš arunaz ŪR.SAG.MEŠ-az ūḫriyaz welluwaṣ pēdaṇzi=ya ūḫmandaz uwanzi
6.12. LUGAL-waš LŪ.MEŠ KŪR-ŠU ūḫmunduṣ ūḫluami ni KUR-SŪ ūḫmandaz paḫḫaṣmi
6.13. ūrūš GAL LŪ.MEŠ MEŠEDI duddumili ḫaššannaš=šaš DUMU=ŠU =Taḫurwailin piyēt nu=za=kan =Titiyāu ḫaššatar kuenta
6.14. LUGAL-aš-za KUR.KUR.MEŠ LŪ.KŪR tar(a)ḫṭan ḫarzi
6.15. ḫarnawaš-za kuit MUNUS-za ANA DINGIR-LIM EN=YÀ še-er SAG.DU-za šar sucker ḫarmi

**Vocabulary**

*appanda* (EGIR-(p)anda) ‘behind; afterwards’
*arahzanda* ‘around’
ēšḫar (neut.) ‘blood; bloodshed’
ḫar(k)- ‘to hold; have’

\textsuperscript{76}. The first sentence ends with MUNUS-za. For its syntax see §28.34 (p. 363).
Lesson 6

ḫarnau- (com.) ‘birthing stool’ (§4.53, p. 101)
ḫaršar (SAG.DU) (neut.) ‘head; person’
ḫaššātar (MĀŠ-tar) (neut.) ‘birth; family’
ḫuišwant- (TI-(w)ant-) ‘alive, living’
ḫuišwātar (TI-(wa)tar) (neut.) ‘life’
ḫuitar (neut.) ‘wild animals’
ḫul- ‘to fight (someone, -thing); contravene’
išḫaḫru- (neut.) ‘tears’
kallar(a)- ‘unfavorable, harmful’
ḫištanu- ‘to extinguish’
gulš(š) ‘to incise, inscribe, draw’
lukke- ‘to set fire to’
mēḫur (neut.) ‘time’
nekut- (com.) ‘twilight, evening’
paḫḫur (anzi) (neut.) ‘fire’
paprātar (neut.) ‘impurity’
parkunu- ‘to purify, cleanse’
-pat (a particle) (see §§28.115ff., pp. 384ff.)
per (ē) (neut.) ‘house’
šākuwa- (TI-giwa-) (com.) ‘eye’
šarnink- ‘to make restitution’
šiyeššar (Kaš-eššar) (neut.) ‘beer’
šuwe- ‘to push (away), reject’
tē-/tar- ‘to speak; mention’
duddumili ‘secretly’
ḫuške- ‘to see’
uttar (INIM) (neut.) ‘word; matter, affair’
wātar (ā) (neut.) ‘water’
DUMU.NAM.LU₂₉.LU₁₉.LU₁₉-(I)a- (com.) ‘human being’
EN SİSKUR (com.) ‘client, patron, sacrificer’
GAL LÜ₂.meye MEŠENI (com.) ‘chief of the bodyguard’
MUNUS-(n)- (com.) ‘woman’ (for its inflection see §4.78, p. 113)
UDU-ә (com.) ‘sheep’

77. This noun always has a collective meaning, even in the singular.
78. This noun is common gender, but the plural is consistently a collective. See §3.13 (p. 68).
Lesson 7

Grammar

This lesson introduces n-stem nouns and the preterite tense of \textit{mi}-conjugation verbs.

For neuter n-stem nouns read §§4.68–4.69 (p. 108) and memorize the paradigm of \textit{lāman} 'name' (§4.70, p. 109). Also memorize the special paradigm of \textit{tēkan} 'earth' (§4.71, p. 110), which has a unique stem variation. Most common-gender n-stem nouns show variation between a stem without \textit{-n}- in the nominative singular and with \textit{-n}- elsewhere. Read §§4.73–4.75 (pp. 111–112) and memorize the paradigms of \textit{memi(y)an} 'word' and \textit{ḥar}an 'eagle' (§§4.75–4.76), paying special attention to the tendency of these stems to become \textit{a}-stems. The small class of common-gender nouns in \textit{-anza(n)}- also shows variation between a stem without \textit{-n}- in the nominative singular and with \textit{-n}- elsewhere. Read carefully the description of this type in §4.79 (pp. 113–114), noting the existence of the singular nominative in \textit{-anza} or \textit{-anzaš}.

Learn the preterite endings of the \textit{mi}-conjugation (§11.6, p. 181). Then carefully study the preterite tense portions of the paradigms representing all the various classes of \textit{mi}-conjugation verbs whose present tenses were previously learned: \textit{wal} (§12.8, p. 192), \textit{ēpp} (§12.3, p. 189), \textit{ēd} (§12.3, p. 189), \textit{kuen} (§12.6, p. 190), \textit{arm}u- and \textit{wal}nu- (§12.44, p. 211), \textit{tiya} (§12.29, p. 203), verbs in \textit{-ešš} (§12.20, p. 197), \textit{ḥandāi} (§12.36, p. 207), \textit{pai} - and \textit{uwa} (§12.41, p. 209), \textit{ḥarnink} (§12.18, p. 197), \textit{ḥulle} (§12.25, p. 201), and verbs in \textit{-ške} (§12.33, p. 206). Since any stem variation is the same as in the present tense, there should be no difficulty in learning the preterite tense for all of these at once.

Translation Exercise

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{7.1.} nu-wa t-NA KUR \textit{Ḫa-at-ti ḫi-in-kán pí-ya-at-tén} \textsuperscript{79} nu-wa KUR \textit{Ḫa-at-ti ḫi-in-ga-na-az me-ek-ki ta-ma-aš-ša-an e-eš-ta}
  \item \textit{7.2.} ŠA LÚ.MEŠ IGL.NU.GÁL-mu ut-tar ḫa-at-ra-a-eš\textsuperscript{80} na-aš-mu lam-ni-it ḫa-at-ra-a-eš
  \item \textit{7.3.} nu-kán LÚ.MEŠ IGL.NU.GÁL.HA ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš\textsuperscript{81} URU Ša-pí-nu-wa ša-ra-a pé-ḫu-te-er
  \item \textit{7.4.} ú-i-il-na-aš ÉRIN.MEŠ-an te-eš-su-um-mi-uš-ša ta-ak-na-a ḫa-ri-e-mi tu-uš tar-ma-e-mi
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{79.} This quotation is addressed to the gods in a prayer.
\textsuperscript{80.} Sentences 2 and 3 are adapted from a letter addressed by one official to another.
\textsuperscript{81.} In this MH text the nom. pl. com. ending \textit{-eš} is being used for the accusative (see Hoffner forthcoming and in this grammar §3.16 (p. 70).}
Lesson 7


7.7. GUD-un-aš-ta H-a-ša-li-az a-up-pa URU H-uš-ša-an-ka kur-sa-un


7.11. ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ-kán Hú-um-an-te-eš HUL-un UN-an da-an-ku-ya-az ták-na-az ar-Ḫa ḫar-ni-in-ker


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82. pianzi is present third plural ‘(they) give’.
83. The genitive arkammanaš means here ‘tribute-bearing’ (see §16.61, p. 256), and the reflexive means ‘(I made them tributary) to myself’.
84. For the significance of the syllabification of GUD-un-aš-ta see §1.9 (p. 12). For the particle -ašta underscoring separation see §28.110 (p. 382).
85. The context is of a prayer where the speaker is denying that he held back (āppa) choice animals from offerings to the gods for his own use.
86. KL.MIN functions like English ‘ditto’, that is, the scribe uses KL.MIN to indicate repetition of whatever has not changed in the preceding text of parallel constructions. Here (in #7.7) it stands for URU kuššanka kuršun
87. The particle -kan here underscores the local sense of ‘among mankind’. See §28.49 (p. 366).
88. The sentence in its original context introduces this person as a new topic, hence the conjunction -a, which is untranslatable in this case (see §29.30, p. 397).
89. Read as -ma-az, with the conjunction -ma (untranslatable out of context) and the reflexive particle -z(a).
90. linkiya is dative-locative singular of lingai- ‘oath’.
91. kiššan ‘as follows’ refers to a following direct quotation in the original text that is omitted here.
92. The combination of double -ṣa ‘also, and’ and the negative is equivalent to ‘neither…nor’. You should assume that kuenta and ēpta are the same person and number as zikkeš.
93. For the use of -kan with ḫarnink- see §28.77, end (p. 372).
94. The local particle -ašta often associates with the adverb/postposition anda in the same clause. But the exact sense of this is still unclear.
95. Hittite often uses a singular noun with a number higher than one. See §9.22 (p. 159).

Broad Transcription

◇ 7.1. nu=wa IN A KUR URI Ḫatti Ḫinkan piyatten nu=wa KUR URI Ḫatti Ḫinganaz mekki tamaššan ēšta
◇ 7.2. ŠA LÚ.MES TUR.GAL Aš mu utter Ḫatrāeš n=aš=mu lamnit Ḫatrāeš
◆ 7.3. nu=kán LÚ.MES TUR.GAL Ḫumanteš URI Sapinwa šarā peḫuter
◆ 7.4. wiňaš ĕrin.TURM-an teššummiš=a taknā Ḫariemi t=USH tarmaemi
◆ 7.5. ašēšar šarā tiyazi nu LÚ.MES ZABAR.DAB ašēšni akuwanna pianzi
◆ 7.6. URI Kappērin=ma=za URI Kāraššuwan URI Ḫurnan=n=a arkammanaš iyanun nu URI Ḫattuši GEŠTIN-an arkammananni pē Ḫarker
◆ 7.7. GUD-un=ašta Ḫāliaz āppa Ûl kuššanka karšun UDU-un=ašta ašaunaz EGIR-PA K.L.MIN
◆ 7.8. ANA DUMUNAM.LÚ.U19.LU=pai=kan anda memian kişan memiškanzi Ḫarnāuwaš=wa MUNUS-NU DINGIR-LUM kāri tiyazi
◇ 7.9. Ḫantiliš=a LU SAGLA-aš ēšta nu=za ʿḤarapšilin NIN ḪMuršili DAM-anni Ḫarta
◆ 7.10. KUR URI Ḫapalla=ma=za linkiya kattan kišan zikkeš . . . namma=ma=kan KUR URI Ḫapalla kuanta=yā Ûl ēpata=yā at ŪL
◆ 7.11. ḪIS DINGIR.MEŠ=kan Ḫumanteš ḪUL-un UN-an dankuyaz taknāz arḫa Ḫarninker
◆ 7.12. LÚ.KUR-aš INA KUR-TIM anda uet nu AŠA kueroš lukket nu Ḫalkiuš Ḫumanduš Ḫarnikta
◆ 7.13. n=ašta Ē-ri anda laḫḫanzanašMUŠEN Ḫimmuš iyanzi nu ŠA GIŠ.HLA 10 laḫḫanzaMUŠEN iyanza n=USH ĕšTU K.U.BABBAR Ḫališšiyanzi
◆ 7.14. dUTU-UD ḪarānanMUŠEN Ḫeliwanda pįyęt n=ašta pargamuš ḪURSAG.HLA-UŠ šan(a)ḫta UTE-li-pī-nu-na ÛL wemiyat
◆ 7.15. LUGAL-UŠ LU.MES Ḫalukattaša tezzi kuwat=wa uwatten nu=sši āppa taranzi takšulannaš=wa=tta memini šer uwawen

Vocabulary

anda (postposition with d.-l.) ‘in, among’
arkam(m)an- (com.) ‘tribute’
arkam(m)anātar (neut.) ‘payment of tribute’

96. Note that the conjunction is non-geminative -a (i.e., -al-ma, §29.23–29.24, p. 395), hence ‘but’ in this context.
Lesson 7

ašawar (TūR) (neut.) ‘sheepfold’
ašeššar (neut.) ‘assembly’
ḫāli- (neut.) ‘corral’
ḫališšiya- ‘to coat, plate, inlay’
Lūḫalugattalla- (Lū TĒME) (com.) ‘messenger’
ḫāran-MUSEN (ÂMUŞEN) (com.) ‘eagle’
ḫariya- ‘to bury’
ḫenkan- (ŬŠ) (neut.) ‘death; plague’
ḫimma- (com.) ‘model, replica’
kāri tiya- ‘to accede to (the wishes of)’
karš- ‘to cut; segregate’
kattan (GAM-an) ‘under’
kuššanka ‘ever’, natta + kuššanka = ‘never’
lāḫ(b)anzan-MUSEN (com.) (kind of duck)
lāman (ŠUM-an) (neut.) ‘name’
lēliwant- ‘swift’
linkiyanteš (Niš DINGIR.MEŠ) (com. pl.) ‘oath-gods’
memi(y)an- (INIM) (com.) ‘word; matter, affair’
memiše- ‘to say, speak’
nega- (NIN-a-) (com.) ‘sister’
pē ḫar(k)- ‘to offer, furnish’
peḫute- ‘to lead’ (see §12.21, p. 198)
takšulatar (neut.) ‘peace’
tamašš- ‘to press, oppress’
tēkan (KI) (neut.) ‘earth’
Telipinu- (com.) (A male deity of the storm-god class, generally conceived as the producer of life and proliferation among plants and animals.)
teššummi- (GAL-i-) (com.) ‘cup’
wil(a)n- (IM) (com.) ‘clay’
zikke- ‘to place’
DAMatar (neut.) ‘wifehood, marriage’
GUD-u- (com.) ‘bovine, cow, steer’
KI.MIN (functions like English ‘ditto’); see p. 26, n. 86 above.
KŪ.BABBAR-i- (neut.) ‘silver’
Lū ĪGL.NU.GĀL (com.) ‘blind man’
LūSAGI.(A)-(l)a- (com.) ‘cupbearer’
LūZABAR.DAB (com.) (an official who distributes beverages)
Lesson 8

Grammar

This lesson introduces nominal stems in -l-, -r-, and -š- and the present indicative of consonantal stems of the ḫi- conjugation. Nouns in -al and -ul are neuters; read §4.64 (p. 106) and §4.66 (p. 107) and memorize the paradigms of ḫabḫal- ‘brushwood’ and wašṭul- ‘sin’. Some stems in -iel are neuter, while others appear to be animate, but note that in both cases the nominative and accusative singular may have a zero ending (memorize the paradigms of alil- ‘blossom’ and šarnikzil- ‘compensation’ in §4.65, p. 107). Most nouns in -ur are neuter; read §4.80 (p. 114) and memorize the paradigm of aniur ‘ritual’ (§4.81, p. 114). The old noun kurur- ‘enmity’ is attested as an adjective (study the paradigm in §4.85, p. 117). Nouns and adjectives in -ar may be common gender or neuter. Both genders show nominative and accusative singulars with zero ending, but there is a strong tendency for the common-gender nouns to be inflected as a-stems. Read §§4.82–4.83 (pp. 115–116) and study the paradigms of ḫappar- ‘purchase, sale’ (neut.) (§4.82), ḫuppar- ‘bowl’ (com.) and šittar- ‘sun-disk’ (com.) (§4.84, p. 116), and the adjective šakuwaššar- ‘full, complete’ (§4.85, p. 117). The word for ‘hand’, already learned as an a-stem, also shows traces of its original inflection as an r-stem with an alternating stem. Study the paradigm in §4.82 (p. 116). Most š-stem nouns are neuter and have an invariant stem; read §4.87 (p. 117) and memorize the paradigm of nepiš- ‘heaven, sky’ (§4.89, pp. 119–120). The noun for ‘mouth’ shows stem variation; learn the paradigm of aiš/išš- in §4.88 (p. 118).

Learn the present tense endings of the ḫi-conjugation (§11.6, p. 181). Some consonantal stems of the ḫi-conjugation show an invariant stem, while others show an alternation between a in the singular and e in the plural. Note that this distribution is the opposite of that for corresponding verbs of the mi-conjugation. Memorize the present tense portion of the paradigms of šakk-/šekk- ‘know’ (§13.1, p. 214) and šipand-/išpand- ‘libate’ (§13.3, p. 216). Note that some verbs ending in a single consonant show an alternation between simple consonant in the third singular and geminate consonant in the third plural (aki vs. akkanzi in §13.1).

Translation Exercise


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97. What follows ši-pa-an-da-an-zi here is a detailed enumeration of the animal offerings. The first seven are treated syntactically as an “extraposed” apposition (see §30.9, p. 408). The last is treated as a new clause.
8.2. *nu-uš-*ma-as<sup>98</sup> blockquote<sup>4</sup>ŠKUR<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-at-*ti *iš-ḫi-ú-ul* A-NA LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-at-*ti  *me-*na-ah-ḫa-an-da  *i-*ya-at

8.3. LUGAL-*uš* ḫu-*u-up-pa-*ri  *ši-pa-an-*ti MUNUS.LUGAL-ša na-at-*ta*

8.4. LÚ.SANGA-iš NIN-NUN-*ni-it* ki-iš-šar-*ta* e-*ep-*ta na-*an* DINGIR-LIM-*ni*  *pé-*e ḫar-*ta*

8.5. *an-*tu-ul-ša-aš-kán<sup>99</sup>  an-da  *me-*ni-iš-kán-*zi* ša *A-BI-ŠU-*wa-kán  wa-aš-túl  A-NA DUMU-ŠU  *a-*ri

8.6. ták-*ku* MUNUS-[za ḫ]a-a-*ši*  *nu*  *an-*na-az-párt<sup>100</sup>  ša-az [a-]*-iš  *ar-*ḫa  *ha-a-*ši  *nu*  *me-*ma-i<sup>101</sup>  *ṭu-*aš KUR-*e* za-a-*ḫi<sup>102</sup>

8.7. ták-*ku* LÚ<sup>GIS</sup>TUKUL-*aš* A.ŠA.HI.A-ŠU ḫu-*u-ma-dan-*da  *an*  iš-*ki<sup>103</sup>  wa-a-*ši* lu-*u-*z-*i*  kar-pí-ez-*i*

8.8. URU Kat-ti-ti-mu-*wa-*aš-*ma-*mu* ták-*šu-*ul  e-eš-*ta* na-an-kán iš-*tar-*na  ar-*ḫa*  pa-a-*un* nu KUR<sup>URU</sup> Tá-ga-aš-*ta* GUL-ah-ḫu-un

8.9. nu-*mu* KUR<sup>URU</sup>Pí-*ig-*ga-i-*na-re-*eš-*ša* ku-it  ku-*u-ur*  e-eš-*ta* nu-*uš-*ša-an<sup>104</sup>  pa-a-*un* KUR<sup>URU</sup>Pí-*ig-*ga-i-*na-re-*eš-*ša* ša-aš-*ti* wa-al-ah-ḫu-un

8.10. MUNUS ŠU.GI GÜB-la-*az* TÜG<sup>ku-re-eš-šar</sup> A-NA<sup>GIS</sup>BANŠUR pé-*ra-*an kat-ta  *ga-an-*ki

8.11. ma-*ah-ḫa-an-ma*  *i-*NA<sup>URU</sup>Tar-ku-*ma* a-ar-*ḫi*  *nu*<sup>URU</sup>Tar-ku-*ma* an ar-*ḫa*  wa-ar-*nu-*mi

8.12. ša-*ra-a-kán* ú-*wa-*ši  ne-pí-*ša-aš<sup>4</sup>UTU-*uš* a-*ru-na-*az*  nu-*uš-*ša-an  ne-pí-*ši* ti-*ya-*ši

8.13. nu ZAG še-e-k-kán-*te-*et<sup>105</sup>  zi-it  an-da*  le-*e*  ku-iš-*ki*  za-a-*ḫi*

8.14. ne-pí-*ša-*aš<sup>4</sup>UTU-*uš* DINGIR.MEŠ ḫu-*u-ma-an-*du-*uš*  ne-pí-*ša-*az  ták-*na-a-*az  ḫUR.SAG.MEŠ-*az*  ĞD.MEŠ-*az*  İŠ-TU  Ė.MEŠ  DINGIR.MEŠ-*SU-*NU  ú-e-*ri-*ya-*at

8.15. ták-*ku* ḫa-an-ne-eš-*na-*aš* ša-*ḫ-a-aš<sup>106</sup>  le-*la-*ni-*at-ta<sup>107</sup>  šar-ti-an-*na*  wa-al-ah-*zi*  na-aš  a-ki*  šar-ni-*ik-*zi-*il* NU.GÁL

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98. The reference is to the Egyptians.
99. See n. 87 (p. 26) above.
100. The sense of -párt here is ‘right (from)’. For the ablative *annaz* see §16.102 (p. 267); another example is in §16.94 (p. 266).
101. *memai* is ‘speaks’ (pres. sg. 3). The subject is the newborn child.
102. The sense of the present tense here is future. This is not what the newborn says, but a prediction based upon this omen.
103. *kuiški* (sg. nom. com.) is ‘someone’.
104. For the use of -šan see §28.86 (p. 374) (should be understood as ‘upon one’s bed’ vs. English ‘in bed’) and for its position §24.31 (p. 324).
105. The participle here has an active sense ‘knowing’. See §25.39 (p. 339), end.
106. The ‘lord/master of the law case’ is a ‘litigant’ or ‘opponent in court’, a calque on Akkadian bél *dini* (§31.36, p. 440).
107. The verb *lēlaniatta* (m.-p. pres. sg. 3) means ‘becomes furious’.
Lesson 8

Broad Transcription

8.1. **nu-kán ANA ALAM 1 GUD.NIGA 7 UDU.ḪI.A=ya šipandanzi 1 UDU táknaš**

8.2. **nu-šmaš ḫ deliveries**

8.3. **LUKGAL-ưš ḫūppari šipanti MUNUS.LUGAL-š-a natta**

8.4. **ḪUḪ SANGA-iš NINDA-an kunnit kiššarta ēpta n-an DINGIR-LIM-ni pē ḫarta**

8.5. **antuḫšaš-kan anda memiškanzi ša aBI=AŠ-wa-kan waṣṭul ANA DUMU-šu ari**

8.6. **takku MUNUS-Za ḫāši nu annaz=pat ša-az aiš arḫa ḫāši nu memai ḫ-U-AŠ KUR-e zāḫi**

8.7. **takku LUG SUTUKUL-āš A.ŠA.ḪI.A=šu ḫūmandan kuiški wāši luzzi karpiezzī**

8.8. **ḪUḪ KATTITIMUWAŠ-MA-MAU tāšul ēṣṣa n-an-kan ištrarna arḫa pāun nu KUR**

8.9. **nu-MA KUR ḫUḪ PIGGINAREŠŠA kuit kūrur ēṣṣa nu-ššan pāun KUR**

8.10. **MUNUS ŠU.GI GUB-laz ḫUḪ ŠEŠŠAR ANA GIŠ-BANŠUR peran katta gANKI**

8.11. **MAḪḤAN-MA INA ḪUḪ TARKUMA ārḫi nu ḪUḪ TARKUMAN arḫa warnumi**

8.12. **šārā-kan uwaši nepišaš ḫUḪ-ABU-ABU arunaz nu-ššan nepiši tīyašī**

8.13. **nu ZAG-ŠEKKANTET ZI-IT anda ē ḫūški zāḫi**

8.14. **nepišaš ḫUḪ-ABU DINGIR.MEŠ ḫūmanduš nepišaz taknāz ḫURSAG.MEŠ-AB ŠEŠŠAR E.ḪUḪ ḫUḪ DINGIR.MEŠ-ŠU UNU WERIYAT**

8.15. **takku ḫanneššar šaḫši lēlanitta šartiann-ša wal(ā)hazi n-ṣaš aki šarnikzil NU.GĀL**

Vocabulary

aiš- (ᴋAₓU-ῖš) (neut.) ‘mouth’

ak(k).bīi ‘to die’

ar.bīi ‘to arrive (at), reach’ (+ d.-l. or allative)

ḫanneššar (dī) (neut.) ‘judgment, law case’

ḫapan- (īd-a(n)-) (com.) ‘river’

ḫaš(ī), ḫeš(ī).bīi ‘to open’ (with or without the preverb āppa)

ḫaš(ī).bīi ‘to give birth’

108. From this point on all verbs belonging to the “ḫi-conjugation” will be marked with superscripted ḫī as this one.

109. The force of āppa in this combination is ‘back’, referring to ‘throwing back’ the two parts of a door or window.
Lesson 8

ḫuppar- (com.) 'bowl'
išḫiul- (RIKILTU) (neut.) 'obligation, treaty'
ištanzan- (zī(-an)-) (com.) 'soul'
kank-,bhi 'to hang' (trans.)
karpiya- 'to lift; perform, carry out' (alternate stem of karp-)
keššar- (ŠU, QATU) (com.) 'hand'

TUG̱kureššar (neut.) 'scarf'
kūrur- 'hostile' (see §4.86, p. 117)
luzzi- (neut.) 'compulsory public work, corvée'
nepiš- (AN, šAME) (neut.) 'heaven, sky'
šakk-,bhi (Akk. IDI) 'to know; recognize'
šarnikzil- (com.) 'restitution'
šardi(y)a- (NARARU) (com.) 'helper, auxiliary'
ši(p)pand-/lišpand-,bhi (BAL) 'to libate; sacrifice; offer to (a deity, in acc.)'
takšul- (neut.) 'peace'*110
waš-,bhi 'to buy'
waštul- (neut.) 'sin'
zab(h)y-,bhi 'to strike' (+ anda 'to penetrate(?)')

GUD.BANŠUR-u- (com.) 'table'
GUD.NIGA (com.) 'fattened ox'
LIG GUD.TUKUL (com.) 'man having a TUKUL obligation'
MUNUS šUGI (com.) 'old woman, ritual practitioner'
NU.GÂL '(there) is/are not'
šâ (neut.) 'insides; womb'

qUD.SIG̱ (com.) 'the Favorable Day' (as a deity)

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110. As a predicate with 'to be' takšul- functions as an adjective 'peaceable'. See §4.66 (p. 107) and see kurur-.
Lesson 9

Grammar

This lesson introduces noun stems in -ai-, the nouns ‘land, country’ and ‘heart’, and ḫi-verbs with stems in -i-.

Noun stems in -ai- show either a fixed stem -ai- (written -ay- before vowels in broad transcription) or -ai- alternating with -i- (y). Read §4.32 (p. 92) and memorize the paradigms for lingai- ‘oath’ (§4.33, p. 92) and ḫaštai- ‘bone’ (§4.34, p. 93). Learn the irregular paradigms of utne- ‘land’ (§4.58, pp. 104–105) and kart- ‘heart’ (§4.116, p. 131). Note that in NH the dative-locative singular of ‘land’ is identical to the nominative-accusative singular and plural.

 ‫ holistic conjugation verbs with stems in -i- show a three-way stem alternation -e-, -āi-, and -i(y). There is a tendency for the variant -āi- to spread beyond its original distribution. Read §13.20 (pp. 222–223) and memorize just the present tense portion of the paradigms for dai- ‘put, place’ and pai- ‘give’ (§13.21, p. 223).

Translation Exercise

◆ 9.1. DUMU.É.GAL-iš ḫa-an-ta-še-pa-an LUGAL-i


◆ 9.3. nu ku-it-ma-an a-na SANGA pa-a-an-zi ku-it-ma-an SANGA Aš-ta-ta-za ú-wa-da-an-zi ku-it-ma-an ú-wa-an-zi ŠA DINGIR-LIM ša-ak-la-uš ta-ni-ku-ša-an-zi

◆ 9.4. DUMU.É.GAL LUGAL-i pé-ra-an ḫu-wa-a-i na-aš ú-ez-zi DAM LUGUDU₁₂-ša kat-ta ti-i-e-ez-zi

◆ 9.5. šal-la-e-eš DINGIR.MEŠ-eš a-da-an-zi Ú-UL-ma-at-za iš-pi-ya-an-zi


111. For the case of LUGAL-i see §16.67 (p. 258).
112. Hittite scribes tend to spell the present 3rd plural of tiya- ‘to step’ as ti-ya-an-zi and that of dai- ‘to put’ as ti-an-zi, but this is not a reliable criterion, and you should assign these forms to the respective verbs based on the overall context.
113. This example is part of an oracular inquiry. Interpret the final clause as a question ‘Shall/should they . . . ?’
114. See §24.37 (p. 327).
115. See vocabulary.
116. The reference is to a fugitive whose return is being demanded by the Hittite king.
Lesson 9


9.8. nu-za-an ud-da-a-ar-me et-112 ū-a-ta-ta-me-et-ta kar-ta ša-it-ti


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117. ku-iški is sg. nom. com. of the indefinite pronoun ‘anyone’.

118. The -a here is that which geminates the preceding consonant (§29.38, p. 399), translatable here as ‘Even the king . . .’ (see §29.44, p. 401).

119. -šaš is sg. gen. of the possessive enclitic adjective ‘his’. For the syntax and meaning of kardiyaš-šaš see §16.61 (p. 256).

120. Read either as nuṣṣan or nu-za-an, with the reflexive particle and one of the local particles -ššan or -an (see §28.83, p. 374). For the use of -šan see §28.90 (p. 376).

121. -met is pl. nom.-acc. neut. of the possessive adjective ‘my’. For ḫattata as specifically plural see §4.105 (p. 127).

122. Substituted here for the original ši-iš (-ša)-at-ti on which see lesson 11.

123. tuḫ is dative-accusative of the accented personal pronoun ‘you’ (singular).

124. This entire sentence is a series of subordinate clauses. These are continued in sentence 10, where you will finally find the main clause.

125. kē is ‘these’ (pl. nom.-acc. neut.).

126. The absence of any conjunctions linking the successive clauses needs explanation. In texts such as the Hittite laws and certain, originally OH, omen texts with takku followed by an apodosis, the apodosis (in our present case KUR-e an-da) regularly is asyndetic. This may be an extension of one of the basic functions of asyndeton in Hittite, namely, to mark an elaboration of the meaning of the preceding clause. Since the third clause (beginning BURAL. HLA) also explains the meaning of the second, asyndeton is appropriate there as well.

127. The reference is to bones of a sacrificial animal.

128. The reference here is to past time. For this use of the present tense see §§22.6–22.7 (pp. 307–308).

129. The understood referent in context is ‘them’ (Arnuwanda and Zida).
Lesson 9

Broad Transcription

◆ 9.1. DUMU.É.GAL-iš Hantašepan LUGAL-i kiššarī dāi teššummin=na pāi

9.2. DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL. DINGIR-LIM-ni peran tiyanzi nu=šši NINDA-an DUG.išpantuzzi=ya peran katta tianzi

◆ 9.3. nu kuitman ANA LUG.SANGA pānzi kuitman LUG.SANGA URU.Āštataza uwadanzi kuitman uwanzi ŠA DINGIR-LIM šaklaš šašiš taniuwanzi

9.4. DUMU.É.GAL. LUGAL-i peran ĕhuwāi n=šši uzzi DAM LUGUDU₁₂-aš katta tiyēzi

9.5. šallaš DINGIR.MEŠ-eš adanzi ŪL=ma=at=za išpiyanzi

◆ 9.6. mān=war=an ĕL=ma ĕptēnī nu=war=an=mu parā ĕL pešēnī nu=wa uvami nu=wa=šmaš QADU KUR=KUNU arţa ĕhrarni

◆ 9.7. lē kuiški tezzi LUGAL-š=a duddumili kardīyaš=šaš iezzi

◊ 9.8. nu=z(?)an uddār=met ĕhata=met=ta karta šaitti

◊ 9.9. mān=kan ANA UTU-ši kuiški peran arţa wakzuži n=šš kan tuk anda uezzi ĕptē=ma=an ŪL n=an=mu parā ŪL pešī

◊ 9.10. nu=ššu naššu ĕGIR-an tiyaši našma=an=kan IGL.Ḫ.A-wa ĕHR.SAG-i naitti nu=šša NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ parḫeškanzi

◊ 9.11. nu=ššan kē ĕhāmanta GISP=Baddani teβhe GISP=adder=šaš ūṣši teβhe

◆ 9.12. mān ina UD.15.KAM dšīn-aš aki KUR-e anda māšaš parāi BURU₁₁.Ḫ.A karāpi

◆ 9.13. UGULA LŪ GISP=BAŅŠUR GISP=BAŅŠUR GISP=AB-ya peran dāi nu=ššan 2 NINDA.GUR₄, RA.Ḫ.A GAL.10 NINDA.GUR₄, RA.TUR GISP=BAŅŠUR-i dāi

◆ 9.14. nu ūṣšāe anda liššanzi n=at ūṣši awan katta tianzi

◆ 9.15. nu=kan mabhan =Arnuwandaš =Zitašš= a KUR-e kattanda aranzi nu LŪ.KŪR-aš zahḥiya menahlhanda uezzi

Vocabulary

āppan (EGIR-an) ‘behind, after’ (āppan tiyāa- ‘to step behind’ = ‘give support (to)’) awan katta ‘down beside’

Ḥantašepa- (com.) (a minor deity, here referring to an image or symbol of the deity)

ḫaštai- (neut.) ‘bone’

ḥattātar (neut.) ‘wise thought’

ḫuwwa-,bŭi ‘to run’

išpaɪ-,bŭi ‘to be satisfied, filled’

DUG.išpantuzzi- (neut.) ‘libation-vessel’

karāp-,bŭi ‘to devour’

130. For this meaning of ḫattātar see Hoffner 1998b: 66.
**Lesson 9**

*katta* (GAM) (postpos., §20.21, p. 299) ‘with, beside’ (not the same as *katta* ‘down’)

*kattanda* (GAM-anda) ‘down in(to)’

*ker* (ŠA) (neut.) ‘heart’

*kuitman* ‘while, as long as’

*le/išš-* ‘to gather, pick up’ (with preverb anda)

*luttāi-* (GLS AB) (neut.) ‘window’ (see §4.34, p. 93)

*maša-* (com.) ‘locust’

*nai-bbī* ‘to turn; send’

*naššu . . . našma* ‘either . . . or’

*pai-bbī* ‘to give’ (+ parā ‘to hand over, return, extradite’)

*parā-bbī* ‘to appear, come forth’

*GI/GIS pattar* (neut.) ‘basket’

*šai-bbī* ‘to press; seal’

*šakl(a)ī* (com.) ‘custom, rule; prerogative, right; rite, ceremony (as the prerogative of a deity)’

*dai-bbī* ‘to put, place’

*tanīnu-* ‘to put in order, organize’

*utnē- (KUR) (neut.) ‘land, country’

*uwaṭe-* ‘to bring’ (a person) (see §12.21, p. 198)

*watku-* ‘to spring, jump’ (+ peran arḫa ‘to flee from’)

*zalīhāi-* (com.) ‘battle’ (see §2.18, p. 54; §4.32, p. 92)

*BURU₁₄ = ‘crop(s), harvest; harvest-season’

*dam-* (com.) ‘wife’

*LÚGUDDL₂₁-a- (com.) (A kind of priest, ranked below the LÚ SANGA/LÚ šankunni-priests, but above other temple personnel such as exorcists (LÚ AZU/LÚ HAL), cooks, table-men, scribes and musicians. Its Hittite reading is most likely *kumra*- com.; see Hoffner 1996a.)

*LÚ GISS BANŠUR (com.) ‘table-man’ (server)

*Tur* ‘small, little’

*UGULÁ (com.) ‘chief, head’

*QADU* ‘(together) with’

*dSIN-a- (com.) ‘moon, Moongod’ (= arma-)

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131. For the meaning ‘prerogative’ and its role as the source of the meaning ‘rite (for a deity)’ see CHD § 46 and Hoffner 2001.
Lesson 10

Grammar

This lesson introduces demonstrative/anaphoric, interrogative/relative, and indefinite pronouns and ḫi-verbs with stems in -a-. Read chapter 7 and memorize the paradigms of apā- ‘that; he, she, it’ and kā-/kī- ‘this’ (§7.3, p. 143). You have already seen some of the endings of these paradigms in the enclitic pronouns, but others are new and unique. For the syntax of the demonstratives read carefully §§18.20–18.32 (pp. 283–286).

The interrogative/relative pronoun kui- inflects as an ordinary i-stem in certain cases but like the demonstrative pronouns in others. Learn the paradigm in §8.2 (p. 149).

The indefinite pronoun kuiški ‘some, any’ adds a particle -kki/-kka to the inflected forms of kui- (see the paradigm in §8.3, p. 150). Similarly, kuišša ‘each, every’ consists of the inflected forms of kui- plus the conjunction geminating -al-ya (see §8.3–8.4, p. 150).

Study §§18.33–18.36 (pp. 286–287), §§27.6–27.16 (pp. 350–353), and §§30.58–30.64 (pp. 423–426) for the use of the indefinite, interrogative, and relative pronouns, with special attention to the syntax of Hittite relative clauses, the most frequent pattern for which is quite different from that of English.

🥇verbs in -a- show a fixed stem -a- except for the first person plural, infinitive, and verbal noun, which show a stem in -um-. Read §13.9 (p. 218) with references and memorize just the present tense portions of the paradigms of dā- ‘take’ (§13.11, p. 218) and tarna- ‘release’ (§13.13, p. 219). Note that there is a tendency to level out the forms in -um-, especially in dā- ‘to take’. In NH forms of the mi-conjugation occur in the second and third singular of verbs of the tarna- type (tarnaši, tarnaizzi).

Translation Exercise


132. The meaning of katta-ma in this context is ‘consequently’.

133. Interpret this clause as a (rhetorical) question. See §§26.8–26.10 (pp. 342–343). The following clause continues the rhetorical question, and the force of the negative carries over, as in English (§26.25, p. 346). For the meaning of the genitive waštulaš see §16.61 (p. 256). The force of the -pat in this case is ‘likewise, too’.

134. The form -šše instead of usual -šši for enclitic dat. sg. ‘him, her’ appears only in Old Hittite.
Lesson 10


135. Interpret māḫḫan here as interrogative. Idiomatic English prefers ‘what?’ instead of ‘how?’.
136. MU.KAM-za me-ḫur shows partitive apposition (see §16.10, p. 243) or an adverbial accusative.
137. Sentence 6 directly continues sentence 5.
138. In New Hittite the enclitic accusative pronoun is sometimes repeated, framing either -za (a) or one of the dat.-acc. personal pronouns. See §30.19 (p. 411).
139. Since waḫnu- here has the meaning ‘to alter, change’, it takes ‘terminative’ -kan (see §28.77, p. 372).
140. The meaning of the conjunction geminating -a ‘also, and’ is in this case ‘even’ (see §29.44, p. 401).
141. As elsewhere in Neo-Hittite, kāš is functioning here as common gender nominative plural.
142. ku-it ‘what?’ here has the meaning ‘why?’ See §8.9 (p. 151).
143. For the syntax of this sentence see §30.11 (p. 409).
144. For the ‘anaphoric’ use of -ma see §29.34 (p. 398).
145. Hittite does not always require a subject clitic pronoun, when the antecedent is clear from the context. The trace after -wa on the tablet shows that the scribe, finding himself running out of space on the line, at first started to write -wa-rā-at, but stopped and erased the -ra, apparently deciding that the reference was clear without it.
146. See §30.14 (p. 410) for this phenomenon of “gapping.”
Lesson 10

a-na-aš-ma-aš-ši pī-ya-an ku-it ḫar-mi nu-uš-ši-kán₁₄₈ ar-ḥa ku-it-ki da-a-i . . .
na-an-kán ku-wa-uš ₃I₂DINGIR MEŠ ar-ḥa ḫar-ni-in-kán-zi

10.15. MUNUS.LUGAL ḫu-du-hé-pa-aš-kán₁₄₉ ku-wa-pí m₄UR.MAḪ.LÚ-₄ in GAL DUB.
ar-ḥa a-ni-ya-at

Vocabulary

aniya- 'to carry out, execute; write'
ariya- 'to make (the subject of) an oracular inquiry'

⁽⁴⁾Ḥannaḥanna- (⁽⁶⁾NIN.TU) (com.) (fate-goddess)

⁽⁴⁸⁾ḫaršiyalli- (neut.) 'pithos, storage jar'

EZE₄ ni畬uwa- (a major festival; the Hittite noun underlying the logogram EZE₄ is
com. gender)

kīštant- (com.) 'hunger'
kuwapi 'when; where'
kuwatta šer 'on what account, why'
lingai- (com.) 'oath'
nūman (marks negative volition; translatable as 'do/did not wish to . . . ' (see §26.19,
pp. 344–345)

pēda-bb⁽¹⁾ 'to carry, bring'

GUD pūḫugari- (com.) 'ox of ritual substitution'
šeli- (com.) 'grain-heap, granary'
šunna-bb⁽¹⁾ 'to fill'
dā-bb⁽¹⁾ 'to take' (+parā 'to pick out')
uda-bb⁽¹⁾ 'to bring'
waḫnu- 'to turn; change, alter'
waṭ⁽¹⁾ 'woe'
warp- 'to bathe'
wašṭa-bb⁽¹⁾ 'to sin'
wešṭara⁽¹⁾ (⁽¹⁾sip-a-) (com.) 'shepherd'

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¹⁴⁷. For the spelling of this word see §1.108 (p. 41).
¹⁴⁸. The -kan is required by the preverb arḫa and the separation from the person implied by it (see
§28.76, p. 372; also §16.68, p. 258).
¹⁴⁹. See §28.1 (p. 354) for the placement of -kan.
¹⁵₀. The particle -ašta combined with arḫa underscores that the new tablets were copied from the old
ones.
¹⁵¹. apiya UD-₄ (= šiwat) is an archaic expression for apēdani UD-₄.
Lesson 10

ÉSAG-(n)a- (com.) ‘grain storage pit’
GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ ‘chief of the scribes’
GÍN ‘shekel’

^LIŠ (com.) ‘(the goddess) IŠTAR’ (this goddess’s name is also written ^IŠTAR, and in the
woman’s name ^IŠTAR-at-ti-iš [= ^IŠaušgattiš] is read as ^Šaušga)

TÚG.NÍG.LÁM.MEŠ ‘festive garments’

BIBRU ‘rhyton, animal-shaped drinking vessel’
ELLUM ‘free’

^IŠTAR-at-ti-iš see above under ^LIŠ

LÚMUTU (com.) ‘husband’

TUPPU (neut.) ‘clay tablet’
Lesson 11

Grammar

This lesson introduces enclitic possessive pronouns, accented personal pronouns, vocatives, and ḫi-verbs with alternating stems in -a/-i- (including the suffix -anna/i-) and with the suffix -šša-.

In Old and Middle Hittite, possessive pronouns usually appear as inflected enclitics attached to their head nouns. Except in rare cases, possession is indicated in New Hittite by the genitive of the accented personal pronouns or by dative enclitic pronouns. Read chapter 6 in its entirety, with close attention to how pronouns express possession at different stages of the language. Memorize the paradigms of enclitic possessives in §6.4 (pp. 138–139). Note the special “split possessive” construction that is used particularly with inalienably possessed nouns (§§16.38–16.39, p. 251).

Accented pronouns for the first- and second-persons are used for emphasis or contrast. Their inflection is limited and quite irregular. Read §5.1–5.10 (pp. 132–135) and memorize the paradigms in §5.8 (p. 134). Note that in (Late) New Hittite the dative-accusative forms of the first singular and plural and second plural come to be used also for the nominative, and the nominative plural of the first singular and second plural for the dative-accusative. The demonstrative stem apā- also functions as the accented pronoun for the third person (§5.6, p. 133).

True vocatives are relatively rare and limited to Old and Middle Hittite. See §§3.28–3.30 (pp. 74–76) for the attested forms. While one also finds rare instances of the nominative used for direct address (§16.17, p. 245), this usage probably arose out of the much more common “appositional direct address” described in §16.16 (p. 245), most examples of which happen to be in the nominative.

Some ḫi-verbs are inflected consistently with -a- in the singular, but in the plural may show either -i(y)- or -a- (the -i(y)- forms occur mostly in older texts). Memorize the present tense portion of the paradigm for memali- in §13.23 (p. 225). Verbs with the suffix -annali- show the same inflection (read §13.25, p. 226, and study the examples in §13.26, pp. 226–227). The verbs unnali- and pennali- ‘drive’ inflect partly like memali- and partly like tarna-, showing some forms in -um- (see §13.23, p. 225). Derived verbs in -šša- inflect with invariant -a-. Study the examples in §13.15 (pp. 220–221). The suffixes -šša- and -annali- have the same range of meanings as stems in -ške- introduced in Lesson 6. See again chapter 24.
11.1. ṚTU-i ʾiš-ḫa-a-mi ku-it-wa wa-aš-tūl-mi-it ku-it-wa i-ya-nu-un ku-it 152
11.2. ḤUŠ-aš GUD.ḪA-šu-uš UDU.ḪA-šu-uš ne-ku-uz me-e-ḫur aša-ub ni a-ap-pa pé-en-na-i
11.3. ṚTU-e šar-ku LUGAL-u-e ta-an-du-ke-eš-na-aš DUM.ḪEŠ-aš zi-ik 153
   nu DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš ʾiš-tar-na la-a-ma-an-te-et na-ak-ki-i 154 nu KUR.KUR.ḪEŠ ḫu-   u-ma-an-te-eš tu-uk-pát šar-li-iš-kān-zi
◆ 11.4. zi-ik am-me-el ē-na le-e ú-wa-ši ú-ga 155 tu-e-el pár-na Û-UL ú-wa-a-mi
◇ 11.5. nam-ma-zu DINGIR.MEŠ me-ḫu-na-aš 156 e-eš-ša-an-zi ku-e-da-ni-ya 157
   DINGIR-LM-ni ku-it me-ḫur na-an a-pé-e-da-ni me-ḫu-ni e-eš-ša-an-zi
◆ 11.8. tāk-ku LŪ.U₁₉.LU-an EL-LAM 159 KIR-ŠE-et ku-iš-ki wa-a-ki 1 MA NA KU.BABBAR pa-a-i

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152. The repetition of the pronoun kuit in the second clause shows a certain impatience or urgency, perhaps like English ‘what in the world . . .?’ or ‘whatever . . .?’ But since -wa is sometimes (§§28.11–28.13, pp. 356–357) omitted in sequence of clauses of quoted speech, this last kuit could constitute a third clause.
153. For the word order of this clause see §30.29 (p. 414).
154. On the possible interpretation of nakkī as a superlative ‘most exalted’ see §§17.17–17.18 (p. 275).
155. The conjunction -a here which does not geminate the preceding consonant (-al-ma) underscores
   the change of subject: ‘while I (for my part) . . .’. See §29.30 (p. 397).
156. melḫur here has the meaning ‘proper time’.
157. Interpret kuedaniya as a single word ‘each’. See §8.3 (p. 150).
158. The syntax here is complex and unusual. One might have expected rather: ṢEŠ-YA ma kuIN ABU-YA ḪA-TUKUL.ḪA-KU-NU a-ap-pa na-a-i nu šu-me-en-za-an-pāt 164 UZU₁₁ e-ez-za-až-zi
159. For the syntax of this “double accusative” see §16.24 (p. 247). See the older syntax of sentence 7.
160. The word for ‘hawthorn’ is secondarily inflected as an animate a-stem, probably because here it
   is personified.
161. It is uncertain whether Ḫa-me-eš-ḫi-ya-až is to be read Ḫamēliḫi-ya-až with -ya ‘and’: ‘And in spring
   . . .’ or as a secondary i-stem dative-locative singular Ḫamēliḫiya-z. See §4.20 (p. 87).
Lesson 11

11.11. LÚ me-ne-ya-aš ke-e-et-ta ke-e-et-ta\textsuperscript{163} G[1-an] Ḫu-ut-ti-an-na-a-i\textsuperscript{164} tar-na-a-i ma-an na-at-ta i-i\textsuperscript{165} Ḫal-zī-iš-ša-a-i


11.13. a-du-e-ni a-ku-e-ni nu\textsuperscript{167} Ḫa-at-tu-ša i-ya-an-na-aḫ-ḫē\textsuperscript{166} LUGAL-ša


11.15. ṭāk-ku GUD.ḪLA A.ŠA-ni pa-a-an-zi Ū\textsuperscript{168} BE-EL A.ŠA ū-e-mi〈ez-〉zi UD.Ľ.KAM\textsuperscript{168} tu-ur-iz-zi ma-a-na-aš-ta\textsuperscript{169} MUL.ḪLA-eš ū-en-zi nu-uš a-ap-pa īš-ḫi-iš-šī pé-en-na-i

Vocabulary

e/līššarwant- 'bloody; blood-red'

ḫalzišš(a)-\textsuperscript{bhi} (imperfective stem to Ḫalzāi-\textsuperscript{bhi} ‘to call’)

ḫamešha- (com.) ‘spring’

ḫatalkiš (n)- (neut.) ‘hawthorn’ (§4.90, p. 120)

ḫuitt(iya)- ‘to draw (a bow)’

īšša-/ēšša-\textsuperscript{bhi} (impf. to iya- ‘to do, make’) (§13.15, p. 220)

iyannali-\textsuperscript{bhi} ‘to set out; begin to move; go’

LÚ mene(y)a- (com.) (a cult functionary)

nannali-\textsuperscript{bhi} ‘to drive’

nāta- (GI) (com.) ‘reed; arrow’

palsā- (KASKAL-Śa-) (com.) ‘path, way; time, instance’

parḫ- ‘to attack’

penna/i-\textsuperscript{bhi} ‘to drive (away)’

dandukiš(n)- (neut.) ‘mortality’ (§4.90, p. 120); dandukišnaš DUMU-(l)a- ‘child of mortality’ = ‘human being’ (also written DUMU.NAM.LŪ.U₁₉.LU-(l)a-).

\textsuperscript{163} kētt-a kētt-a is the Old Hittite expression for ‘on both this side and that’.

\textsuperscript{164} The stem form Ḫuittiya- instead of Ḫuittiya- is limited to Old Hittite. This refers to drawing an arrow back against the taut string of a bow prior to shooting.

\textsuperscript{165} Mimicking cry of the bird or animal hunted. See §1.8 (p. 11).

\textsuperscript{166} The presence of the Akkadian conjunction Ū (standing for nu, §29.2, p. 389) marks the second clause as a continuation of the conditional, while the absence of any conjunction preceding the third clause marks it as a main clause. See §29.7 (p. 391) and §29.10 (p. 392).

\textsuperscript{167} Interpret UD.Ľ.KAM as an ‘accusative of extent’ with a cardinal number. See §16.29 (p. 249) and §9.51 (p. 167).

\textsuperscript{168} The particle -ašta in combination with the verb gives the force ‘come out, appear’. The stars have passed from one defined space into another. See §28.110 (p. 382) and §28.114 (p. 383).
tarna*-bbi ‘to release, let go’
tit(ta)nu- ‘to install’ (+ arḫa ‘to remove [from a position]’)
1LTūḫukantaḫit- (neut.) ‘position of crown-prince’ (see §2.55, p. 62; and §4.15, p. 86)
tūriya- ‘to hitch/yoke up’
dluwarne- ‘to break’ (in OH a mi-verb, in NH migrates to the hi-conjugation; see §12.23, p. 199; §12.51, p. 212)
uppali*-bbi ‘to send’
wak(κ).bbi ‘to bite’
wašše- ‘to put on’ (clothing) (+-za = on oneself)
wi/edel(i)- ‘to bring’ (see p. 198, n. 61)
ANŠE-ali- (com.) ‘ass, donkey’
ANŠE.GÍR.NUN.NA-a- (com.) ‘mule’
BURU₁d ‘harvest; harvest season’
GÉME-a-₁⁷⁰ (com.) ‘female slave’ (for the stem as *GÉME-ališšara- see LH 186 and 316, and in this grammar p. 59, n. 17)
KIR₁ (neut.) ‘nose’
LUGAL-(u)eznātar (neut.) ‘kingship’ (= *haššuweznatar)
MA.NA ‘mina’
MUL₁ (= ḫašter-) (com.) ‘star’ (see §4.81, p. 114)
NAM.RA-a- = armuwala- (com.) ‘deportee(?) colonist(?)’ (non-free person or group of such subject to periodic resettlement by the king)
SÍSKUR (neut.) ‘sacrifice, offering’
ŠEŠ-(n)a- (negna-) (com.) ‘brother’
GÍŠ.TUKUL-(l)i- (com.₁⁷¹) ‘weapon’
UZU₁ ‘flesh; fat’
<za.BA₁, BA₁-a- (com.) (a war-god)
QASSU ‘his/her hand’ (< QAT + -ŠU; §31.16, p. 434)

₁⁷⁰ The Hittite word for ‘female slave’ is the word for ‘male slave’ + the female-indicating suffix -(ḳ)šara- (LH 186). For the suffix see §2.39 (p. 59).
₁⁷¹ On the gender of GÍŠ.TUKUL see LH 48 n. 147 (with contribution by Melchert). The nom.-acc. GÍŠ.TUKUL-(l)i forms are collectives.
Lesson 12

Grammar

This lesson introduces the preterite of the ḫi-conjugation, all remaining verbal classes, and the irregular paradigm of tamai- ‘other’.


Derived verbs in -aḫḫ- are inflected as ḫi-verbs in Old Hittite but later migrate to the mi-conjugation. Either set of endings can be encountered, as shown in the paradigms in §13.6 (p. 217). A few monosyllabic stems in -āi- show a mixture of mi- and ḫi-endings.

Learn the paradigms of lāi- and ḫāi- (§12.39, p. 208). Finally, there is a small set of mi-verbs with stems in -te/a-: memorize the paradigms in §12.21 (p. 198).

The adjective tamai- ‘other’ inflects as a stem tamai- in the nominative and accusative and like a demonstrative pronoun in the rest of the paradigm: memorize the paradigm in §8.10 (p. 152). Read about its syntax in §§18.37–18.38 (pp. 287–288).

Translation Exercise

da-me-e-da-ni ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki Ú-UL pé-ēh-ḫu-un A-NA KUR-TI-ma ta-ma-a-in
ku-in-kì EN-an Ú-UL I-ya-nu-un

◆ 12.2. nu-mu NAM.RA ku-in172 pa-ra-a pi-i-e-er na-aš 4 LI-IM NAM.RA e-eš-ta
na-an-kán URBABBAR-ši pa-ra-a ne-ēh-ḫu-un na-an ar-ḫa ī-wa-te-er

◆ 12.3. ëštar-ma-mu GAŠAN-YA Ū-at nu-mu ū-it ki-i me-mi-iš-ta DINGIR-LIM-ni-wa-at-
ta am-mu-uk173 tar-na-āḫ-ḫi nu-wa le-e na-āḫ-ti

◇ 12.4. ëštar-ma-mu ħu-wa-ap-pí DINGIR-LIM-ni ħu-wa-ap-pí ī-eš-ni pa-ra-a Ú-UL
ku-wa-pí-ik-ki tar-na-aš


172. When inflected in the singular, armowala- (NAM.RA) can denote either a single person or—as here—a group.

173. In this New Hittite text ammuḫ is functioning as a nominative.

174. Read as šiun-šummi with assimilation of the final -n of the noun. See §6.4 with n. 3 (p. 138) on the meaning of the enclitic possessive -šummi-! The word dšiu- is an appellative meaning ‘god’, not a name.
Lesson 12

12.6. BE-LI-NI-wa-an-na-aš šA URU A-ri-ip-ša-a i-wa-ar URU Ḥa-at-tu-šī ša-a-ru-wa-u-
wa-an-zi le-e ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ti

12.7. tāk-ku LŪ. iL-AN EL-LA-AM ku-iš-ki da-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫi na-aš-ma ZU. 2SU la-a-
ki ka-ru-ū 1 MA.NA KŪ. BABBAR pī-iš-ker ki-nu-na 20 GĪN KŪ. BABBAR pa-a-i

iš-BAT Ū DUMU. MEš 176 URU Ne-e-ša i-da-a-lu na-at-ta ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki tāk-ki-ša

12.9. nu ke-e KUR. KUR. MEš ḫar-ni-in-ku-an a-aš-šu-ma-aš-shī 177 ša-ra-a da-āḫ-ḫu-
un nu ē-er-mi-it a-aš-ša-u-it 178 ša-ra-a šu-un-na-aḫ-ḫu-un

12.10. nam-ma-aš-ma-aš-kān ĖRIN. MEš iš-ḥi-ī-ḫu-un nu-mu ĖRIN. MEš pī-ī-š-Ke-U-
an 179 da-a-er na-at-mu la-aḫ-ḫi kat-ta-ān 180 pa-īš-ga-u-wa-an 179 ti-i-e-er

12.11. up-пе-ēš-ša-MEš ma-at-ta ku-e up-pa-aḫ-ḫu-un nu ḫu-u-ma-an A-NA LŪ
TEš-MA NA ni-ya-[aḫ-ḫu-un]

12.12. ku-nu-na .isDefined "TU-ŠI tu-uk ḫKu-pa-an-ta-āLAMMA-AN Ū-UL ku-it-ki 181 i-da-la-
wa-aḫ-ḫu-un

ta na-an EGR-pa ū-e-da-[aḫ-ḫu-un]

12.14. ĖTU EN AN KILUGAL DINGIR. MEš ḫal-zī-ya-u-en nu-uš-šī ḫa-ra-a-tar wa-aš-tū-
la pé-ra-an tar-nu-me-ni nu ū šA ĖTU TUku.(TUku-an pé-ra-an la-a-u-e-ni 182

12.15. nu-kān A-BU-YA ku-e-da-aš A-NA URU. DIDLI.HA da-an-na-at-[a-aš EGR-an
A]NZ.A.GAR ū-e-te-et na-aš 184 KŪR da-a-an nam-ma ḫar-ni-[ik-ta]

Vocabulary

appezzian ‘afterwards’ (sg. nom.-acc. neuter of appezzia- used adverbially)

ḫalzai,bbi ‘to call, summon’

ḫarātar (neut.) ‘offense’

ḫark- (+ arḫa) ‘perish utterly, be destroyed’

išẖi(ya)-bbi ‘to bind, tie; impose’ (see §13.30, p. 228, for inflection)

175. The form and precise meaning of nakkit in this expression is unclear. See CHD under nakki- b. The context suggests a sense like ‘with might, by storm’.

176. The Hittite noun behind DUMUL.MEŠ is either dative, in apposition to kuedanikki or partitive genitive (for the latter see §16.41, p. 252). For the syntax of noun plus natta kuedanikki see §26.6 (p. 342), last example.

177. It is uncertain whether the use of dative singular -šši to refer back to a neuter plural antecedent reflects regular OH grammar or an error by the copyist.

178. See §4.56 (p. 102) for the form of aššawit.

179. For the syntax of these forms in -wan read §§25.37–25.38 (p. 338).

180. kAttAN here governs the clitic pronoun -mu, not the d.-l. noun laḫḫi; see §18.10 (p. 279).

181. ĖTU. KUITKI is sg. nom.-acc. neuter functioning adverbially: ‘in no way, not at all’.

182. The verb tarna- in this context means ‘to admit, confess’. The force of -šši carries over from the first sentence to the second, where one should also understand (nu)šši . . . peran.
idālawahḫ- ‘to mistreat, harm’
kaka- (zu₁₉) (com.) ‘tooth’
kari ‘already; earlier’
kattan ‘with, beside’ (not the same as kattan ‘below’; see p. 295, n. 3)
kinun ‘now’ (kinun=a)
kuwapikki ‘anywhere; any time’
laḫḫa- (com.) ‘campaign; trip’
lāi- ‘to release, let go, dispel’
lak bhi ‘to knock down/out’
maniyahḫ- ‘to hand over, assign, distribute, entrust, administer, govern’
memali bhi ‘to speak’
nah(l) bhi ‘to be afraid’
nakki- (neut.) ‘might(?), powerful attack(?)’
tak(ki)š- ‘to put together, make, perpetrate; wield’
dān ‘a second time’
tamai- ‘another’
dannatta- ‘empty, desolate’
dašuwahḫ- ‘to blind’
uppeššar (neut.) ‘thing sent, gift’
wete-/wedah bhi ‘to build’ (see §12.21 with n. 61, p. 198).
zaššai- (ǔ) (com.) ‘dream’
zaššiya- (ǚ) ‘to appear in a dream’
AN.ZA.GAR ‘tower’
DID.LI.H.I.A (plural marker) (used exclusively with Sumerograms)
LÚ ŠME ‘messenger’ (= Akkad. amēl šeme; the LÚ is not a determinative)
IŞBAT ‘took, seized’ (= ēpta)
LIM ‘thousand’
-NI ‘our’ (used only after Sumerograms and Akkadograms)
Lesson 13

Grammar

This lesson introduces the medio-passive and the highly irregular verb au(š) - ‘see’. Memorize the paradigm of au(š) - §13.32 (p. 229). Note the mixture of mi- and ḫi-endings and the presence/absence of the -š-. The less common verb mau(š) - ‘fall’ is inflected in the same way. Read chapter 14 in its entirety, with special attention to the endings of the medio-passive present and preterite indicative (see also §11.17, p. 184) and the sample paradigms for consonantal stems (§14.2, pp. 230–231) and vocalic stems (§14.5, p. 232). Verbs that take endings in the third person singular without -t- are specially marked in the vocabulary. Read chapter 21 on the use of active and medio-passive. Hittite has no subjunctive or optative mood. Read §§23.10–23.16 (pp. 314–316) on how Hittite expresses potential or unreal conditions.

Translation Exercise


183. See §28.86 (p. 374) for the use of -šan.

184. Interpret kuwapi here as interrogative.

185. The syntax of eš- ‘sit (down)’ in sentences 2 and 4 is that of Old Hittite, in sentence 8 that of New Hittite. Read carefully §28.30 (p. 362).

186. See §17.19 (p. 275) on the meaning of the genitive with ḫantezzi ⟨ya⟩-.

187. See §20.26 (p. 300) on the use of ṣet with peran.

188. The verbs in this example are both historical presents. See §22.6 (p. 307).

189. -šmaš is functioning here as a reflexive. See §28.18 (p. 358).

190. See §21.7 (p. 303).

191. On the use of -kan or -ašta with menahḫanda au(š), but not with menahḫanda uwa-, see CHD L–N menahḫanda 1 a 4’ and 4 a.
13.7. [nu-za ŠA KUR] Dur-mi-it-ta \textsuperscript{URU}Ga-aš-ga-aš\textsuperscript{192} da-a-an EGIS-pa\textsuperscript{193} Ir-ah-ta-at nu-mu ÉRIN. MEŠ pé-š-ke-u-an da-a-ir

13.8. ma-ah-ša-an-za A-BU-YA DINGIR-LIM-š ki-ša-at\textsuperscript{194, 195} nu-za-kán A-NA GJ\textsubscript{12}GU.ZA A-BI-YA e-eš-ša-at


13.11. ma-ah-ša-an-za na-aš-šu LUGAL-uš na-aš-ma MUNUS.LUGAL-aš DINGIR-LIM-š ki-ša-ri nu šal-li a-ni-ur a-ni-yu-an-zi\textsuperscript{197}

13.12. [šu-ga A-NA] DINGIR-YA ku-it\textsuperscript{198} i-yu-nu-un nu-mu\textsuperscript{199} É.YA i-na-ni pé-ra-an püt-tu-li-ya-aš É-er ki-ša-at

13.13. nu-kán dHé-pa-du-uš šu-ul-ša-az kat-ta ma-uš-šu-u-wa-an-zi wa-aq-qa-re-e\textsuperscript{200} ma-an ti-ya-at ma-na-aš-kán šu-ul-ša-az kat-ta ma-uš-ta-at\textsuperscript{201}

13.14. UDUŠIR-ma\textsuperscript{202} ma-an\textsuperscript{203} ḫar-ga-eš . . . ma-a-an da-an ku-wa-e-eš U-UL ku-it-ki\textsuperscript{204} du-aq-qa-a-ri

13.15. ma-a-an-wa-mu 1-an DUMU-ŠA\textsuperscript{205} pa-iš-ti ma-an-wa-ra-aš-mu ILEMU-TI-YA ki-ša-ri

\textbf{Vocabulary}

\textsuperscript{4}Alalu- (com.) ‘(the god) Alalu’

\textsuperscript{4}Anu- (com.) ‘(the god) Anu’

\begin{itemize}
\item[192.] Despite the determinative one should understand this word as adjectival: ‘the Kaskean people’.
\item[193.] āppa here has the meaning of ‘again, re-‘.
\item[194.] For kiš- with and without -za in the meaning ‘become’ see §§28.28–28.29 (pp. 361–362).
\item[195.] This is the standard expression for referring to the death of the Hittite king or queen.
\item[196.] For the syntax of this sentence see §16.29 (p. 249) and §16.75 (pp. 261–262).
\item[197.] The reference in the second clause is to the royal funeral rites.
\item[198.] Interpret \textit{kuit} here as interrogative.
\item[199.] For the use of -mu see §16.67 (p. 258).
\item[200.] For the meaning of \textit{wakkar}—plus infinitive see §25.28 (p. 336). Read the verb as /wakkaris/ despite the spelling (see §1.80, p. 34).
\item[201.] ‘If she had . . . , she would have. . . ’
\item[202.] This noun (to be understood as a plural, despite the absence of an overt marker) is a topic standing outside the clause proper which follows. One may either translate it simply as the subject of the clause or render it approximately as ‘as for the rams . . . ’.
\item[203.] Take \textit{mān} . . . \textit{mān} together (see vocabulary and reference).
\item[204.] \textit{Uš kuuki} is adverbial (see p. 46, n. 181, above).
\item[205.] While it is not entirely certain how the possessive was expressed in Hittite in this New Hittite example, it is clear that the meaning is ‘one son of yours’ = ‘one of your sons’.
\end{itemize}
aniur-(šiskur\textsuperscript{206}) (neut.) ‘ritual’

ar.-tani ‘to stand, stand up’

au(š)-fu- ‘to see’ (for paradigm see §13.32, p. 229).

ēš.-āri ‘to sit (down)’

hanaa.-āri ‘to judge’

\textsuperscript{a}Hepadu- (com.) ‘(the goddess) Hebat’

inan- (neut.) ‘illness’

iya.-tani ‘to walk, go’

\textsuperscript{13}Gašga- (com.) ‘Kaskean’\textsuperscript{207}

dktera- ‘lower, inferior’

kiš.-āri ‘to happen; become’

lalukkima- (com.) ‘radiance, light’

man (marks irreal condition)

mān . . . mān ‘whether . . . or’ (§30.69, p. 427)

maw(šš)- ‘to fall’ (§§13.32, p. 229)

pargavešš- ‘to grow high, tall’

pittuliya- (com.) ‘worry, anxiety’

šarazzī(ya)- ‘upper’ (see §§4.10–4.11, p. 85, and §4.38, p. 94)

\textsuperscript{3}Tašmišu- (com.) ‘(the god) Tašmišu’

tuqq.-āri ‘to matter; be visible’ (conjugated like ēš- and kiš- in §14.2, pp. 230–231)

tunnakiš(n)- (ē.ša-(n)a-) (neut.) ‘inner chamber’ (§4.90, p. 120)

uktāri- (pl. tantum) ‘funeral pyre’ (lit., ‘continually (burning place)’)

waqqar-ahi ‘to fail, miss’

war.-āri ‘to burn’ (intrans.) (conjugated like ēš.-āri and kiš.-āri in §14.2, pp. 230–231; for warāni instead of *warāri see §1.128, p. 45)

\textsuperscript{2}GU.ZA ‘throne’

IKU(-n)a- (com.) (measure of length)

ir(-n)ah- ‘to subject, make one’s servant’

ITU-(m)a- (com.) ‘month’ (= arma-)

\textsuperscript{2}ŠU.A-kt(t)- (com.) ‘chair, throne’

UDU.ŠIR-ali- (com.) ‘ram’

\textsuperscript{2}UR.GI-(n)a- (com.) ‘dog’\textsuperscript{208}

AMMATU ‘ell, yard’ (measure of length)

\textsuperscript{206} Siskur can also cover Hittite malteššar or mukeššar, terms for offerings, prayers, or ceremonies (see CHD sub malteššar).

\textsuperscript{207} The Kaška were hostile nomadic groups moving about in the north, in the area between the Hittite heartland and the Black Sea.

\textsuperscript{208} For the stem of UR.GI, see [U]R.GI-na-atar KBo 19.145 ii 23 (correct the edition by Haas and Thiel 1978: 298–99).
Lesson 14

Grammar

This lesson introduces the imperative mood and numerals.

Memorize the endings of the imperative active (§11.6, p. 182) and medio-passive (§11.17, p. 184). Note in particular the irregular second-person forms of the verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’ (§12.42, p. 210). Familiarize yourself with the imperative portions of the paradigms for all other verbal stem types in chapters 12, 13, and 14.

On the use of the imperative read §§23.1–23.9 (pp. 313–314). Notice that the first-person plural “voluntative” is indistinguishable from the present indicative and that the imperative second plural is formally identical to the preterite indicative. Only context can determine the intended meaning in a given example.

Numerals are almost always written logographically in Hittite, so that determining the phonetic shape of the Hittite forms is difficult. Whatever their stems are, the cardinal numbers for ‘one’ and ‘two’ are inflected like the demonstrative pronouns (§9.7, p. 154; and §9.11, p. 156), while teri- ‘three’ is an ordinary i-stem (§9.13, p. 156), and meli(y)u- ‘four’ is a u-stem adjective (§9.14, p. 157). Both ‘four’ and ‘eight’, however, have dative-locative forms in -taš, which could reflect the pronominal declension’s plural dative-locative in -edaš. Read carefully all of chapter 9 on the rest of what we know about Hittite cardinal and ordinal numbers.

Translation Exercise


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209. For the collective plural of common gender palša- see §3.13 (p. 68).
210. This sentence immediately follows sentence 2 in the original context.
211. Interpret -šmaš in both occurrences in this example as second person plural dative.


14.10. ki-nu-na-wa ka-a-ša DINGIR-LUM 218 2 TA-LAM šar-ni-ik-ta nu BE-EL SĪSKUR pár-ku-iš nam-ma e-eš-du


MEŠ-eš pa-aḥ-ş-a-an-da-ru


14.15. NIM.LAL 221 te-ri-ya-aš UD-aš 222 mi-u-wa-aš UD-aš KASKAL-an pa-a-an-du


14.17. nu-uš-ša-[an ḫa-a]-n-te-ez-zi-ya GIŠ BANŠUR-ı ku-iš 1 NINDA.GUR-a RA ki-iš-ta-at

. . . na-an-ša-an A-NA GIŠ BANŠUR.GAL . . . še-er da-ä-i

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212. For the use of the dative enclitic pronoun to indicate possession see §16.67 (p. 258).
213. For the unusual spelling see §1.43 (p. 24).
214. The Sun-god was believed to have a team of four horses. The spelling mi-e- is probably to be read as /me:-/.
215. For the meaning of kāša with the preterite see §24.28 (p. 324).
216. The forms mi-e-wa-aš and mi-e-ya-wa-aš must be taken in context as nominative plural common gender. Their status as real forms of a u-stem is extremely dubious. The text copy from which this passage is taken shows a number of unexpected spellings and inflections (notice the unique and aberrant -pp- of the forms of karap-). Read -ti-iš in the first example as if it were -te-eš like the second.
217. On the reason for -za here see §28.36 (p. 363).
218. DINGIR-LUM stands here for an accusative. On this phenomenon see §31.21 (p. 436).
219. For the use of -za plus ūẖalcišša- see §28.23 (p. 360).
220. For this use of the medio-passive see §21.7 (p. 303).
221. NIM.LAL stands for a plural, although not marked as such.
222. For the use of a singular noun with a number higher than 'one' see §9.22 (p. 159).
**Vocabulary**

*andan* ‘into, unto’
*armizziya*- ‘to bridge’
*aši* ‘that’ (pron.) (see §§7.10–7.16, pp. 144–146).
*ēḫu* ‘come!’ (imp. sg. 2 to *uwa-*)
*ḫaliya*-<sup>an</sup> ‘to bow, prostrate oneself’
*ḫanna*-<sup>bib</sup> ‘to judge’
*ḫatešnu*- ‘besiege, hem in’ (+ *anda*)
*ḫueliš*- ‘to live, be alive’
*itttītten* ‘go!’ (imp. sg./pl. 2 to *pāi-*, see §12.42 and n. 129, p. 210)
*ki*-<sup>an</sup> ‘to lie, be placed’
*lūlu(t)*- (neut.) ‘prosperity’
*me(i)*u- ‘four’
*papparš*- ‘to sprinkle’
*parā ḫand(an)tātar* (neut.) ‘divine guidance, divine power’
*šarra*-<sup>an</sup> ‘to cross, traverse, transgress’ (generally with -*ašta* or -*kan*)
*šuhḫa*-<sup>bib</sup> ‘to pour (out)’
*takšatniya/-takšanniya-* ‘to (make) level’ (see §1.112, p. 42)
*teri-* ‘three’
*GIŠ.BANŠUR.GAL* ‘large table’
*1.DUG.GA* ‘fine oil’
*İR.-tātar* (neut.) ‘servitude, bondage, slavery’
*NIM.LĀL.-a-* (com.) ‘bee’
*šš = Akkad. *INA* ‘in, on, at’
*TA.ĀM* ‘time(s)’ (with numbers)
This list includes all vocabulary introduced in the lessons. It makes no claim to cover meanings of the listed words appropriate to texts outside this tutorial. The alphabetization follows the usual conventions for Hittite, with Hittite, Sumerian, and Akkadian in separate sections. In the Hittite section the voiced stops b, d, and g are alphabetized with p, t, and k respectively. Geminate consonants are treated like single consonants. Since we transliterate the glides with w and y, we have alphabetized according to the usual place of these letters. In the transliteration of Sumerograms we have generally followed the practice of the HZL. We have also included alternate or superseded readings for some common Sumerograms, since readers will meet with them in Hittitological works. The citing of phonetic complements in the forms given below does not mean that such complements are always present. In the case of complements part of which is enclosed in parentheses, e.g.,  

Hittite (including Luwianisms)

-a (conj.) (geminates preceding consonant)/-ya (after vowel) ‘and; also’ (see Latin -que) (1)

-a (conj.) (non-geminating)/-ma (introduces new topic; see Greek δέ); ‘but, on the other hand, while’ (weakly adversative, often contrastive/oppositional; see CHD -ma); (1)

aiš- (KAXU-iš) (neut.) ‘mouth’ (8)

ak(k)-li ‘to die’ (8)

Alalu- (com.) ‘(the god) Alalu’ (13)

alpa- (com.) ‘cloud’ (2)

anna- (AMA-(n)a-) (com.) ‘mother’ (1)

aniur-(sîSKUR²²³) (neut.) ‘ritual’ (13)

aniya- ‘to carry out, execute; write’ (10)

anda ‘into, unto’ (4, 7)

andan ‘into, unto’ (14)

antulḫša- (UN-(š)a-/L.U.Uy.LU-a-) (com.) ‘man, human being’ (1)

Anu- (com.) ‘(the god) Anu’ (13)

²²³. sîSKUR can also cover Hittite malteššar or mukeššar, terms for offerings, prayers or ceremonies (see CHD sub malteššar).
āppa (Egir-pa) ‘back; again’ (3)
āppan (Egir-an) ‘behind, after’ (āppan tiya- ‘to step behind’ = ‘to support’) (9)
appanda (Egir-(p)anda) ‘behind; afterwards’ (6)
apenīšan (Qatamma) ‘thus, so’ (2)
appezz[ī]ya- (Egir-(ezzi)ya-) ‘rear; last’ (2)
appezzian ‘afterwards’ (old sg. nom.-acc. neuter of appezziya- used adverbially) (12)
appezzīyaaz (Egir-(ezziy)az) ‘afterwards; later’ (2)
ar-ḫḫi ‘to arrive (in), reach’ (+ d.-l. or allative) (8)
ar-ānī ‘to stand, stand up’ (paradigm in §14.2, p. 230–231) (13)
araḫzanda ‘around’ (6)
arḫa ‘away, off’ (preverb) (1)
arīya- ‘to make (the subject of) an oracular inquiry’ (10)
arkam(m)- (com.) ‘tribute’ (7)
arkam(m)anātar (neut.) ‘payment of tribute’ (7)
armizziya- ‘to bridge’ (14)
aruča- (A.AB.BA) (com.) ‘sea’ (4)
aššuna- ‘to make right; arrange’ (4)
ašsavaru (TUR) (neut.) ‘sheepfold’ (7)
aššar (neut.) ‘assembly’ (7)
aš ‘that’ (pron.) (see §7.10–7.16, pp. 144–146) (14)
aššiyan- ‘dear, beloved’ (5)
aššu- ‘good’; as neuter collective noun ‘goods’ (see §3.20 end, p. 72, for the spelling
aššu-) (3)
attna- (ABU/LB) (com.) ‘father’ (1)
au(š)-lu- ‘to see’ (for paradigm see §13.32, p. 229) (13)
awan katta ‘down beside’ (9)
eḫu ‘come!’ (imp. 2nd sg. to uwa-) (14)
ekuluku- ‘to drink’ (paradigm in §12.3, pp. 188–189) (1)
ēpp-lapp- ‘to take, seize, grasp; hold’ (paradigm in §12.3, pp. 188–189) (1)
eliš̱arwant- ‘bloody; blood-red’ (11)
ēšlaš- A ‘to be’ (paradigm in §12.3, pp. 188–189) (1)
ēšlaš- B ‘to be sitting, reside’ (see §28.30, p. 362, and p. 366, n. 12) (1)
ēšša- (see išša-)
ēššar (neut.) ‘blood; bloodshed’ (6)
ed-lad- ‘to eat’ (paradigm in §§12.3, pp. 188–189) (1)
hāli- (neut.) ‘corral’ (7)
Comprehensive Vocabulary

LÚḫalliri- (com.) (cult functionary) (4)
ḫališšiya- ‘to coat, inlay’ (7)
ḫaliya- (com.) ‘to bow, prostrate oneself’ (2, 14)
ḫalki- (com.) ‘grain; barley’ (2)
ḫallu- ‘deep’ (3)
LÚḫalugattalla- (com.) ‘messenger’ (7)
ḫalzai- (com.) ‘to call, summon’ (12)
ḫalzišša- (imperfective to ḫalzāi- ‘to call’; see §13.15, p. 220–221) (11)
ḫamešša- (kommen, dišši) (com.) ‘spring’ (11)
ḫanna- (com.) and ḫanna- (to judge) (13 and 14)
 Khánaḫanna- (NIN.TU) (a fate-goddess) (10)
ḫanneššar (DI, DINU) (neut.) ‘judgment, law case’ (8, 13)
ḫandāi- ‘to arrange, prepare’ (3)
 Khántašepa- (com.) (one of class of minor deities) (9)
ḫantezzi- (ya) (ya) ‘front, foremost; first’ (2)
ḫapan- (fā-an-) (com.) ‘river’ (8)
ḫappiriya- (URU-(ri)ya-) (com.) ‘city’ (2)
 Kháran-MUSIN (MUSIN) (com.) ‘eagle’ (7)
 Khárat ‘offense’ (12)
 Kháriya- (com.) ‘valley’ (3)
 Kháriya- ‘to bury’ (7)
ḫar(k) ‘to hold, have’ (paradigm in §12.10, pp. 193–194) (6)
ḫark- ‘to perish’ (2) (+ arḫa ‘perish utterly, be destroyed’) (12)
ḫarki- (BABBAR) ‘white’ (2)
ḫarnau- (com.) ‘birthing stool’ (§4.54, p. 102) (6)
ḫarnink- ‘to destroy’ (with or without arḫa) (5)
ḫaršar (SAG.DU) (neut.) ‘head; person’ (6)
 Kháriši- (NINDA.GUR₄RA-i-) (com.) ‘leavened bread’ (3)
 Kháriši- (neut.) ‘pithos, storage jar’ (10)
Ḫašši- (Ḫašši) (ḫašši-bbi ‘to open’ (with or without āppa) (8)
Ḫašši-bbi ‘to give birth’ (optional -za) (8)
Ḫašša- (GUNNI-a-) (com.) ‘hearth’ (3)
Ḫašša- (MĀŠ-tar) (neut.) ‘birth; family’ (6)
Ḫaššai- (neut.) ‘bone’ (9)
Ḫaššu- (LUGAL-u-) (com.) ‘king’ (3)
Ḫaššuššara- (MUNUS.LUGAL-(r)a-) (com.) ‘queen’ (1), see §2.39 (p. 59).
Ḫatalkiš(n)- (neut.) ‘hawthorn’ (11)
ẖattātar (neut.) ‘wise thought, wise plan, strategy’ (9)
ẖatkešnu- ‘besiege, hem in’ (+ anda) (14)
ẖatrai- ‘to send a message (about), write (about)’ (3)
ẖenkan- (neut.) ‘death; plague’ (7)
ẖepadu- (com.) ‘Hebat’ (13)
ẖimma- (com.) ‘model, replica’ (7)
EZEN, ḫišuwa- (a major festival) (10)
ẖueliš- (ti-eš-) ‘to live, be alive’ (14)
ẖušnu- (ti-nu-) ‘to keep alive; rescue, save’ (2)
ẖuišwant- (ti-(w)ant-) ‘alive, living’ (6)
ẖuišwātar (ti-(wa)tar) (neut.) ‘life’ (6)
ẖuitt(iya)- ‘to draw, pull’ (11)
ẖue/idar (sg. neut.) ‘game, wildlife’, (pl. huelidār ‘wild animals, beasts’ (seen as individuals), see §3.20 (p. 72) (6)
ẖulle- ‘to fight (someone, -thing); contravene’ (6)
ẖūnant- ‘all, whole’ (follows modified noun: see §25.41, p. 339) (5)
ẖūnink- ‘to injure’ (5)
ẖupper- (com.) ‘bowl’ (8)
ẖurki- (com.) ‘wheel’ (2)
ẖūdāk ‘immediately; suddenly’ (2)
ẖuwai- bbi ‘to run’ (9)
ẖuwappa- (HUL-(p)a-) ‘wicked, evil’ (2)
ẖan- (neut.) ‘illness’ (13)
ẖra- (ZAG-a-) (com.) ‘border (territory)’ (4)
išša-lēšša-bbi (imperfective to iya- ‘to do, make’) (paradigm in §13.15, pp. 220–221) (11)
išḥa- (EN-a-, BELU) (com.) ‘lord, master; owner’ (2)
išḥahu- (neut.) ‘tears’ (6)
išḥi(ya)- bbi ‘to bind, tie; impose’ (12)
išḥiul- (RIKILTU) (neut.) ‘obligation, treaty’ (8)
išpāi-bbi (with -za) ‘to be satisfied’ (9)
išpant- (GE-(a)nt-, M[UŠU]) (com.) ‘night’ (5)
Degišpantuzzi- (neut.) ‘libation-vessel’ (9)
ištamašš- (GEŠTU) ‘to hear’ (5)
iştanana- (ZAG.GAR.RA-(n)a-) ‘altar, sacrificial table’ (2)
iştanu- (TLUTU-u-) (com.) ‘the sun-(god)’ (4)
iştananz- (zi-an-) (com.) ‘soul’ (8), see §4.79 (p. 113).
Comprehensive Vocabulary

ištarna arḫa ‘through, across’ (4)
ištarnink- ‘to make sick, incapacitate’ (5)
ištitt ‘go!’ (imp. 2nd sg./pl. to pai-, see §12.42, p. 210) (14)
idaḷawaiḫḫ- ‘to mistreat, harm’ (12)
idālawešš- ‘to become bad/hostile’ (4)
idālu- (ḪuL-(l)u-) ‘bad, evil; hostile’ (3)
iwar ‘as, like’ (with preceding genitive) (4)
iya- ‘to do, make; treat (as)’; + -za ‘to worship’ (paradigm in §12.29, p. 203) (2)
iya-ḫḫi (Ginḫḫi) ‘to walk, go’ (paradigm in §14.5, p. 232) (13)
iyannali-ḫḫi ‘to set out; begin to move; go’ (11)
kaka- (zu) (com.) ‘tooth’ (12)
kallar(a)- ‘unfavorable, harmful’ (6)
ganešš- ‘to recognize, acknowledge’ (3)
kankaḫḫi-ḫḫi ‘to hang’ (trans.) (8)
karāp-ḫḫi ‘to devour’ (9)
kāri tiya- ‘to accede to (the wishes of)’ (7)
karp-ikarpiya- ‘to lift, raise; perform, carry out’ (1) and (8)
kars- ‘to cut; segregate’ (7)
karsanu- ‘to omit, neglect’ (2)
kartimmiešš- ‘to become angry’ (3)
kartimmiyatt- (TUKU.TUKU-(at)-) (com.) ‘anger’ (5)
kartimmiyawant- (TUKU.TUKU-(w)ant-) ‘angry’ (5)
kari ‘already; earlier’ (12)
kariili- ‘former; primeval’ (2)
kāša/kāšma (4) (see §§24.27–24.29, pp. 323–324)
Gašga- (com.) ‘Kaskean’ (13)
katta1 (this and the following entry usually written kat-ta, sometimes ka-at-ta, Sum.
GAM) ‘down(ward)’ (3)
katta2 ‘with, beside’ (9) (see §20.21, p. 299)
kattan1 (this and the following entry usually written kat-ta-an, sometimes
ka-at-ta-an, Sum. GAM-an) ‘under’ (7) (§16.58, p. 255)
kattan2 ‘with, beside’ (12) (see §20.21, p. 299)
kattanda ‘down in(to)’ (9)
kattera- ‘lower’ (13)
gēnu- (neut.) ‘knee’ (3)
genzuwala- ‘merciful’ (4)
ker (Ḫa) (neut.) ‘heart’ (9)
ke/iššara- and keššar- (ŠU-(r)a-, QATU) (com.) ‘hand’ (1) and (8) (for stem and
inflection see §4.82, pp. 115–116)
ki-ani ‘to lie, be placed’ (paradigm in §§14.5, p. 232) (14)
kı́nun ‘now’ (12)
kiš-ani (DŪ-ani) ‘to happen; become’ (paradigm in §14.2, p. 230–231) (13)
kiššan ‘thus, as follows’ (3)
kištant- (com.) ‘hunger’ (10)
kıštanu- ‘to extinguish’ (6)
kuen-/kun- ‘to strike’ (without -kan); ‘kill’ (with -kan) (see §28.77, p. 372) (1)
kuer-/kur- ‘to cut’ (1)
ASA kuera- (com.) ‘field’ (2)
kuit ‘because, since’ (4) (see §§30.41ff., pp. 418ff.)
kuimar ‘while, as long as’ (9)
gulš(š)- ‘to incise, inscribe, draw’ (6)
kunna- (ZAG-(n)a-) ‘right-(hand)’ (adj.) (1)
UG kureššar (neut.) ‘scarf’ (8)
kūrur- ‘hostile’ (see §4.86, p. 117) (8)
kuššanka ‘ever’, natta kuššanka = ‘never’ (7)
kupapi ‘when; where’ (interrog. or rel.) (10)
kupapikki ‘anywhere; any time’ (12)
kupat ‘why?’ (2)
kupatta šer ‘on what account, why’ (10)
laḫḫa- (com.) ‘campaign; trip’ (12)
laḫḫ(an)za(n)MUŠEN (com.) (kind of duck) (7)
läß- (DUš) ‘to release, let go’ (12)
lak-ḫḫi ‘to knock down/out’ (12)
lalukkima- (ZALAG.GA-a-) (com.) ‘radiance, light’ (13)
lāman (ŠUM) (neut.) ‘name’ (7)
lē (plus indicative) ‘do/shall not’ (prohibitive negative) (2)
lēliwant- ‘swift’ (7)
le/išš- ‘to gather, pick up’ (9)
lingai- (NIš DINGIR-LIM) (com.) ‘oath’ (10)
linkiyanteš (NIš DINGIR,MEš) (com. pl.) ‘oath-gods’ (7)
lukk- ‘to set fire to’ (6)
lūlu(t)- (neut.) ‘prosperity’ (14)
luluwāi- ‘to make prosper’ (4)
luttai- (GLAB) (§4.34, p. 93) ‘window’ (9)
**Comprehensive Vocabulary**

**luzzi-** (neut.) ‘compulsory public work, corvée’ (8)

**mahḫan (GIM-an)** ‘as, like’ (2); ‘when; as’ (4); ‘how?’

**makkešš-** ‘to multiply, become numerous’ (intrans.) (3)

**man** (marks unreal condition) (13)

**mān** ‘if, whenever’ (in Old Hittite also ‘when’) (1)

**mān . . . mān** ‘whether . . . or’ (13), see §30.69 (p. 427).

**maniyaḫḫ-** ‘to hand over; administer’ (12)

**menaḫḫanda** (TGI-anda) ‘towards, facing’ (4)

**Mene(y)a**- (com.) (a cult functionary) (11)

**dMezzulla-** (com.) (a deity) (5)

**Mizra/i** ‘Egypt’ (3)

**nahi(h),bhi** ‘to be afraid’ (12)

**nahšaratt-** (com.) ‘fear, awe; fearsomeness’ (5)

**nahšariya-** ‘to be(come) afraid’ (4)

**nahšarnu-** ‘to frighten, terrify, scare’ (1)

**nai-,bhi** ‘to turn; send’ (9)

**nakki-** ‘heavy; important; revered, august’ (2)

**nakki-** (neut.) ‘might(?)’ (12)

**namma** (clause-initial) ‘then, next’; (non-initial) ‘again’ (UL namma ‘no longer’) (2, 3)

**nannali-,bhi** ‘to drive’ (11)

**našma** ‘or’ (4)

**naššu . . . našma** ‘either . . . or’ (9)

**nāta-** (GI) (com.) ‘reed; arrow’ (11)

**nattā** ‘not’ (usually written as UL or UL, rarely NU) (1)

**nekut-** (com.) ‘twilight, evening’ (6)

**nepiš-** (AN, ŠAME) (neut.) ‘heaven, sky’ (8)

**newa-** (GIBIL) ‘new’ (3)

**ninink-** ‘to raise, mobilize; (re)move’ (5)

**nu** (conj.) (marks beginning of a clause; indicates progression of the action; sometimes ‘(and) then’, but usually best left untranslated in English) (1)
nūman (marks negative volition; translatable as ‘do/did not wish to . . .’, §26.19, p. 344) (10)
nuntarnu- ‘to hasten, act hastily’ (4)
paḫ(ḫa)š- ‘to protect’ (6)
paḫšašnu-, paḫšanu- (pap-nu-) ‘to protect, guard’ (with d.-l. and peran ‘against . . .’)
(1)
paḫḫur (tti) (neut.) ‘fire’ (6)
pai- ‘to go’ (4)
pai-bḫi ‘to give’ (9)
palša- (kaskal-ša-) (com.) ‘path, way; time, instance’ (11)
paltana- (luzu-zagiLU-(n)a-) (com.) ‘shoulder’ (2)
papparš- ‘to sprinkle’ (14)
paprätar (neut.) ‘impurity’ (6)
parā ‘forth, out’ (preverb) (1)
parā ḫand(ant)ātar (neut.) ‘divine guidance, divine power’ (14)
parḥ- ‘to chase; attack’ (2) and (11)
parā-bḫi ‘to appear, come forth’ (9)
pargavešš- ‘to grow high, tall’ (13)
parku- ‘high’ (3)
parkui- ‘pure’ (3)
parkunu- ‘to purify, cleanse’ (6)
-pat (particle) (see chapter 28) (6)
pada- (gīr-a-) (com.) ‘foot’ (1)
găgăšpattar (neut.) ‘basket’ (9)
pē ḫar(k)- ‘to offer, furnish’ (7)
pelute- ‘to lead’ (§12.21, p. 198) (7)
pennali-bḫi ‘to drive (away)’ (11)
per (ē) (neut.) ‘house’ (6)
peran ‘before, in front of’ (1)
pēda- (neut.) ‘place, spot’ (2)
pēda-bḫi ‘to carry (off), bring’ (10)
pišnali- (lu-nal-) (com.) ‘man, male person’ (1)
pittulīya- (com.) ‘worry, anxiety’ (13)
pittuliyanī- ‘worried, anxious’ (5)
piya- ‘to send’ (5)
gud pāḫugari- (com.) ‘ox of ritual substitution’ (10)
punušš- (ẽn.tar) ‘to ask, question, interrogate’ (2)
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Comprehensive Vocabulary

šaï-bbi 'to press; seal' (9)
šakk-bbi (Akk. IDI) 'to know; recognize' (8)
šakl(ai)- (com.) 'custom, rule; prerogative, right; rite, ceremony (as the prerogative of a deity)' (9)
šaktai- 'to tend to, care for' (the sick or injured) (5)
šakuwa- (igi-wa-) (com.) 'eye' (6)
šallešš- (GAL-(l)ešš-) 'to grow large; to grow up' (3)
šallı- (GAL-(l)i-) 'great, large; adult' (2)
šanezzi- 'fine; sweet' (5)
šanḫ- (a) (with no particle) 'to seek, look for; attempt, try;' (b) (with -kan or -ašta) 'to search through, scour, sweep' (5)
šankunni- (LÚ SANGA-(n)i-) (com.) 'priest' (3)
šarā 'up(ward)' (4)
šarrati (with -kan or -ašta) 'to cross, traverse, transgress' (generally with -ašta or -kan) (14)
šarazzil(ya)- (UGU-(az)zi(ya)-) 'upper' (13)
šarku- 'exalted, eminent, powerful' (4)
šarlāi- 'to exalt, praise, vindicate' (3)
šarnikzil- (com.) 'restitution' (8)
šarmin- 'to make restitution (acc. = for something)' (6)
šardī(y)a- (NĀRĀRŪ) (com.) 'helper, auxiliary' (8)
šāru- (neut.) 'booty, plunder' (3)
šaruwaī- 'to plunder' (3)
šaš- (C新西) (com.) 'bed; sleep' (5)
šeli- (com.) ‘grain heap, granary’ (10)
šer 'above; on; for' (with preceding dative-locative) (5)
ši(p)pand-lišpand-bbi (BAL) ‘to libate; sacrifice; offer to (a deity, in acc.)’ (8)
šiun(i)- (DINGIR-LIM-(n)i-) (com.) ‘god’ (§4.50, pp. 100–101) (2)
šiwatt- (UD/UD.KAM-(a)t)- [§9.51, p. 167] ‘day’ (5)
šiyēššar (KAŠ-eššar) ‘beer’ (6)
šubha- (com.) ‘roof’ (4)
šuhha-bbi ‘to pour (out)’ (14)
šumeš ‘you’ (pl.) (1)
šunna-bbi ‘to fill’ (10)
šintiya- 'to sow, scatter, sprinkle' (5)
šuppa- ‘sacralized/consecrated meat’ (collective plural only) (4)
šuppi- ‘holy, sacred, consecrated’ (2)
šuwe- ‘to push (away), reject’ (6)
ta (conj.) (Old Hittite only; see §§29.15–29.22, pp. 393–395, for its use) (5)

dā-.bī ‘to take’ (+ parā ‘to pick out’) (10)
dai-.bī ‘to put, place’ (9)
tak(ki)s- ‘to put together, make, perpetrate; wield’ (12)
takšan ‘together’ (1)
takšatniya-/takšanniya- ‘to (make) level’ (14)
takšul- (neut.) ‘peace’ (8)
takšulatar (neut.) ‘peace’ (7)
takku ‘if’ (Old Hittite only) (5)
daluki- ‘long’ (5)
tamai- ‘another’ (12)
tamašš- ‘to press, oppress’ (7)
dān ‘a second time’ (12)
dannatta- ‘empty, desolate’ (12)
taninu- ‘to put in order, organize’ (9)
dankur- (GE₂-i-) ‘dark, black’ (2)
dandukiaš(n)- (NAM.LU₁₉.LU) (neut.) ‘humanity, the human race’ (§4.90, p. 120);
dandukiasnas DUMU-(l)₉a- ‘child of mortality’ = ‘human being’ (also written
DUMU.NAM.LU₁₉.LU-(l)a-) (11)
tar- (see tē-)
tarḫ- (with -za) ‘to conquer’, (without -za) ‘be superior’ (3)
tarku- ‘to dance’ (§12.12, p. 194) (4)
tarmāi- ‘to nail, fasten’ (3)
tarna-.bī ‘to release, let go’ (11)
tarpašša- (com.) ‘ritual substitute’ (5)
tāru- (giš-(r)u-) (neut.) ‘wood; tree’ (3)
dašša₉u- ‘to make powerful’ (3)
Tašmišu- (com.) ‘(the god) Tasmisu’ (13)
daššašš- ‘to become powerful’ (3)
daššu- ‘mighty, powerful’ (3)
dašuwaḫḫ- ‘to blind’ (12)
tāye- ‘to steal’ (§12.23, p. 199) (2)
tē-/tar- ‘to speak; mention’ (6)
tēkan (KI) (neut.) ‘earth’ (7)
Telipinu- (com.) (A male deity of the storm-god class, generally conceived as the
producer of life and proliferation among plants and animals.) (7)
tepawešš- 'to become (too) small’ (5)
teri- ‘three’ (14)
tešha- (ǔ) (com.) ‘dream’ (5)
teššummi- (GĂL) (com.) ‘cup’ (7)
tit(ta)nu- 'to install' (+ arḫa ‘to remove [from a position]’) (11)
tiya- ‘to step; station oneself’ (2)
tuegga- (Nf.TE) (com.) ‘body; limb’ (3)
Lú tūḫukantaḫit- ‘position of crown-prince’ (see §4.15, p. 86) (11)
tuqq-ši ‘to matter; be visible’ (conjugated like eš- and kiš- in §14.2, p. 230–231)
tunnakiš(n)- (É.ŠA-(n)a-) (neut.) ‘inner chamber’ (13)
tuppi- (Sum. DUB, Akkad. ṬUPPU) (neut.) ‘clay tablet’ (3)
tūriya- ‘to hitch/yoke up’ (11)
dušgaratt- (com.) ‘joy’ (5)
duddumili ‘secretly’ (6)
tuwarne- ‘to break’ (in OH a mi-verb, in NH migrates to the hi-conjugation; see §12.23, p. 199; §12.51, p. 212) (11)
tuzziyia- ‘to encamp, go into camp’ (5)
uktāri- (pl. tantum) ‘funeral pyre’ (13)
uunu- ‘to adorn’ (also inflected as a stem unuwāi-) (5)
uppalši ‘to send’ (11)
uppeššar (neut.) ‘thing sent, gift’ (12)
udaš ‘to bring’ (10)
uttar (Sum. INIM, Akkad. AWAT, pl. AWATE) (neut.) ‘word; matter, affair’ (6)
utnēš (neut.) ‘land, country’ (9)
uwa- , ue- ‘to come’ (4)
uwate- ‘to bring’ (a person) (see §12.21, p. 198) (9)
-wa (-war- before vowel) (quotative particle) (introduces direct speech) (see §§28.2ff., pp. 354ff.) (2)
walḫnu- (BAL-nu-) ‘to turn; change, alter’ (10)
wai- (neut.) ‘woe’ (10)
wak(k).ši ‘to bite’ (11)
waqqarši ‘to fail, miss’ (13)
walš- (GUL-ahš-) ‘to strike, hit’ (1)
walwališ (UR.MAH-aši-) (com.) ‘lion’ (1)
war-ši ‘to burn’ (intrans.) (conjugated like eš-ši and kiš-ši in §14.2, p. 230–231; for warāni instead of *warāri see §1.128, p. 45) (13)
warḫunu- ‘to make rough, bushy’ (1)
warnu- (BEl.-nu-) ‘to burn’ (trans.); + arḫa ‘to burn up’ (2)
warp- ‘to bathe’ (10)
waš.bbi ‘to buy’ (8)
wašše- ‘to put on’ (clothing) (+ -za = on oneself) (11)
wašta-bbi ‘to sin’ (10)
waštil- (neut.) ‘sin’ (8)
wāṭar (Sum. A, Akkad. MÊ) (neut.) ‘water’ (6)
watku- ‘to spring, jump’ (+ peran arḫa ‘to flee from’) (9)
wellu- (U.SAL-u-) (com.) ‘meadow, pasture’ (3)
wemiya- ‘to find’; + anda ‘to reach, attain, overtake’ (2)
weriya- ‘to call, summon’ (2)
weštara-(LÚ.SIPA-a-) (com.) ‘shepherd’ (10)
wētt-/hwitt- (MU/MU.KAM-t- [§9.51, p. 167]) (com.) ‘year’ (5)
wete-/wedada.bbi ‘to build’ (see §12.21, p. 198) (12)
wik(a)n- (IM) (com.) ‘clay’ (7)
wileda(i)- ‘to bring’ (11)
wiyana- (GEŠTIN-(n)a-) (com.) ‘wine’ (1)
zah(h)-bbi ‘to strike’ (+ anda ‘to penetrate’) (8)
zahḫai-(com.) ‘battle’ (9)
zahḫiya- ‘to fight’ (5)
zanu- ‘to cook’ (trans.) (1)
zašḫai- (Ū) (com.) ‘dream’ (12)
zašḫiya- (Ū) ‘to appear in a dream’ (12)
zikke- ‘to place’ (imperfective to dai,bbi) (7)
LÜ zinnḫuri- (com.) (a cult functionary) (4)

Sumerograms
A.AB.BA = aruna- (com.) ‘sea’ (4)
A.ŠA-(n)a- (com.) ‘field’ (1)
ÂMUSEN = ḫāran- ‘eagle’ (7)
AMA-a- = anna- ‘mother’ (1)
AN = nepiš-, Akkad. šAMÊ ‘heaven, sky’ (8)
AN.ZA.GAR ‘tower’ (12)
ANŠE-ali- (com.) ‘ass, donkey’ (11) (previously read as ANŠU)
ANŠE.GIR.NUN.NA-a- (com.) ‘mule’ (11) (previously read as ANŠU.GIR.NUN.NA)
ANŠE.KUR.RA-u- (com.) ‘horse’ (3) (previously read as ANŠU.KUR.RA)
LÚ'AZU ‘exorcist’ (3)
BA.ÜŞ ‘died’ (= akkiš) (4) (previously read as BA.BAD or BA.UG)
BABBAR = ḫarkiš ‘white’ (2) (previously read as UD)
GIS'BANŞUR-u- (com.) ‘table’ (8), GIS'BANŞUR.GAL ‘large table’ (14)
BIL.-nu = warnu ‘to burn’ (trans.) (2)
BURU₁₄ = ‘crop(s), harvest’ (9) (previously read as EBUR)
DAM-a- (com.) ‘wife’ (9)
DAM-atar (neut.) ‘wifehood, marriage’ (7)
DI = ḫanneššar (neut.) ‘legal case’ (8)
DIDLΙ.H.L.A (plural marker) (used exclusively with Sumerograms) (12) (previously read as AŠ.AŠ.H.L.A)
DINGIR/DINGIR-LIM/DINGIR-LIM-n(i)-, pl. DINGIR.MEŠ = šiun(i)- ‘god’ (1) and (2)
DUMU-(l)a- (com.) ‘child; son’ (1)
DUMU.E.GAL.-i- (com.) ‘palace official’ (plural DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL)(1)
DUMU.LUGAL.-a- (plural DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL) (com.) ‘prince’ (3)
DUMU.MUNUS.-a- (com.) ‘daughter’ (1) (previously read as DUMU.SAL)
DUMU.NAM.LÚ.U₁₉.LU-(l)a- = dandukišnaš DUMU.-a- (com.) ‘human being’ (6)
(proviously read as DUMU.NAM.LÚ.U₁₉.LU)
É = per/parn- (neut.) ‘house’ (6)
É.DINGIR-LIM (pl. É.DINGIR.MEŠ) = šiunaš per (neut.) ‘temple’ (3)
É.GAL.-LUM (neut.) ‘palace’ (4)
EGIR-an = āppan ‘behind; after’ (9)
EGIR-(ez)zi(ya)- = appezzi(ya)- ‘rear-, last’ (2)
EGIR-pa = āppa ‘back; again’ (3)
EN-a- = išhā- (com.) ‘lord, master; owner’ (2)
EN.SFSKUR ‘client, patron, sacrificer’ (6)
ÉRIN.MEŠ-t- (com.) ‘troops’ (5) (previously read as ZAB, ERÎN, and ERIM)
ÉSAG-(n)a- (com.) ‘grain storage pit’ (10) (previously read as ARÂH)
GAD-a- (com.) ‘(piece of) cloth’ (3)
GAL-(l)i- = šalli- ‘great, large; adult’ (2)
GAL.LÚ.MEŠ MEŠEDI ‘chief of the bodyguard’
GAL.DUB.SAR.MEŠ ‘chief of the scribes’ (10)
GAM = katta ‘down(ward)’ (3) and kattan ‘below’ (7)
GAŞAN ‘lady’ (5)
GE₆-ant- = īśpant- (com.) ‘night’ (5) (previously read as MI-ant-)
GE₆-i- = dankui ‘dark; black’ (2) (previously read as MI-i-)
GÉME-(ališšar)a- (com.) ‘servant, slave-(woman)’ (11) (previously read as GEMÉ and GÉME)

GEŠTIN-(n)a- = wiyana- (com.) ‘wine’ (1)

GI = nata- ‘reed; arrow’ (11)

GÍS.GIDRU-a- (com.) ‘staff, stick’ (1) (previously read as GÍS PA)

GIM-an = mahhan ‘when; as; how?’ (2, 4)

GÍN ‘shekel’ (10)

GÍR-a- (neut.) ‘knife’ (1)

GÍR-a- (com.) ‘foot’ (1)

GÍS.GÍR.GUB-iš(n)- = GÍS.kuppiš(n)- ‘stool’ (§4.90, p. 120) (1)

GÍS-(r)u- (neut.) ‘wood; tree’ (1) and (3)

GÍS.GU.ZA ‘throne’ (13)

GUB-(l)a- ‘left-(hand)’ (previously read KAB-(l)a-) (4)

GUD-(l)a- (com.) ‘bovine, cow, steer’ (1) and (7) (also read as GU₄)

GUD.NIGA ‘fattened ox’ (also read as GU₄.NIGA or GUD.SE) (8)

GÚ.GUDU₁₂-a- (com.) (9) (previously read LÚ.IM ME, LÚ.UH.ME, or LÚ.GUDU) (a kind of priest, ranked below the LÚ.SANGA/LÚ.shankuni-priests, but above other temple personnel such as exorcists (LÚ.AZU/LÚ.HAL), cooks, table-men, scribes and musicians; Hittite reading most likely kumra- com., see Hoffner 1996a)

GUL-ahh- = wallh- ‘to strike, hit’ (1)

GUNN-(l)a- = ḥašša-(com.) ‘hearth’ (3)

Ḫ.Î.A (plural marker) (used almost exclusively with Sumerograms) (1) (previously read as ḪA)

ḪUL-(p)a- = ḥuwappa- ‘bad, evil, malevolent’ (2)

ḪUL-(l)u- = idalu- ‘bad, evil; hostile’ (3)

ḪUR.SAG-(r)u- (com.) ‘mountain’ (1)

ḪU.SAG-(r)l- (l) (neut.) = šakan- (neut.) ‘fat; oil’ (11) (previously read as UZU.iA)

Ḫढ.DUG.GA ‘fine oil’ (14) (previously read as I.A.DUG.GA)

Ḫd-an- = ḥapan- (com.) ‘river’ (8)

Ḫ修建(-(e)zi)(ya)- = ḥantezz(i)(ya)- ‘front-, foremost; first’ (2)

Ḫ修建-wa- = šakuwa- ‘eye’ (6)

ḪKU-(n)a- (com.) (measure of length) (13) (previously read as GAN)

ḪNM = uttar and memia(n)- ‘word; matter, affair’ (6) and (7) (previously read as KA)

XHR-(n)ali- (com.) ‘(male) servant, slave’ (1) (also read as ARAD)

XHR-(n)ahh- ‘to subject, make one’s servant’ (13) (also read as ARAD)

224. For the stem of this word see p. 59, n. 17.

225. The complementation -iš, which points to an underlying kuppiš(n)-, is found in KBo 20.8 obv. 19 (OS!), see StBoT 26:239. Other occurrences of GÍS.GÍR.GUB may cover the Hittite word ḥapsalli.
Comprehensive Vocabulary

lir-(n)ătar (neut.) ‘servitude, bondage, slavery’ (14) (also read as ARAD)

4iškur (the Stormgod) (5) (also read 4tm)

ITU- (m)a- (com.) ‘month’ (= arma-) (13)

izzi = pahljur ‘fire’ (1) and (6)

kaxu = ašiš ‘mouth’ (8)

kaskal-(š)a- = palša- (com.) ‘path, way; time, instance’ (11) (previously read kas)

kas = šiyeššar (neut.) ‘beer’ (6)

kī = tēkan ‘earth’ (7)

kīmin (functions like English ‘ditto’) (7)

kik, (neut.) ‘nose’ (11) (previously read as kaxkak)

kū-babbār-i- (neut.) ‘silver’ (7) (previously read as kug.ud)

kur = ūtnē (neut.) ‘land, country’ (3) and (9)

4liš ‘(the goddess) Ištar’ (10)

lū-(n)ali- (com.) ‘man, male’ (1)

lū qisbanšur (com.) ‘table-man’ (server) (9)

lū.igu.nugāl ‘blind man’ (7)

lū.qis.tukul ‘man having a tukul obligation’ (8) (previously read as lū qis.ku)

lū.kūr-(n)a- (com.) ‘enemy’ (1)

lū Ṝemē ‘messenger’ (= Akkad. amel ṭēme; the lū is not a determinative) (12)

lū.19lu-a- = antuḫša- ‘person’ (com.) (11) (previously read as lū.ullu)

lugal-u- = ḫaššu- (com.) ‘king’ (3)

lugal-(u)eznātar = ḫaššuweznātar (neut.) ‘kingship’ (11)

ma.na ‘mina’ (11)

meš (plural marker) (used almost exclusively with Sumerograms) (1)

mu/mu.kam-t- = wētt-/hwitt- ‘year’ (§9.51, p. 167) (5)

lū.muḫaldim-a- ‘cook’ (1) (previously read as lū mu)

mul = ḫaššēr- (com.) ‘star’ (see §4.81, p. 114) (11)

munus-n- (com.) ‘woman; wife’ (6) (previously read as sal and mf)

munus.lugal-(r)a- = ḫaššuššara- ‘queen’ (1) (previously read as sal.lugal)

munus.shu.gi ‘old woman’ (medical/ritual practitioner) (8) (previously read as sal šu.gi)

nam.ra-a- = arnuwala- (com.) ‘deportee(?) conolonist(?)’ (non-free person subject to periodic resettlement by the king) (11)

nim.lāl-a- (com.) ‘bee’ (14)

nin-a- = nega- (com.) ‘sister’ (7)

ninda-a- (com.) ‘bread’ (1)

ninda.gur,rә-ra-i- (com.) ‘leavened bread, boule’ (4) (also read as ninda.kur;rәra)
69 Comprehensive Vocabulary

4NIN.TU-a- = 4Hannaḫanna- (fategoddess) (10)
NU.GÁL ‘(there) is/are not’ (8)
SAG.DU = ḫaršar ‘head’ (also used for ‘person’) (6)
LQSAGI(.A)-(I)a- (com.) ‘cupbearer’ (7) (previously read as LQQA.ŠU.DU₈(.A) or LQŠILA.ŠU.DU₈(.A))
LQSANGA-(n)i- = šankunni- (3)
LQŠIPA-a- = wēšara- (com.) ‘shepherd’ (10) (previously read as LQŠIPAD)
SĪR-RU = IZAMMARŪ = iššamiyaḫi ‘they sing’ (4)
SĬSKUR = aniur, malteššar or mukeššar (neut.) ‘sacrifice, ritual’ (2, 13) (previously read as ZUR.ZUR or SISKUR.SISKUR). On the variety of Hittite nouns underlying SĬSKUR see CHD L–N sub malteššar.
ŠĀ ‘insides; womb’ (8), also = ker/kard- ‘heart’ (9), and = Akkad. INA ‘in, on, at’ (14) (previously read as ŠĀ(G))
ŠAH-a- (com.) ‘pig’ (1)
ŠĒŠ-(n)A- = negna- (com.) ‘brother’ (11)
ŠU-(r)A- = keššar(a)- (com.) ‘hand’ (1) and (8)
GŠŠU₈.A-KI(t)- ‘chair’ (13)
TA.ĀM ‘time(s)’ (with numbers) (14)
TI-(w)āṭar = ḫušwāṭar ‘life’ (6)
TŬG-a- (com.) ‘cloth, garment’ (2)
TŬG.NĪG.LĀ.MEŠ ‘festive garments’ (10)
TUKU.TUKU-(at)A- = kartimmiyatt- ‘anger’ (5)
TUKU.TUKU-(w)AUNT- = kartimmiyawant- ‘angry’ (5)
GĬŠTUKUL-(A)-I- (com.) ‘weapon’ (11)
TU.R ‘small, little’ (9)
4Ŭ ‘Stormgod’ (2)
Ŭ.SAL-U- = wēllu- ‘meadow’ (3)
Ŭ = zašhai- (noun)/zašhiya- (verb) (12)
UD(.KAM)-(A)T- = šiwaṭṭi ‘day’ (5) (also read as U₁(.KAM))
4UD.SIG₃ ‘the favorable day’ (as a deity) (8) (also read as U₄.SIG₃)
UDU-U- (com.) ‘sheep’ (6)
UDU.ŠĪR-ALI- (com.) ‘ram’ (13)
UGULA ‘chief, head’ (9)
UN-(š)A- (com.) ‘man, human’ (1) (previously read as ḫUKU)
UR.GI-(A)- (com.) ‘dog’ (13) (previously read as UR.TŬG or UR.ZĪR)
UR.MAH-ALI- (com.) ‘lion’ (1) (= Luwian walwali-?)
URU-(rī)yA- = ḫappiryya- ‘city’ (2)
Comprehensive Vocabulary

\[ d\text{UTU-}a- = \text{Ištanu-} \ '\text{Sungod}' \ (4) \]
\[ d\text{UTU-}Šr '\text{my Sungod}' \ (royal title; usually translated 'His Majesty') \ (4) \]
\[ \text{UZU.Š} '\text{flesh; fat}' \ (11) \]
\[ d\text{ZA.BA₄,BA₅-}a- \ (com.) \ (\text{a war-god}) \ (11) \]
\[ \text{ZÁ.AH.LI}^\text{ŠAR} \ (\text{neut.)} '\text{weeds}' \ (5) \]
\[ \text{LÚZABAR.DAB or LÚZABAR.DIB} \ (\text{com.}) \ (\text{an official who distributes beverages}) \ (7) \]
\[ \text{ZAG-}a- = \text{irḫa-} \ (com.) '\text{border (territory)}' \ (4) \]
\[ \text{ZAG-(n)}a- = \text{kunna-} '\text{right-(hand)}' \ (1) \]
\[ \text{ZAG.GAR.RA-(n)}a- = \text{ištanana-} \ (\text{com.}) '\text{altar, sacrificial table}' \ (2) \]
\[ \text{UZU.ZAG.LU-(n)A-} = \text{paltana-} \ (\text{com.}) '\text{shoulder}' \ (1) \]
\[ \text{ZI} = \text{ištanza(n)-} '\text{soul}' \ (8) \]
\[ \text{ZU₉} '\text{tooth}' \ (12) \ (\text{previously read as KAXUD}) \]

Akkadograms

\[ \text{ABU/LA} '\text{father}' \ (1) \]
\[ \text{AMMATHU} '\text{ell, yard} (\text{measure of length})' \ (13) \]
\[ \text{ANA} \ ('\text{marks dative-locative case})' \ (3) \]
\[ \text{BIBRU} '\text{rhyton, animal-shaped drinking vessel}' \ (10) \]
\[ \text{DINU} = \text{ḫanneššar} \ (\text{neut.}) '\text{legal case, dispute}' \ (4) \]
\[ \text{ELLU(M)} = \text{arawanni-} '\text{free (person)}' \ (10) \]
\[ \text{INA} '\text{in, into} (\text{marks dative-locative case})' \ (4) \]
\[ \text{IŠBA} = \text{ēpta} '\text{took, seized}' \ (12) \]
\[ d\text{IŠTAR} '\text{(the goddess) IŠTAR}' \ (10, 12) \]
\[ išt\text{U} \ ('\text{marks ablative or instrumental case, thus 'from' or 'with')} \ (4) \]
\[ -\text{KA} '\text{your} (\text{sg.}) (\text{used only after Sumerograms and Akkadograms})' \ (4) \]
\[ -\text{KUNU} '\text{your} (\text{plural}) (\text{used only after Sumerograms and Akkadograms})' \ (3) \]
\[ \text{LIM} '\text{thousand}' \ (12) \]
\[ \text{MÊ} = \text{wātar} '\text{water}' \ (1) \]
\[ \text{LÊ/UTU} '\text{husband}' \ (10) \]
\[ -\text{NI} '\text{our}' \ (12) \]
\[ \text{NIŠ DINGIR-LIM} '\text{oath}' \ (4) \]
\[ \text{NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ} '\text{oathgods}' \ (7) \]
\[ \text{QADU} '\text{(together) with}' \ (9) \]
\[ \text{QASSU} = \text{keššar(aš)šiš} '\text{his/her hand}' \ (11) \]
\[ \text{QATAMMA} = \text{apeniššan} '\text{thus, so}' \ (2) \]
\[ d\text{SIN-}a- = \text{arma-} '\text{moon, Moongod}' \ (9) \]
ŠA ‘of’ (marks following logogram as representing a Hittite genitive) (2)
(ŠA) ŠAMĘ = nepšaš ‘of heaven’ (4)
-ŠU ‘his’ (used only after Sumerograms and Akkadograms) (1)
ŠUM ‘name’ (= lāman-) (2) and (7)
-ŠUNU ‘their’ (used only after Sumerograms and Akkadograms) (4)
ŢEMU see LÚ ŢEME above
ŢUPPU ‘clay tablet’ (10)
U (written with the sign ū) ‘and’ (5)
ŪLIUL = natta (1)
UŠKEN = arkuwaizzi, ĥe(n)kta, ĥinkta, ĥingari ‘bows’ (4)
-YA ‘my’ (used only after Sumerograms and Akkadograms) (1)
SOURCES OF EXERCISE SENTENCES
MARKED◆OR◇

2.5  Adapted from KBo 11.14 ii 22 (MH/NS).
3.8  KBo 5.6 iii 50–52 (NH), with addition of kur from the dupl. text KBo 14.12 iii 33.
4.4  KBo 20.5 rev.(!) 10–11 (OS) restored from KBo 22.195 iii(!) 5–6 (MS) = StBoT 25 #12 iii 22′–23′.
4.7  Heavily adapted version of KBo 4.3 i 22–24 (NH).
4.9  Adapted from KBo 5.4 rev. 16–17 (NH).
4.12 Adapted from KUB 5.1 i 54 (NH).
5.6  Adapted from KUB 30.10 rev. 18 (OH/MS).
5.7  KBo 6.2 i 16–17 (OH/OS) = Laws §10.
5.9  Adapted from KUB 19.18 i 17–18 (NH).
5.13 Adapted from KBo 4.6 obv. 11–14 (NH).
5.14 Adapted from KUB 21.27 iv 13–14 (NH).
5.15 Adapted from KBo 10.2 i 36–37 (OH/NS).
6.2  KBo 5.6 iii 5–6 (NH).
6.3  Adapted from KUB 43.58 i 46–48 (MH/MS).
6.4  KBo 6.2 iv 56–58 (OS), restored from KBo 6.3 iv 55–58 (OH/NS) = Laws §99.
6.5  Adapted from KBo 4.2 i 58–60 (pre-NH).
6.7  KBo 4.8 ii 10–12 (NH).
6.10 Adapted from KBo 20.34 obv. 11 (OH or MH/MS).
6.13 Adapted from KBo 3.1 ii 5–7 (OH/NS).
6.15 KUB 21.27 iv 35–36 (NH).
7.1  Adapted from KUB 14.10 i 6–8 (NH).
7.2  Adapted from HKM 58;5 (MH/MS), see ibid. obv. 8.
7.3  HKM 58;6–7 (MH/MS).
7.4  KBo 17.1 iii 8–9 (OS).
7.5  KUB 2.10 v 25–26 (OH/NS).
7.6  KUB 19.37 iii 46–48 (NH).
7.7  KUB 30.10 obv. 15 (OH/MS).
7.8  KUB 21.27 ii 15–16 (NH).
7.9  Restored and emended version of KBo 3.1 i 30–31 (OH/NS).
7.10 KUB 14.1 rev. 21–23 (MH/MS).
7.13 KUB 39.7 ii 7–9 (NH).
8.1  KUB 30.21 + KUB 39.7 i 2–4 (NH).
8.2  Adapted from KUB 14.8 i 14–15 (NH).
8.3 KBo 17.74 iii 48 (OH/MS!), restored from KUB 43.26 iv 7 (OS).
8.6 Restored version of KBo 6.25 + KBo 13.35 iii 5–7.
8.7 KBo 6.2 ii 45 (OS) = Laws §47B.
8.8 KBo 5.8 i 26–27 (NH).
8.9 Adapted from KBo 4.4 iii 36–37 (NH), see ibid iii 29–30.
8.10 Adapted from KUB 7.60 ii 4–6 (NS).
8.11 Adapted from KBo 4.4 iii 43–44 (NH).
8.13 KUB 26.12 ii 15–16 (NH).
8.14 Adapted from KUB 6.45 iii 23–24 (NH).
8.15 KBo 6.2 ii 14–15 (OS), restored from KBo 6.3 ii 33 (OH/NS) = Laws §38.
9.1 KBo 17.1 i 28–29 (OS).
9.3 KUB 5.6 i 39–41 (NH).
9.4 KBo 17.15 rev. 18 (OS), restored from KBo 17.40 iv 13 (OS).
9.6 KBo 5.13 i 7–9 (NH).
9.7 Restored version of KUB 1.16 ii 53–54 (OH/NS).
9.8 Adapted from KUB 1.16 iii 57–58 (OH/NS).
9.9 Adapted from KBo 5.13 ii 18–20 (NH).
9.10 Adapted from KBo 5.13 ii 20–12 (NH), see ibid. ii 25.
9.11 Adapted from KUB 32.117 + KUB 35.93 iii 10–11 (OS).
9.12 KUB 8.1 i 16–17 (NH).
9.14 KBo 15.25 rev. 18 (MH/MS).
9.15 Freely restored version of KBo 5.6 ii 31–33 (NH).
10.1 KBo 5.13 i 15–16 (NH).
10.2 KBo 6.2 i 51–52, OH/OS = Laws §23.
10.3 KUB 17.10 i 29–30, OH/MS.
10.4 KBo 4.2 iii 56–57 (NH), restored from KUB 43.50 obv. 18 + KUB 15.36 obv. 10.
10.5 KUB 21.17 iii 9–12 (NH).
10.6 Restored version of KUB 21.17 iii 13–17 (NH).
10.7 KBo 5.6 iv 6–7 (NH).
10.8 Adapted from BrTabl. iv 19–20 (NH).
10.9 Restored version of KBo 26.58 iv 44–46 (Ullik., NS), partly from KUB 36.11:2 and partly from KBo 26.59 iii 32’.
10.10 KBo 6.34 ii 44–45 (MH/NS).
10.11 KBo 6.2 iv 49–50 (OS), restored from KBo 6.3 iv 48–49; = Laws §96.
10.13 KBo 2.6 iii 17–18 (NH).
10.14 Adapted from BrTabl. iv 16–20 (NH).
10.15 KBo 15.52 vi 39–45 (NS).
11.4 KUB 29.1 i 19–20 (OH/NS).
11.5 Adapted from KUB 13.2 ii 43–44 (NS).
Sources of Exercise Sentences

11.6  BrTabl. ii 43–44 (NH).
11.7  KBo 6.2 i 22–23 (OS), restored from KBo 6.3 i 31–32; = Laws §12.
11.8  KBo 6.3 i 33 (OH/NS) = Laws §13.
11.9  Restored version of KUB 33.54 ii 13–14 (OH/NS).
11.10 Adapted from KBo 8.35 ii 19–20 (MH/MS).
11.11 Restored version of KBo 17.43 i 10–11 (OS).
11.12 Adapted from KUB 17.21 iv 12–14 (MH/MS).
11.13 KBo 17.4 ii 8–9 (OS).
11.14 KBo 12.42 rev. 6–8 (MH/NS).
11.15 KBo 6.2 iv 12–13 (OS) = Laws §79.
12.1  Adapted from KBo 5.13 i 20–22 (NH).
12.2  KBo 3.4 iii 19–21 (NH).
12.3  KUB 1.1 i 36–38 (Ḫatt., NH).
12.4  Adapted from KUB 1.1 i 40 (Ḫatt., NH).
12.5  Freely restored version of KBo 3.22 obv. 39–42 (OS).
12.6  KBo 4.4 iv 20–21 (NH).
12.7  KBo 6.2 i 9–10 (OS) = Laws §7.
12.8  KBo 3.22 obv. 6–8 (OS).
12.9  KBo 10.2 i 19–21 (OH/NS).
12.10 KBo 5.8 ii 3–5 (NH).
12.12 KBo 4.3 i 12 (NH).
12.13 KUB 19.65 + KUB 31.13, 6–7 (NH) = Ḫatt. iii 46’–47’ (restored from KUB 19.64, 20–21).
12.14 Adapted from KBo 11.1 obv. 1–2 (NH).
12.15 Restored version of KUB 19.10 i 18–19 (NH) = DŠ 13.
13.2  KUB 12.66 iv 9–10 (OH/NS).
13.3  KUB 31.127+ i 40–49 (OH/NS).
13.4  KUB 33.120 i 8–10 (NS).
13.5  KUB 36.12 i 15 + KUB 33.113 i 3 (Ullik., NS).
13.6  KBo 4.4 iv 18–19 (NH).
13.7  Freely restored version of KBo 3.4 i 41–42 (NH).
13.9  KUB 30.15 i 10–11 (NH).
13.10 Adapted from KUB 33.98 iii 15–16 (Ullik., NS).
13.13 KUB 33.106 ii 8–9 (Ullik., NS).
13.14 KUB 9.32 obv. 6–7 (NS).
13.15 KBo 5.6 iii 12–13 (NH).
14.1  KUB 17.10 ii 29–30 (OH/MS).
14.2  KBo 4.4 iii 45–47 (NH).
14.3  KBo 4.4 iii 47–48 (NH).
14.4  KUB 15.34 i 45–46 (MH/MS).
Sources of Exercise Sentences

14.5 KBo 5.3 ii 22–23 (MH/NS).
14.7 KBo 4.4 i 41–42 (NH).
14.8 KUB 31.127 i 52–56 (OH/NS).
14.9 KBo 4.14 iii 9 (NH)
14.10 KBo 5.1 i 45–47 (NH).
14.11 KBo 3.1 ii 36–37 (OH/NS).
14.13 Restored and adapted from KBo 16.1 iii 11–14 (NH).
14.15 KUB 43.60 i 10–11 (OH/NS).
14.16 Freely restored version of KBo 4.4 iv 4–5 (NH)
14.17 Restored and excerpted version of KBo 17.75 i 46–47 (OH/NS).
Corrections to the First Printing

Changes are marked with an underline.

Vol. 1, Grammar

Page 5, first full paragraph, line 6, for
Hittite texts from Maşat by Hoffner (forthcoming). From the comparative Indo-
read:
Hittite texts from Maşat by Hoffner (forthcoming). From the comparative Indo-

Page 126, §4.104, line 6, for
ḫuitar ‘wildlife, fame’ and karš(a)ttar ‘segment’ (Starke 1990: 455–56 and 560–64).
read:
ḫuitar ‘wildlife, game’ and karš(a)ttar ‘segment’ (Starke 1990: 455–56 and 560–64).

Page 185, §11.21, line 8, for
au(š)- ‘to see’ [see §13.32, p. 228] and pai-/piy- ‘to give’) show this pattern. Set 1 ap-
read:
au(š)- ‘to see’ [see §13.32, p. 229] and pai-/piy- ‘to give’) show this pattern. Set 1 ap-

Page 220, n. 35, line 4, for
§13.32, p. 228).
read:

Pages 228–29: for the first line of the Preterite Indicative Singular paradigm,

| 1 | dâlahhî, dâliyanî | îshiîhî | šiyamî, šiamni |

read:

| 1 | tâlahhûn, dâlahhûn, dâliyanun, tâliyanun | îshiîhûn, îshiyanun | šiyanun, šiyamun |

In addition, move first two lines of §13.32 to p. 229.
Pages 256–57: Move
See also Yakubovich 2006.
from the end of §16.65 on p. 257 to the end of §16.61 on p. 256.

Page 306, §22.3, line 4, for:
sentence connective corresponds to present (including the “analytic perfect” [§§22.19–
read:
sentence connective corresponds to present (including the “analytic perfect” [§§22.19–

Page 332, §25.9, line 7 on p. 332, for:
(historical present ‘shows’ or ‘teaches’) them (how) to smooth/sharpen an arrow (or) a
read:
(historical present ‘shows’ or ‘teaches’) them (how) to smooth/sharpen an arrow (or) a

Vol. 2, Tutorial

Page 4, Vocabulary, for
eku-/aku- ‘to drink’
read:
eshu-era ‘to drink’ (see paradigm in §12.3, p. 188 with n. 3)

Page 14, Translation Exercise, no. 4.2, for
4.2. mahjan-kan dUTU-uš šallayaz arunaz šarâ uezzi nušši-kanš6 menahlhanda
tiyaweni
read:
4.2. mahjan-kan dUTU-uš šallayaz arunaz šarâ uezzi nušši-kanš6 menahlhanda
tiyaweni

Page 19, Translation Exercise, no. 5.14, for
   a-aš-ši-ya-an-za DUMU.MUNUS-aš
read:
   a-aš-ši-ya-an-za DUMU.MUNUS-aš
Page 22, Translation Exercise, no. 6.13, for


read:


Page 23, Translation Exercise (Broad Transcription), no. 6.13, for


read:

6.13. Zuruš GAL LÚ MEŠE-DI duddumili ḫaššannaš-šaš DUMUŠU = Tāḫurwailin piyēzi nu-za-kan = Tittiyaš ḫaššatar kuenzi

Page 30, Translation Exercise, no. 8.3, for

8.3. LUGAL-uš ḫu-u-up-pa-ri ši-pa-an-ti MUNUS.LUGAL-ša na-at-ta

read:

8.3. LUGAL-uš ḫu-u-up-pa-ri ši-pa-an-ti MUNUS.LUGAL-ša na-at-ta