# Hittite

# Grammar

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# Chapter 1 Introduction

## A. Foreword

The outline of grammar presented here is inspired from the *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* by Johannes Friedrich. However, it is not an exact translation of this book. I have nevertheless used his examples, his tables of the different paradigms and his numbering of the classes of verbs (referenced in the lexicon).

I have deviated from the usual rules of transcription of Hittite by replacing the sign  $\check{s}$  by the letter 's', according to the correspondence Hittite cuneiform  $\check{s}$  = phonetic /s/. This replacement only takes place for the the transcription of whole Hittite words, not when transcribing cuneiform signs ; one will find for instance '*wa-aš-ta* = *wasta*'. Moreover, in order to simplify the typing and since there is no ambiguity, the letter h has been replaced by the simple h.

I have also replaced the symbols  $\underline{u}$  and  $\underline{i}$  used in the grammar of Friedrich by the common letters w and y (excepted for the cuneiform sign noted  $\underline{i}a$  by Friedrich that I have transcribed ia, according to the most frequent transcription today). Furthermore, I have modified the transcriptions of Friedrich when the vowels of two consecutive signs do not match. I have used instead the phonetic values recognized nowadays that match. For example, *pi-eš-ta* is replaced by *pé-eš-ta*.

For the numbering of paragraphs, I have used the same one as the grammar of Friedrich, which allows me to cross-reference data more easily inside the grammar, and among the grammar, the lexicon and the texts. Moreover, the owners of the grammar of Friedrich will be able to find directly the paragraphs.

Finally, this grammar is based on the second edition of the grammar of Friedrich that goes back to 1960. Hence, the grammar presented here does not take into account discoveries that have been made since.

## **B.** Presentation

Hittite is an Indo-European (I.E.) language, member of the Anatolian language family. It has been deciphered from cuneiform tablets discovered in the 20th century in Anatolia, more precisely at Bogazköy, where once stood Hattusa, the capital of the Hittite empire. The discovered tablets range from 1600 to 1200 BC.

The Anatolian family includes several well-attested languages : Hittite, Luwian, Palaic, and several languages more poorly attested, or whose membership with the Anatolian family is not quite certain : Lydian, Lycian, Sidetian, Pisidic, Carian.

Hittite texts sometimes include Luwian words (preceded by a special sign :  $\checkmark$  or  $\bigstar$ ), since Hittites employed Luwian priests and a lot of Luwian-speaking people were living in the Hittite realm.

After the fall of the Hittite empire, the peoples around used a writing of "hieroglyphic" type which was already in use in parallel with the cuneiform writing, and which for a long time was believed to be Hittite, but whose partial deciphering showed that it was Luwian.

The Anatolian family exhibits a lot of peculiar features compared with the other I.E. families, so much so that some thought of it as a sister family of I.E., with both descending from a hypothetical "Indo-Hittite". It is more probable that the Anatolian languages are part of I.E., but of an earlier stage than the "classical" I.E. (Brugmannian). This former stage is then called Proto-Indo-European (P.I.E.) or I.E. II, in opposition to the later I.E. (I.E. III). In particular, the Anatolian languages still used P.I.E. phonemes (laryngeals) that vanished in the other I.E. languages.

The name "Hittite" comes from Hatti, name of the country and the language (non I.E.) of the people present before the Hittites. The Hittite kings called themselves "kings of the land of Hatti". The name that Hittites gave to themselves was "Nesumna" (inhabitants of the town of Nesa), and their tongue "Nesili".

# Chapter 2

# **Writing and Phonetics**

## A. Writing

1) a) The Hittite scribes borrowed the cuneiform writing in use in Mesopotamia.

b) The cuneiform writing was invented by the Sumerians and was originally an ideographic writing. A sign was drawn as a little picture and represented a notion in relation with the pictogram. For example, the sign representing a foot was used to mean "to stand", "to walk", "to run", "to bring", etc... When the drawing of the signs got simplified over the years, the original meaning of the signs became less and less clear, and the writing became logographic : a sign was used to represent a precise word of the language rather than an idea. However, the signs remained polysemous since they kept the several meanings that they had already acquired.

c) Furthermore, a peculiar feature of the Sumerian language is its apparent high level of homophony<sup>1</sup>. A lot of different Sumerian words have the same pronunciation but a different meaning, and are thus written with a different sign. Hence, it is necessary for the modern scholar to distinguish between the shape of the sign and its pronunciations (and meanings). As a result, the signs are numbered according to their shape in various sign lists, independently of their pronunciation. For example, the sign  $\rightarrowtail$  has the number 13 in the list of Labat. It can be read AN "sky" or DINGIR "god".

d) The signs are represented by their Sumerian reading. In order to distinguish between the readings of homophonic signs, these readings are numbered according to the frequency of the signs. Traditionally, the first index is not written, the second and third indices are replaced respectively by an acute and a grave accent on the vowel of monosyllabic words<sup>2</sup>. For example, the signs  $\checkmark$ ,  $\exists \Pi$ ,  $\forall \Pi$ ,  $\forall$ 

e) The third stage of evolution of the cuneiform writing was the invention of the phonetic use of signs. Another peculiar feature of the Sumerian language is the fact that a great proportion of its words are monosyllabic. As a result, the Sumerian scribes had the idea to use a sign for its phonetic value instead of its logographic value. This phonetic use was somehow restricted to complement the logographic signs, either to select among the various readings of one sign, or to specify grammatical features such as declension or conjugation which could not be written down with a pure ideographic writing. However, non-native speakers of Sumerian such as Akkadians or Hittites were naturally inclined to make a widespread use of the phonetic writing since there was no more relation between the logographic meaning of a sign and its phonetic reading in their respective languages.

<sup>1</sup> This apparent homophony may be an illusion caused by our incomplete knowledge of the phonetic system of Sumerian. Actually, the Sumerian reading of the signs is known to us thanks to the Akkadian scribes spelling them out; as a result, the reading of a sign is "filtered" through the different phonetic system of Akkadian. Some scholars have posited that Sumerian was a tonal language, or that it had more vowels than supposed, but these theories are fundamentally unprovable.

<sup>2</sup> Sumerologists tend to use only indices and avoid more and more the use of accents. Assyriologists and Hittitologists still abide by the use of accents.

2) The Hittite cuneiform writing uses all three modes of cuneiform writing : phonetic, logographic and determinative.

a) The phonetic signs are syllabic. They can represent a group consonant + vowel (e.g. *ba*, *mi*, *ru*), vowel + consonant (e.g. *ab*, *ir*, *uk*) or consonant + vowel + consonant (e.g. *bar*, *kid*, *lum*). Signs of the third kind can also be expressed by the use of two signs of the first and second kinds : *bar* can be written ba + ar, *kid* ki + id and *lum* lu + um.

b) There exist signs for the lone vowels. There are no sign for lone consonants.

3) Logograms are non-phonetic signs representing a whole word. They can be read in any language, be it English, French, Russian, etc... For example, the sign for "god"  $\rightarrowtail$  is read *dingir* in Sumerian, *ilum* in Akkadian, *siuna*- in Hittite, *eni*- in Hurrian, etc... As another example, the sign for "land"  $\checkmark$  is read *kur* in Sumerian, *mātum* in Akkadian, *utnē*- in Hittite, *umini*- in Hurrian, *ebani*- in Urartean, etc... It sometimes happens that the Hittite reading is unknown. In this case, the sign is transcribed by its Sumerian reading in capital : DINGIR, KUR, etc... Composite logograms are composed of several signs ; they are transcribed separated by a dot : ANŠE.KUR.RA "horse".

b) Some words were written only as logograms by Hittites, so that we do not know their pronunciation, for example DUMU-*aš* "son", MUNUS-*za* "woman", ÌR-*iš* "slave", GUD-*uš* "ox", 1-*aš* "one".

5) a) Hittites also used to insert Akkadian words amid Hittite texts. These words are often called *akkadograms* as they seem to be used logographically. In transcriptions, those words will be written in italic capital, with the signs separated by a dash. Thus, one can find for Hittite *isha-* "lord" the Akkadian  $b\bar{e}lu(m)$  "lord" written : Nom. Sg. *BE-LU* (older: *BE-LUM*), Acc. Sg. *BE-LAM*, Nom. Pl. *BE-LU*<sup>MEŠ</sup>, etc... For the Hittite Dat.-Loc. Sg. *atti-mi* "to my father", one can find an Akkadian word preceded by the Akkadian preposition *ana* "to" : *A-NA A-BI-IA* "to my father".

b) Hittite phonetic complements are seldom found after akkadograms : for example,  $\hat{G}I\check{S}K\dot{A}$ -AN-NU-UM-it "by means of a jar-stand", EL-LAM-aš Gen. Sg. "of a free". The case of the Akkadian monosyllabic word in construct state  $\check{S}UM$  "name", used as a logogram with a Hittite phonetic complement, is different : Nom.-Acc. Sg.  $\check{S}UM$ -an for Hittite *lāman* "name".

c) A logogram can be followed by a Hittite phonetic complement, but also by an Akkadian one : for example  $DUMU^{RU}$  "son" (Akkad. *māru*), 1<sup>EN</sup> "one" (Akkad. *ištēn*), DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> or DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> "god" (Akkad. Nom. Sg. *ilum*, Gen. Sg. *ilim*), <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> "my Sun" (title of the Hittite kings ; Akkad. *Šamšī*).

d) Sumerian conjugated forms such as  $BA.UG_7$  "he is dead" (root  $UG_7$  + prefix BA), KI.LAL.BI "its weight" are rare in the Hittite context.

e) Akkadian declensions are not always respected :  $L\dot{U}.ULU_3.LU$ -an ELLUM next to correct  $L\dot{U}.ULU_3.LU$ -an ELLAM.

6) a) Determinatives are ideograms used to define the category of a word to which they are attached. They are not pronounced. Most of the determinatives are placed before the word they complement. The logogram DINGIR "god" is also used as a determinative for all divine names (it is transcribed <sup>d</sup> for DINGIR): <sup>d</sup>Telepinu, <sup>d</sup>U or <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR "storm-god", <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR, etc... The logogram DIŠ points out a proper name (it is transcribed <sup>m</sup> for male or <sup>I</sup> since DIŠ also represents the number 1) : <sup>m</sup>Mursili, <sup>m</sup>Suppiluliuma. LÚ "man" points out a profession or an inhabitant : <sup>LÚ</sup>westara- "shepherd", <sup>LÚ</sup>anniniyami- "cousin (m.)", <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR "enemy", <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠU.GI "elder". MUNUS "woman" points out a woman's profession or a woman's name (it is transcribed <sup>f</sup> for female) : <sup>f</sup>anniniyami- "cousin (f.)", <sup>f</sup>ŠU.GI "the Elder" (a priestess), <sup>f</sup>Putuhepa. URU "town" points the name of a town : <sup>URU</sup>Hattusa, <sup>URU</sup>Halpa "Alep", ĜIŠ "wood" points out the name of a tree or objects made originally of wood and by extension of other materials : <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>HAŠHUR "apple tree", <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>hattalu- "lock".

b) KUR "land" for country names is not considered as a determinative, but rather as a substantive. Thus, for example KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Hatti* "the land Hatti", KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Arzawa* "the land Arzawa" should be understood as an Akkadian genitive "the land of Hatti".

c) Determinatives following their noun are fewer : MUŠEN "bird" for names of birds : *hara-*<sup>MUŠEN</sup> "eagle", or KI "place" (as well as URU.KI "place of the town") for names of place : <sup>URU</sup>Halpa<sup>KI</sup> "Alep", KUR A.GA.DÈ<sup>KI</sup> "land of Akkad".

d) An important subclass of determinatives following their noun is composed of the plural markers MEŠ and HI.A, more rarely DIDLI (i.e. AŠ.AŠ) or MEŠ.HI.A or DIDLI.HI.A : EN<sup>MEŠ</sup> or *BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>* "lords", ERIN<sub>2</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> "foot-soldiers and charioteers", URU<sup>DIDLI.HI.A</sup> "towns", ERIN<sub>2</sub><sup>MEŠ.HI.A</sup> "foot-soldiers".

7) a) When writing out Hittite texts, phonetic signs are transcribed by their Akkadian values.

b) However, the Hittite reading is in fact different and it should be remembered that the cuneiform signs ša, še, ši, šu are used for the Hittite syllables sa, se, si, su. While za, ze, zi, zu are used to denote the voiced spirant z in Akkadian, they are used to denote the affricate ts in Hittite. The Akkadian sign si (with emphatic s) is also read zé, whereas the only reading in Hittite - which has no emphatics - is zé. The Akkadian sign sul, šul is read zul in Hittite (also written zu-ul).

8) a) A few signs have values specific to Hittite. The Akkadian sign  $\dot{as}$  can be read  $t\dot{as}$  in Hittite texts. The Akkadian *meš* is also read  $e\dot{s}$  in Hittite (transcribed  $e\dot{s}_{17}$ ).  $\hat{G}E\check{S}TIN$  is used in Akkadian only as a logogram for "wine" (Akk. *karānu*, Hit. *wiyana-*), whereas it is read *wi* in Hittite (transcribed *wi<sub>5</sub>*). This is a nice example of derivation of a phonetic value from the first syllable of the reading of a logographic sign.

b) Some readings come from a logographic game, especially for proper nouns. The ending *-ili* of royal names such as <sup>m</sup>Mursili, <sup>m</sup>Hattusili, etc... can be written with the sign DINGIR (Akk. *ilu(m)* "god", Gen. Sing. *ili(m)*); thus, one can find inscriptions such that <sup>m</sup>Mu-ur-ši-DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> = <sup>m</sup>Mu-ur-ši-ILI(M), <sup>m</sup>Ha-at-tu-ši-DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> = <sup>m</sup>Ha-at-tu-ši-ILI(M). The name of the country Hatti sounds like the Akkad. haṭtu "sceptre" (logogram  $\hat{GIS}GIDRU$ ), thus, the royal name <sup>m</sup>Hattusili is sometimes written <sup>m.ĜIŠ</sup>GIDRU-ši-DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>.

# **B.** Phonetics

## 1. Vowels

9) a) It is not always possible to read with certainty the vowel *e* (as in Akkadian). The signs of the syllables *me*, *ne*, *el*, *eš* differ from those of the syllables *mi*, *ni*, *il*, *iš*, but the signs for *re*, *le*, *ez*, etc..., are also used for *ri*, *li*, *iz*, etc...

b) The existence of a vowel *o* differentiated from *u* in writing is unclear.

10) Even when Hittite can differentiate in writing between *e* and *i*, both vowels are often found. Next to *e-eš-har* "blood", one also find written *iš-har*; next to *pé-eš-ta* "he gave", *pí-iš-ta*; next to *pé-eš-ši-ia-mi* "I threw", *pé-eš-ši-ia-zi* "he threw", one also finds *pé-eš-še-ia-mi*, *pé-ši-ia-az-zi*; next to *-ši* "to him", also *-še*; next to *iš-hi-i* "to the lord", also *eš-hé*; next to *u-un-nu-me-en* "we pushed her", also *u-un-nu-um-mi-in*, etc... It is probable that the pronunciation of the Hittite *e* was very closed, close to that of *i*.

11) There exists an alternation between *e* (*i*) and *a* in the Hittite paradigms : from *sak-* "to know" are derived the forms *saggai* "I know", *sakti* and *sekti* "you know (Sg.)", *sakki* "he knows", *sekteni* "you know (Pl.)", *sekkanzi* "they know", *sakta* and *sekta* "he knew" ; from *ak-* "to die", *aki* "he dies", *akkanzi* "they die", but *akir* and *ekir* "they died" ; and from *asas-* "to sit", *asāsi* "he sits", but *asesanzi* "they sit", *asasta* and *asesta* "he sat", *asesir* "they sat".

*watar* "water" has a Gen. Sg. *wetenas* and a Nom.-Acc. Pl. *widār*, *tekan* "earth" a Gen. Sg. *taknas*. Next to *esmi* "I am" and *eszi* "he is", one finds *asanzi* "they are"; next to *ekuzi* "he drinks", *akuwanzi* "they drink" and the iterative *akkusk*- "to drink copiously"; next to *mekki*- "much", a verb *makkeszi* "he does much". Instead of *paiweni* "we go", *paitteni* "you go (Pl.)", one can find *paiwani* and *paittani*; instead of *daskitteni* "you regularly take (Pl.)", *daskatteni*; instead of *piskir* "they regularly gave", *piskar*. The reason for this alternation is not well understood.

12) There are sometimes variations between u and  $\dot{u}$ : *a-pu-u-un* and *a-pu-ú-un* "this" (Acc. Sg. of  $ap\bar{a}$ - "this"), *u-i-ia-at-tin* and  $\dot{u}$ -*e-ia-at-tin* "send! (Pl.)", *da-a-ú* and *da-a-u* "he should take".

13) a) The diphtongue *-ai-* can be contracted to *-e- (-i-)* : *paista* and *pesta* "he gave", *naisut* and *nesut* "turn! (Sg.)", *kappuwāit* and *kappuet* "he checked", *kappuwāizzi* and *kappuizzi* "he checks".

b) A reverse diphtongation sometimes occurs by analogical correction where *e* is written *ai* : instead of *epta* "he grabs", one finds *a-ip-ta* ; instead of *meggaus* "much", *ma-iq-qa-us*.

c) An alternation between -āi- and -a- sometimes occurs : pāisi and occasionally pāsi "you go (Sg)".

14) a) 1. -(i)ya- can be reduced to -e-  $(-i-)^1$ : memiyani and memini "for the word", tiezzi and tizzi "he enters", wemiyat and wemit "he found", tiyantes "those who are sitting" (from  $d\bar{a}i$ - "to sit") and tintes.

2. From *sankuwai-* "nail", one finds the Gen. Sg. *sankuis* next to the neighboring form *sankuwayas* (and *sankuwas*).

b) Next to iskiyazi and iskizzi "he anoints", one finds the poorly understood form iskiyāizzi.

15) a) -aya- can be contracted to -a-: Gen. Sg. of salli- "tall" sallayas and sallas, Abl. Sg. of suppi-

<sup>1</sup> This reduction depends on the period where the text has been written.

"pure" *suppayaz(a)* and *suppaz(a)*.

16) The diphtongs *ue-* (*ui-*) and *-ue-* (*-ui-*) can be contracted to *u-* and *-u-* : *ueter* and *uter* "they brought ", *uinut* and sometimes *unut* "let leave! (Sg.)", *kuera-* and *kura-* "entrance", *karuili-* and *karuli-* "old", *atraweni* and *atrauni* "we write", *parkueszi* and sometimes *parkuszi* "he becomes pure".

17) a) In the same way, (u)wa- and -(u)wa- can be reduced to u- and -u- : antuwas and antuas "man", awari- and auri- "border post", lauwatin and lautin "pour! (Pl.)" (also lauwai and laui "he pours"), uwartas and urtas "he cursed", waranu and uranu "he should burn down", sanuwanzi and sanunzi "they roast" (Part. sanuwant- and sanunt- "roasted").

b) More rarely, *-uwa- (uwa-)* is contracted to *-ue- (ue-)* : *kappuwanzi* and *kappuenzi* "they check", *uwanzi* and *uenzi* "they come".

c) At the opposite of a), the initial *u*- can be lengthened to *uw*- : *uwarkant*- for *warkant*- "fat", *uwasta*- for *wasta*- "to sin", *uwitar* for *widār* (N.-A. of *watar* "water").

18) The variations of the previous forms should not be confused with the regular I.E. ablaut that connects *kuénzi* "he strikes" to *kunánzi* "they strike" and *kuerzi* "he cuts" to *kuranzi* "they cut". The ablaut also connects *dāi* "he sits" to *tiyanzi* "they sit", the Nom. Sg. *zahhāis* "battle" to Gen. Sg. *zahhiyas* (§69), *ais* "mouth" to Dat.-Loc. Sg. *issi* (§87), as well as *tekan* "earth" to Gen. Sg. *taknas* (§78), *hannessar* "business" to Gen. Sg. *hannesnas* (§84), *asawar* "enclosure" to Dat.-Loc. *asauni* (§85).

### 2. Consonants

#### a) Consonants groups

19) a) There is no rule to discriminate in the writing between simple and doubled consonants. Next to the forms *pessiyazi* "he throws", *iyattari* "he goes", *istamasti* "you hear (Sg.)", *memiyani* "word (Dat.-Loc. Sg.)", *innarawanni* "vigor (?) (Dat.-Loc. Sg.)", *tarnatti* "you let (Sg.)", one also finds *pisiyazzi, iyatari, isdammasti, memiyanni, innarawani, tarnati*. It is probable that the scribes were inclined to omit complex cuneiform signs when they felt that they were not necessary.

b) The difference between simple consonant and doubled consonnant corresponds to an opposition between fortis consonant and lenis consonant. This opposition probably results for stops in an opposition unvoiced / voiced. For example, *attas* "father" is pronounced /*atas*/, whereas *apēz* "consequently" is pronounced /*abēz*/.

Stops are supposed to be always fortis in initial position and lenis in final position : *genu* "knee" = / *kenu*/ and *sipant* "libation" = /*spand*/. The "law of Sturtevant" explains that in median position, the sequence of cuneiform signs V-CV points out a lenis consonant, whereas a sequence VC-CV points out a fortis consonant. E.g. ap-pa-tar = /apadar/.

20) a) The choice between a voiced or unvoiced cuneiform sign seems completely arbitrary : *da, di, du* can be found instead of *ta, ti, tu* ; *ga (qa), gi, gu* instead of *ka, ki, ku* ; *ba* instead of *pa*. Some examples : *damai*- and *tamai*- "other", *atta*- and *adda*- "father", *-ti*- and *-di*- "your (Sg.)", *esdu* and *estu* "he must be", *kanes*- and *ganes*- "to discover", *kinu*- and *ginu*- "to leave", *taggasta* and *takkista* "he gathers", KUŠkursa- and KUŠgursa- "skin", *daskatten, dasqaten* and *daskiten* "take! (Pl.)", Gen. Sg. of *kuiski* "someone" *kuelka, kuelga* and *kuelqa*, LUptup and LUptup an

Some words are however always written in the same manner. For example, one finds written gi(-e)nu "knee" (and not \*ki-e-nu-),  $d\bar{a}i$  "he sits", but *tiyanzi* "they sit". In the lexicon, the voiced b, d, g will not be separated from the unvoiced p, t, k.

b) The Hittites apparently borrowed the cuneiform writing from the Hurrians who themselves had borrowed it from the Old-Akkadians. This could explain why the Hittite writing system did not differentiate between the voiced and the unvoiced consonants, along with the usage of  $\check{s}$  for the phoneme /s/, matching the Old-Akkadian writing of the sibilants. The Hittite writing system was thus different from the one in usage at the same time in Mesopotamia. As an example of the difference in the writing of the stops between Hittite and Akkadian, the Akkadian-Hittite lexical list KBo I,45 contains at line 11 : sa-pa-du (for the Akkadian verb  $sab\bar{a}tu$ ) = ap-pa-tar.

21) A limitation of the cuneiform writing comes from the fact that cuneiform signs can only represent syllables of the kind consonant + vowel (CV), vowel + consonant (VC) and consonant + vowel + consonant (CVC). Hence, it is neither possible to write a group of two initial or final consonants, nor to write a group of three consonants, for example *tri-* "three" (initial), *link* "swear! (Sg.)" (final), *karp-zi* "he lifts" (median). The Hittite scribes overcame this limitation by inserting an extra vowel, especially at positions normally forbidden by the rules of cuneiform writing : *te-ri-*, *li-in-ik* and *kar-ap-zi*. Indeed, in classical Akkadian cuneiform writing, the last phoneme of a phonetic sign must be in harmony with the first phoneme of the following phonetic sign in such a way that a (non-initial) sign starting with a vowel must be preceded by a sign ending with a vowel (CV-VC but not CV-CV)<sup>1</sup>. One should always keep in memory that the writing always exhibits more vowels than the spoken language. However, it is not always easy to know whether a vowel is real or not.

22) a) The interpretation in median position is generally easy : forms such as *ša-an-ah-zi* "he searches" have an incorrect spelling in "usual" cuneiform writing (with a final consonant and an initial vowel following), which indicates that the pronunciation is not *\*sanahzi* which would be written *\*ša-na-ah-zi*. Furthermore, a form such as *ša-an-hu-un* "I searched" points out a root *sanh-*, which brings to a spoken form *\*sanhzi* "he searches". Many verbs are similar to *sanh-*, for example *parh-* "to hunt" (*pár-ah-zi* "he hunts"), *karp-* "to lift" (*kar-ap-zi* "he lifts"), *tarh-* "to hold in check" (*tar-ah-zi*), *walh-* "to strike" (*wa-al-ah-zi*), *warp-* "to bathe" (*wa-ar-ap-zi*), etc...

However, unclear forms such as  $\underline{s}a$ -an-ha-zi "he searches", wa-ar-pa-zi "he bathes", etc... can be found. Moreover, for hinkzi "he presents" (root hink-), one finds hi-in-ik-zi, hi-in-ga-zi and hi-ik-zi (with a reduced n; §31a), for linkt(a) "he swore" (root link-) li-in-ik-ta, li-in-kat-ta and li-ik-ta (§157), iterative forms such as a-ar-a $\underline{s}$ -ki-it for \*ar-sk-it "he came several times" (root ar-).

b) Initial forms are less clear like *az-zi-ik-kán-zi* "they adore" for *\*at-sk-anzi* (iterative of *ed-* "to eat"; §141b), *ši-pa-an-za-ki-iz-zi* "he makes several sacrifices" for *\*spant-sk-izzi*. One finds even less clear forms : from *\*(i)spart-* "to escape", *iš-pár-za-zi* "he escapes", (i.e. *\*(i)spart-s-zi* with z = /ts/, §27a), *iš-pár-za-aš-ta* "he escaped" (i.e. *\*(i)spart-s-t)* next to *iš-pár-te-er* "they escaped" (i.e. *\*(i)spart-er)*. From *hat-* "to dry" (*hāti* "it dries", *hāter* "they dried"), one finds *ha-az-ta* and *ha-(az)-za-aš-ta* "it dried" (i.e. *\*hat-s-t(a)*). One also finds unclear iterative forms of *tar-* "to say" : *tar-aš-ši-ki-iz-zi* "he repeated" (i.e. *\*tar-sk-izzi*) and *tar-aš-ša-aš-ki-id-du* "he must repeat" (i.e. *\*tar-sk-iddu*!)

23) a) These extra vowels sometimes occur even though they are not necessary in the writing : e.g.

<sup>1</sup> Broken written forms can occur in Akkadian, but they either represent a morphemic writing such as *aš-pur-am* for the ventive *ašpuram*, or a glottal stop such as *iš-al* for *iš'al*.

*ša-an-hu-un* and *ša-an-ah-hu-un* "I searched" (root *sanh-*), *wa-al-hi-ir* and *wa-al-ah-hi-ir* "they stroke" (root *walh-*), *kar-pa-an-zi* and *kar-ap-pa-an-zi* "they lift" (root *karp-*; §157). The reason for this phenomenon is unclear ; it can be analogical to forms such that *ša-an-ah-ta* "he searched", *wa-al-ah-zi* "he stroke", etc.., or really express a phonetically double consonant *\*sanhhun*, *\*walhher*, or indicate a mute vowel *\*san(^{\Theta})hun*, *\*wal(^{\Theta})her*, or in the case of the alternation *h/hh* two different consonants (§28). For *arhun* "I arrived" (root *ar-*), the transcription *a-ar-ah-hu-un* next to *a-ar-hu-un* can be found.

b) An incorrect spelling of syllables is not always caused by an extra vowel ; the vowel can be real with a simplified spelling of the word. The form *kiš-an* "as follows" is often found next to *ki-iš-ša-an*, more rarely *ma-a-ah-an* next to *ma-ah-ha-an* "as", <sup>LÚ</sup>*hi-ip-pár-aš* ("prisoner"), *ši-iš-at-ti* for *\*si-iš-ša-at-ti* "you destroy (Sg.)", *šu-up-ia-ah* "clean! (Sg.)" next to *šu-up-pí-ia-ah*, <sup>d</sup>*Ia-ar-iš* next to <sup>d</sup>*I-ia-ar-ri-iš*, *mar-mar-aš* "bush (??)" next to Dat.-Loc. Sg. *mar-mar-ri*, etc...

c) Finally, one can find correct transcriptions according to syllable splitting, even though the vowel does not actually exist :  $\check{s}a$ -na-ah-ti "you searches (Sg.)" (for  $\check{s}anh$ -ti) and wa-la-ah- $\check{s}i$  "you strikes (Sg.)" (for  $\check{w}alh$ -si).

24) The interpretation of the writing at the initial position is mainly based on assumptions. For *zi-ik-kán-zi* "they put", the analogy with *az-zi-ik-kán-zi* "they adore" (= \*at-*sk-anzi*; §22b) allows to posit the form \*t-*sk-anzi* (with a reduction *t*- of the root  $d\bar{a}i$ - "to put, to place"). For *pa-ra-a* "ahead, forward", the etymological link with I.E. \**pro* allows to assume a pronunciation \**pra*, whereas the form *te-ri-ia-al-la* (a liquid) has a variant 3-*ia-al-la* which lets assume a pronunciation \**triyalla* (§129b3).

It is probable that the very frequent (written) initials *isp*- and *ist*- (e.g. *ispāi*- "to be content ", *ispant* "night", *ispart*- "to escape", *istap*- "to lock", *istamas*- "to hear", *istandāi*- "to hesitate", *istark*- "to become ill", etc...) are in fact pronounced *sp*- and *st*-, even if it is also possible that it could be a prothetic vowel (cf. lat. *scalas* > fr. *échelle*).

25) a) 1. The interpretation of the finals is not always as clear as the imperatives *li-in-ik* "swear! (Sg.)" (next to *li-in-ki*, root *link-*), *wa-al-ah* "strike! (Sg.)" (root *walh-*), *ša-an-ha* "search! (Sg)" (next to *ša-a-ha*, root *sanh-*; §157). For example, the analogy brings to postulate from the ending of Pret. 3 Sg. in *-t* of verbs with vocalic ending such as *iya-* "to do ", *hatrāi-* "to write" (*iyat* "he did", *hatrāit* "he wrote") that the written ending *-ta* of Pret. 3 Sg. of verbs with consonant ending such as *es-* "to be", *istamas-* "to hear", *walh-* "to strike" (*e-eš-ta* "he was", *iš-ta-ma-aš-ta* "he heard", *wa-al-ah-ta* "he stroke") represents in fact a (spoken) ending *-t* (i.e. \**est*, \*(*i)stamast*, \**walht*).

2. The same phenomenon occurs for the substantive : from aniyat(t)- "vigor" (Acc. Sg. aniyattan), the Nom. Sg. a-ni-ia-az (§76a) is interpreted as a form \*aniyat-s (with z = /ts/; §27a). This allows to interpret the Nom. Sg. ka-aš-za "hunger" (root kast- ; Acc. Sg. kastan) as a form \*kast-s, likewise for ša-u-i-ti-is-za "baby" interpreted as \*sawitist-s. The written forms Nom. Sg. hu-u-ma-an-za "whole" and participles a-da-an-za "eaten" (roots humant-, adant-) are interpreted as spoken forms \* $h\bar{u}mant$ -s, \*adant-s.

b) However, when the particle -*a* "and, also" is added to the Nom. Sg. of a participle in -*an-za* = \*-*ant-s*, the ending, spoken as \*-*ants-a*, is not written simply -*an-za*, but rather -*an-za-ša*, e.g. *ir-ma-la-an-za* "ill", *ir-ma-la-an-za-ša* "ill too". In fact, to -*an-za* = \*-*ants* is added the smallest phonetic unit ending the group \*-*antsa*, that is the sign ša = \*sa (§27b). The ending -*an-za-aš-ša* is also used :  ${}^{LU}ap$ -*pa-an-za* "the prisoner",  ${}^{LU}ap$ -*pa-an-za-aš-ša* "and the prisoner".

26) It seems that the groups of consonants could be split by inserting vowels really pronounced. Thus, one finds close written forms like *gimra-* and *gimmara-* "field", *kussani* and *kusni* "as a reward" (also *kussansit, kussanissit* and *kussasset* "his reward" §31a), *assanu-* and *asnu-* "to prepare", *kar-ša-nu-, kar-aš-nu-* and *kar-aš-ša-nu-* "to miss", *tuhs-* and *tuhhus-* "to carve", *nasma* and *nassuma* "or". The distinction with the case of unspoken vowels (§22ff.) is not always clear : from *taks-* "to link" is derived the Part. *ták-ša-an-za* "linked", but *ták-ke-e-eš-ša-an-zi* "they link" ; *e-eš-har-šum-mi-it* "their blood".

#### b) Isolated consonants

27) From the four sibilants *z*, *s*, *š*, *s* of the Akkadian cuneiform writing, Hittite only uses *š* and *z*. The letter *š* is used, as in Assyrian, to denote the sound /s/, while the letter *z* denotes the sound /ts/.

a) z = /ts/can be demonstrated by comparing forms like*da-šk-izzi*"he takes several times" (iterative of*dā*- "to take") and*azzikkizzi*= \**at-sk-izzi*"he adores" (iterative of*ed*- "to eat"), as well as the Nom. Sg.*aniyaz*= \**aniyat(t)-s*"vigor" compared with the Acc. Sg.*aniyattan*(root*aniyat(t)-s*).

b)  $\check{s} = /s/$  can be demonstrated by Egyptian incriptions like *Mrsr* for <sup>*m*</sup>*Muršili*, *Htsr* for <sup>*m*</sup>*Hattušili*, etc... (the Egyptian writing differenciates *s* and  $\check{s}$ ), as well as the comparison of the forms *da-šk-izzi* and *azzikkizzi* = <sup>\*</sup>*at-sk-izzi*.

c) On the other hand, the extent of the difference between *š* and *z* is not well known for Proto-Hatti (e.g. the name of the town <sup>URU</sup>Lihšina next to <sup>URU</sup>Lihzina) and Palaic, even for Hittite. Indeed, one finds close forms such as *šakkar* and *zakkar* "excrements", *zamangur* "beard" and *šamankurwant*-"bearded", *zašhi*- and *zazhi*- "dream".

28) It is possible that the Hittite h had two different pronunciations :

a) a (less attested) stronger pronunciation, close to k, e.g. the isolated forms *tetkissar*, *hameskanza* instead of the neighboring forms *tethessar* "storm", *hameshanza* "spring", and conversely  $^{UZU}$ ishisa- instead of  $^{UZU}$ ishisa- "back". The woman's Hurrian name  $^{f}$ Giluhepa is written Krgp in Egyptian.

b) a (well attested) weaker pronunciation (maybe only a breath), as indicated by the variants *eshar* "blood" (Gen. Sg. *eshanas*) next to the rarer *essar* (Gen. Sg. *esnas*), as well as the isolated forms *idalawatti* and *tannattauwanzi* for the neighboring form *idalawahti* "you act badly (Sg.)", *danattahhuwanzi* "to devastate".

c) The Hittite h comes from Proto-Indo-European phonemes called "laryngeals" that vanished in all I.E. language families, except the Anatolian family. Many variants of the theory of laryngeals exist that vary on the quality and the number of P.I.E. laryngeals. These laryngealist theories have been built to explain some particular phenomena in I.E., but the later discovery of Hittite has proved their validity.

In the most common theory, P.I.E. had three laryngeals, noted  $H_1$ ,  $H_2$  and  $H_3$  that could "color" a neighboring vowel 'e'. The laryngeal  $H_1$  had no coloration effect, the laryngeal  $H_2$  colored in 'a' and the laryngeal  $H_3$  colored in 'o'. In Hittite, the laryngeal  $H_1$  vanished and the laryngeal  $H_3$  was retained only in initial position. In median position, the fricative resulting from a laryngeal can be lenis (written between two vowels by 'h') or fortis (written between two vowels by 'hh'). For example, *eshar* "blood" < \**esH*<sub>2</sub>*er*, *tar-ah-ha-an* (root *tarh-* "to defeat") < \**terH*<sub>2</sub>*-*, *hant* "face" < \* $H_2$ *ent*, *happ-in-ant* "rich" < \* $H_3$ *ep-*. It should be noted that the theory described here is

incomplete : it does not explain cases where Hittite displays a 'h' where there is no laryngeal, and conversely cases where Hittite does not display a 'h' where a laryngeal occured.

According to Kortlandt, for example, initial  $H_2$  and  $H_3$  remain in front of an 'e' but vanish in front of an 'o' :  ${}^*H_3erbh- > harp-$  "to separate" but  ${}^*H_3orgh-ey- > ark-$  "to mount".

29) a) The -w- of the group -uw- often becomes m, especially with verbs in -nu- (§169) and verbs in -u(m)- (§174). From hatrāi- "to write" hatraweni "we write" are constructed the Inf. I hatrawanzi and the verbal substantive hatrawar, but from arnu- "to bring" arnummeni, arnummanzi and arnummar, from tarna- "to let" tarnummeni, tarnummanzi and tarnummar.

b) *-mu-* is sometimes found instead of *-wu-* : from *idālu-* "nasty", one finds the Nom. Pl. Com. *idālawes* but the Acc. Pl. Com. *idālamus*. Likewise, one finds from *zashāi-* "dream" the Acc. Pl. *zashimus*.

30) a) Hittite has no initial *r*.

b) In median and final position, *r* is weakly pronounced, to such a point that it is sometimes omitted in writing. Examples in final position : *paprāta* instead of *paprātar* "impurity", *miyata* instead of *miyatar* "prosperity", *hatressa* instead of *hatressar* "sending"; in median position : *waggantes* instead of *wargantes* (Nom. Pl.) "fat", *artati-* instead of *artarti-* "mushroom (?)", *pian* instead of *piran* "in front of", <sup>TÚG</sup>*kuessar* instead of <sup>TÚG</sup>*kuressar* "scarf".

31) In the same way, *n* in median position is weakly pronounced and is often omitted : hu-u-ma-da-az next to  $h\bar{u}mandaz$  (Abl. Sg. of  $h\bar{u}mant$ - "each"),  $\dot{u}$ -e-es- $\bar{s}a$ -ta for wessanta "they dress",  $i\bar{s}$ -ta-a-it next to istand $\bar{a}it$  "he stayed", kar-pa-zi next to karpanzi "they lift", ne-e-a-za next to neyanza "driven", me-mi-ia-u-a-zi next to memiyawanzi "to speak", li-ik-ta next to li-in-kat-ta (both = \*linkt) "he swore" (root link-). It is possible that the vowel was nasalized.

b) Conversely, an extra *n* letter is sometimes written though it does not exist : *nepisanza* instead of *nepisaz* "from the sky" (Abl. Sg.), *hassannanza* for *hassannaz* "out of the family", an isolated form *li-in-kán-ta* for *\*linkt* "he swore" can be found.

32) a) 1. The group *-tn-* is regularly transformed to *-nn-*, especially in the declension of abstracts in *- ātar* (§83 ; Gen. Sg. *-annas* < *-atnas*) : *haddulātar* "health", Gen. Sg. *haddulannas*, *idālawātar* "nastiness", Gen. Sg. *idālawannas*.

2. The group *-tn-* remains without change in the following form : *huitar* "animal life", Gen. Sg. *huitnas*, very rarely with abstracts in *-ātar* : *harātar* "scandal", Dat.-Loc. Sg. *haratni*.

b) 1. The group *-mn-* can be assimilated to *-m-* : next to the ethnic names <sup>URU</sup>Hattusumna-"inhabitant of Hattusa", <sup>URU</sup>Luiumna "Luwian", <sup>URU</sup>Palāumna- "Palaian", one also finds forms such as LÚ <sup>URU</sup>Zalpūma- "inhabitant of Zalpa", LÚ <sup>URU</sup>Halpūma- "inhabitant of Alep", Acc. Sg. <sup>m</sup>Suppiuman next to Dat.-Loc. <sup>m</sup>Suppiumni.

2. The transformation of *-mn*- into *-nn*- is less clear, and it is not sure whether the form *hilannas* is the Gen. Sg. of *hilamnar* "gate".

33) The group *-nunu-* can apparently be shortened to *-nu-* : from *kistanu-* "to delete", one finds 1. Sg. Pret. *kistanun* (for *\*kistanunun*), from *\*mernu-* "to make disappear", 1. Sg. Pret. *mernun*, from *\*menunu-* "to fail (?)", Imp. 3. Sg. *menuddu*.

34) The group *-nza* sometimes changes for unknown reason to *-nzan* : *hanza ep-* and more rarely *hanzan ep-* "to give a friendly welcome (?)", *nanza* (i.e. nu "and" + *-an* "him" + *-za* "self") and *nanzan*.

### 3. Liaisons

35) Hittite words are normally written separately, and liaisons are not visible in writing. A variant with liaison such as *hal-ki-im pí-an-zi* for *halkin pianzi* "give (Pl.) grain" is a rare exception.

36) a) 1. A final -*n*- is generally assimilated with the initial consonant of a following enclitic particle (with or without redoubling of this consonant) : *"istamanan-san* "his ear" (Acc. Sg.) > *istamanassan*, *"halugatallan-tin* "your (Sg.) envoy" > *halugatallat-tin*, *"tuzzin-man* "my army" (Acc.) > *tuzziman*, *appizziyan-ma-at* "but him after" > *appizziyamat*, *hūman* "all" + particle -*san* (§300) > *hūmassan*, *ŠUM-an-smit* "their name" (i.e. *lāman-smit*) > *ŠUM-asmit*, *mān* "if" + particle - *wa* of quotation (§289) > *māwa*.

2. For example, *kussan-set* "his salary" can be assimilated to *kussasset* and stay like that, or instead use an extra vowel (§26) *kussanissit*.

b) Phenomena of false cut sometimes occur : *nassan* (*nu* "and" + -*as* "he" + particle -*san*) can be written *nansan*, as if the Nom. -*as* "he" was replaced by the Acc. -*an* "him".

c) A similar assimilation occurs more rarely with t : ta "and" + -at "it" + -si "to him" usually becomes *tatsi*, but sometimes also *tasse*, nu "and" + -at "it" + particle -san usually becomes *natsan*, but also sometimes *nassan*.

37) Phenomena of liaison especially occur at the beginning of enclitic pronouns such as -mu "to me", -ta "to you (Sg.)", -si "to him", -as "he", -an "him (Acc.)", -at "it (Neut.)" and enclitic particles such as -a (-ya) "and", -ma "but", -asta "then", -wa(r) (quotation), -za (reflexive), -kan and -san (location) after an accentuated word or a particle nu, ta, etc...

38) a) When the particle *nu* "and" is followed by the pronoun *-as* "is (ea)", *-an* "eum (eam)", *-at* "id", *-e* "ei, eae, ea", *-us* (*-as*) "eos, eas" or the particle *-asta* or *-apa* (both = "then (?)"), the *u* of *nu* is replaced by the following vowel : "*nu-as* > *nas*, "*nu-an* > *nan*, "*nu-at* > *nat*, "*nu-e* > *ne*, "*nu-us* > *nus* ("*nu-as* > *nas*), "*nu-asta* > *nasta*, "*nu-apa* > *napa*.

b) The same phenomenon occurs for the older particle ta "and" : \*ta-as > tas, \*ta-an > tan, \*ta-at > tat, \*ta-us > tus, \*ta-asta > tasta, and for the rarer and older particle su "and" : \*su-as > sas, \*su-an > san, \*su-us > sus.

c) In the same conditions, the particle of quotation *-wa(r)*- takes the whole form *-war-* : *-war-as*, *-war-an*, *-war-at*, *-wari* (i.e. \**-war-e*), *-war-us*, *-war-asta*.

39) When a simple consonant stands between two vowels between a word and an enclitic (the consonant being either the final of the word or the initial of the enclitic), it is often (but not always) doubled : nu + -san > nu(s)-san, sumās "to him" + -an "him" > sumāssan, nu "and" + -wa (quotation) + -nas "us" > nuwa(n)nas, mān "if" + -a "also" > mānna, apās "this" + -a "and" > apā(s)sa (also the Acc. Sg. apūn + -a > apū(n)na), wastul "sin" + -ma "but" + -za (reflexive) + -kan > wastulma(z)zakan, UL (negation) + -wa (quotation) + -ta "to you (Sg.)" + -kan > UL-wa(t)ta(k)kan.

40) The enclitic pronoun *-ta* "to you (Sg.)" takes, when placed before the reflexive particle *-za*, the form *-tu* (*-du*) : nu "and" + *-wa* (quotation) + *-ta* + *-za* + *-kan* > nuwaduzakan.

41) a) 1. The particle -a/-ya "and" that connects two isolated words takes the form -a after a consonant and -ya after a vowel :  ${}^{d}Telipinusa$  ( $< {}^{d}Telipinus-a$ ) "and Telipinu",  $ap\bar{a}ssa$  ( $< ap\bar{a}s-a$ ; §39) "and this", but  $k\bar{a}-ya$  "and here",  $ap\bar{e}-ya$  "and these".

2. It is generally written *-ya* after logograms, Akkadian words and foreign names : EN<sup>MEŚ</sup>-*ya* "and the lords", *UL-ya* "and not", <sup>URU</sup>*Kargamis-ya* "and Kargamis".

b) After words ending in -*z* and after all words in the ablative, the form -*ya* is preceded by a liaison vowel *i* : *tamedazziya* (< *tamedaz-ya*) "and from another",  $k\bar{e}z \ k\bar{e}zziya$  "from here and there".

42) Phenomena of simplification of doubled syllables can be observed :

a) -ma "but" + -smas "to you (Pl.), to them" > -masmas which can be shortened to -mas.

b) 1. When the particle -za follows the particle -san, they become simplified in -zan (pronounced \*-ts-san).

2. Following §34, *nanza* (< *nu* "and" + -*an* "him" + -*za* reflexive) can also be written *nanzan*.

c) 1. When the particle -(a)sta "then (?)" follows the syllables -as, -is, -us, the initial -(a)s can vanish and the particle is reduced to -ta : nu "and" + -wa (quotation) + -smas "to them" + -(a)sta > nuwasmasta,  $\hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -us-sus "your (Pl.) weapons" (Acc. Pl.)  $+ -(a)sta > \hat{G}I\check{S}TUKUL^{HI.A}$ -

2. Also after -z : nu "and" + -za (reflexive) + -(a)sta > nuzata (pronounced <sup>\*</sup>nu-ts-sta),  $k\bar{e}z$  "here" + -(a)sta > kez-sta (written ke-e-ez-ta, ke-e-ez-za-at-ta, ke-e-ez-za-aš-ta).

# Chapter 3 **The noun**

## A. Derivation

44) The formation of abstract nouns uses the following suffixes :

a) *-an* (declension according to §78) : *henkan-* "destiny, epidemic, death" (*hink-* "to assign"), *nahhan* "fear" (*nah-* "to fear") ; maybe also *kussan* "salary" and *sahhan* "fief".

b) -ātar (declension according to §83) : *idālawātar* "nastiness" (*idālu-* "evil"), *palhātar* "width" (*palhi-* "wide"), *sullātar* "argument" (*sullāi-* "to argue"), *lahhiyātar* "expedition" (*lahhiya-* "to campaign").

c) -essar (declension according to §84) : asessar "hearing" (es- "to sit"), hannessar "lawsuit" (hanna- "to judge"), palhessar "width" (palhi- "wide").

d) -asti (rarely) : palhasti "width" (palhi- "wide"), dalugasti "length" (daluki- "long").

e) -att- (declension according to §76) : kartimmiyatt- "anger" (kartimmiya- "to be angry"), aniyatt-"achievement" (aniya- "to achieve"), nahsaratt- "fear" (nahsariya- "to be afraid"), karuiliyatt- "old age" (karuili- "old").

f) -*ima*- : *tethima*- "thunder" (*tethāi*- "to thunder"), *ekunima*- "cold" (*ekuna*- "cold"), *weritema*- "fear" (*werites*- "to be afraid").

g) -ul (declension according to §79) : assul "happiness" (assu- "good").

h) *-ur* (declension according to §80) : *aniur* "(religious) task" (*aniya-* "to achieve") ; maybe also *kurur* "hostile; hostility".

i) -(u)war (non verbal; declension according to §85): asawar "enclosure, fence", partawar "wing".

45) The action nouns end in :

a) -āi- (declension according to §69) : *lengāi-* "oath" (*lenk-* "to swear"), *hurtāi-* "curse" (*hurta-* "to curse"), *wastāi-* "sin" (*wasta-* "to sin"), *zahhāi-* "fight" (*zah-* "to strike").

b) -*ul* (declension according to §79) : *ishiul* "link, contract" (*ishiya-* "to link"), *wastul* "sin" (*wasta-*"to sin").

c) *-sha-* (of Hurrian origin ?) : *dammesha-* "damage", *unuwasha-* "ornament" (*unuwāi-* "to decorate"), maybe also *tesha-* "sleep, dream".

d) -*ēl* (declension according to §79) : *hurkēl* "disgust" (next to the concrete noun *suēl* "thread").

e) -zēl : sarnikzēl "indemnity, replacement" (sarnink- "to replace, to pay").

46) The actor nouns are built with :

a) -tara- : wastara- "shepherd" (wesiya- "to graze").

b) *-talla-* : *arsanatalla-* "envious" (*arsaniya-* "to envy"), *uskiskatalla-* "observer" (*uskisk-* "to observe"), <sup>f, ĜIŠ</sup>*irhuitalla-* "basket bearer".

c) -*ala*- : *auriyala*- (next to *auriyatalla*-) "border guard" (*auri*- "border post"), *ispantuzziyala*- "wine dealer" (*ispantuzzi*- "wine barrel"), *karimnāla*- "temple employee" (<sup>É</sup>karimmi- "temple").

d) The element *-sepa* can be broadly interpreted as a way to personify abstract notions : *daganzipa*-"(genie of the) earth", *Ispanzasepa*- "genie of the night", <sup>d</sup>Kamrusepa "health goddess", <sup>d</sup>Miyatanzipa- "genie of the growth of plants".

47) The instrument nouns end in :

a) -ul (declension according to §79) : sesarul "sieve" (sesariya- "to sieve").

b) -uzzi : ishuzzi "belt" (ishiya- "to buckle"), lahhurnuzzi (kind of altar), ispantuzzi- "wine barrel".

c) The suffix *-alli-* can be added in order to build concrete nouns relative to a part of the body : *kuttanalli-* "necklace" (*kuttar* "neck"), *harsanalli-* "crown" (*harsan-* "head"), *issalli-* "saliva" (*ais/iss-* "mouth"), *puriyalli-* "gag" (from *puri-* "lip").

48) The suffix -ant- has several uses not yet clarified :

a) It builds substantives such as :

1. Supposedly collectives : *utnē*- "land" and *utnēyant*- "land (as a whole)", *tuzzi*- "army" and *tuzziyant*- "mass of troops", *antuhsatar* "humanity" and *antuhsannant*- (< \**antuhsatnant*-; §32a1) "population".

2. A particular group about time, especially season names : *hamesh(a)*- and *hameshant*- "spring", *gim*- and *gimmant*- "winter".

3. In many cases, there is no difference between the base noun and the one modified by *-ant-* : *sankunni-* and *sankunniyant-* "priest", *huhha-* and *huhhant-* "grand-father", *hilammar* and *hilamnant-* "gate", *eshar* and *eshanant-* "blood", *uttar* and *uddanant-* "word, speech", *kast-* and *kistant-* "hunger".

Inside this group, one can find several words about parts of body : *kalulupa-* and *kalulupant-*"finger", *tapuwas-* and *tapuwassant-* "rib, side", *hastāi-* and *hastiyant-* "bone", *sankuwai-* and *sankuwayant-* "finger nail".

b) 1. One can also find adjectives extended by the suffix *-ant-* and synonymous with the root word : *assu-* and *assuwant-* "good", *irmala-* and *irmalant-* "ill", *suppi-* and *suppiyant-* "pure", *dapiya-* and *dapiyant* "all".

2. Some adjectives are maybe built from substantives : *perunant-* "rocky" from *peruna-* "rock", *kaninant-* "thirsty" from *kanint-* "thirst".

49) Some derived adjectives are built with the following suffixes :

a) -*ala*- : *genzuwala*- "friendly" (*genzu*- "fondness"), *tuwala*- "faraway" (*tuwa* adv. "far") ; cf. also §46c.

b) -*ili*- : *karūili*- "old" (*karū* adv. "previously").

c) isolated with -ya- in order to designate the belonging : *ispantiya-* "nightly" (*ispant-* "night"), *istarniya-* "average" (*istarn-* "center").

d) with *-want-* with the meaning "that owns, provided with" : *samankurwant-* "bearded" (*zamankur* "beard"), *kartimmiyawant-* "angry" (*kartimmiya-* "to be angry"), *kistuwant-* "hungry" (*kast-*"hunger") ; somehow different : *esharwant-* "scarlet" (*eshar* "blood"), *apēnissuwant-* "such" from *apēnissan* "thus".

e) -*zi*- in constructs of comparative type : *hantezzi*- "ahead, first" (*hant*- "before"), *appezzi*- "back" (*appa* "back, behind"), *sarazzi*- "superior" (*sarā* "up").

50) Miscellaneous constructs :

a) The feminine is not differenciated from the masculine in the grammar, but the language has a suffix *-sara*- (probably inherited, and not borrowed from Proto-Hatti) : *isha*- "lord" and *ishassara*- "lady", IR "slave" and \*GEME<sub>2</sub>-*assara*- "slave".

b) Ethnic nouns use the suffix *-umna-* (*-uma-*; §32b1) : <sup>URU</sup>*Hattusumna-* "man from Hattusa", <sup>URU</sup>*Palāumna* "man from Palāu", <sup>URU</sup>*Luiumna-* "Luwian", LÚ <sup>URU</sup>*Halpūma-* "man from Alep", Plur. LÚ<sup>MEŠ URU</sup>*Nēsumenēs* "people of Nesa".

c) -(a)nni- seems to be the diminutive suffix : <sup>d</sup>LUGAL-manni- (i.e. <sup>d</sup>Sarrumanni-) "young Sarruma", <sup>d</sup>Ninattani- "small (statuette of the goddess) Ninatta", armanni- "small crescent moon" (arma- "moon").

51) The following suffixes of Luwian origin are used for Luwian but also Hittite adjectives :

a) -*alli*- and -*talli*- : *hirutalli*- "relating to an oath" (Luw. *hiru(n)t*- "oath"), *muwatalli*- "strong" (Luw. (?) *muwa*- "strength"), *pittiyalli*- "fast" (*piddāi*- "to run").

b) *-assi- (-assa-)* in names such as <sup>d</sup>Hilassi- ("relating to the court (*hila-*)"), <sup>d</sup>Wasdulassi- ("relating to sin (*wastul*)"), <sup>d</sup>Istamanassa- "god of the ears" (*istamana-* "ear"), <sup>d</sup>Sakuwassa- "god of the eyes" (*sakuwa-* "eye").

c) -*imi*- (in fact the suffix of the Luwian past participle) in names such as <sup>d</sup>Sarlaimi- ("the High One"), <sup>d</sup>Alawaimi-, etc...

52) Occasionally, cases of reduplication occur, e.g. : *memal-* "groats" (*mall-* "to grind"), *titita-* "pupil", *duddumi-* "deaf", *halhaltumari-* "boundary stone", *harsiharsi-* "storm", *akuwakuwa-* "frog (?)".

53) a) Unlike the other ancient I.E. languages, Hittite has very few compound nouns : *dā-yuga* "two-year-old" (next to *yuga-* "yearly, one-year-old"), *appa-siwatt-* "future" ("after-day"), *salla-kartātar* "pride (?)". Less certain : *huhha-hanna-* "grand-father (*huhha-*) and grand-mother (*hanna-*)", as well as the bird name *pittar-palhi-* ("wing-wide").

b) Though not strictly compound nouns, nominal constructs made of a verb and a particle occur : *piran huyatalla-* "forerunner" (*piran* "ahead", *huya-* "to run"), *parā handandātar* "divine justice", *kattakurant-* (a "container cut (*kuer-* "to cut") at the bottom (*katta*)" = with a flat bottom ?), *andayant-* (*antiyant-*) "married son-in-law" (*anda iyant-*) "got in (the house of the father-in-law)".

## **B.** Declension

## 1. Outline

54) a) Hittite has two genders : the common gender (comprising the masculine and the feminine genders ; this gender will later split up in I.E. into a masculine and a feminine gender) and the neuter gender (already declining).

b) There are two numbers : the singular and the plural. The dual has disappeared and has been replaced by the plural.

55) a) Hittite has eight cases derived from the I.E. cases : nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative-locative, allative, ablative and instrumental. Vocative is poorly attested, while Old-Hittite allative was replaced by dative-locative in Neo-Hittite.

b) Hittite also uses a special ending for neuter nouns subjects of a transitive verb. This case, called ergative, transfers the neuter noun to the common gender.

56) Outline of declension :

	Singular	Plural
Nom. comm.	- <i>S</i>	-es, -us, -as
Voc. comm.	- (-e)	
Acc. comm.	-n	-us
NAcc. N.	-, -n	-, -a, -i
Erg. N.	-anza	-antēs
Gen.	<i>-as (</i> never <i>-s</i> ! <i>)</i>	-as, Old-H. also -an
Dat Loc.	- <i>i</i>	-as
All.	- <i>a</i>	-as
Abl.	-az(a)	-az(a)
Instr.	-it	-it

57) a) The ending of the Nom. Sg. is always pronounced -s. It is written -s for vocalic stems : atta-s "father",  $zahh\bar{a}i$ -s "battle", heu-s "rain". Stems in -t produce a group of consonants -t-s written -z after a vowel : kar-tim-mi-ia-az = "kartimmiyatt-s "anger", and -za after a consonant (while pronounced -z = -t-s; §25a2) : hu-u-ma-an-za = "hūmant-s "this", ka-a-a-aš-za = "kast-s "hunger".

b) 1. The isolated root is used as Voc. Sg. : *isha-mi* "my lord", <sup>d</sup>Kumarbi, <sup>m</sup>Appu.

2. For *u*-stems, vocative forms in *-ue* also occur : LUGAL-*ue* "ô king", <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ue* "ô Sun-god".

3. In all cases, the forms of Nom. can be used as Voc.

58) The Gen. Sg. ends in *-as*, and never, as was once believed, in *-s*. There is no form of Gen. Sg. UD-*az* (= UD-*at-s*) "of the day"; *nekur mehur* "evening" is not a genitive form "time of the night" but rather an apposition "night-time". The genitives <sup>m</sup>Nunnus, <sup>m</sup>Taruhsus in Old-Hittite, as well as the isolated form *sankuwais* "of the nail" can be explained by §14a2 as <sup>\*m</sup>Nunnuwas, <sup>\*m</sup>Taruhsuwas, <sup>\*sankuwayas</sup>.

59) a) Old-Hittite had an All. Sg. in -a ( $< -ai < I.E. *-\overline{o}i$ ) and a Loc. Sg. in -i: All. *aruna* "to the sea", Loc. *aruni* "in the sea".

b) 1. In Neo-Hittite, allative was replaced by the dative-locative in -*i* : *aruni* "to the sea, at the sea".

2. *i*-stems use for the Dat.-Loc. the ending -(y)a of the old allative : tuzziya : "to the army, in the army", *hulukanniya* (next to *hulukanni*) "in the chariot".

c) The ancient ending *-ai* (a stage former to *-a*, §59a) is sometimes found : *<sup>m</sup>Labarnai* "at Labarna", *hassannai* "to the family" (from *hassatar*).

d) 1. In some cases, consonant stems use a Dat.-Loc. without ending : É-*ir* "in the house", UD-*at* "in the day", ŠÀ-*ir* "in the heart", *dagan* "on the ground", *nepis* "in heaven", *kessar-ta* "in your (Sg.) hand".

2. The isolated form of Dat.-Loc. Sg. *sarku* "to the hero" can be explained as a Dat.-Loc. without ending, or according to §17a.

60) The ablative Sg. sometimes ends in *-anza* rather than *-az* (cf. §31b) : *luttanza* "from the window", *nepisanza* "from the sky", *hassannanza* "out of the family (*hassatar*)".

61) The instrumental Sg. also ends in *-ta* : *kissarit* "with the hand", *istamanta* "with the ear" ; cf. also *wedanda* and *wetenit* "with water".

62) a) In Old-Hittite, the Gen. Pl. in *-an* (< I.E. \*- $\bar{o}m$ ) was distinct from the Dat.-Loc. Pl. in *-as* : Gen. Pl. *siunan* "of the gods", Dat.-Loc. Pl. *siunas* "with the gods",  $\hat{IR}^{ME\check{S}}$ -*amman* "of my slaves" (according to §36a1 <  $\hat{IR}^{ME\check{S}}$ -*an-man*).

b) In Neo-Hittite, the ending *-as* of the Dat.-Loc. Pl. has been applied to the Gen. Pl. : Gen. Pl. *siunas* "of the gods" and Dat.-Loc. *siunas* "with the gods". The old genitive in *-an* is only found in formal speech.

c) The endings *-as* of the Gen. Sg. and the Gen. Pl. being the same in Neo-Hittite, the old ending *-an* is sometimes used for the Gen. Sg. : LUGAL*-an* "of the king", *<sup>m</sup>Labarnan* "of Labarna".

63) The nominative and the accusative Pl. tend to be used one for the other :

a) The Nom. Pl. is used as accusative : *pargawēs* "the great ones", *huprushēs* "the elders", *dalugaēs* "the long ones".

b) The Acc. Pl. is used as nominative : *parhandus* "the stressed ones".

63b) Many nouns in Neo-Hittite exhibit an alternation between *a*-stems and *i*-stems. Some *a*-stems borrow forms from the *i*-stems (especially the Nom. and Acc. Common Sg. and Pl.), and conversely some *i*-stems borrow forms from the *a*-stems (especially the cases complementary to the previous alternation : all the Neuter cases and the oblique Common cases ; cf. e.g. §67b). This is caused by the influence of Luwian.

### 2. Vocalic stems

64) a (and  $\bar{a}$ )-stems

a) Substantives

- Common : antuhsa "man", anna- "mother", aruna- "sea", kessera- "hand", ishā- "lord".
- Neuter : *peda* "place"

Common

Singular

Nom.	antuhsas	annas	arunas	kesseras	ishās
Acc.	antuhsan		arunan	kisseran	
Voc.					isha
Gen.	antuhsas	annas	arunas	kissaras	
DatLoc.	antuhsi	anni	aruni	kissiri	ishī (eshe)
All.			aruna		isha
Abl.	antuhsaz	annaz	arunaz(a)	kissaraz(a)	
Instr.				kisserit	

#### Plural

Nom.	antuhses (antuhsus)	annis			ishēs
Acc.	antuhsus	annus	arunus	kisserus	
Gen.	antuhsas				
DatLoc.	antuhsas				ishās
Instr.				ŠU <sup>HI.A</sup> − <i>it</i>	
			Neuter		
	Singular			Plural	
NA.	pedan				
Gen.	pedas				
DatLoc.	pedi (pidi)			pedas	
Abl.	pedaz (petaz)				

65) *a*-stems

b) Adjectives

They are inflected exactly like the substantive. No rule has been found for the alternation between the endings *-an* and *-a* in Nom.-Acc. Sg. Neuter.

• *dannatta-* "empty", *arahzena-* "neighboring", *kunna-* (ZAG-(*n*)*a-*) "right".

Singular			
Nom. comm.		arahzenas	kunnas
Acc. comm.	dannattan	arahzinan	ZAG-an
NA. n.	dannattan (dannatta)		kunnan (ZAG-an, ZAG-na)
Gen.		arahzenas	ZAG-nas
DatLoc.	dannatti	arahzeni	kunni (ZAG-ni)
All.		arahzena	
Abl.		arahzenaza	kunnaz (ZAG-(n)az(a))
Instr.			ZAG-(n)it
Plural			
Nom. comm.		arahzenes (arahzenas)	ZAG-nis
Acc. comm.		arahzenus (arahzenas)	ZAG-nus
NA. n.	dannatta	arahzena	kunna
Gen.		arahzenan	
DatLoc.	tannattas		

#### 66) *i*-stems

a) Substantives

- Common : *halki-* "cereal", *tuzzi-* "army", <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>*hulukanni-* "chariot", *halhaltumari-* "cornerstone".
- Neuter : <sup>NA4</sup>huwasi- "grindstone", <sup>DUG</sup>ispantuzzi- "wine barrel".

#### Common

#### Singular

Nom.	halkis	tuzzis (tuzziyas)	<sup>ĜIŠ</sup> hulukannis	
Acc.	halkin	tuzzin	<sup>ĜIŠ</sup> hulukannin	
Gen.	halkiyas	tuzzias	<sup>ĜIŠ</sup> hulugannas	
DL.		tuzziya	<sup>ĜIŠ</sup> huluganni(ya)	halhaltumari (halhaldummariya)
Abl.	halkiyaza	tuzziyaz	<sup>ĜIŠ</sup> huluganniyaz ( <sup>ĜIŠ</sup> hulugannaza)	(
Instr.	halkit		( <sup>ĜIŠ</sup> hulugannaza) <sup>ĜIŠ</sup> hulukannit	

#### Plural

Nom.	halkis		halhaltumarēs
Acc.	halkius (halkēs; §63a)	tuzzius (tuzziyas)	
Gen.			halhaltummariyas
D. <b>-</b> L.			halhaltumariyas
Abl.			halhaltumaraza

#### Neuter

#### Singular

NA.	NA4huwasi	DUGispantuzzi
Gen.	<sup>NA4</sup> huwasiyas	<sup>DUG</sup> ispantuzziyas
D. <b>-</b> L.	<sup>NA4</sup> huwasi(ya)	<sup>DUG</sup> ispantuzzi ( <sup>DUG</sup> ispantuzziya)
Abl.	<sup>NA4</sup> huwasiyaz	<sup>DUG</sup> ispantuzziaz
Instr.		DUG <sub>ispantuzzit</sub>

#### Plural

N.-A. NA4*huwāsi*<sup>HI.A</sup>

67) a) The Nom. Sg. tuzziyas is an analogical construct on the ya-stem.

b) The Gen. Sg.  $^{\hat{G}I\check{S}}hulugannas$ , the Abl. Sg.  $^{\hat{G}I\check{S}}hulugannaza$  and the Abl. Pl. *halhaltumaraza* are analogical constructs on the *a*-stem.

c) For the Dat.-Loc. Sg. tuzziya, NA4huwasiya, etc..., cf §59b2.

68) Substantives in ai-

a) They are inflected with ablaut (§18) : *lengais* "oath", Acc. Sg. *lengain*, but Gen. Sg. *linkiyas*, etc...

b) One sometimes finds analogical constructs such as Gen. Sg. *lengayas* built from the Nom. and the Acc. Sg., or conversely the Acc. Sg. *zahhin* built from the Gen. Sg.

69)

- Common : *zahhai* "battle", *lengai* "oath", *zashai* "dream".
- Neuter : *hastai-* "bone".

## Common

#### Singular

Nom.	zahhais		
Acc.	zahhain (zahhin)	lingain	zashain
Gen.	zahhias	linkiyas (lingayas)	
D. <b>-</b> L.	zahhiya	linkiya (lingai)	zashiya
Abl.	zahhiyaz(a)	linkiyaz(a)	zashiyaz
Instr.			zashit

#### Plural

Nom.	lingais	
Acc.	lingaus	zashimus (§29b)

#### Neuter

N.-A. *hastai* Gen. *hastiyas* D.-L. *hastai* Instr. *hastit* 

70) i-stems adjectives

a) The declension of the adjectival stems in -i and -u differ from the substantive by the apparition of an *a* before the thematic vowel in all cases except the Nom., the Acc. and the Instr Sg.

b) The occasional forms without this *a* are analogical constructs on the substantive, especially for *karūili-* "old".

71) a) salli- "big", suppi- "pure", mekki- "much", karūili- "old".

Singular

Nom. comm.	sallis	suppis	mekkis	karūilis
Acc. comm.	sallin			karūilin Lau <del>r</del> ili
NA. n.	salli	suppi	mekki	karūili
Voc.	GAL-li			
Gen.	sallaiyas (sallas)	suppayas		karūilias
DL.	sallai	suppai (suppaya, su suppa)	ppi,	
Abl.	sallayaz	suppayaz(a) (suppaz(	(a)) meqqayaz	karūilēs (karūiliyas)
Instr.		suppit		
		Plural		
Nom. comm.	sallaēs	suppaēs (suppis)	meggaēs (mekkēs)	karūilēs (karūiliyas)
Acc. comm.	sallaus (sallius)	suppaus	meggaus (mekkus)	
NA. n.	salla	suppa	meggaya	karūila
Gen.			meqqayas	
D. <b>-</b> L.	sallayas	suppayas (suppiyas)		karūiliyas
Abl.		suppayaza		

b) Forms without an *i* like the Gen. Sg. *sallas*, the Abl. Sg. *suppaz(a)*, N.-A. Pl. n. *salla*, *suppa* are explained by §15a.

72) The root utne (KUR-e) n. "land" is close to the *i*-stems with the following declension :

	Singular	Plural
NA.	utne (utni)	utne
Gen.	utneyas (utniyas)	
D. <b>-</b> L.	utnī (utniya)	KUR-eas
Abl.	utneaz	

73) *u*-stems

a) Substantives

- Common : harnau- "chair", wellu- "meadow", heu- "rain", LUGAL-u "king".
- Neuter : *genu-* "knee"

### Common

#### Singular

Nom.	harnaus	wellus	heus	LUGAL-us
Acc.	harnaun	wellun	heun	LUGAL-un
Voc.				LUGAL-ue
Gen.	harnawas		hewas (heyawas)	LUGAL-was (LUGAL-an, §62c)
D. <b>-</b> L.	harnawi	welli		LUGAL-i
Abl.		welluwaz		LUGAL-waz
Instr.			heawit	

#### Plural

Nom.		hewēs (heyawēs)	
Acc.		heus (heamus, §29	b)
D. <b>-</b> L.	welluwas		
Neuter			
	Singular		Plural
NA.	genu		genuwa
Gen.	genuwas		genuwas
All.	genuwa		genuwas
Abl.			ginuwaz

b) The forms of *heu-* "rain" with *-(y)a-* before the thematic vowel (Gen. Sg. *heyawas*, Instr. Sg. *heawit*, Nom. Pl. *heyawēs*, Acc. Pl. *heamus*) are built by analogy with the adjective.

74) *u*-stems

b) Adjectives

a) Like adjectival *i*-stems, one finds a vowel *a* before the thematic vowel.

b) Occasionally, this *a* is caused by analogy with the substantive. For *assu-* "good", this analogy is clear because the neuter *assu* has been substantivized with the meaning "good, property".

75) assu- "good", parku- "high", idālu- "nasty".

#### Singular

Nom. comm.	assus	parkus	idālus
Acc. comm.	assun	parkun	idālun
NA. n.	assu	parku	idālu
Gen.	assawas	parkuwas	HUL-uwas
D. <b>-</b> L.	assawi	pargawe	idālawi
Abl.	assawaza	pargawaz	idālawaz (idālaz!)
Instr.	assawet		HUL-it

#### Plural

Nom. comm.	assawēs	pargawēs (pargaus; §63b)	idālawēs
Acc. comm.	assamus (§29b)	pargamus (§29b) (pargaus)	<i>idālamus</i> (§29b)
NA. n.	assawa	pargawa	idālawa
Gen.			idālawas
D. <b>-</b> L.		pargawas	idālawas
Abl.			idālawaza
Instr.	assawet		

#### 3. Consonant stems

76) *tt (t)*-stems

- Common : *kartimmiyatt-* "anger", *kar(a)itt-* "tide", *kast-* "hunger", *wett-* "year" (logogr. MU(.KAM)).
- Common and neuter : *aniyatt-* "performance", *siwatt-* "day" (logogr. UD(.KAM)).

#### Singular

Nom. comm. Acc. comm. NA. n.	kartimmiyaz (§25a2 27a) kartimmiyattan	aniyaz (§25a2 27a) aniyattan	UD-az UD-an (UD.KAM-an) UD-at
Gen. DL. Abl.	TUG.TUG-atti	aniyattas aniyatti	UD-as siwatti (siwat; §59d) UD.KAM-az
Nom. comm. Acc. comm. Gen.	kar(a)iz (girez)	kasza (§25a2) kastan	MU.KAM-za MU-an MU.KAM-as
DL. Abl. Instr.	karaitti	kasti kastita	witti MU.KAM-az

#### Plural

UD.KAM<sup>HI.A</sup>-us

UD.(KAM)<sup>HI.A</sup>-as

MU.KAM<sup>HI.A</sup>-as

wittan (§62a) (MU<sup>HI.A</sup>-as)

UD<sup>HI.A</sup>-us

MU<sup>HI.A</sup>-us

MU<sup>HI.A</sup>-us

Nom. comm. Acc. comm. *kartimmiyaddus* N.-A. n. D.-L.

aniyatta aniyattas

Nom. comm. garittēs (karittiyas) Acc. comm. N.-A. n. D.-L.

#### 77) nt-stems

- Substantive : *ispant* c. "night" (logogr. GE<sub>6</sub>(.KAM)).
- Adjective : *humant* "each, all".
- Participles : *appant-* "recovered", *huiswant-* "alive".

#### Singular

Nom. comm.	GE <sub>6</sub> (.KAM)-anza	humanza (§25a2)	appanza	huiswanza
Acc. comm.	ispandan	humandan	appantan	huiswandan
NA. n.		human		
Gen.	GE <sub>6</sub> -andas	humandas		TI-antas
D. <b>-</b> L.	ispanti	humanti		huiswanti
Abl.	ispandaz	humandaz		

#### Plural

Nom. comm.	humantes (humandus; §63b)	appantes	huiswantes
Acc. comm.	humandus (humantes; §63a)		huiswandus
NA. n.	humanda	appanti	
Gen.	humandas		
DL.	humandas		

78) *n*-stems

- Mainly neuters (partly with ablaut; §18) : *sahhan* "fief", *laman* "name", *tekan* (*tagn*-) "earth"
- Common : MUNUS-*n* "woman"

#### Singular

Nom. comm.				MUNUS-za
Acc. comm.				MUNUS-nan
NA. n.	sahhan	laman	tekan	
Gen.	sahhanas		tagnas	MUNUS-nas
D. <b>-</b> L.	sahhani	lamni	tagni	MUNUS-ni

All.			tagnā
Abl.	sahhanaz(a)		tagnaz(a) (tagnāz)
Instr.	sahhanit	lamnit	

#### Plural

Nom. comm.		MUNUS <sup>MEŠ</sup> -us
DL.	lamnas	MUNUS <sup>MEŠ</sup> -as

79) l-stems

- Substantives (mainly neuters) : wastul "sin", ishiul "contract", tawal (a drink), suppal "animal".
- Adjective : *taksul* "accustomed".

Singular					
Nom. c.			taksul		
NA. n.	wastul	ishiul	taksul	tawal	suppal
Gen.	wasdulas	ishiul(l)as	taksulas	tawalas	
D. <b>-</b> L.	wasduli		taksuli	tawali	supli (§26)
Abl.		ishiullaza			
Instr.	wasdulit			tawal(l)it	

Plural

NA. n.	wastul( <sup>HI.A</sup> )	ishiuli <sup>HI.A</sup>	taksul	suppala
Gen.				suppalan (§62a)

80) *r*-stems

a) without ablaut

- Substantive : *huppar* c./n. "tureen"
- Adjectives : *sakuwassar* "true", *kurur* "hostile" (also substantive n. "hostility")

Singular

Nom. comm.	<sup>DUG</sup> hupparas	sakuwassaras	kurur
Acc. comm.		sakuwassaran	
NA. n.	huppar	sakuwassar	kurur
Gen.	hupparas	sakuwassaras	kururas
D. <b>-</b> L.	huppari	sakuwassari	kururi
Abl.	hupparaza	sakuwassaraza	
Instr.	( <sup>ĜIŠ</sup> )hupparit	sakuwassarit	

#### Plural

Nom. comm.	sakuwassarus	kurur

Acc. comm.		sakuwassarus	
NA. n.	<sup>DUG</sup> huppāri <sup>HI.A</sup>		kurur (kururi <sup>HI.A</sup> )
Gen.			kururas

b) The neuter kessar- "hand" is inflected in Old-Hittite with ablaut (like Greek  $\pi\alpha\tau\dot{\eta}\rho$ ,  $\pi\alpha\tau\rho-\dot{\delta}\varsigma$ ):

	Singular	Plural
NA.	kessar	
DL.	kisri (kessar; §59d)	kisras
All.	kisrā	kisras
Instr.	ki-iš-šar-at	

In Neo-Hittite, this word is of common gender and is inflected like an *a*-stem : Sg. Nom. *kessaras*, Acc. *kisseran*, etc... (§64).

#### 81) *r/n*-stems

This group corresponds to the I.E. heteroclitic inflection that left some traces in the other I.E. languages (Old-Indian *ūdhar*, *ūdhnas* "udder", Lat. *femur*, *feminis* "thigh"). It is however well alive and productive in Hittite. All stems are neuter. For more clarity, these stems have been grouped into miscellaneous sub-groups :

82) a) Particular substantives, partly with and partly without ablaut

*uttar* "word, speech", *eshar* "blood", *lammar* "hour", *watar* "water", *pahhuar* (*pahhur*) "fire", *mehur* "time".

Singular

	Singular	
uttar	eshar (essar; §28b)	lammar
uddanas	eshanas (esnas; §28b)	
uddani	eshani	lamni
uddanaz(a) (uddananza; §60)	eshanaz(a) (esnaza; §28b)	
uddanit (uddanta; §61)	eshanta (§61)	
watar	pahhuwar (pahhur; §17a)	mehur
	pahhuenanza	
witenas	pahhuenas	mehunas
weteni	pahhueni (pahhuni; §16)	mehueni (mehuni; §16)
wetena		
wetenaz(a)	pahhuenaz (pahhunaz(a))	
wetenit (wedanda; §61)	pahhuenit	
	Plural	
	uddanas uddani uddanaz(a) (uddananza; §60) uddanit (uddanta; §61) watar witenas weteni wetena wetenaz(a)	uttareshar (essar; §28b)uddanaseshanas (esnas; §28b)uddanieshaniuddanaz(a) (uddananza; §60)eshanaz(a) (esnaza; §28b)uddanit (uddanta; §61)eshanta (§61)watarpahhuwar (pahhur; §17a)pahhuenanzapahhuenanzawitenaspahhuenaswetenipahhuenaswetenaz(a)pahhuenaz (pahhuni; §16)wetenati (wedanda; §61)pahhuenati (pahhunaz(a))pahhuenati (wedanda; §61)pahhuenit

NA.	uddār	widār	
Gen.	uddanas	A <sup>HI.A</sup> -as	
D. <b>-</b> L.	uddanas		mehunas

83) b) Abstracts in -*ātar* and -*tar* 

*paprātar* "dirtiness", *lahhiyatar* "countryside", *zankilatar* "sorrow"; *huitar* "faun" (partly with ablaut ; *-tn-* does not transform into *-nn-*).

			Singular	
NA.	paprātar		zankilatar	huitar
Gen.	paprannas			huitnas (§32a2)
D. <b>-</b> L.	papranni	lahhiyanni	zankilanni	
Abl.	paprannaz(a)			
Instr.				huitnit

#### Plural

N.-A. lahhiyatar zankilatar<sup>HI.A</sup> (zankilatarri<sup>HI.A</sup>)

84) c) Abstracts in -essar

hannessar "business", uppessar "sending" (with ablaut)

	Singular		Plural
NA.	hannessar	uppessar	uppessar <sup>HI.A</sup>
Erg.			uppesnantēs
Gen.	hannesnas (hannissanas; §10, 26)		
DL.	hannesni (hannassani; §11, 26)	uppesni	
Abl.	hannesnaz (hannisnanza; §10, 60)		
Instr.	hannesnit		

85) d) Words in -war

All with ablaut ; till now, only in the singular : asawar "enclosure, fence", partawar "handle".

NomAcc.	asawar	partawar
Gen.		partaunas
D. <b>-</b> L.	asauni	
Abl.	asaunaz	partaunaz
Instr.		partaunit

This group is close to the inflection of the verbal substantive in *-war*, without being strictly identical.

86) e) Words in -mar

hilammar "gate". Here too, only in the singular.

NomAcc.	<sup>É</sup> hilammar
Gen.	(É)hilamnas (hilannas? ; §32b2)
DL.	( <sup>É</sup> )hilamni
All.	hilamna
Abl.	( <sup>É</sup> )hilamnaz

This group is close to the inflection of the verbal substantive in *-mar*, without being strictly identical.

87) Miscellaneous consonant stems

Always neuter and attested only in the singular.

- *s*-stem : *nepis* "sky", *ais* "mouth" (with ablaut)
- guttural-stem : *isgaruh* "container"

NA.	nepis	ais	isqaruh (iskarih)
Gen.	nepisas	issas	
D. <b>-</b> L.	nepisi (nepis; §59d1)	issi (aissi)	isqaruhi
All.	nepisa		
Abl.	nepisaz(a) (nepisanza; §60)	issaz	
Instr.		issit	isgaruhit

88) Blend of *n*-stems and vocalic stems

a) Some substantives are inflected partly as *a*-stems and partly as *n*-stems. Thus for example *memiya(n)*- "word, speech", *arkamma(n)*- "tribute", *hara(n)*- "eagle", *alkista(n)*- "branch (?)", *muri(yan)*- "grape fruit" (all of common gender).

#### Singular

Nom.	memiyas	arkammas	haras <sup>MUŠEN</sup>	( <sup>ĜIŠ</sup> )alkistas	mures
Acc.	memiyan	arkamman	haran (hāranan	) alkistanan	
Gen.	memiyanas	arkammanas	haranas		
D. <b>-</b> L.	memiyani (memini; §14a1)				
Abl.	memiyanaz (meminaza; §14a1)	)			
Instr.	meminit (§14a1)				murinit

#### Plural

Nom.			hāranis <sup>MUŠEN</sup>		
Acc.	memiyanus (memiyanes; §63a; memiyas)	arkammus (argamanus)		<sup>ĜIŠ</sup> alkistanus	muriyanus (murius)

b) The very variable inflection of *kutru(wan)*- comm. "witness" can be interpreted in the same way :

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	kutruwas	kutruēs (kutruwas, kutrus; §17a; kutruwanes, kutruenes; §17b)
D. <b>-</b> L.	kutrui	kutruas

89) Irregular inflection

a) The two neuter roots *kard*- "heart" (logogr. ŠÀ) and *parn*- "house" (logogr. É) have their N.-A. Sg built by lengthening the vowel of the roots  $k\bar{e}r$  and  $p\bar{e}r$ :

	Singular		Plural	
NA.	ŠÀ-ir	pir	kir	É-ir
Gen.	kardiyas (stem in -i)	parnas		
D. <b>-</b> L.	kardi	<i>parni</i> (É- <i>i</i> ; §59d1)		parnas
All.	karta	parna		
Abl.	kartaz	parnaza		
Instr.	kardit			

b) The unusual inflection of the expression *hassa hanzassa* "grand-son and grand-grand-son (?)" is not well understood :

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	hassa hanzassa	hasses hanzasses
Acc.	hassa hanzassa	hassus hanzassus
D. <b>-</b> L.	hassi hanzassi	hassas-sas hanzassas-sas
Instr.	hassit hanzassit	

## C. Adjective comparison

93) Hittite does not form the adjective comparative by means of a suffix as it is the case in other I.E. languages. Comparison is expressed by the only adjective, and it can be detected only thanks to the context.

94) a) However, one can recognize a suffix -zi- in hantezzi- "first", appezzi- "last", sarazzi- "superior" and sanezzi- "sweet".

b) kattera- "inferior" is constructed differently, but with a similar function.

95) *kattera*- is inflected as an *a*-stem, the others as substantives in -i with some variations like *ya*-stems :

Singular					
Nom. comm.	hantezzis (hantezziyas)	appizzis (appizziyas)	sarazzis	sanezzis	katterras
Acc. comm.	hantezzin (hantezziyan)	appizzin (appizziyan)	sarazziyan	sanezzin	katteran
NA. n.	hantezzi	appizzi	sarazzi	sanezzi	kattera
Gen.	hantezziyas				
D. <b>-</b> L.	hantezzi	appizziya	sarazzi		katteri
Abl.	hantezziyaz	appizziyaz	sarazziyaz	sanizziyaz	
Instr.				sanizzit	

Plural

Nom. comm.	hantezzēs (hantezzius, hantezziyas)	appizzēs	UGU-azzis (UGU-azzius)		katterēs (katterrus)
Acc. comm.				sanizzius	
D. <b>-</b> L.	hantezziyas				

## Chapter 4

# **Pronouns and numbers**

## A. Personal pronouns

96) Independant forms of the 1st and 2nd persons

	"I"	"you" (Sg.)	"we"	"you" (Pl.)
Nom.	uk (ugga, ammuk)	zig (zigga)	wēs (anzās)	sumēs (sumās)
Acc.	ammuk (ammugga)	tuk (tugga)	anzās	sumās (sumēs)
Gen.	ammēl	tuēl	anzēl	sumēl (sumenzan)
D. <b>-</b> L.	ammuk (uga)	tuk (tugga)	anzās	sumās (sumēs)
Abl.	ammēdaz(a)	tuēdaz(a)	anzēdaz	sumēdaz

97) a) Old-Hittite uses the forms uk,  $w\bar{e}s$  and  $sum\bar{e}s$  only for nominative ; ammuk,  $anz\bar{a}s$  and  $sum\bar{a}s$  are used only for dative and accusative. Neo-Hittite borrowed the accusative for the nominative, and the forms uk and  $w\bar{e}s$  have nearly vanished. The use of the nominative  $sum\bar{e}s$  for the accusative is explained by a borrowing of the nominative (§63a). The identity of the forms for accusative and dative such as  $sum\bar{e}s$  shows a glide toward the dative. Also, the nominative form uga moved toward the dative. On the opposite, zik and tuk have not merged.

b) Old-Hittite has a form *sumenzan* "your (Pl.)"; *sumēl* and *anzēl* are more recent forms.

98) The pronoun apā- is used as an independant pronoun of the 3rd person ; cf. §111ff.

99) The suffix *-il(a)* expresses reflexion : *ukila* (*ukel*) "myself", *zikila* "yourself", *sumāsila* "yourselves", *apāsila* "himself" (Pl. Nom. *apāsila*, Acc. *apāsilus*!).

100) Enclitics for dative and accusative

a)

<i>-mu</i> "me, to me"	<i>-nas</i> "us, to us"
<i>-ta</i> ( <i>-du</i> before <i>-za</i> ; §40) "you, to you (Sg.)"	-smas "you, to you (Pl.)"
-si "to him" (Dat. only)	-smas "to them" (Dat. only)

b) Examples with *nu* "and" : *nu-mu* "and to me", *nu-tta* "and to you (Sg.)" (§39), *nu-ssi* "and to him", *nu-nnas* "and to us", *nu-smas* "and to you (Pl.), and to them".

nu-mu-asta "and then (?) to me" becomes numasta (§38a).

#### **Reflexive pronouns**

101) The reflexive pronouns are expressed by the corresponding personal pronouns or by means of the particle -za (-z).

#### The pronominal enclitic root -a- "he, she, it"

102) a) For the nominative and the accusative of the pronoun of the 3rd person, patricular forms of the root -*a*- are used ; with -*si* "to him" and -*smas* "to them", they form a whole paradigm :

	Singular	Plural
Nom. comm.	-as	old -e, neo -at
Acc. comm.	-an	old -us, neo -as
NA. n.	-at	old -e, neo -at

This enclitic *-a-* comes probably from a weakened form of the accentuated demonstrative *a-* "this" (§116).

b) For the Nom. Pl. comm., Old-Hittite has kept the I.E. form of the pronoun Nom. Pl. -e < \*-oi, whereas Neo-Hittite has used the form at first Sg., then Pl. of the neuter -at.

103) a) *nu* "and" and the older words *ta* "and" and *su* "and" combine with these forms according to §38a and b to give *n*-*as*, *t*-*as*, *s*-*as* "and he", *n*-*at*, *t*-*at* "and it", *n*-*an*, *t*-*an*, *s*-*an* "and him" (Acc. Sg.), *n*-*e*,  $t\bar{a}$  (< \**ta*-*e*), *s*-*e*, *n*-*at* "and they", *n*-*us* (*n*-*as*), *t*-*us* (*t*-*as*), *s*-*us* (*s*-*as*) "and them" (Acc. Pl.).

b) Attached to *nu* and the particle *-wa(r)-* of quotation, it becomes : *nu-war-as* "and he", *nu-war-an* "and him" (Acc. Sg.), *nu-war-at* "and it", *nu-war-i* "and they" (Nom. Pl.; *-i* instead of *-e*; §9a 102a).

c) It is not sure whether the neuter *-it* "it" in the expression *netta* "and it for you (Sg.)" (< nu-it-ta?) comes from a root *-i-* "he". It could be a form *nu-e-ta* (N.-A. Pl. n.) with a semantic change "and he for you" > "and it for you".

104) -as, -at, etc... are sometimes doubled : nassiyas (< \*nu-as-si-as) next to nassi (< \*nu-as-si) "and he for him", natsiyat (< \*nu-at-si-at) next to natsi (< \*nu-at-si) "and it for him".

#### Isolated pronouns of the 3rd person

105) a) The following Sg. oblique forms are built from a root *si*- "he, she, it" :

Gen.	sēl
D. <b>-</b> L.	sētani
Abl.	sēz

The dative enclitics -si "to him" and -smas "to them" (§100a) maybe come from the same root.

b) On the other hand, there is no nominative or accusative form coming from a root *sa*-. The forms Sg. Nom. comm. *sas*, Acc. comm. *san* and Pl. Nom. comm. *se*, Acc. comm. *sus* of Old-Hittite, that have been understood for long as irreducible forms, are in fact built from the ancient and rare word *su* "and" and the enclitic pronoun *-a*- "he" (§103a) like *nas* <  ${}^*nu$ -*as*.

## **B.** Possessive pronouns and adjectives

106) a) Neo-Hittite has borrowed its possessive pronouns from the genitive of the personal pronouns : *ammēl attas* "my father", *tuēl anni* "to your (Sg.) mother", etc...

b) For a possible use of the personal pronouns instead of the possessive pronouns, cf §213b2.

107) Old-Hittite still has independent possessive adjectives that are sometimes found in Neo-Hittite in set phrases. They are always enclitic :

<i>-mi-</i> "my"	
-ti- "your (Sg.)"	<i>-smi-</i> "your (Pl.)"
<i>-si-</i> "his"	-smi- "their"

The possessive adjective of the 1st Pl. person is not attested.

108) These adjectives are inflected as a blend of *a*- and *i*-stems :

Nom. comm. Acc. comm.	-mis -min (-man)	-tis (-tes) -tin	-sis -sin (-san)	-smis	-smes -sman
NA. n.	-mit (-met)	-tit	-sit (-set)	-smet (-semet)	-smet (-smit, -semet, -samet, -simit, -summit)
Voc.	-mi				
Gen.	-mas	-tas	-sas		
D. <b>-</b> L.	-mi	-ti (-di)	-si	-smi	-smi (-summi)
All.	-ma	-ta	-sa		-sma
Instr.		-tit	-set (-sit)		-smit

## Singular

Plural
--------

Nom. comm. Acc. comm. NA. n.	-mis -mus (-mis; §63a) -mit (-met)	-tis (-tes) -tus (-dus)	-ses (-sis) -sus -set	-smes	-smus
Gen.	<i>man</i> (§62a)				
D. <b>-</b> L.		-tas			-smas

109) a) The possessive adjective agrees in case and number with the substantive : Gen. Sg. *kardiyas-tas* "of your (Sg.) heart", D.-L. Sg. *kissari-mi* "in my hand", *atti-ssi* "to his father", *istarni-smi* "in their center", Nom. Pl. *aresmes* < aresis aresis (§19a) "your (Pl.) friends", Acc. Pl. *sarhuwandus-sus* "her unborn children".

The final -*n* of the Acc. Sg. of the substantive is assimilated according to §36a1 with the initial of the possessive : Acc. Sg. *halugatallattin* < *\*halugatallan-tin* "your (Sg.) envoy" (next to *halugatallan-min* "my envoy", without assimilation), *tuzzi-man* < *\*tuzzin-man* "my army", *arha-ssan* < *\*arhan-san* "his border".

b) In the Neo-Hittite era, the separation between the two elements is less and less felt. Following constructions like *attas-sis* "his father" (Nom. Sg.) : *attassin* < \**attan-sin* "his father" (Acc. Sg.), one builds the Nom. Sg. *attas-mis* "my father", but the Acc. Sg. *attasmin* and *attasman* "my father", as well as *attastin* "your (Sg.) father", as if the inflection only affected the end of the group.

## C. Demonstrative pronouns

110) The declension of the following pronouns is clearer than those already seen. The endings are :

	Singular	Plural
Nom. comm.	- <i>S</i>	-ē, -ēs, -us
Acc. comm.	-n	-US
NA. n.	- <i>t</i> , -	-ē, -
Gen.	-ēl (-ēdas)	-ēnzan (-ēl)
D. <b>-</b> L.	-ēdani (-ēdi)	-ēdas
Abl.	-ēz (-ēdaz)	-ēz
Instr.	- <i>(i)t</i>	

111) The most important pronouns are  $k\bar{a}$ - "this, hic" and  $ap\bar{a}$ - "that, is".  $ap\bar{a}$ - is also used as a pronoun for the 3rd person with the meaning "he, she".

For apāsila "himself", cf. §99.

112)	Sir	ngular	Р	lural
Nom. comm.	kās	apās	kē, kūs (kēus)	apē, apūs
Acc. comm.	kūn (kān)	apūn (apān)	<i>kūs (kē;</i> §63a)	<i>apūs (apē;</i> §63a)
N. <b>-</b> A. n.	kī (kē; §10)	apāt	kē (kī; §10)	apē
Gen.	kēl	apēl	kēnzan (kēdas)	apēnzan (apēdas)
D. <b>-</b> L.	kēdani (kēti)	apēdani (apēti)	kēdas	apēdas
Abl.	kēz (kēzza)	apēz (apizza)	kizza	
Instr.	kēt (kēdanda)	apit (apēdanda)		

113) a) In Nom. Pl., the Old-Hittite forms  $k\bar{e}$  and  $ap\bar{e}$ , coming from the I.E. era, are replaced in Neo-Hittite by the inflected forms  $k\bar{u}s$  and  $ap\bar{u}s$  coming from an analogical construction with the noun, or, according to §63b from a borrowing of the Acc. Pl.

b) The occasional form  $k\bar{e}$  of the Acc. Pl. comes, according to §63a, from a borrowing of the nominative form.

c) The unique form  $k\bar{e}us$  of the Nom. Pl. comes from the form  $k\bar{e}$  to which has been added the pleonastic nominative ending *-us*.

114) From kā- and apā- are derived several adverbs :

a)  $k\bar{a}$  "here", *apiya* "there ; then" ;  $k\bar{e}t$  "to here", *apēda* "over there" ;  $k\bar{e}z$  "from here", *apēz* "from there".

b) apidda "over there", apidda (apiddan, apēda; also apidda(n) ser) "therefore".

c) kissan "thus, consequently", slightly different apēnissan "thus".

d) From the root kā- is derived the interjections kāsa "look!" and kāsma "look!".

115) Two pronominal adjectives are built from *kissan* and *apēnissan* with the meaning "such" (also "so much") : *kissuwant*- "τοιόσδε" and *pēnissuwant* "τοιοῶ τος". Their declension is like *humant*-(§77).

116) A defective demonstrative root *a*- with the meaning "here" gives the following forms :

	Singular	Plural
Nom. comm.		* $e$ in $e$ s- $ta$ (= * $e$ - $sta$ "thus them ?")
D. <b>-</b> L.	edani	edas
Abl.	ediz (etez, edaza)	

117) The roots *eni-*, *uni-* and *anni-*, all meaning "that (afore mentioned)" are designated as "half-inflected". They are maybe already deictic particles.

a) One finds from *uni-* an Acc. Sg. comm. *unin*, a Nom.-Acc. Sg n. *uni* (also with a plural meaning) and a Nom. and Acc. Pl. comm. *unius*.

b) One finds from *eni-* the Nom. Sg. comm. *enis*, the N.-A. Sg. n. *eni* (also with a plural meaning) and an Acc. Pl. comm. *enius*. As for *kissan*, one finds an adverb *enissan* "as afore mentioned".

c) One finds from *anni*- only a Nom. Sg. comm. *annis*. From this root are derived the adverbs *annaz* and *annisan* "formerly".

118) One finds in texts the word often uninflected *asi*- "the previous", used in the Nom. and the Acc. Sg. at all genders. One also finds the Nom. Sg. comm. *asis*.

## D. Interrogative and relative pronouns

119) Nearly only the root *kui*- produces alive paradigms. It is used to form interrogative and relative substantives and adjectives.

	Singular	Plural
Nom. comm.	kuis	kuēs (kuēus; §63b)
Acc. comm.	kuin	kuēus (kuēs, kuis, kuē; §63a)
NA. n.	kuit	kuē
Gen.	kuēl	
D. <b>-</b> L.	kuēdani	kuēdas
Abl.	kuēz (kuēzza)	

120) a) The general relatives are *kuis kuis, kuis-as kuis* "whoever", *kuis imma, kuis imma kuis, kuis-as imma, kuis-as imma kuis* "whoever else".

	Singular	Plural
NA. n.		kuē kuē
Gen.	kuēl imma	
D. <b>-</b> L.	kuēdani (imma) kuēdani	kuēdas kuēdas
Abl.	kuēz imma kuēz	

b) kuissa "that" (§125a) can also be used with the meaning "whatever".

121) A pronoun derived from *kui*- is built with the ethnic suffix : *kuenzumna*- "he who comes from".

122) A parallel stem *kua*- (< I.E.  $k^w o$ -) has been used to build an adverb from the original form of the N.-A. Sg. n. *kuwat* "why?" (phonetically <  $k^w od$ ) as well as other adverbs like *kuwapi* "where" and its derivatives, and *kuwatta(n)* "where, to where" (*kuwattan sēr* "why").

123) a) From an unattested interrogative-relative stem ma- is built masi- "how much" with the following forms :

	Singular	Plural
Nom. comm.		masēs
Acc. comm.	masin	
NA. n.		masē

b) From *masi-* are built *masiyant-* and *masiwant-*, both meaning "as much as", with an inflection close to *hūmant-* "whole" (§77).

## E. Indefinite pronouns

124) *kuiski* comm., *kuitki* n. is used for the substantive "someone, something" and the adjective "a, an". *UL kuiski* comm., *UL kuitki* n. is used for the substantive "no one, nothing" and the adjective "no, not any ".

125) a) *kuissa* (*kuisa*), made of *kuis* and *-a* "and", means "each one" (and also "whoever"; §120b).
b) *kuis - kuis* means "the one - the other".

126) Inflection of kuiski and kuis(s)a :

	Singular		Plural	
Nom. c.	kuiski	kuissa (kuisa)	kuēsqa	kuesa
Acc. c.	kuinki	kuinna	kuiusga	kuiussa
NA. n.	kuitki	kuitta	kuēqa (kuēqqa, kuēkki)	
Gen.	kuēlqa (kuēlga, kuēlka, kuēlki)	kuēlla		
DL.	kuēdanikki (kuēdanikka)	kuēdaniya	kuedasqa	
Abl.	kuēzqa	kuēzzi(ya)		

127) *tamai-* "other" is inflected half as a pronoun, half as a noun. *dapiya-* "each, all" is also used to build isolated pronominal forms. Inflection :

	Singular		Plural	
Nom. comm.	damais		damaus (§63b)	
Acc. comm.	damain		damaus	
NA. n.	tamai	dapiyan (dapin; §14a1)	tamāi	
Gen.	dammēl (tamēdas)	dapias		dapidas
D. <b>-</b> L.	damēdani	dapi	damēdas	dapias
All.	tamatta (tamēda)			
Abl.	tamēdaz (damēdaza)	dapiza (dapidaz)		

128) From *damai-* "other" are built :

a) an adjective dameli- "different" (Sg. Acc. comm. damelin, D.-L. dammeli),

b) an adverb dameda "elsewhere".

## F. Numbers

129) a) The pronunciation of most numbers is unknown since numbers are generally written with cuneiform logograms.

b) Only a few forms of numbers are known :

1. The reading of the number "one" is still contested : siya-.

2. The I.E. root dā appears in the ordinal dān (§133) and the composition dā-yuga- "two-year-old".

3. The I.E. root <sup>\*</sup>*tri*- "three" appears in the genitive *te-ri-ya-as* ( $\S132a$ ), in <sup>LÚ</sup>*tarriyanalli-* (\$133b) and in the name of liquid *teriyalla-* (*tariyalla-*).

4. The word *meu*- "four" does not come from I.E. but from the Luwian *mauwa* "four", and is found in several inflected forms written phonetically.

5. The I.E. \**sipta(m)* "seven" appears in the name of liquid *siptamiya*.

130) "one" is inflected half as a pronoun and half as an adjective :

Nom. comm.	1-as (1-is)
Acc. comm.	1 <i>-an</i>
NA. n.	1 <i>-an</i>
Gen.	1 <i>-ēl</i>
D. <b>-</b> L.	1-ēdani
Abl.	1-ēdaz (1-ēdaza, 1-ēaz)

131) a) Inflection of "two" :

Nom. comm.	2-us (2-el)
Acc. comm.	2-e (2-ela, 2-el)
D. <b>-</b> L.	2-etas

b) The expression "both" is expressed by 2-*pat* or more simply by 2-*el* (with the particle -*pat* "accurate, right").

132) a) Inflection of "three" :

Nom. comm.	3-es (i.e. $*tr\bar{e}s$ )
Acc. comm.	3-us (3-e)
Gen.	<i>te-ri-ia-as</i> (i.e. * <i>triyas</i> )

b) Inflection of *meu-* "four" :

Nom. comm.	meyawas (mēwas)
Acc. comm.	meus (4-as?)
Gen.	mi-i-ú-wa<-as?>
D. <b>-</b> L.	4-tas

133) a) The first ordinals are known by their reading :

- hantezzi- "first" (etymologically "ahead"; §94).
- *dān* "second" (uninflected).

b) Hittite builds its ordinals with the suffix -anna :

- ◆ 2-anna (= \*danna ?) "second",
- 3-anna "third",
- ◆ 4-anna (4-in) "fourth",
- 5-anna "fifth",
- 6-anna "sixth",
- ◆ 7-anna "seventh".

134) a) The numeral adverbs usually end with -anki :

- ◆ 1-anki "once",
- 2-anki "twice",
- 5-anki "five times", etc...

b) It is possible that a construction with -is also exists :

- ◆ 2-*is* "twice (?)",
- ◆ 3-*is* "three times (?)",
- 4-*is* "four times (?)", etc...

c) Cf. also the following adverbial constructions :

1. From "one" : 1-eda "at a precise place ; for oneself". 1-etta "in an only (?), to an only (?) ; together".

2. From "two" : 2-an (i.e. \*taksan) "halfway (?)".

# Chapter 5 **The verb**

## A. Derivation

135) The derivation of verbs thanks to suffixes constitutes the biggest part of the chapter.

136) -*ahh*- is a denominative with the meaning "to do what the base word means" and "to bring to a (natural and continuous) state" : *sarazziyahh*- "to put right on top" (*sarazzi*- "superior, paramount"), *nakkiyahh*- "to make difficult" (*nakki*- "difficult"), *idālawahh*- "to act badly" (*idālu*- "nasty"), *kururiyahh*- "to make war" (*kurur* "hostility"), 3-yahh- (i.e. \**triyahh*-) "to triple", 4-*iyahh*- "to quadruple".

137) *-annāi*- expresses a persistence, somehow like a durative : *iya*- "to go, to march" *iyannāi*- "to march continuously", *parh*- "to chase" *parhannāi*- "to chase continuously", *walh*- "to strike" *walhannāi*- "to strike continuously".

The durative is often used with the iterative in -sk- (§141) : walh- "to strike" walhannesk- "to strike unceasingly",  $h\bar{e}w\bar{a}i$ - "to rain"  $h\bar{e}wannesk$ - "to rain unceasingly the whole day".

138) -es- is a denominative with the meaning "to become what the base word means" : *idālawes-* "to become nasty, to quarrel" (*idālu-* "nasty"), *parkues-* "to become pure" (*parkui-* "pure"), *salles-* "to grow , to increase" (*salli-* "tall"), *makkes-* "to become many, to grow" (*mekki-* "much").

139) The infix *-nin-* is used, like the more frequent suffix *-nu-* (\$140), in order to build the causative of some verbs : *hark-* "to collapse" *harnink-* "to throw down", *istark-* "to be ill" *istarnink-* "to make ill".

140) a) The suffix -*nu*- is the usual way to build the causative of verbe : *ar*- "to stay" *arnu*- "to send", *war*- "to burn" *warnu*- "to set on fire", *link*- "to swear" *linganu*- "to administer the oath", *hark*- "to collapse" *harganu*- "to throw down", *weh*- "to turn" *wahnu*- "to turn over".

b) There is sometimes no difference between a verb and the one with *-nu-* : *pahs-* and *pahsanu-* "to protect".

c) Occasionally, *-nu-* is used like *-ahh-* (§136) in order to build verbs from nouns with the meaning "to act according to the base word by modifying a former state" : *maliskunu-* "to weaken" (*malisku-*"weak"), *dassanu-* "to strengthen" (*dassu-* "strong"), *sallanu-* "to lengthen, to stretch" (*salli-* "tall"), *tepnu-* "to lessen" (*tepu-* "few"), *parkunu-* "to cleanse" (*parkui-* "pure"), *esharnu-* "to make bloody" (*eshar-* "blood").

141) a) One can build for each verbal root a form with the suffix -*sk*-, with a meaning close to the iterative, even though its use is a bit more complex : *da*- "to take" *dask*- "to take several times", *pāi*- "to give" *pesk*- "to give several times", *ep*- "to grab" *appisk*- "to grab several times", *hatrāi*- "to write" *hatresk*- "to write several times", *eku*- "to drink" *akkusk*- "to drink several times", *punus*- "to ask" *punusk*- (< \**punus-sk*-; §19a) "to ask several times".

b) Some peculiar forms : ar- "to stay" ar(a)sk- "to stay several times" (§22), sipand- "to make a

libation" *sipanzak*- (i.e. \**sipand-sk-*; §22) "to make libations several times", *ed-* "to eat" *azzikk-* "to adore" (§22), *dāi-* "to put" *zikk-* "to put several times" (§24), *kuen-* "to strike" *kuask-* (§11. 31a) "to strike several times" (next to *kuennisk-*), *hanna-* "to judge", *hannesk-* and *hassik-* "to judge several times" (§22. 31a), *aus-* "to see" *usk-* "to see several times".

c) 1. Because of its frequent use, *-sk-* is often used along with other suffixes : *arnusk-* "to bring several times", *harninkisk-* "to throw down several times", *kururiyahhesk-* "to keep on making war".

2. In particular, the durative in *-annāi*- (§137) is often followed by the iterative suffix *-sk*- : *walh*-"to strike" *walhannesk*- "to always strike continuously", *pars*- "to break" *parsiyannesk*- "to break one after the other".

d) One seldom finds the suffix -ss- borrowed from Luwian instead of -sk- : essa- "to do several times" (*iya*- "to do"), *halzessa*- "to call several times" (*halzāi*- "to call").

142) Occasionally, a phenomenon of reduplication of the verbal root occurs : *wek-* and *wewak-* "to wish, to ask", *kis-* and *kikkis-* "to become", *kikki-* instead of *ki-* "(to lie =) to start"; cf. also *pappars-* "to spring", *katkattenu-* "to make snort", *asas-* "to sit", *wariwarant-* = *warant-* "burning".

For an iterative meaning of the forms with reduplication, cf. the replacement of *wewakkinun* "I demanded immediatly" in KBo III 4 II 11 by the iterative *wekiskinun* in the copy 888/c III 9.

143) a) As in the other I.E. languages, Hittite uses particles to modify the meaning of verbal roots. Hittite exhibits here an archaic side since particles are always written as independent words and small words can be placed between the particle and the verb.

b) The most important particles are : *anda* (*andan*) "to the inside", *appa* (*appan*) "back, again", *arha* "away", *katta* (*kattan*) "downwards ; in addition, with", *parā* "forward ; out", *piran* "ahead", *sarā* "upwards, up", *sēr* "above" ; e.g. *pāi*- "to go" *anda pāi*- "to go into", *appa pāi*- "to go back", *appan pāi*- "to go after", *arha pāi*- "to go away", *parā pāi*- "to go on ; to go out", *sarā pāi*- "to go up" ; *dā*- "to take" *appa(n) dā*- "to take back", *arha dā*- "to take away", *parā dā*- "to take out", *katta(n) dā*- "to take down", *sarā dā*- "to take up ; to take, to catch".

c) 1. A verb can have several particles at the same time : appa(n) and  $ap\bar{a}i$ - "to go into again",  $s\bar{e}r$  arha  $d\bar{a}$ - "to take up away",  $appa \, sar\bar{a} \, d\bar{a}$ - "to take up again".

2. The particle *awan* is used only with another particle, e.g. *awan arha* "away", *awan katta* "downwards". It is difficult to define its precise meaning.

144) a) Unlike the isolated particles, the prefixes *u*- "here" and  $p\bar{e}$ - "there" are indissociably attached to the verb : *uda*- (*ueda*-) "to bring",  $p\bar{e}da$ - "to send" ; *uiya*- "to bring", *peya*- "to send" ; *unna*- "to pull", *penna*- "to push". The relation between *uizzi* "he comes" and *pāizzi* "he goes" as well as between the pair *uwate*- "to bring" and *pehute*- "to send" is less clear.

b) However, it happens that the particle  $p\bar{e}$ - "there" occurs as isolated (especially as a complement of *hark*- "to hold"), and that particles are inserted between it and the verb :  $p\bar{e}$  harzi "he produces",  $p\bar{e}$ -pat harkanzi "they also produce".

## **B. Inflection**

145) The Hittite verb has two conjugations, named from the ending of the 1st pers. Sg. Pres. : the *mi*-conjugation and the *hi*-conjugation.

146) There are two voices : the active voice and the medio-passive voice. The second one is used for the middle, as in Greek or Indo-Iranian, for the passive and for the deponent verbs (i.e. verbs with an active meaning conjugated at the medio-passive voice).

147) a) The inflection system of the verb is very simple : there are two simple tenses, present (also used for future) and preterite, and two modes, indicative and imperative. Some compound tenses are built with auxiliary verbs (§184. 259).

b) The verb is conjugated with two numbers, singular and plural. There is no dual.

148) There are some verbal nouns, namely the infinitives I and II, the supine and the verbal substantive, as well as a participle, of passive meaning for transitive verbs and active meaning for intansitive verbs.

149) Outline of the endings :

	Active Medio		Medio-passiv	passive	
	<i>mi</i> -conj.	hi-conj.	<i>mi</i> -conj.	hi-conj.	
		Indica	ative Present		
Sg. 1.	-mi	-hi (-ahhi)	-hahari (-hari, -ha)	-hahari (-hari)	
2.	-si	-ti	-tati (-ta)	-tati (-ta)	
3.	-zi	- <i>i</i>	-tari (-ta)	-ari (-a)	
Pl. 1.	-weni	-weni	-wastati (-wasta)	-wastati (-wasta)	
2.	-teni	-teni	-duma (-dumari)	-duma	
3.	-anzi	-anzi	-antari (-anta)	-antari (-anta)	
		Indica	tive Preterite		
Sg. 1.	-un (-nun)	-hun	-hahat(i) (-hat(i))	-hahat(i) (-hat(i))	
2.	-s (-t, -ta)	-s (-ta, -sta)	-tat(i) (-ta)	-at(i) (-tat)	
3.	-t (-ta)	-s (-ta, -sta)	-tat(i) (-ta)	-at(i)	
Pl. 1.	-wen	-wen	-wastat	-	
2.	-ten (-tin)	-ten (-tin)	-dumat	-dumat	
3.	-er (-ir)	-er (-ir)	-antat(i)	-antat(i)	
Imperative					
Sg. 1.	-(a)llu	-allu	-haharu (-haru)	-haharu (-haru)	
2.	- (-i, -t)	- (-i)	-hut(i)	-hut(i)	
3.	-du	- <i>U</i>	-taru	-aru	
Pl. 1.	-weni	-weni	-	-	
2.	-ten (-tin)	-ten (-tin)	-dumat(i)	-dumat(i)	
3.	-andu	-andu	-antaru	-antaru	

Verbal substantive	Infinitive	Supine	Participle
-war	Iwanzi	-wan	-ant-
	IIanna		

150) In Neo-Hittite, the following tendencies develop :

a) 1. The ending *-ti* of the 2. Pers. Sg. Pres. of the *hi*-conjugation sneaks into the *mi*-conjugation : *epsi* and *epti* "you grab (Sg.)", *harsi* and *harti* "you hold (Sg.)", Old-H. *istamassi* Neo-H. *istamasti* "you hear (Sg.)", *karussiyasi* and *karussiyatti* "you keep silent (Sg.)", *harnikti* "you ruin (Sg.)", *maniyahti* "you handle (Sg.)".

2. More rarely, the ending *-si* of the same person can be found in the *hi*-conjugation : normaly *wastatti* and rarely *wastasi* "you sin (Sg.)".

b) 1. The verbs in *-ahh-* (§136), that are conjugated according to the *mi*-conjugation, can build their 3. Pers. Sg. Pres. and Pret. according to the *hi*-conjugation : *dasuwahzi* and *dasuwahhi* "he dazzles", *isiyahta* and *isiyahhis* "he searched".

2. Consequently, for huittiya- "to drag", 3. Sg. Pres. huittiyazi and huittiyai.

c) Conversely, the inflection of the 3. Pers. Sg. Pret. and Imp. of the *mi*-conjugation can be used in the *hi*-conjugation : *akis* and *akta* "he is dead", *aku* and *akdu* "he must die".

d) Some verbs are conjugated with both conjugations : *dalahhi* and *daliyami* "I let". Several examples can be found at §178. A lot of verbs exhibit small irregularities that cannot all be listed in this grammar. The lexicon should be used instead.

151) Particularities of the *mi*-conjugation :

a) The 2. Pers. Sg. Pres. rarely ends in -zi : istamaszi "you hear (Sg.)".

b) Neo-Hittite often builds the 2. Pers. Sg. Pret. from the 3. Pers. Sg. : Old-H. *iyas* Neo-H. *iyat* "you did (Sg.)" (same as *iyat* "he did"), Old-H. *sallanus* "you made larger (Sg.)" *sallanut* "he made larger", Neo-H. *tittanut* "you put (Sg.)" and "he put".

c) At the 1. Pers. Sg. Imp., *es-* "to be" has, along with the regular form *asallu* "I want to be", the irregular forms *eslut* and *eslit* "I want to be".

152) Particularities of the *hi*-conjugation :

a) 1. The 3. Pers. Sg. Pres. of the *hi*-conjugation has sometimes an ending *-ai* instead of *-i* : *sipandi* "he sacrifices" and rarely *sippandai*, *arri* "he washes" and sometimes *arrai*.

2. Also at the 3. Pers. Pl. Pret. : *sipantir* "they sacrificed" and the isolated form *sippantair*.

b) Conversely, the form of the 3. Pers. Sg. Pres. *wastai* (root *wasta-* + ending -*i*) of the verb *wasta-* "to sin" is also written *wasti*.

c) At the 3. Pers. Sg. Pres., one finds *parsiya* "he breaks" (\$178) with *-a* instead of *-i*, probably by dissimilation of the preceding *-i*-.

153) At the Pret. and Imp. of the medio-passive, the forms with an ending -i of Old-Hittite (-(*ha*)*hati*, -*tati*, -*ati*, -*antati*, -*huti* and -*dumati*) correspond to the forms without -i of Neo-Hittite (-(*ha*)*hat*, -*tat*, -*at*, -*antat*, -*hut* and -*dumat*).

#### 1. Active voice

#### a. mi-Conjugation

#### 1. Consonant stems

154) a) Monosyllabic stems with one final consonant : *es*- "to be", *ep*- "to grab", *nah*- "to fear",  $\bar{a}s$ - "to stay", *ses*- "to sleep", *wek*- "to require", *eku*- "to drink" (i.e.  ${}^{*}ek^{w}$ -) :

#### **Indicative Present**

		Singular	ſ	
1.	esmi	epmi	nahmi	
2.	essi	epsi (epti; §150a1)	nahti (§150a1)	
3.	eszi	epzi	(	āszi
		Plural		
1.		eppueni		
2.		epteni (apteni; §11)	nahteni	
3.	asanzi	appanzi		āssanzi
		Singular	:	
1.	sesmi	wekmi	ekumi	
2.		wekti (§150a1)	ekussi	
3.	seszi	wekzi	ekuzi (ekuzazzi, ezza	zi, §155)
		Plural		
1.	sesueni		akueni	
2.			ekutteni	
3.	sesanzi (sasanzi)	wek(k)anzi	akuwanzi (ekuwanzi)	)
		Indicative Pro	eterite	
		Singular	ſ	
1.	esun	eppun	nah(h)un	
2.	esta		(	āsta
3.	esta	epta (ipta)	nahta	
		Plural		
1.	esuen	eppuen (appuen)		
2.	esten	epten		
3.	esir	eppir		

		Singu	ılar	
1.	sesun	wekun	ekun	
3.	sesta	wekta	ekutta	
		Plur	al	
1.		wekuewen (!)	ekuen	
3.	sessir	wekir	ekuer	
		Impera	ative	
		Singu	ılar	
1.	asallu (eslut, eslit)			
2.	es	ер	nāhi	
3.	esdu	epdu (eptu)		āsdu
		Plur	al	
2.	esten	epten		
3.	asandu	appandu		
		~.		
		Singu		
2.	ses	wek	eku	
3.	sesdu			
		Plur	al	
2.	sesten		ekutten	
3.			akuwandu	

Verbal subst.	esuwar		Gen. nahhi	ıwas	sesuwar	wekuwar	
Inf. I		eppuwanzi		āssuwanzi	sesuwanz	i	
Inf. II		appanna					akuwanna
Participe	asant-	appant-	nahhant-	āssant-	sasant-	wekant-	akuwant-

155) b) Similar, with the insertion of an *-s*- between the root and the ending : *ed*- "to eat", *mat*- "to support", *ispart*- "to escape" :

#### **Indicative Present**

Singular

- 1. edmi
- 2. ezzassi
- 3. *ezzazzi (ezzai*; §150b2)

mazzazzi (mazzi)

mazatti

isparzazzi (isparzizi, isparzai, §150b2)

Plural

- 1. eduwani (atueni)
- 2. ezzatteni (azzasteni)
- 3. *adanzi*

#### **Indicative Preterite**

Singular

		Singular	
1.	edun		isparzahhun (hi-conj.)
2.		mazzasta	isparzasta
3.	ezta	mazzasta	isparzas (isparzasta)
		Plural	
3.	eter		isparter (isparzir)
		Imperative	
		-	
2.	at (azza, azzazza)	Singular	
2. 3.	et (ezza, ezzazza) ezzaddu		
3.	ezzadau	Dlamel	
2		Plural	
2.	ezzatten (ezzasten)		
3.	adandu (ezzandu)		
Inf.			
Part	t. <i>adant-</i>		isparzant-
	) c) Similar, with ablaut (§18) vn") :	: <i>kuen-</i> "to strike, to kil	l", <i>huek</i> - "to swear" (and <i>huek</i> - "to throw
		<b>Indicative Presen</b>	t
		Singular	
1.	kuemi (§31a)	Singulai	hukmi
1. 2.	kuesi (§31a) (kuenti, §150a1)		пикт
2. 3.	kuenzi	, kuerzi (kuirri)	huekzi (hukzi)
5.	KUEH2I	Plural	nuekzi (nukzi)
1.	In commune coni	riulai	
1. 2.	kuennummeni kuonattoni		
	kuenatteni	L	hukanzi
3.	kunanzi (kuennanzi)	kuranzi	nukanzi
		Indicative Preteri	te
		Singular	
1.	kuenun (kuenunun)		
2.	kuinnesta		
3.	kuenta	kuerta	huekta
		Plural	
1.	kueun (§31a) (kuinnummen)		hugawen
.2	kuenten		
3.	kuennir	kuerir	

#### Imperative

			Singular	
2.	kuen(n)i			
3.	kuendu			huikdu
			Plural	
2.	kuenten			
3.	kunandu		kurandu	
Ver	rbal subst.	Gen. kuennumas		

Inf. I	kuennummanzi		
Inf. II	kunanna	kuranna	hūkanna-
Part.	kunant- (kuenniyant-)	kurant-	hūgant-

157) d) Monosyllabic with two final consonants ; cf. §22 and 23a : *walh-* "to strike", *sanh-* "to search", *hark-* "to collapse", *karp-* "to lift", *link-* "to swear".

#### **Indicative Present**

		Singular
1.	wa-al-ah-mi	ša-an-ah-mi (ša-an-ha-mi)
2.	wa-la!-ah-ši (§23c)	ša-an-ah-ti (ša-na!-ah-ti, §23c; ša-an-ha-ti, ša-an-ha-ši)
3.	wa-al-ah-zi	ša-an-ah-zi (ša-an-ha-zi)
		Plural
1.	wa-al-hu-wa-ni (wa-al-ah-hu-e-ni)	

wa-al-ah-ta-ni
 ša-an-ah-te-ni (ša-an-ha-at-te-ni)
 wa-al-ha-an-zi (wa-al-ah-ha-an-zi)
 ša-an-ha-an-zi

#### Singular

1.		kar-ap-mi	
2.	har-ak-ti		
3.	har-ak-zi	<i>kar-ap-zi (karpizzi, kar-ap-pí-iz-zi)</i> Plural	li-in-ga-zi (li-ik-zi)
1.	har-ku-e-ni		li-in-ku-e-ni (li-ku-wa-an-ni!)
2.	har-ak-te-ni		
3.	har-ki-ia-an-zi	kar(-ap)-pa-an-zi, kar(-ap)-pí-an-zi	li-in-kán-zi

#### **Indicative Preterite**

		Singular
1.	wa-al-hu-un (wa-al-ah-hu-un)	ša-an-hu-un (ša-an-ah-hu-un, ša-ah-hu-un)
2.	wa-al-ah-ta	ša-an-ah-ta (ša-an-ha-ta, ša-ah-ta)
		Plural
2.	wa-al-ah-tin	ša-an-ah-tin
3.	wa-al-hi-ir	ša-an-hi-ir

#### Singular

			e	
1.		kar-ap-pu-un		li-in-ku-un
3.	har-ak-ta	kar-ap-ta		li-in-ik-ta (li-in-kát-ta, li-in-kán!- ta [§31b], li-ik-ta)
			Plural	
1.				li-in-ku-en (li-in-ga-u-en)

3. *kar-pi(-e)-ir* 

#### Imperative

		Singular
2.	wa-al-ah	ša-an-ha (ša-a-ah)
3.		ša-ah-du
		Plural
2.	wa-al-ah-tin	ša-an-ha-at-tin (ša-a-ah-te-en)
3.		ša-an-ha-an-du

#### Singular

2.		kar-ap (kar-ap-pí-ia)	li-in-ik (li-in-ki)
3.	har-ak-du	kar-ap-du	
		Plural	
.2		kar-ap-tin (kar-ap-pí-ia-at-tin)	li-en-ik-tin
3.			li-in-kán-du

Verbal subst.	wa-al-hu-wa-ar		kar	-pu-wa-ar
Inf. I	wa-al-hu-wa-an-zi	ša-an-hu-wa-	-an-zi	
Inf. II			har	r-kán-na
Part.	šanhant-	harkant-	kar(-ap)-pa-an-t-	li-in-kán-t-

158) The root *hark*- "to hold, to have" is special in that it drops its *k* before an ending starting with a consonant whereas it keeps it before an ending starting with a vowel :

	<b>Indicative Pre</b>	<b>Indicative Preterite</b>		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1.	harmi	harweni (harwani)	harkun	harwen
2.	harsi (harti)	harteni		harten
3.	harzi	harkanzi	harta	harkir
Imperative			Participe	
	Singular	Plural		
2.	har-ak	harten		
3.	hardu	harkandu	harkant-	

159) e) Polysyllabic stems : istamas- "to hear", punus- "to ask", hamenk- "to attach".

		Indicative Preser	ıt
		Singular	
1.	istamasmi	punusmi	ha-ma-an-ga-mi
2. 3.	istamassi (istamasti, istamaszi)		ha-ma-an-ki
	istamaszi	<i>punuszi</i> Plural	па-та-ап-кі
1.	• • • • • • • • •	punussueni	
2. 3.	istamasteni (istamastani) istamassanzi	nunussanti	hamankanzi (haminkanzi, hamangazi)
5.	istamassanzi	punussanzi	namankanzi (naminkanzi, namangazi)
		Indicative Preteri	ite
		Singular	
1.	istamassun	punussun	
2.		punusta	
3.	istamasta	punusta	ha-mi-ik-ta (ha-ma-ak-ta, ha-ma-an- kat-ta, ha-ma-na-ak-ta)
		Plural	
1.		punussuen	
2.	istamasten		
3.	istamassir	punussir	haminkir
		Imperative	
		Singular	
2.	istamas	punus	
3.	istamasdu	punusdu	
		Plural	
2.	istamasten	punusten	
3.	istamassandu	punussandu	hamankandu
		*	

Verbal subst.	istamassuwar	punussuwar	hamenkuwar
Inf. I	istamassuwanzi		
Participe	istamassant-		hamenkant- (hamankant-)

160) f) Polysyllabic stems ; verbs in *-es-* and *-ahh-* : *idalawes-* "to become evil" ; *idalawahh-* "to behave badly", *suppiyahh-* "to clean", *maniyahh-* "to give back".

#### **Indicative Present**

		Singular
1.		idalawahmi
2.	idalawesti	idalawahti (idalawatti, §28b)
3.	idalaweszi	idalawahzi
		Plural
2.	idalawesteni	
3.	idalawessanzi	idalawahhanzi
		Singular
1.	suppiyahmi	maniyahmi
2.		maniyahti
3.	suppiyahhi (§150b1)	maniyahzi (maniyahhi)
		Plural
3.	suppiyahhanzi	maniyahhanzi
		Indicative Preterite
		Singular
1.		idalawahhun
3.	idalawesta	HUL-ahta
		Plural
1.		idalawahhuen
2.		HUL-ahten
3.	HUL <sup>MEŠ</sup> -sir	
		Singular
1.	suppiyahhun	maniyahhun
2.	- 1 V	maniyahta
3.	suppiyahhas	maniyahda (maniyahhis)
	- 1 V	Plural
3.		maniyahhir

#### Imperative

		Singular
2.	suppiyah	maniyah
		Plural
2.		maniyahten

Verbal subst.	suppiyahhuwar	
Part.	idalawahhant-	maniyahhant-

#### 2. Vocalic stems

161) a) Polysyllabic stems : *uwate-* "to bring", *pehute-* "to supply", *wete-* "to build", *watku-* "to jump".

#### **Indicative Present**

#### Singular

1.	uwatemi	pehutemi		wedahhi	
2.	uwatesi	pehutesi		wedasi	
3.	uwatezzi (uwadazzi)	pehutezzi		wetezzi	watkuz(z)i
			Plural		
1.	uwateweni (uwatewani, uwatummeni)				
2.	uwatetteni (uwatettani)	pehutetteni			

## 3. uwadanzi pehudanzi wedanzi watkuwanzi

#### **Indicative Preterite**

		Singu	ular	
1.	uwatenun	pehutenun	wetenun (wedahhur wetun)	1,
2.	uwatet	pehutet		
3.	uwatet	pehutet (pehutes)	wetet (wedas)	watkut
		Plu	ral	
1.	uwatewen		wetummen	
3.	uwater	pehuter	weter	

#### Imperative

#### Singular

2. *uwate (uwati, uwatet) pehute* 

3. *uwateddu* 

#### Plural

- 2. uwatetten (uwatatten) pehutetten
- 3. uwadandu pehudandu wedandu

Verbal subst.		wetummar	watkuwar
Inf. I		wetummanzi	
Part.	pehudant-		watkuwant-

162) b) Monosyllabic stems :  $l\bar{a}$ - "to detach",  $h\bar{a}$ - "to believe, to trust",  $s\bar{a}$ - "to be angry".

	Indicative Present				
	Singular		Plural		
1.	lāmi	hāmi			
2.	lāsi	hāsi			
3.	lāi		lānzi	sānzi	
		Indicativ	e Preterite		
	Singular			Plural	
1.	lāun (lānun)	hānun		lāwen	
2.	lāis	hāis			
3.	lāit		sāit		
		Impe	rative		
	Singular	1	Plural		
2.	lāi		latten		
Ver	rbal subst.			sāwar	
Par	t. <i>lant-</i>	hānt	-	sānt-	
163	B) c) The monosyllabic roo	ot te- "to speak" share	es its paradigm wi	th <i>tar</i> - "to speak" :	
	Indicative Present		Indicative P	reterite	
	Sg.	P1.	Sg.	Pl.	
1.	temi	tarweni	tenun		
2.	tesi	tarteni			
3.	tezzi (and Luw. tardi)	taranzi	tet		
	Imperative		Part.	tarant-	
	Sg.	P1.			
2.	tet	tetten			
3.	teddu	darandu			

164) d) The very frequent verbs  $p\bar{a}i$ - "to go" and *uwa*- "to come" are special in that they make the transition with the verbs in  $-\bar{a}i$ - :

#### **Indicative Present**

1. 2. 3.	Singular pāimi pāisi (pāsi, pāitti) pāizzi	uwami (uwammi) uwasi uizzi	Plural paiweni (paiwani) paitteni (paittani) pānzi	uwaweni uwatteni uwanzi (uenzi)
		Indicative P	reterite	
	Singular		Plural	
1.	pāun (pānun)	uwanun (uwanunun)	pāiwen (pāwen)	uwawen
2.		uwas		uwatten
3.	pāit (paitta)	uit (uitti)	pāir	uer
		Imperat	ive	
	Singular		Plural	
2.	-			uwatten (uitten)
3.	paiddu	wuiddu (uwadu)	pāndu (pāntu)	uwandu
Ver	rbal subst.		pāwar	uwawar
Inf.	Ι		pāwanzi	uwawanzi
Par	t.		pānt-	uwant-

2. The 2. Pers. Sg. (and partly Pl.) of the Imperative of  $p\bar{a}i$ - "to go" and *uwa*- "to come" are not commonly used (*uwat* "come!" is only found once). Instead, the following locutions are used :

a) for *pāi*- "to go" an independant and more frequent root *i*- "to go" with the Imperative 2. Pers. Sg. *it* "go!" and a Pl. *itten* "go!" ;

b) for *uwa-* "to come" the interjection *ehu* "here!" > "come!". *ehu* can also be used with a particle : *andu ehu, parā ehu, kattan ehu*.

#### 3. āi-stems

165) hatrāi- "to write", kappuwāi- "to count, to examine", handāi- "to add", sarkuwāi- "to tighten".

#### **Indicative Present**

Singular

1.	hatrāmi	
2.	hatrāsi	<i>kapuesi</i> (§17b)
3.	hatrāizzi	kappuwāizi (kappuezzi, §13a)
		Plural
1.	hatrāweni (hatrauni, §16)	
2.		kappuwatteni
3.		kappuwanzi (kappuenzi, §17b)

		Singular		
1.	handāmi			
2.	handāsi			
3.	handāizzi (hantezzi, §13a, handāi)	sarkuezz	i (sarkuizzi)	
		Plural		
3.	handanzi			
		Indicative Preteri	te	
		Singular		
1.	hatrānun	kappuwa	anun	
2.	hatrāes	kappuit (	(§13a)	
3.	hatrāit (hatrāes)	kappuwa	<i>īit (kappuet</i> , §13a)	
		Plural		
3.	hatrāir			
		Singular		
1.	handanun	8		
3.	handāit	sarkuit (	and Luw. sarkutta)	
		Plural	,	
1.	handāuen			
3.	handāir			
		Imperative		
		Singular		
2.	hatrāi	kappuwa	īi (kappui, §13a)	
3.	hatrāu	kappuwa	<i>āiddu (kappuiddi</i> , §1	3a)
		Plural		
2.	hatratten	kappuwa	atten	
3.		kappuwa	undu	
		Singular		
2.	handāi		arku, §16)	
3.	handaiddu	× ×	, , ,	
		Plural		
3.	handandu			
Ver	bal subst.	kappuwawar	handāwar	
Inf.		pp with with with	handawanzi	
Part		kappuwant-	handant-	sarkuwant-
I UI		mppumuni-	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	Sai naivaitt-

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## 4. *iya*-stems

166) a) *iya-* "to do", *tiya-* "to move forward", *wemiya-* "to find", *huitiya-* "to pull".

		Indicative Present
		Singular
1.	iyami (iyammi)	tiyami
2.	iyasi	tiyasi
3.	iyazi (iyazzi, iezi)	tiyazi (tiez(z)i, tiyazzi, §14b)
		Plural
1.	iyaweni (iyawani)	tiyaweni
2.	iyatteni	tiyatteni
3.	iyanzi	tiyanzi (tienzi)
		Singular
1.	wemiyami	huittiyami
2.	wemiyasi	huittiyasi
3.	wemiyaz(z)i (wemiezi)	huittiazi (huittiezzi, huittiyai)
		Plural
1.	wemiyaweni	
2.		huittiyatteni
3.	wemiyanzi	huittiyanzi
		Indicative Preterite
		Singular
1.	iyanun (iyaun)	tiyanun
2.	iyas (iyat, §151b)	tiyat
3.	iyat (iet)	tiyat (tiet)
		Plural
1.	iyawen	tiyawen
.2	iyatten	
3.	ier	tier
		Singular
1.	wemiyanun	huittiyanun
3.	wemiyat (wemit)	huittiyat (huittit)
		Plural
1.	wemiyawen	huittiyawen
3.	wemiyer	

#### Imperative

		Singular
1.	iyallu	
2.	iya	tiya
3.	iyadu (iedu)	tiyaddu
		Plural
2.	iyatten	tiyatten
3.	iyandu (iendu)	tiyandu

	Singular
2.	huitti
	Plural

3. *wemiyandu* 

Verbal subst.	iyawar	tiyawar		huittiyawar
Inf. I	iyawanzi	tiyawanzi	wemiyawanzi	huittiyawanzi
Inf. II		tiyanna		
Part.	iyant-	<i>tiyant-</i> ( <i>tint-</i> , §141a1)	I	huittiyant-

b) The verb huwāi- (hūya-) "to run, to flee" oscillates between āi-stem and iya-stem :

	Indicative Present		<b>Indicative Preterite</b>	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	huyami	hūyaweni	huyanun	
2.	huyasi (hueyasi)			
3.	huwāi (huwāizzi)	hūyanzi (huwanzi)	huwais (huwas)	huwair (huēr)

Verbal subst.Gen. huyawasPart.huyant- (huwayant-)

#### 5. Stems with infix -nin- (§139)

167) harnink- "to destroy", sarnink- "to replace", ninik- "to mobilize".

#### **Indicative Present**

			Singular	
1.	harnikmi	sa	rnikmi	
2.	harnikti			
3.	harnikti	sa	rnikzi	ninikzi
			Plural	
1.		sa	rninkueni	
2.	harnikteni	sa	rnikteni	ninikteni
3.	harninkanzi	sa	rninkanzi	nininkanzi
			Indicative Preterite	
			Singular	
1.	harninkun		rninkun	nininkun
		sa.	rпіпкип	піпіпкип
2.	harnikta		.1	
3.	harnikta	sa	rnikta	ninikta
			Plural	
3.	harninkir			nininkir
			Imperative	
			Singular	
2.	harnik			ninik
3.		sa	rnikdu	
			Plural	
2.	harnikten			
3.	harninkandu			nininkandu
Ver	bal subst.	harninkuwar		Gen. nininkuwas
Inf.	Ι	harninkuwanzi	sarninkuwanzi	
Part	t.	harninkant-	sarninkant-	nininkant-

#### 6. Iteratives in *-sk-* (§141)

168) a) *dask-* "to take several times", *pesk-* "to give several times", *usk-* "to see often" (from *aus-*, §176), *akkusk-* "to drink a lot".

**Indicative Present** 

		indicative i resent			
		Singular			
1.	daskimi	peskimi			
2.	daskisi	peskisi	uskisi (uskatti)		
3.	daskizzi	peskizzi	uskizzi	akkuskizzi	
		Plural			
1.	daskiwani (dasgaweni, §11. 20)	pisgaweni			
2.	daskitteni (daskatteni)	piskatteni	uskatteni	akkuskittani	
3.	daskanzi	peskanzi (paiskanzi)	uskanzi	akkuskanzi	
		Indicative Preterite			
		Singular			
1.	dasganun	peskinun	uskinun	akkuskinun	
2.	daskes	-			
3.	daskit	peskit	uskit	akkuskit	
		Plural			
1.			usgawen		
2.		peskatten			
3.	daskir	peskir (piskar, §11)		akkuskir	
		Imperative			
		Singular			
1.		piskellu			
2.		peski	uski	akkuski	
3.	daskiddu		uskiddu	akkuskiddu	
		Plural			
2.	daskatten	piskatten	uskatten	akkuskitten (akkuskatten)	
3.	daskandu (daiskandu)	piskandu	uskandu	akkuskandu	
		1			
Ver	bal subst.		uskiyawar		
Sup	oine daskiwan	peskiwan	-		
Par			uskant-		

b) azzikk- "to adore", zikk- "to put several times", tarsikk- "to say several times" (§22b. 24)

#### **Indicative Present**

		Singular	
1.		zikkimi	tarsikkimi
2.		zikkisi	tarsik(k)isi
3.	azzikizzi	zikkizzi	tarsikizzi (tar-aš-ki-iz-zi)
		Plural	
1.		zikkiuwani	
2.	azzikkittani		
3.	azzikkanzi	zik(k)anzi	tarsikkanzi (tar-aš-kán-zi)
		Indicative Preter	4.0
			ite
		Singular	
1.	azzikkinun		
2.		zikkes	tar-aš-ki-it
3.		zikkit	
		Plural	
1.			tar-aš-ki-u-en (tar-ši-ga-u-en)
3.	azzik(k)ir	zikkir	
		Imperative	
		Singular	
2.	azzikki	zikki	
3.	azzikkiddu	zikkiddu	
		Plural	
2.	azzikkitten (azzikkatten)		
3.	azzikkandu		

Part.

zikkant-

#### 7. Causatives in -nu-

169) *arnu*- "to bring", *wahnu*- "to turn", *pahsanu*- (*pahhasnu*-, §26) "to insure", *assanu*- (*asnu*-, §26) "to prepare, to obtain".

#### **Indicative Present**

			Sin	ngular		
1.	arnum(m)i	wahnum	i	pah.	sanumi	assanumi
2.	arnusi	wahnusi				assanusi (asnusi)
3.	arnuz(z)i	wahnuz(	(z)i			assanuz(z)i (asnuzi)
			Р	Plural		
1.	arnummeni	wahnum	meni			
2.	arnutteni	wahnutt	eni	1	sanutteni hasnutteni)	
3.	arnu(w)anzi	wahnuw	anzi	pah.	sanuwanzi	assanuanzi (asnuwanzi)
			Indicati	ve Pro	eterite	
			Sin	ngular		
1.	arnunun	wahnun	un			assanunun
3.	arnut	wahnut				assanut
			Р	lural		
1.		wahnum	(m)en			
3.	arnuir (arnuē	r) wahnuir	(wahnuēr)	pah.	sanuir	assanuir
			Imp	oerativ	ve	
			Si	ngular		
1.						assanullu (asnullu)
2.	arnut			pah	hassanut	asnut
3.	arnuddu			pah.	sanuddu	assanuddu
			Р	lural		
2.	arnutten			pah	hasnutten	
3.	arnu(w)andu			pah	hasnuandu	
Ver	bal subst.	arnummar	wahnumar (wahnuwar)		pahsanummar	assanuwawar (!, Gen. as(sa)num(m)as)
Inf.	Ι		wahnummanz	zi	pahsanummanzi (pahhassanumanzi)	assanummanzi
Par	t.	arnuwant-	wahnuwant-		pahsanuwant- (pahhasnuwant-, pahhassanuwant-)	

## b. hi-Conjugation

#### 1. Consonant stems

170) a) With one final consonant : *sak-* "to know" (*sek-*, §11) ; *ak-* (*ek-*) "to die", *ar-* "to arrive", *wak-* "to bite", *asas-* "to place".

		<b>Indicative Present</b>					
	Singular						
1.	saggahhi (sākhi)		arhi				
2.	sakti (sekti)	akti	arti				
3.	sakki	aki	ari				
		Plural					
1.	sekkueni	akkueni	erweni				
2.	sekteni	akteni	erteni (arteni)				
3.	sekkanzi	akkanzi	aranzi				
		Cincular					
1		Singular	10)				
1. 2		asashi (asashe, §	10)				
2. 3.		asasti asāzi					
3.	waki	asāsi					
2		Plural	: (10)				
3.		asesanzi (asisanz	1, §10)				
		<b>Indicative Preterite</b>					
		Singular					
1.	saggahhun		arhun (a-ar-ah-hu-un, §23a)				
2.	sakta						
3.	sakkis (sakta, sekta)	ak(k)is (akta)	a-ar-aš				
		Plural					
1.	sekkuen		erwen				
3.	sekkir	ekir (akir)	erir				
		Singular					
1.		asashun					
3.	wakkis (waqas, wākit)	asasta (asesta)					
5.	νακκις (ναφας, νακιι)	Plural					
1.	wakuen	1 14141					
	wannen						
3.		asesir (aseser)					

## Imperative

	Singular					
1.	seggallu	aggallu				
2.	sāk	ak				
3.	sakdu	aku (akdu	)	aru		
			Plural			
2.	sekten (sikten)			arten		
3.		akkandu				
Vei	bal subst.				asesuwar	
Inf. I				arawanzi	asesuwanzi	
Inf. II waganna			waganna			
Par	t. se	kkant- akka	nt-	arant-	asesant-	

171) b) With two final consonants : *pahs*- "to protect", *taks*- "to gather", *sipand*- "to bestow a libation".

#### **Indicative Present**

			Singular	
1.	pahhashi (pahhasmi	i)	taggashi	sipandahhi
2.	pahhasti		takkissi	
3.			takkeszi (taggassi, takkizzi)	sipandi (sippantai, §152a1)
			Plural	
1.	pahsueni			sipanduwani
2.	pahhasteni		takkesteni (taggasteni)	
3.	pahsanzi		takkessanzi	sipandanzi (sippantinzi)
			<b>Indicative Preterite</b>	
			Singular	
1.				sipandahhun
3.	pahhasta		takkista (taggasta)	sippandas
			Plural	
3.	pahsir		takser	sippanter (sippantair)
			Imperative	
	Singular		Plural	
2.	pahsi		pahhasten	
3.			pahsandu	
Ver	bal subst.			sippanduar
Inf.	Ι		taksuwanzi	sip(p)anduwanzi
Part. pahsant-		ant-	taksant-	sipantant-

#### 2. Vocalic stems

172) a) *dā*- "to take".

#### **Indicative Present**

	Singular	Plural
1.	dahhi	dāweni (dawani, dummeni)
2.	datti	datteni (tatteni)
3.	dāi	danzi

**Indicative Preterite** 

	Singular	Plural
1.	dahhun	dāwen
2.	dās	datten
3.	dās	dāir

	Imperative		Verbal subst.	Gen. dāwas
	Sing.	Plur.	Inf. I	$dar{a}$
2.	dā	datten	Inf. II	danna
3.	dāu (daddu)	dandu	Part.	dant-

173) b) dāi- "to place", pāi- "to give", nāi- "to guide", zāi- "to exceed", halzāi- "to call".

#### **Indicative Present**

		Singular	
1.	tehhi	pihhi	nehhi
2.	dāitti (tāitti)	paisti (pesti)	nāitti (neyat(t)i)
3.	dāi	pāi	nāi
		Plural	
1.	tiyaweni	piyaweni (piweni)	neyaweni
2.	tāitteni (tāisteni)	pesteni (pisteni)	nāisteni (naistani)
3.	tiyanzi (tienzi)	piyanzi	neyanzi

#### Singular

1.		halzihhi (halziyami)
2.	zāitti (zāsi)	halzāitti (halzesti, halziyatti, halziyasi)
3.	zāi	halzāi
		Plural
1.		halziyaweni (halziwani)
2.		halziyatteni
3.		halziyanzi

#### **Indicative Preterite**

		Singular	
1.	tehhun (tēhun)	pehhun (pihhun)	nehhun (neyahhun)
2.		pāitta	
3.	dāis (dāista)	pāis (pesta)	nāis (naista, naesta)
		Plural	
1.	tiyawen (daiwen)	piyawen (piwen)	neyawen
3.	daier (tiir; dāir)	piēr	nāir (nēier)

#### Singular

1.	zihhun	halzihhun
2.		halzāit
3.	zāis	halzāis
		Plural
1.	zāiwen	halziyawen (halziwen)
3.		halzier

#### Imperative

			Singular		
2.	dāi	pāi	nāi (neya)		halzāi
3.	dāu	pāu	nāu		
			Plural		
2.	dāisten	pesten	nāisten (neyatten)	zāitten	halzisten
3.	tiyandu	piandu			
Verbal subst.		tiyawar	piyawar	neyawar	Gen. halziyawas
Inf. I		tiyawanzi	piyawanzi		halziyawanzi
Inf. II		tiyanna	piyanna		
Part		tiyant-	piyant-	neyant-	halziyant-

174) c) With -u(m)- for the 1st Pers. Pl., for Verbal subst. and for Infinitive : *tarna*- "to let", *sarra*-"to separate", *wasta*- "to sin", *uda*- "to bring", *pēda*- "to transfer".

#### **Indicative Present**

Singular

1.	tarnahhi		wastahhi
2.	tarnatti (tarnāsi)	sarratti	wastatti (wastasi)
3.	tarnāi (tarnāizzi)	sarrai (sarri, sarriyazi, sarrezzi)	wastai (wasti)
		Plural	
1.	tarnummeni (tarnummani)	sarraweni	
2.	tarnatteni	sarratteni	
3.	tarnanzi	sarranzi	

		Singular
1.	udahhi	pedahhi (pitahhi)
2.	udatti	pedatti
3.	udāi	pedai
		Plural
1.	utummeni	pedum(m)eni
2.	udatteni	pedatteni
3.	udanzi (utinzi)	pedanzi (pitenzi)

#### **Indicative Preterite**

		Singular	
1.	tarnahhun	sarrahhun	wastahhun
2.	tarnas		wastas
3.	tarnas (tarnesta)	<i>sarras (sarrēt)</i> Plural	wastas
1.	tarnum(m)en (tarnuen)	sarrummen	
2.	tarnatten		
3.	tarnir	sarrēr	waster
		Singular	

		6
1.	udahhun	pedahhun (pidahhun)
3.	udas	pedas
		Plural
1.	utummen	petummen
3.	uter (utir)	peter (piter)

## Imperative

			Sing	gular		
2.	tarna (tarni)		sarri	uda	peda	
3.	tarnāu (tarne	esdu)		udāu	pedau	
			Plu	ıral		
2.	tarnatten (tar	rnisten)		udatten	pedatte	en (pidesten)
3.	tarnandu			udandu	pedanc	lu
Ver	bal subst.	tarnummar	sarrumar	wasdumar	utummar	petummar
Inf.	Ι	tarnummanzi	sarrumanzi		utummanzi	pedummanzi
Par	t.	tarnant-	sarrant-	wastant-	udant-	

175) d) With the 3rd Pers. Pl. Present built on the model of the verbs in *-ya* : *essa-* "to act" (iterative of *iya-* "to do", §141d), *mema-* "to speak", *unna-* "to push", *penna-* "to pull", *uppa-* "to send".

#### **Indicative Present**

		Singular	
1.	essahhi (issahhi)	memahhi (memahhe)	unnahhi
2.	essatti	mematti	unnatti
3.	essai	memai (memmai)	unnai
		Plural	
1.	essueni	memaweni (memiyaweni)	
2.	essatteni	mematteni	unnatteni (unnisteni)
3.	essanzi	memanzi (memiyanzi)	unnanzi (un(n)iyanzi)
		Singular	
1.	pennahhi	uppahhi	
2.	pennatti		
3.	pennai	uppai	
		Plural	
1.		uppiweni	
2.		uppatteni	
3.	pennanzi (penniyanzi)	uppanzi (uppianzi)	
		<b>Indicative Preterite</b>	
		<b>Indicative Preterite</b> Singular	
1.	essahhun		unahhun
1. 2.	essahhun	Singular	unahhun unnes
	essahhun es(s)esta	Singular	
2.		Singular memahhun	unnes
2.		Singular memahhun memista (me(m)mas)	unnes
2. 3.	es(s)esta essuen	Singular memahhun memista (me(m)mas)	unnes unnes (unnesta)
2. 3. 1.	es(s)esta	Singular memahhun memista (me(m)mas) Plural	unnes unnes (unnesta)
2. 3. 1. 2.	es(s)esta essuen	Singular memahhun memista (me(m)mas) Plural memisten	unnes unnes (unnesta)
2. 3. 1. 2.	es(s)esta essuen	Singular memahhun memista (me(m)mas) Plural memisten memir	unnes unnes (unnesta)
<ol> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>1.</li> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> </ol>	es(s)esta essuen esser (isser)	Singular memahhun memista (me(m)mas) Plural memisten memir Singular	unnes unnes (unnesta)
<ol> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>1.</li> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>1.</li> </ol>	es(s)esta essuen esser (isser)	Singular memahhun memista (me(m)mas) Plural memisten memir Singular uppahhun	unnes unnes (unnesta)
<ol> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>1.</li> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>1.</li> <li>2.</li> </ol>	es(s)esta essuen esser (isser) pennahhun	Singular memahhun memista (me(m)mas) Plural memisten memir Singular uppahhun uppesta	unnes unnes (unnesta)
<ol> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>1.</li> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>1.</li> <li>2.</li> </ol>	es(s)esta essuen esser (isser) pennahhun	Singular memahhun memista (me(m)mas) Plural memisten memir Singular uppahhun uppesta uppesta (uppas)	unnes unnes (unnesta)
<ol> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>1.</li> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>1.</li> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> </ol>	es(s)esta essuen esser (isser) pennahhun	Singular memahhun memista (me(m)mas) Plural memisten memir Singular uppahhun uppesta uppesta (uppas) Plural	unnes unnes (unnesta)

### Imperative

		Sing	gular		
1.		memallu			
2.	essa (essi, issa)	memi	unni	penni	uppi
3.	essau	memau (me-ma-at-t	tu <sub>4</sub> ) unnau		uppāu
		Plu	ural		
2.	issatten	memisten			
3.	essandu (issandu)	memandu			
Vei	bal subst. essuw	ar			
Inf. I		memiyawanzi	pennumanzi	<b>1</b>	
Carr		(memiuwanzi)	penniyawan	<i>zl)</i>	
-	oine essuw	an			
Par	t.	memant-			uppant-

### 3. Irregular

176) au- (aus-) "to see".

	Indicative Present		Indicative Preterite	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	uhhi	aummeni (umeni)	uhhun	aumen
2.	autti	autteni (austeni, usteni)	austa	
3.	auszi	uwanzi	austa	auer
		Imperative		
	Sing.	Plur.	Inf. II	
1.	uwallu		uwanna	
2.	au	austen		
3.	ausdu	uwandu		

#### c. Blend of *mi*- and *hi*-conjugations

177) The previous paradigms already exhibited many variants of the Hittite verb, with pecular forms that not only diverged from the regular model, but also from the regular conjugation. There is not enough room here to treat all the variations between the *mi*- and *hi*-conjugations. The following verbs exhibit forms of both conjugations (partly because of a change in the formation of the root) so variable that it is impossible to affect them to a precise conjugation.

178) *dala-* and *daliya-* "to let", *ishāi-* and *ishiya-* "to link", *sāi-* and *siyai-* "to open" (probably ancient like *dāi-* "to place"), *sunna-* and *sun(n)iya-* "to fill", *parsāi-* and *parsiya-* (*parsi-*) "to break".

### **Indicative Present**

Singular

		e	
1.	dalahhi (daliyami)		
2.	dalatti (daliyasi)		
3.	dālāi (dalāizzi, daliyazi)	ishāi (ishiyazzi, ishēzzi)	siyaizzi (siezzi)
		Plural	
1.	daliyaweni		siyaweni
2.	dalesteni	ishiyatteni	
3.	daliyanzi	ishiyanzi	siyanzi
		Singular	
1.	sunnahhi (suniyami)	parsiyahhi (parsiyami)	
3.	sunnai (sun(n)iyazi, sunizzi)	parsāizzi (parsiyazi, parsiya [§1:	52c], pár-aš-ši-ia, pa-ar-ši)
		Plural	
2.	sunnatteni		
3.	sunnanzi (sun(n)iyanzi)	parsiyanzi (parsānzi)	
		Indicative Preterite	
		Singular	
1.	dalahhun (daliyanun)	ishih(h)un (ishiyanun)	siyanun
3.	dālis (dalesta, daliyat)	ishiyat	siyait
		Plural	
1.	daliyawen		
2.	daliyatten		
3.	dālir	ishiēr	siyāir
		Singular	
3.	sunnas (sunnista, sunet)	parsiyat	
		Plural	
3.	sunnir		

### Imperative

			Singula	ar		
2.	dala (dali,	)	sāt	i (siya)	sunni	
3.	tālesdu				sunniddi	l
			Plura	l		
2.	dalesten		sā	isten	sūnisten	
3.		ishiyana	lu siy	andu		
Ver	bal subst.	dalumar (taliyawar)	ishiyawar		sunnumar	
Inf. I				siyawanzi	sunnumanzi	parsiyawanzi
Inf.	II			siyanna		
Par	t.	daliyant-	ishiyant-	siyant-	sunniyant-	parsiyant-

### 2. Medio-passive voice

179) The difference between *mi*- and *hi*-conjugations has no importance for medio-passive (cf. the outline of endings at §149). It is not taken into account in the following paradigms.

#### 1. Consonant stems

180) *ar-* "to be placed", *tarup-* "to get together", *es-* "to be sat", *kis-* "to become", *pahs-* "to protect" (deponent).

		Indicative Pres	sent	
		Singular		
1.	arhahari		eshahari	
2.	artati (artari)		estari	
3.	artari (arta)	tarupta(ri)	esari (esa)	
		Plural		
1.	arwasta		esuwasta(ri)	
3.	arantari (aranta)	taruppantari	esanta(ri) (asanta)	
		Singular		
1.	kishahari	pahha	isha	
2.	kistati (kista)	pahhasta		
3.	kisari (kissari, kisa)	pahsari		
		Plural		
1.	pahsuwasta			
2.		pahha	isduma	
3.	kisandari (kisanta)	isandari (kisanta) pahsantari		
		Indicative Preto	erite	
		Singular		
1.	arhahat		eshahat (eshat, eshati, ishahat)	
2.	artat		estat	
3.	artat	taruptat	esat (esati, estat)	
		Plural		
1.	arwastat			
3.	arantat (arandati)	taruppantari	esantat	

Singular 1. kishahat (kishat, kishati) pahhashahat (pahhashat) 2. kisat (kistat) 3. kisat (kisati) pahhastat Plural 2. kisdummat 3. kisantat(i) Imperative Singular 1. arhaharu 2. arhut eshut kishut 3. artaru taruptaru kasaru pahsaru esaru Plural 2. ardumat esdum(m)at kisdumat pahhasdumat 3. kisandaru pahsandaru arantaru taruppantaru Verbal subst. taruppuwar Inf. II asanna Part. taruppantasantkisantpahsant-

#### 2. Vocalic stems

181) *iya-* "to go, to march",  $n\bar{a}i$ - (*neya-*) "to speak to", *zahhiya-* deponent "to fight" (or middle "to fight one another"), *uwa-* "to turn out, to appear" (middle of au(s)- "to see", §176; next to *aus-* deponent "to see"), *ki-* "to happen".

Indicative Present

		Indicative Present			
	Singular				
1.	iyahhari	neyahhari	zahhiyahha(ri)		
2.	iyattati (iyattari)	neyattati (naista(ri))			
3.	iyattari (iyatta)	neyari (neya, niya(ri))	zahhiyattari		
		Plural			
1.			zahhiyawastati		
2.	iyadduma		zahhiyadduma		
3.	iyantari (iyanta)	neyantari (neyanta)			
		Singular			
3.	uwaitta(ri)	kittari (kitta)			
		Plural			
3.		kiyantari (kiyant	ta, kianta)		

#### **Indicative Preterite**

#### Singular *iyahhahat (iyahhat)* neyahhat zahhiyahhat 1. 2. ivattati 3. ivattat *neyat(t)at (neyaddat, neyat)* zahhiyattat (zahhiyatta) Plural 3. *ne(y)antat (neyantati)* iyantat Singular 1. uwahhat (aushahat) 3. *uwaittat (austat)* kittat (kittati) Plural 3. kiyantati uwantat Imperative Singular 2. iyahhut naishut (neshut) zahhiyahhut 3. iyattaru neyaru Plural 2. iyaddumat naisdumat zahhiyaddumat 3. iyantaru neyandaru Singular uwahharu 1. 3. kittaru Plural 2. kiddumati 3. uwandaru Verbal subst. neyawar Inf. I zahhiyauwanzi Inf. II uwanna Part. zahhiyantiyantneyant-

182) The medio-passive of *war*- "to burn" (intr.) exhibits a dissimilation of the final *r* with the *r* of the root : the 3rd Pers. Sg. Present is pronounced *warāni* < \*warāri "it burns" (the 3rd Pers. Pl. is regular : *warandari*) and the 3rd Pers. Sg. Imper. *warānu* < \*warāru "it must burn".

### 3. Compound forms

184) Hittite also has several compound verbal forms oddly similar to those of some modern languages.

a) The participle with *es*- is used to express :

1. the passive of transitive verbs : DUMU.MUNUS piyanza esta "a girl has been given",

2. a state for intransitive verbs : antuhsatar pān esta "the population was gone".

b) The perfect and pluperfect can be expressed, as in modern languages, by means of har(k)- "to have" (§158) with the participle at the N.-A. Sg. Neuter : *iyan harmi* "I have done", *iyan harkun* "I had done".

c) The expression "to begin to do something" is expressed by means of  $d\bar{a}i$ - "to place, to put" with the supine in *-uwan* of a verb generally iterative : ERIN<sub>2</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> peskiwan  $d\bar{a}ir$  (tier) "they prepared to regularly give troops".

### 4. The verbal substantive

185) The verbal substantive in -war can be inflected according to its function :

a) The genitive is especially frequent ; it is not built like the stem in *-war* but like a shortened stem in *-u-* : *pāwar* "going", Gen. *pāwas* ; *tiyawar* "sitting" (from *dāi-*), Gen. *tiyawas* ; *nininkuwar* "quantity", Gen. *nininkuwas* ; *turiyawar* "harnessing", Gen. *turiyawas* ; *arnummar* (§29a) "bringing", Gen. *arnummas* ; *tarnummar* "leaving", Gen. *tarnummas*.

b) The other cases are not very frequent and are built differently :

1. Either from the shortened root in *-u-* (very rarely) : *armahhuwar* "impregnation", Abl. *armahhuwaza*; *hanessuwar* "plastering", Abl. *hanessuwaz*.

2. More frequently from the whole root in -war, with or without the change -war/-wan- (-un-) :

α) With change : *huittiyawar* "pulling", D.-L. *huittiyani* ; *assiyawar* "love", Instr. *assiyawannit* ; *miumar* "prosperity", Instr. *miumnit*.

β) Without change (with preservation of the *r* in the whole paradigm) : *wekuwar* "demand", Abl. *wekuwarraz* ; *arkuwar* "prayer", N.-A. Pl. *arkuwarri*<sup>HI.A</sup> ; *minumar* "enriching", N.-A. Pl. *minumarri*<sup>HI.A</sup> (*minumar*<sup>HI.A</sup>).

186) The genitive of the verbal substantive looks like the Latin gerund : *memiyas kuis iyawas* "which thing (is the one) of the making" means finally "which thing (is) to be made", *kuis arha tarnummas* "who (is the one) of the leaving" means "who (is) to be left". Thus, these genitives of substantives can be interpretated as singular nominatives of adjectives. They can also be built for plural nominatives : next to *kuis IKRIBU sarninkuwas* "which prayer (is the one) of the atoning" i.e. "as atonement to be done" one finds the plural *IKRIBI*<sup>HI.A</sup> *kuēs sarninkuēs* "which prayers (are) to be done as atonement".

### 5. The infinitive

187) The difference between the infinitives in -uwanzi and in -anna can be summed up that way :

a) -anna builds the infinitive for all verbs with ablaut :

1. the root verbs with ablaut of the *mi*-conjugation : *adanna* (from *ed*- "to eat"), *appanna* (from *ep*-"to take"), *akuwanna* (from *eku*- "to drink"), *kunanna* (from *kuen*- "to kill"), *hukanna* (from *huek*-"to swear"),

2. the verbs with ablaut of the *hi*-conjugation : *tiyanna* (from  $d\bar{a}i$ - "to put"), *piyanna* (from  $p\bar{a}i$ - "to give") ; also in this category *danna* (from  $d\bar{a}$ - "to take"),

3. secondarily and without a clear rule for some other verbs : *waganna* (from *wak-* "to bite"), *harkanna* (from *hark-* "to collapse"), *tiyanna* (next to *tiyawanzi* ; from *tiya-* "to walk"), *tuhsanna* (next to *tuhsuwanzi* ; from *tuhs-* "to cut , to split"), *unuwanna* (next to *unuwanzi* ; from *unuwai-* "to decorate"), *hananna* (next to *hanumanzi* ; from *han-* "to draw (water)").

b) -uwanzi builds :

1. the infinitive of all the other verbs of the *mi*- and *hi*-conjugations,

2. some isolated forms such as *eppuwanzi* (next to *appanna*; from *ep*- "to take"), *kuen(n)ummanzi* (next to *kunanna*; from *kuen*- "to kill") which are also verbs with ablaut.

Both forms of the infinitive are completely equivalent at the syntactic level (§272b).

# Chapter 6 Syntax

## A. Agreement

189) The adjective and the pronoun agree with the noun in gender, number and case.

a) Examples for the adjective and the participle : *arranza halkis* "washed grain", *damain wātar* "foul water", *arahzenes utneantes humantes* "all the neighboring countries", *tarpallius wassandus* "dressed idols".

b) Examples for the pronouns : *apās-pat memias* "also each word", *tuzziyas-mis* "my army", *kūn* MUNUS-*an* "this woman (Acc.)", *kī ishiul* "this obligation", *hassatar-set* "his power", *kuēs auriyalus* "which outposts", *arēsmēs* (i.e. \**arēs-smēs*) "your (Pl.) comrades", *sarhuwandus-sus* "her unborn children", *kē arkuwarri* <sup>HI.A</sup> "those prayers", *kēdani pidi* "at this place", *apēz linkiyaz* "from this oath", *kardiyas-tas* "of your (Sg.) heart".

190) However, Hittite often agrees according to the meaning, especially for the agreement of the number :

a) 1. A collective singular can be understood as a plural : KUR-*eanza humanza* URU<sup>DIDLI.HI.A</sup> BÀD EĜIR-*pa eppir* "the whole country took (Pl.) the fortified cities".

2. Conversly, a plural can be understood as a collective singular : *hēwēs kisa* "the rains occur" (lit. "a period of rain occurs"), *apāt* ERIN<sub>2</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> "these foot-soldiers and chariot

drivers", NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> kuin uwater nas 1 LIM esta "the prisoners that they brought were (lit. was) 1000".

b) The point of view of Hittite can vary in the same sentence between singular and plural, or between the common and neutral gender : KARAŠ-*za-kan kuēs tēpawēs isparter apāt-ma-kan hūman arha haspir-pat* "of the few troops that escaped, they were all destroyed too", *nan* GIM-*an* KUR-*eanza austa nat nahsarriyandari* "and when the country saw him, they (i.e. the inhabitants) took fright".

c) 1. It should also be underlined that a logogram can conceal several pronunciations and grammatical forms. Thus, KUR "country" can stand for the neuter *utnē* and the common *utnēyant*-.

2. Behind logograms tagged as plural such as  $\text{ERIN}_2^{\text{MEŠ}}$  and  $\text{NAM.RA}^{\text{MEŠ}}$ , the plurals "soldiers" and "prisoners" or the singulars "army" and "crowd of prisoners" can be hidden. That is why one sometimes finds the plurals  $ku\bar{e}s \text{ ERIN}_2^{\text{MEŠ}}$  "these soldiers", NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup>  $ku\bar{e}s$  "these prisoners", and sometimes the singulars  $k\bar{a}s \ 6 \ ME \ \text{ERIN}_2^{\text{MEŠ}}$  "this troop of 600 (men)", NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> kuin "this crowd of prisoners".

191) True disagreements can be observed for gender :

a) For parts of body. Thus, the neuter *genu* "knee" sometimes agrees correctly with the neutral possessive pronoun : *genu-ssit* "his knee", sometimes with the common possessive pronoun :

*genus-sus* "his knee". The two forms for "hand", *kessera-* (c.) and *kessar* (n.) seem to exhibit almost an inversion of the gender of the possessive : on one hand ŠU-*as-set* "his hand" (i.e. *kesseras-set* ; subst. comm. + poss. neut.), on the other hand *kessar-sis* "his hand" (subst. neut. + poss. comm.).

b) Occasionally elsewhere in poorly known cases :  $m\bar{a}n$  antuwahhas (comm.) suppi (n.) "if a man (is) pure". Next to the correct form  $GE_6$ -an hūmandan "the whole night", one finds several times  $GE_6$ -an hūman (adj. n.).

192) c) Some adjectives like *mekki-* "much", *kurur-* "hostile", *taksul-* "friendly" are only partially inflected ; *kurur* and *taksul* have no Nom. Plur. comm. Hence, for example *kunanzassa mekki*  $^{LU}appanzassa$  mekki "the killed as well as the prisoners (are) many" (literally "the killed as well as the prisoners (is) many" ; *kunanzassa* and *appanzassa = kunanza* and *appanza + -a* "and" ; §25b). *apās* DUMU-*as* ŠU.GI-*eszi nu-za* DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> mekki iyazi "the mentioned boy becomes old and begets many children", *zik-ma-mu-za kurur es* "but you (Sg.), be friendly towards me", *kuēs kurur esir* "who were friendly", *tūwaza-ma taksul-pat esir* "but they were however faithful far away".

193) The Nom.-Acc. Plur. Neut. of the adjective is weak and the possessive pronoun does not use this inflection ; instead of the plural, the corresponding forms in the singular can or must be used :

a) Optional for the adjective : EZEN<sup>HI.A</sup> SISKUR<sub>2</sub><sup>HI.A</sup> ... *parkui suppi piskanzi* "they give celebrations (and) sacrifices as pure (and) saint", É<sup>MEŠ</sup> DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> ... *parku IŠTU* KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN *unuwanda* "high temples, decorated with gold (and) silver", *kuē kallar idālu uddār* "which charming, nasty words".

b) Mandatory for the possessive pronoun : *uddār-mit* "my words", *sakuwa-sset* "his eyes". Cf. the paradigms at §108.

194) Substantives with a numeral can be in the singular or the plural : 2 *huprushēs* "2 *huprushi*-containers" next to 2 *huprushin, karūila* DUB.2.KAM<sup>HI.A</sup> "2 old trays", 7 <sup>NA4</sup>*passilan* "7 flints", 7 <sup>DUG</sup>*purpuris* ... *suwan* "7 filled *purpuris*-containers".

195) a) 1. In the present, it is common to build pure nominal sentences with a subject and an attributive substantive without verbal phrase : *attas assus* "the father (is) good", *ANA*  $^{d}$ UTU<sup>ŠI</sup>-ma-as anniniyamis "but the Sun (is) a cousin", MU.KAM-za-wa-ta sēr tepawessanza "hence the year (is becoming) short for you (Sg.)".

2. The same construction is also possible in the imperative (e.g. with the prohibitive  $l\bar{e}$  + Ind. Pres., §264. 280a) : *nu-war-as ammuk* <sup>LÚ</sup>*MUDĪYA* "thus he (must be) my husband", 1-*as* 1-*edani menahhanda*  $l\bar{e}$  *idālus* "the one (must not be) nasty towards the other".

Example of mixed construction : *nu-wa-za damēdaza* KUR-*eza kurur es ammetaza-ma-wa-za-kan* KUR-*eza arha lē kurur* "now be hostile towards another country, do not (be) hostile towards my country".

3. Very short nominal sentences can be made of the only attribute without subject : *hurkēl* "(it is) an abomination", *BUBUTĀNUM ŠA* NIM.LÀL "(it is) a famine of the bees", *UL harātar* "(it is) not a blow", *warpuwanzi* "(it is time) to bathe".

b) In the preterite, the verbal phrase cannot be omitted : *attas assus esta* "the father was good", *ABŪYA genzuwalas esta* "my father was helpful", *nu-za* MU.KAM-*za ser tepawessanza esta* "and then the year became short".

Example of comparison present-preterite : dandukisnasa DUMU-as ukturi natta huiswanza "and the

child (is) not alive for ever " next to *māmman danduskinasa* DUMU-*as ukturi huiswanza esta* "if the child was alive for ever".

196) When the subject of a sentence is a plural neuter, the predicate is in the singular :

a) This rule, the same as the Greek usage, is regular with a verbal phrase : *uidār ANA ŠAPAL* MUL<sup>HI.A</sup> *seszi* "the rations of water stay under the stars", *apē-ya uddār QATAMMA lagāru* "thus these words must bow as well", *kuē* 2 ALAM ... *kitta* "which 2 images ... find themselves".

b) Unlike the Greek usage, the attribute is generally in the singular too, even if it is not isolated :  $k\bar{e}$ -ma tuppa<sup>HI.A</sup> ... aniyan esta "but those tablets ... were written", kururi<sup>HI.A</sup> meggaya nininkan esta "many enemy troops were mobilized". E.g. also :  $k\bar{e}$ -ya-kan É DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> ... ukturi QATAMMA assu esdu "so these temples ... must be steady as well as good" with the variant  $k\bar{e}$ -ya-wa É DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> QATAMMA pahhasnuwanda esdu nu-war-at-san ... ukturi esdu "so these temples must also be safe, and they must be steady".

### B. Case usage

### 1. Vocative

197) a) The vocative Sing. is notably used in prayers and mythological texts : <sup>d</sup>UTU-*e isha-mi* "ô Sun, my lord", <sup>d</sup>UTU-*e sarkui* (variant *sarku*) LUGAL-*e* "ô Sun, heroic king".

b) In these texts, and even more in more recent texts or texts of other kinds, the forms of nominative are used instead of vocative : *zik-pat genzuwalas* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*us* "you are obliging, ô Sun".

198) The base root of the noun (that looks like the vocative) can be used in order to introduce a new name in a narration : MUNUS-*as ŠUM-set* <sup>f</sup>Sintalimeni "the name of a woman (is) Sintalimeni", but also : DAM-SÚ <sup>f</sup>Tatizuli tamai UD-at seshas "his wife Tatizuli decided herself another day". It is not easy to estimate the influence of the Akkadian writing here.

### 2. Accusative

199) The Hittite constructions using accusative for an "internal object" will be especially emphasized.

a) The use consisting in adding to a verb a noun of the same root or meaning at the accusative (Lat. *acerrimam pugnam pugnare, longam viam ire*, Akkadian *dīnam dânum, purussâm parāsum*), also exists in Hittite (cognate accusative) : *hannessar hanna-* "to solve a dispute", *kupiyatin kup-* "to set up a plan", *hukmais hu(e)k-* "to take an oath", *uppessar uppa-* "to dispatch a sending".

b) The neuter accusatives of pronouns and numerals associated to intransitive and transitive verbs (in addition to the external object) must also be understood as internal objects (Lat. *hoc te rego*, Greek  $\tau o \tilde{\nu} \tau o \chi \alpha i \rho \omega$ ) : *tuk UL kuitki idalawahhun* "I did not treat you (Sg.) badly at all", *appātaya NIŠ* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> sarratti "so you (Sg.) thus break the oath", *kiyan 1-an dammeshanunun* "I only punished her with this".

200) a) Verbs related to illness can be built in two ways :

1. Either the ill person is the intransitive subject, as in English :  ${}^{f}Gassuliyawiyas istarkiat$  "G. fell ill", EGIR-ma-as irmaliyattat "but he fell ill".

2. Or the illness is subject and the concerned person is object in the accusative : *kappin* DUMU-*an* HUL-*lu* GIG GIG-*at* "the bad illness stroke the young boy".

b) The illness is often omitted in construction 2, so that it looks like an impersonal construction with the person as object in the accusative : *istarkiyazzi kuinki* "someone fell ill", *tuk-ma irmaliyattat* "but you (Sg.) fell ill".

201) a) Very rarely (and formerly ?), the accusative answers the question "where to ?" : *nu-smas* HUR.SAĜ-*an parhanzi* "and they will chase you (Pl.) to the mountain",  $GÚ-SU' \hat{G}ISAPIN$ -*an sēr tizzi* "his neck goes onto a plough". Usually, the dative in Old-Hittite and the dative-locative in Neo-Hittite are used to answer the question "where to ?".

b) The accusative for ways is different : man-kan <sup>HUR.SAĜ</sup>*Tehsinan sarā pāun* "I climbed Mount T.".

202) The accusative can be used as is as an adverb, for example in *hantezzi* "firstly, at the first opportunity", *karuwariwar* "in the morning", *nekuz mehur* "in the evening".

### 3. Dative-Locative and Allative

203) Old-Hittite still makes the difference between the allative in *-a* for the questions "to whom ?" and "where to ?" and the locative in *-i* for the question "where ?". The allative *aruna* thus means "to the sea", the locative *aruni* "at sea", likewise *nepisa* "to heaven", *nepisi* "in heaven".

204) In Neo-Hittite, allative and locative have merged in a single dative-locative form in *-i* that answers the questions "to whom ?", "where ?" and "where to ?". Examples for locative : URU-an sasti walhun "I attacked the city in bed (i.e. in dream)", <sup>URU</sup>Hattusi gimmandarinun "I passed the winter at Hattusa", for allative : <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-si uwanun "I went to Hattusa", nu-smas-kan peruni parhanzi "and they will hunt you (Pl.) to the rock", KUR <sup>ÍD</sup>Seha ÌR-anni dahhun "I reduced the land of the river Seha in slavery".

205) a) The verb "to be" can have a possessive dative : *ANA* ŠEŠ-*YA* NU.ĜÁL *kuitki* "nothing (is) to my brother (i.e. my brother has nothing)".

b) It is the same for indications of measurement : *ANA wasanni-ma pargater-set* 6 IKU "the *wasanna* (the track) is 6 ikû high".

c) Hittite also uses a possessive genitive with the present meaning "to belong" : <sup>URU</sup>*Iyaruwaddas* URU-*as annaz ammēl ŠA ABI ABĪYA esta* "the city I. previously belonged to my grandfather".

206) The dative-locative can be used in an apparently pleonastic way : *nu-smas uzuhrin adanzi* "they eat (for themselves) grass", *nu-smas* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-as ZI-*ni mekki nahhantes estin* "be (Pl.) (for yourselves) very cautious with the mentality of the gods", *assiyannas-wa-nnas* IR<sup>MEŠ</sup> esuen "we were (for ourselves) beloved subjects (lit. slaves of love)", *lē-ta nāhi* "do not be afraid (for yourself)".

207) The dative-locative gets the following uses from its locative meaning :

a) Dative of purpose : *nu-kan kuin ANA <sup>m</sup>Nuwanza haluki parā nehhun* "and whom I sent to N. with the object of an embassy".

b) Dative of the actor of passive : *zik-za-kan ammuqqa* 1-*edani* AMA-*ni hassantes* "you (Sg.) and me (are we) born from a mother ?", <sup>d</sup>UTU-*i-kan kuis assiyattari* "he who is loved by the Sun".

c) Comparative dative ; cf. §222.

d) Temporal dative : apēdani UD-ti "this day", nekuz mehuni "in the evening" (§58).

e) Dative of the person from whom one demands : *nu-mu* ... <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR <sup>URU</sup>Samuha ANA ABĪYA wekta "and Ištar of Samuha demanded me from my father" (cf. French *demander à quelqu'un*).

208) One finds the adverb *assuli* "for the good" from the dative-locative of *assul* "happiness" (it is not an adverb in *-li* from *assu-* "good").

### 4. Genitive

209) a) The genitive generally stands before the noun it complements : *parnas ishas* "the man of the house", *attasas* É-*ri* "in the house of his father", LÚ-*nas wastul* "crime of the man".

b) The opposite can happen when the complemented noun is a logogram : LÚ *taksulas* "man of peace" (next to *taksulas* URU "city of the peace"), INIM *kunannas* "an affair of murder".

210) a) A more clumsy use of the genitive occurs with the simultaneous use of the possessive pronoun ("of the man his head"). It is especially popular in laws (and elsewhere in Old-Hittite) : GUD-*as* IGI- $\check{S}U$  "the eye of the ox", MUNUS-*as ELLI sarhuwandus-sus* "the unborn child of a free woman",  $k\bar{e}l$  mene-ssit "the face of this one".

b) The genitive stands after the indefinite pronoun : *suppala-sset kuēlqa* "the animals of someone".

211) Hittite also uses the genitive as other classical languages with the objective genitive, the partitive genitive, etc... :  $ŠU.DIM_4$ -as sardiyas "help against an agression", hūmandas-pat EĜIR-izzis DUMU-as esun "I was the last child of all (lit. Dat.-Loc. Pl "under all")". Cf. also §205c.

212) a) A very popular construction is the expression "he of ..." to describe another substantive : from *wastul* "sin", one finds *wastulas* for "(the man) of the sin" = "sinner" (next to *wastulas* UKU<sub>3</sub>-*as*), from *tayazil* "theft" *tayazilas* "(he) of the theft" = "thief" and "(that) of the theft" = "penalty for the theft". *kardiyas-tas* "(that) of your heart (*kard-*)" = "your desire", *mān-as harkannas* "if he (is guilty) of the decease". More examples : *assawas memiyanas* "(he) of good relations" = "in good relations", TI-*annas* "(he) of the life (*huiswatar*)" = "with a long life" ; also genitives of infinitives (§185a) : *nahhuwas* "(he) of the respect" = "reverential", *kuis arha tarnummas* "who (is one) of the leaving" = "who (can be) exempted (of the military service)", *kuit-ma* DI-*sar sumēl UL tar(ah)huwas* "what business (is) however (that) of your inability" = "what business that you cannot settle by yourselves".

b) Whence the Akkadian :  $\check{S}A MAMETI$  "he of the oath" = "suzerain",  $\check{S}A KASKAL^{NIM}$  "that of the trip" = "supply".

c) Sometimes, such genitives are inflected like independant nouns : from *hassannas-sas* "(one) of his family" (*hassatar* [§83] + possessive pronoun *-si-* "his"), one can build an Acc. Sing. *hassannas-san* and a Dat.-Loc. Sing. *hassannas-si*.

213) a) A partitive apposition can be used instead of a genitive. Thus, two objects in the same case depend on a verb, the first one expressing a whole and the second one a part of the whole concerned by the action : *takku* A.ŠÀ-*an* ZAG-*an kuiski parsiya* "if somebody breaks the boundary stone of a field" (lit. : the field (and of it) the border ; variant with genitive : A.ŠÀ-*as* ZAG-*an* !). *nu-war-us* IGI<sup>HI.A</sup>-*wa munnanzi* "one will veil their eyes" (lit. : them, (that is) the eyes). *mān apē-ma kuiski ITTI* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> *wastai* "if somebody sins by these against the Sun" (lit. : if these, somebody sins). *nu-kan ANA* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> ŠU-*i anda miyahuwantahhut* "now become old under the protection of the Sun" (lit. : next to the Sun in the hand). *nat ANA ABBA*<sup>HI.A</sup> *Ù ANA ABBA ABBA*<sup>HI.A</sup>-*YA UL kuedanikki uppir* "they had not send it to any of my fathers and ancestors". *nat-mu-kan* UKU<sub>3</sub>-*az* KAxU-*az sarā uizzi* "and it (this word) comes out from my human mouth" (lit. : of the man, of the mouth ; variant with genitive : *antuhsas* KAxU-*az* !).

b) 1. The use of personal pronouns in this construction is especially important :  $nu-za \ k\bar{e} \ KUR.KUR$  $L^{U}KUR \ amm\bar{e}daz \ SU-az \ tar(ah)hun$  "now I have defeated these enemy countries with my hand" (lit. : by me, by the hand). UL-war-an-kan tuētaza memiyanaz kuennir "they did not kill him on your order" (lit. : by you, by the order).

2. In practice in this construction, the personal pronoun has the role of a possessive pronoun. Thus, one can even find plural forms of the personal pronouns "I" and "you (Sg.)" only conceivable in the singular : one finds next to  $I\check{S}TU$  <sup>HUR.SAĜ</sup>Hahruwa tuedaz assiyantaza</sup> "from your beloved mountain H." a Dat.-Loc. Plur. tuedas assiyantas pēdas "at your beloved places".

c) The indications of measuring must also be interpreted as partitive appositions : *nas parkuwatar-set* 5 IKU "and it (the track), its height (is) 5 ikû" (i.e. "and the height of the track is 5 ikû"). *gankuwar appāttaya UL duqqari* "also this one (§302b), the weight is not important" (i.e. "also its weight is not important").

### 5. Ablative and Instrumental

214) a) The ablative firstly points out the start point of a motion answering the question "from where ?" : *issaz* "from the mouth", *nepisaz* "from heaven", *wetenaz* "from water".

b) The ablative is used for separation : *parkuis apēz linkiyaz* "free from this oath", *sullannaz* "following an argument".

c) For the ablative of comparison, cf. §222.

215) A frozen usage of the ablative probably occurs in the adverbs of place and time such as ZAG-*az* "at right" (actually "from right"), *iskisaz* "at the back, from the back", *hantezziyaz* "(from) front ; ahead", UD.KAM-*az* "at daylight", GE<sub>6</sub>.KAM-*az* "at night".

216) The instrumental points out the means or the tool : *nu-kan* IZI *wetenit kistanuwanzi* "now, they extinguish the fire with water", <sup>d</sup>UTU-*un* IGI<sup>HI.A</sup>-*it uskizzi* "she sees the sun with her eyes", *kastita-man akten* "you (Pl.) would starve to death (lit. be dead by hunger)", <sup>LÚ</sup>Í.DÙ-*ma-as-kan lamnit halzissai* "the door-keeper calls him however by the name".

217) However, Hittite also uses an ablative of instrument : *HAZZINNU-wa* ŠU-*za ep* "take (Sg.) the axe with the hand", URU-*an zahhiyaz katta dahhun* "I have subdued the city through a fight".

218) a) This is why the ablative or the instrumental can be found in the same turn. One can say

*kunnaz kesseraz harzi* and *kunnit kessarta* (§61) *harzi* "he holds with the right hand", *nat-za nassu teshit uwallu* (§176) *nasma-at ariyasesnaz handayattaru* "(the reason is) that either I want to see thanks to a dream (Instr.), or it must be observed by an oracle (Abl.)".

b) With verbs of motion, one can compare : ĜÌR-*it sarā pāun* "I went up by foot", LUGAL-*us* <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>*hulugannaz sarā uizzi* "the king comes up with the chariot".

c)  $\alpha$ ) With a substantive in the ablative, the possessive pronoun is always in the instrumental (the ablative of the possessive pronoun is not used) : *sarhuwandaz-set* "from its inner", *issazmit* (i.e. \**issaz-smit*, §19a. 27a and b. 42c) "from their mouth", ZAG-*az-tit* "to your (Sg.) right", *kartaz-mit* "from my heart".

β) The same construction is also used with the demonstrative pronouns : *kit pantalaz* "starting from this moment". However, the ablative of the pronouns is regularly used :  $k\bar{e}z$  KUR-*az* "from this country".

### 6. Ergative

218.1) The neuter noun has the same endings for the nominative and the accusative as long as it is not used as the subject of a transitive verb. E.g. as the object of a transitive verb : *takku pahhur* ANA A.ŠÀ-ŠU kuiski pēdai "if someone brings fire into his barn", and as the subject of an intransitive verb : *pahhur kistari* "the fire goes out".

However, when the neuter noun is used as subject of a transitive verb, it takes another ending :  $mahhan-ta \ kas \ tuppianza \ anda \ wemiyazzi$  "as soon as this tablet reaches you" (as shown by the common gender of kas, the noun then works as if its gender had become the common gender).

This is the usual behavior of the so-called absolutive-ergative languages, hence Hittite can be considered as functioning as an ergative language as long as neuter nouns are considered. The Neut. Nom.-Acc. case can be viewed as the absolutive case, while the special endings  $-anza / -ant\bar{e}s$  can be viewed as the ergative case.

### 7. Supplement to case syntax

219) Some verbs can be used with several cases for similar or different meanings :

a) *watarnah*- means with the accusative "to ask someone, to order someone, to make someone responsible for doing something", with the dative-locative "to inform someone".

b) *katta dāi*- means with the accusative "to subdue a city", with the dative-locative "to besiege a city".

c) *nah(h)-* "to fear, to be afraid" governs the accusative : *nahmi-us* "I fear them", *UL-za kuitki nahmi* "I am afraid for nothing", the dative-locative : *pahhuenass-a uddani mekki nahhantes estin* "fear (Plur.) also an outbreak of fire" and in an isolated case : *nu-za halluwayaza mekki nahhantes estin* "now be (Plur.) very afraid of a conflict".

d) *punus-* "to ask" can be constructed in two ways. One can either say "to ask someone (Acc.) about something (Dat.-Loc.)", e.g. *nas* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> *ANA* DI<sup>HI.A</sup> *punusmi* "and I, the Sun, will ask him about the lawsuits", or "to ask something (Acc.) to someone (Dat.-Loc.)", e.g. *nu-smas* DI<sup>HI.A</sup> *punuskiddu* "and he must ask them each time about the lawsuits".

220) a) About the formal mutual alternation between the plural nominative and accusative, cf. §63. In the singular, the use of the nominative in place of the accusative occurs only sporadically : 5 GUD *tāiugas* 5 GUD *iugas* 5 GUD *sawitisza pāi* "he gives 5 two-year-old oxen, 5 one-year-old oxen, 5 sucking oxen" (roots *iuga-, tāiuga-, sawitist-*, for the last one cf. §76a).

b) The fact that the nominative Sing. *kanza* (of *kant*- "wheat (?)") is generally used in horse-books instead of the accusative Sing. *kantan* is explained by mistakes made by the non-Hittite author of these texts.

### C. Comparison of adjective

221) There is no comparison by means of a characteristic suffix, except for a few exceptions (§94 f.); it is instead expressed through syntax, as it is the case in the Semitic languages, in Egyptian and in Indo-European Armenian.

222) The dative-locative is used for the complement of the comparative : *nu-wa-kan ANA*  $\text{ERIN}_2^{\text{MEŠ}}$ -*KA*  $\text{ERIN}_2^{\text{MEŠ}}$ -*YA mekki ANA* ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*KA*>-*ma-wa-tta* ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*YA mekki* "now, my troops (are) more numerous than your (Sg.) troops (lit. : more numerous by your troops), my chariots (are) more numerous than your chariots", *namma-kan anzēl* TI-*anni UL ŠA BELĪNI* TI-*tar nakki* "besides (if) the life of our lord (is) not more precious than our life".

223) When  $h\bar{u}mant$ - "all" is added to the plural dative-locative of comparison, it is translated by a superlative : DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-nas h $\bar{u}mandas dZashapunas sallis$  "among all the gods, Z. (is) the greatest". Also without  $h\bar{u}mant$ - : sallayas-kan DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-as kuis sallis "who (is) the greatest among the great gods".

### D. Adverbs

224) Basic adverbs are for instance :

a) Adverbs of location :  $k\bar{a}$  "here",  $k\bar{e}t$  "to here",  $k\bar{e}z$  "from here ; this side", *apiya* "there", *apēda* (*apadda, apaddan*) "there, to there", *apēz* "from there", *ediz* "beyond", *kuwapi* "where, to where", *kuwapit* "where, to where", *kuwapita* "everywhere", *kuwapita* "everywhere", *kuwapita* "everywhere", *kuwapita* "everywhere", *anda* (*andan*) "in, inside, into", *andurza* "in, inside", *arahza* (*arahzanda*) "round ; outside", *arha* "far", *menahhanda* "in front, against", *parā* "outside ; ahead", *piran* "in front", *sēr* "at the top" (also "whence, consequently"), *sarā* "to the top, upwards", *katta* "to the bottom, downwards, at the bottom", *tapūsa* (*tapusza*) "along, next", *duwan* - *duwan* "here - there".

b) Adverbs of time : *kinun* "now", *apiya* "then", *kuwapi* "when", *kuwapikki* "any time, ever", *UL kuwapikki* "never", *kuwapiya* "always", *karū* "earlier ; already", *annisan* "formerly, in the past", *lukkatta* "tomorrow morning, next morning", *zilatiya (ziladuwa)* "in the future", *nūwa* "again", *nāwi* "not yet" (cf. §260), *nūwān (nūmān)* "never, by no means", *piran parā* "before", *duwan parā* "till now", *hūdak* "immediately, suddenly".

c) Adverbs of manner, degree, etc... : *kissan* "in this way", *enissan* "in the mentioned way", *apenissan* "thus", *apadda (apaddan)* "in this way ; consequently", *kuwat* "why", *kuwatqa* "one way or another, anyway ; maybe, for instance", *UL kuwatqa* "by no means", *arumma* "in a very pronounced way", *namma* "then, besides, moreover", *imma* "at last (?)", *katta* "consequently (?)", *handa* "thus (?)".

225) Derived forms can be used as adverbs :

a) frozen inflected forms ; cf. §§ 205. 208. 215.

b) forms derived from adjectives ; cf. below.

226) The neuter nominative-accusative of the adjective can be simply used as an adverb :

a) In the singular : *mekki* "much", as adverb "very". <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *karsi zahhiyaddumat* "fight (Pl.) staunchly the enemy". *mān antuhsan kuinki assu parā huittiyan harmi* "if I have well prefered some man" (i.e. if I have particularly well treated).

b) In the plural : hatuga "dreadfully", munnanda "secretly".

227) a) *-ili* is a particular adverbial suffix (maybe originally the Nom.-Acc. Sg. Neut. of adjectives such that *karūili-* "old"; §49b) : *pittiyantili* "according to the type of refugee (*pittiyant-*)", *karussiyantili* "secretly" (*karussiyant-* "silent"), MUNUS-*nili* "in a feminine way", <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-*li* "in a hostile way".

b) *-ili* is also especially used as a language adverb (cf. *-umnili* with the ethnic suffix *-umna-*, §50b) : *hattili* "in Hatti (i.e. Proto-Hatti)", *hurlili* "in Hurrian", *luwili* "in Luwian", *nāsili (nisili, nesumnili ?)* "in Nesian (i.e. Hittite)", *palāumnili* "in Palaic", *kanisumnili* "in Kanesian", *pabili* "in Babylonian (i.e. Akkadian)".

### **E.** Postpositions

228) a) Hittite does not use prepositions but postpositions. The boundary with adverbs and verbal particles is partially formal.

b) Hittite can often express syntactic relations usually conveyed by our prepositions by means of the only declined forms (without postpositions) ; the Dat.-Loc. É-*ri* means without postposition "in the house" and "to the house", and the ablative URU-*az* "out of the city".

c)  $\alpha$ ) The same construction is usually used for the questions "where ?" and "where to ?" :  $\hat{G}I\check{S}BAN\check{S}UR$ -*i piran* means "in front of the table" (where ?) and "to the front of the table" (where to ?).

β) 1. One can find difference only between HUR.SAĜ-*i sēr* "at the top of the mountain" and HUR.SAĜ-*i sarā* "to the top of the mountain".

2. The difference between É-*ri anda* "in the house" and É-*ri andan* "into the house" is seldom made, even if it exists in the strict sense.

229) The confusion between the notions "where ?" and "where to ?" induces that most Hittite postpositions govern the dative-locative. Some of them govern the ablative (to the question "where from ?"), and it happens that the genitive is freely used with postpositions. Postpositions governing the accusative are very rare (*pariyan*, §233), and none occurs with the instrumental.

230) a) The following postpositions for example govern the dative-locative :

- *anda (andan)* "in, into" ("where ?" and "where to ?") : É-*ri anda (andan)* "in the house, into the house" (cf. §228cβ2).
- *piran* "in front of" ("where ?" and "where to ?") : <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>BANŠUR-*i piran* "in front of the table, to the front of the table".
- *appa (appan)* locally "behind", temporally "after" : Étarnui appan "behind the washhouse, to the back of the washhouse".
- *katta (kattan)* "under, underneath" ("where ?" and "where to ?"); also "next to, with" and "to": GlŠBANŠUR-*i katta(n)* "under the table, to the underneath of the table", ID-*i katta(n)* "downstream of the river, to the downstream direction of the river", *tuqqa katta* "with you (Sg.), to your house".
- sēr "on" ("where ?"); also "for, because of": suhhi sēr "on the roof", ÌR-i sēr "for the slave", ANA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> KUR Amurra sēr "because of the people of Amurru".
- *sarā* "onto" ("where to ?") : *suhhi sarā* "onto the roof".
- *istarna* "among, between" ("where ?" and "where to ?") : DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-as istarna "among the gods", ANA KUR <sup>URU</sup>Hatti istarna "to the interior of the land Hatti".
- *handas* "according to, in accordance with" : *nakkiyanni handas* "according to the esteem".

b) However, most of these postpositions also govern the genitive : LUGAL-was piran "in front of the king", *attas-mas appan* "after my father", *annasas katta* "with his mother".

c) One can also occasionally find the ablative, either with a characteristic meaning : URU-*az katta* "down out of the city", or without difference of meaning : *tuzziyaz appa* "behind the army".

231) *tapusza (tapūsa)* "along, next to" uses the dative-locative : *hassi tapusza* "next to the herd, to the herd".

232) a) parā "out of" sometimes governs the ablative : <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>ZA.LAM.GAR-az parā "out of the tent".

b) However, one can also find the genitive : KÁ-as parā "out of the gate".

In the phrase  $^{\acute{E}}h\bar{\imath}li \, par\bar{a}$  "in the courtyard outside", *parā* is an adverb.

233) *parranda* and *pariya(n)*, which both mean "through" (as well as "apart from" and "against"), differ in that *parranda* governs the dative-locative, and *pariya(n)* the accusative : *aruni parranda* or *arunan pariyan* "through the sea".

234) iwar "in the way of, like" uses the genitive : IN.NU.DA-as iwar "like straw".

mān is also used with the meaning "like" without specific case.

### F. Pronouns

### 1. Personal pronouns

235) For the forms of the emphatic and enclitic personal pronouns, cf. §§96 to 105. About the position of the enclitic personal pronouns in the sequence of the enclitic elements at the beginning of the sentence, cf §288.

236) The pronominal accusatives -an "eum, eam", -at "id", -us (-as) "eos, eas", -at "ea" (§102a) can

be omitted in the legislative language :  $takku \text{ GUD}^{\text{HI.A}}$  A.ŠÀ- $ni p\bar{a}nzi B\bar{E}L$  A.ŠÀ wemiyazi UD.1.KAM turiyazi "if oxen run across a field (and) the owner of the field finds (them), he can tie (them) up (for) one day".

237) a) The pronominal accusatives can also be omitted with *ta* "and" (§316) even out of the legislative context :  ${}^{LU}SILA_3$ .ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A GAM<sup>AM</sup> LUGAL-*i pāi ta harzi* "the cup-bearer gives the chalice to the king and holds (him)", LUGAL-*us*  ${}^{GIS}BANSUR$ -*az* NINDA-*an dāi ta-sse pāi* "the king takes bread on the table and gives (it) to him" (variant *nan-si pāi* "and gives it to him").

b) However, the pronouns above can also be attached to *ta* "and" in the same way as *nu* "and" : *kuit kuit harakzi tat sarnikzi* "all that decays, he replaces it" (cf. §103a).

238) The importance of the impersonal verbs in Hittite is still unclear. Next to impersonal verbs of disease (§200) and *tethāi* "it is thundering", *duggari* "it seems (good)" among others, the possibility that a deity could be considered as the subject should be envisaged. However, cf. also *akkiskittari* "(some) regularly die" (i.e. deaths always regularly occur), *mān* LUGAL-*i assu* "if it (seems) good to the king".

### 2. Reflexive pronouns

239) The enclitic personal pronouns can be used as reflexive pronouns : *nu-nnas* DUMU.NITA<sup>MEŠ</sup> DUMU.MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup> *iyawen* "and we conceived for ourselves sons (and) daughters", *nu-smas* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-as ZI-ni mekki nahhantes estin "now, be (for yourselves) very cautious with the mentality of the gods" (ethical dative), *warpanzi-ma-wa-smas UL* "but they don't wash themselves" (lit. : they don't do a washing on themselves ; Dat.-Loc. Plur. !), *lē-ta nāhi* "don't fear (for yourself)" (§206).

240) However, the usual means to express the reflexive is the enclitic *-za* (*-z*); its position in the sequence of the enclitic elements at the beginning of the sentence is treated in §288 and it is used for all persons. Thus, next to the sentences quoted in §239 : *nu-za* DUMU.NITA<sup>MEŠ</sup> DUMU.MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup> DÙ-*nun* "and I have conceived for myself sons (and) daughters", *nu-za* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-as ZI-*ni mekki nahhantes estin* (same translation as above), *warpanzi-ma-wa-z UL* (idem).

Further examples : *nat-za-kan pidi-pat* ÌR-*ahta* "and he submitted at the same place", *nu-za-kan INA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Hatti* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-*na ŠUM-an daista* "and in the land Hatti, you have added to yourself the name 'Sun-goddess of Arinna'", *ta-z* ŠU<sup>MEŠ</sup> *arri* "and he washes his hands" (cf. French *il se lave les mains*), *nan-zan* <sup>LÚ</sup>*HADANU essesta* "and he made himself as son-in-law" (*-zan* instead of *-za* according to §34. 42b2), *nu-za-kan* 2 EN SISKUR *wātar INA* SAĜ.DU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠUNU sarā lahhuwanzi "and the two sacrificers pour water on their head".

241) Some verbs change slightly of meaning depending on whether they use *-za* or not :

- $d\bar{a}$  with -za "to take with oneself, to take for oneself", without -za "to take something with a given intent, to use".
- *peda-* with *-za* "to take away with oneself", without *-za* "to remove".
- es- with -za "to sit (down)", without -za "to seat".

- *kis* with *-za* "to become something", without *-za* "to happen".
- *tarh* with -*za* "to defeat someone", without -*za* "to triumph" or "to be able to".
- *aus* with -*za* "to see in oneself, to feel ; to admit", also "to dream", without -*za* "to see something in someone else".

242) Other verbs always or nearly always use *-za* without any particular meaning for *-za*, e.g. : *ilaliya-* "to wish", *malāi-* "to agree", *markiya-* "to disagree", *dusk-* "to rejoice", *UL mema-* "to refuse", *arkuwar iya- (arkuwar essa-, arkuwar dāi-)* "to pray". They can be considered as reflexive verbs (cf. English to rejoice = French se réjouir).

243) -*za* is also used in nominal sentences (§195a1), but irregularly ; the exact conditions are still unclear : *nu-za* ANA <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> warris ŠU.DIM<sub>4</sub>-ass-a sardiyas es "now, my Sun, be the helper and the support against violence" (next to *katta-ma tuēl* DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-KA NARĀRU ŠU.DIM<sub>4</sub>-as sardiyas-a asandu "thus, your sons must be the helper and the support against violence").

244) The reciprocal relations are described like this : "they see each other" = "one sees the other" is expressed by means of  $\check{S}E\check{S}$ -as  $\check{S}E\check{S}$ -an auszi "the brother sees the brother" or aras aran auszi "the friend sees the friend" or 1-as 1-an auszi "one sees the other" or  $k\bar{a}s k\bar{u}n auszi$  "this one sees this one".

### 3. Possessive pronouns

245) ammēl UKU<sub>3</sub>-as "my man" also means "one of my family".

246) a) The possessive pronoun of the 3. Pers. Sing. *-sis* "his" is sometimes incorrectly used instead of the 3. Pers. Plur. *-smis* "their" ; the Dat.-Loc. *ishi-ssi* "to his master" can also mean "to their master", <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>TUKUL<sup>HI.A</sup>*-us-sus* "their weapons".

b) In set phrases, the possessive meaning can completely vanish : *pedi-ssi* "at his place" simply means "on the spot".

247) The postpositions *piran* "in front of", *appa(n)* "behind", *sēr* "on", *katta* "under, next to" and *istarna* "amid" are built differently according to the form of the personal pronouns :

a) They are placed after the independant forms : *ammuk piran* "in front of me", *duqqa katta* "next to you (Sg.)".

b) Instead of enclitic personal pronouns, Hittite uses the Nom.-Acc. Neutr. of the possessive pronouns placed after *piran*, *appa(n)* and *sēr* : *piran-tet* "in front of you (Sg.)", *piran-set* (*pirasset*, §36a1) "in front of him", *piran-semet* "in front of them" (instead of *\*piran-smet*, §22a. 26), *appan-samet* "after them" (instead of *\*appan-smet*), *sēr-set* "on him, for him". The postpositions are thus built like the substantives "front, back, etc...".

c) In the second case, *katta(n)* and *istarna* are built like the substantives "underside" and "middle", but in the Dat.-Loc. Sing., the forms are *katti* and *istarni*; thus *katti-m(m)i* "next to me", *katti-t(t)i* "next to you (Sg.)", *katti-s(s)i* "next to him, under him"; *istarni-smi* (*istarni-ssumi*, §22a. 26) "among them".

d) The unclear word *kitkar* "on foot (?)" gives *kitkar-si* "him on foot (?)" (like *katti-ssi*), but *kitkar-samet* "them on foot (?)" (like *appan-samet*).

e) If in-between enclitics are inserted in a group postposition-pronoun, the possessive pronouns are replaced by enclitic personal pronouns : *piran-ma-at-mu* "in front of me (*-mu*) but (*-ma*) it (*-at*)", *sēr-a-ssi-ssan* "and (*-a*) on him (*-ssi*)". Especially instructive : *sēr-sit-wa sarnikmi* "I want to pay for him" against the variant *sēr-wa-ssi sarnikmi*.

248) About the use of the instrumental of the possessive pronouns with substantives in the ablative, cf.  $\$218c\alpha$ .

### 4. Demonstrative pronouns

249) kā-, apā-, eni- and asi- correspond to Latin hic, is, ille, iste. The corresponding adverbs are kissan and enissan (§§114c. 117b).

250) This is why one finds for instance *kissan memista* "he spoke as follows" with a following quotation, but *enissan memista* "he spoke thus" with a preceding quotation.

251) One also finds, in addition to the meaning following - preceding,  $k\bar{a}$ - in relation with the 1st person,  $ap\bar{a}$ - in relation with the 2nd and 3rd persons. The expression  $k\bar{e}z$  KUR-az - apiz KUR-az "from this country - from that country" is equivalent to "from my country - from your country".  $k\bar{a}$  corresponds to "here with me", apiya to "there with you" (or "there with him").

252) One can even use  $k\bar{a}$ - and kissan in relation with the 1st person and the preceding context : nu  $k\bar{a}$  INA MU.1.KAM *iyanun* "Now, I achieved that (= my aforementioned deeds) in one year", nan punus mān kisan mān UL kisan "ask him whether it is like that or not like that (as I exactly said)".

### 5. Indefinite pronouns

253) One occasionally finds instead of kuiski "someone, anyone" the simpler form kuis :

a) UL kuis means "none, not the slightest" (cf. Latin non aliquis).

b)  $\alpha$ ) For "if someone", one usually finds *mān kuiski*, but sometimes also *mān kuis* (cf. Latin *si quis*).

β) *mān kuwapikki* and *mān kuwapi* mean "if ever".

c) kuis - kuis means "the one - the other" (cf. Italian chi - chi; distributive, not reciprocal).

### G. The verb

### 1. Voices

254) a) Many verbs conjugated in the middle voice are deponent, e.g. : *ar*- "to stay", *kis*- "to become", *ki*- "to lie".

b) However, true middle forms can be found with a usage similar to Greek, e.g. : *nāishut* ""turn (Sg.) round", *unattat* "she adorned herself"; also the reciprocal middle : *zahhiyawastati* "we want to fight each other", *appantat* "they grabbed each other", *sarrandat* "they parted".

c) Cf. also *irhāi*- Act. "to bound", Mid. "to end", *handāi*- Act. "to add", Mid. "to be added, to result", *zenna*- Act. "to finish", Mid. "to end", etc...

255) Occasionally, the active and middle voices occur without any discernible difference : *pahs*-Act. and Mid. "to protect", *sarra*-Act. and Mid. "to split, to go beyond", *huwa- (huya-)* Act. and Mid. "to flee".

256) The passive voice is uncommon. Some verbs have no passive form but are replaced by other verbs (active or deponent) of similar meaning. Thus, ak- "to die", which also means "to be killed", is used as the passive of *kuen*- "to kill". For the passive of  $d\bar{a}i$ - "to seat, to lay", ki- "to lie" is used, for the passive of  $s\bar{e}r d\bar{a}i$ - "to put onto"  $s\bar{e}r tiya$ - "to lie on top". For the passive of *iya*- "to do", *kis*- "to become" is used.

257) Transitive verbs sometimes have an intransitive usage : from *maninku-* "short ; near", one builds according to §136 *maninkuwahh-* transitive "to shorten", intransitive "to be near".

#### 2. Tense and mode usage

258) Hittite has neither subjunctive nor optative unlike the others I.E. languages ; it has only two simple tenses like the Germanic languages :

a) 1. Present is also used for future (uwami "I come" and "I will come").

2. It can replace the imperative with a future meaning in prayers and orders : NINDA-*an azzasteni wātarra ekutteni* "you (Pl.) will (i.e. shall) eat only bread and drink only water".

b) 1. Preterite is used for all past tenses : *hatrānun* can mean "I wrote", "I have written" and "I had written".

2. Preterite can also indicate a resulting state : DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-is kisat "he has become a god (= he is dead now)".

259) The verbal forms briefly mentioned in §184 allow a more precise distinction :

a) 1. Perfect and pluperfect are expressed in a "modern" fashion by means of har(k)- "to have" with the Nom.-Acc. Sing. Neutr. of the participle : perfect *antuhsan kuinki parā huittiyan harmi* "I have prefered some man", <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>GIGIR *turiyan harweni* "we have harnessed the chariot",  $L\dot{U}^{ME\check{S}}$  <sup>URU</sup>Gasga kuit dān harkanzi</sup> "that the people of Gasgas has taken". Pluperfect *nu-mu* <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR kanissan harta "and Ištar had honored me", 300 GUŠKIN *ishiyan harta* "he had imposed (as a tribute) 300 (shekels) of gold", *nu-mu istamassan harkir* "and they had learnt from me".

2. Such compositions also occur with the imperative : nu-mu stamanan lagān har(a)k "and keep your ears pricked up toward me",  $nu \check{S}A^{L\acute{U}}K\acute{U}R$  kuēs KASKAL<sup>HI.A</sup> nas-za BĒL MADGALTI kappuwan hardu "and whatever roads of the enemy (may be), the gouvernor must keep them watched".

b) es- with the participle can express two things :

1. The participle of the transitive verb with *es*- can express the perfect of the passive : DUMU.MUNUS *piyanza esta* "a girl has been given", *hurtantes esir* "they have been cursed", *lamniyan esdu* "he must be appointed",  $\hat{GIS}GIGIR$  *iskiyan esdu* "the chariot must be anointed".

2. The participle of the intransitive verb with *es*- expresses a state resulting from an action : *antuhsatar pān esta* "the people had left".

c) The expression "to start (to get ready) to do something, to consider doing something" is expressed by means of  $d\bar{a}i$ - "to put, to set, to place", sometimes of *tiya*- "to go on", with the supine in *-uwan* of a verb generally iterative : ERIN<sub>2</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> *peskiwan tiyaweni* "we are ready to regularly give troops", EZEN<sup>HI.A</sup> *essuwan tiyanzi* "they prepare to celebrate the festival", <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠU.GI *kisat nas* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*is kikkissuwan dāis* "he became old and started to become a god (i.e. he wasted away)", É<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠUNU karipuwan dāir "they started to pull down (lit. to devour) their houses", *nu-mu asi memiyas teshaniskiwan tiyat* "and the thing in question began to come regularly to me in dream".

260) a) Where we use "not yet" with perfect, Hittite always uses present with *nāwi* "not yet" : *takku* LÚ-*as* DUMU.MUNUS *nāwi dāi nanza mimmai* "if a man has not yet named a girl, he can (still) reject her", *nu-wa* 5 ANŠU.NITA<sup>MEŠ</sup> EĜIR-*pa unnanzi unnanzi-ma-war-as nāwi* "one will again drive on the 5 jackasses, but no one has yet driven them on".

b) Where we use "not yet" with a pluperfect, Hittite uses the basic preterite with *nāwi* : *kuitman-za-kan ANA* <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>GU.ZA *ABĪYA nāwi eshat nu-mu arahzenas* KUR.KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *kururiyahhir* "as long as I was not seated on the throne of my father, the neighboring enemy countries fought me".

261) a) In a subordinate iterative clause of past meaning, present can be used instead of our preterite : *kuwattas lahha-ma paizzi nu*  $^{LU}KUR$ -*an utnē kuttanit tar(ah)han harta* "but where he campaigned, he seized the enemy countries by the neck".

b) The present can also be found instead of the preterite in the main clause :

1. in a clear description : *azzikanzi nat-za UL ispiyanzi akkuskanzi-ma nat-za UL hassikanzi* "they eat and are not satiated, they drink and don't quench their thirst" (in a text in the preterite and parallel to the same sentence in the preterite : *eter ne UL ispier ukuer-ma ne-za UL hassikkir* "they ate and were not satiated, they drank and didn't quench their thirst").

2. With the verbs meaning "to say" in vivid texts (historical present) : *huhhi-ssi pāit nu-ssi tarsikizzi* "he went to his grandfather and talked to him".

262) a) In the correspondence, the sender can stand in the point of view of the recipient and use the preterite instead of the present :  $k\bar{a}sma$ -tta uiyanun halugatallan-min "look, I send you (lit. I sent you) my messenger".

b) In the same way, preterite is used in the introduction of royal decrees : LUGAL GAL *Tabarna memista* "the great king Tabarna has spoken".

263) a) The imperative is used as a substitute for the missing optative in prayers : *utnē māu sesdu* "may the country prosper and be in peace", *ANA* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> EN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*YA* ZI-*anza namma warasdu* "by the gods, my lords, may the spirit calm down again".

b) The 1. Pers. Sing. of the imperative is a voluntative : *piskellu* "I always want to give", *agallu* "I want to die", but it can also be used as an optative : *teshit uwallu* "may I see in dream".

c) The 1. Pers. Plur. cohortative has a formal usage like the corresponding forms of the Indic. Pres. :

*ehu ANA* <sup>d</sup>U ... DI-*esni tiyaweni* "come on now! let us take a step towards the Storm-god", *kinuna-wa ehu nu-wa zahhiyawastati nu-wa-nnas* <sup>d</sup>U *BELĪYA DĪNAM hannau* "but come on now! we want to fight each other, and the Storm-god, my lord, must rule on our dispute".

264) a) For the negative imperative,  $l\bar{e}$  "not!" (§280a) is used with the Ind. Pres. ; thus *istamas* "listen!", but  $l\bar{e}$  *istamasti* "do not listen!".

b) Therefore with the voluntative 1. Pers. Sing. : *lē saggahhi* "I do not want to know".

265) To express the potential and the unreal, one uses the special particle *man*, which differs generally, but not always, by its spelling *ma-an* from the conjunction  $m\bar{a}n$  (*ma-a-an*) "if". About the lack of *nu* next to *man*, cf. §310f.

266) *man* with the present means a present potential : *man-war-as-mu* <sup>LÚ</sup>*MUTĪYA kisari* "he could become my husband".

267) man with the preterite means :

1. a past potential : *man-ta-kkan* É *ABĪKA* KUR-*KA-ya UL arha dāir man-at damēdani kuedanikki pier* "could not they have taken away from you the house of your father and your land (and) have given them to another one ?"

2. an unreal : man INA <sup>URU</sup>Hayasa pāun-pat nu-za MU.KAM-za sēr tēpawessanza esta "I would have gone also (*-pat*, §293c) to Hayasa, but the year had become (too) short for that" (about nu = "but", cf. §313a), mān-us-kan <sup>m</sup>Huzziyas kuenta nu uttar isduwati "Huzziya would have killed them, but (§313a) the affair got out".

268) The "nearly" unreal is expressed by means of the verb *waggar-* "to miss, to fail" : *nu-kan*  $^{d}$ *Hepadus suhhaz katta maussuwanzi waqqares* "the goddess Hebat nearly fell from the roof" (cf. French : *elle a failli tomber*).

#### 3. Iterative usage

269) The iterative in *-sk-*, sometimes in *-ss-* borrowed from Luwian (§141), still requires a thorough study. Here are some comments in particular about it :

a) It points out an accomplished action frequently repeated : *ANA* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> anda UD-at UD-at memiskizzi nu DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> walliskizzi "he talks to the deity day after day and he extols the deity each time", GE<sub>6</sub>-ti-ma GE<sub>6</sub>-ti turiskizzi "night after night he harnesses (them)", watar-ma-ssi KAS-si KAS-si-pat IŠTU 1 UPNI peskanzi "but they give each time water to them from the cup of one hand" (before actions occurring once : hantezzi BAL-si uzuhrin UL pāi "the first times, he does not give grass"), nu-smas-kan <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA ANA DI<sup>HI.A</sup> istarna teskiddu nu-smas DI<sup>HI.A</sup> punuskiddu "and the priest must attend (in any case) each time the proceedings and must examine each time their cases", nu nesumnili hatreski "write to me each time in Hittite", nan-za turiskizzi "he can keep it (a found animal) for himself (for several days)" (but without iterative : UD.1.KAM turiyazi "he can keep (it for) one day").

b) It is found if a uniform action of several subjects is accomplished : *uskandu istamaskandu-ya* "(all the gods) should look out and listen", *tuk-ma-wa* DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*KA mekkaus memiskanzi* "the one

to whom everybody however attributes many sons", 1 *LIM* MUL<sup>HI.A</sup> *hukkiskanzi* "the 1000 stars take an oath", *kuis-pat-kan imma kuis* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-as <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>kattaluzzi sarreskizzi "whoever crosses the threshold of the gods".

c) Or the action can apply to several objects : NINDA<sup>HI.A</sup>-*ya kueus parsiyanneskit* "and the loaves of bread that he broke (into small pieces)", *halkis-wa mahhan* NAM.LÚ.ULU<sub>3</sub> GUD UDU *huitarra hūman huisnuskizzi* "as the grain of people, the ox, the sheep and the whole species come to life", *nu-tta kuit memiskimi nu-mu* DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> *istamanan har(a)k nat istamaski* "(all) that I say to you, ô deity, prick up your ears and listen to it (all)".

d) The action can also be made up of several simple actions, e.g. be achieved in several stages : <sup>DUG</sup>*hupuwaya hassi anda lahuskizzi* <sup>DUG</sup>*hupuwaya-ma tuwarniskizzi* "(the priestess) fills the *hupuwaya*-jar (little by little) on the stove, but she breaks the *hupuwaya*-jar (piece by piece)", *kissan hukkiskizzi* "he thus takes an oath (in its various parts)", *anniskimi kuin* "that I achieve (in several ritual stages)".

e) In some rare cases, the iterative can point out, not a repeated action, but an action that lasts for long :  $GE_6$ -an hūmandan uzuhrin HÁD.DU.A azzikkanzi "during the whole night, they eat hay".

### 4. Verbal substantives usage

#### a) Infinitive constructions

270) Hittite infinitives and their usage are a frequently studied and highly disputed subject. The following presentation is based on the most recent and detailed treatment by Kammenhuber.

271) a) What was formerly called Infinitive 1 (in *-uwar*) is a verbal substantive. It has an equivalent formation in *-atar*. The two constructions are divided as follows : the one in *-atar* is mainly used by the root verbs with ablaut of the *mi*-conjugation (*appatar* "catching" from *ep*- "to catch", *adatar* "eating" from *ed*- "to eat", *akkuwatar* "drinking" from *eku*- "to drink", *kunatar* "killing" from *kuen*-"to kill", *uwatar* "visit" from *aus*- "to see"), whereas *-uwar* (Gen. *-uwas*, §185a) is used by the other verbs of the *mi*- and *hi*-conjugations : *nahhuwar* "fear, respect" from *nahh*- "to fear", *wetummar* "building" from *wete*- "to build", *gankuwar* "hanging, balancing, weight" from *gank*- "to hang, to balance", etc...

b) The verbal substantive is not a verbal but a nominal construction : *ANA* KARAŠ *uwatar iyanun* "I did a visit to the army", LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Mizra-ma mahhan ŠA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Amka* GUL-*ahhuwar istamassanzi* "but as the people of Egypt hear the defeat (lit. the stroke) of the land Amka".

272) a) The two constructions of the verbal substantive match the two constructions of the infinitive, the one in *-anna* for the verbs with ablaut of the *mi*-conjugation (derived from the verbal substantive in *-atar*; formerly called Infinitive 2) : *adanna* "to eat" from *ed-*, *akuwanna* "to drink" from *eku-*, *kunanna* "to kill" from *kuen-*, *uwanna* "to see" from *aus-*, the other in *-uwanzi* for the other verbs of the *mi-* and *hi*-conjugations (derived from the verbal substantive in *-uwar*; formerly called Supine 1).

b) These two constructions are completely equivalent and correspond to infinitives in the modern meaning : 1-as 1-an kunanna *lē* sanhanzi "the one must not try to kill the other" (next to *nu-mu* 

*tepnumanzi san(a)hta* "and he tried to humiliate me"), <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA *akuwanna wekzi* "the priest demands to drink", *nu-mu-za-kan* GE<sub>6</sub>.KAM-*za walhuwanzi zikkir* "they get ready to attack me by

night", AMAR<sup>HI.A</sup> iyauwanzi zinnahhi "I have finished to bring the calves".

c) Note *ŠUŠI* LUGAL<sup>MEŠ</sup> *siyawanzi tar(a)hta* "he beat 60 kings in shooting".

273) The supine in *-uwan* (formerly called Supine 2) is only found associated with  $d\bar{a}i$ - "to put, to set" (or with *tiya*- "to go forward") to express the notion "to start to do sth" (§259c).

274) Some other constructions with the infinitive should also be mentioned :

a) The association of the verb *es-* "to be" with the infinitive with the meaning "something must be done" : *tuk-ma kī uttar* ŠÀ-*ta siyanna ishiull-a esdu* "but this word should be placed in your heart and should be a rule", NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA *parsiyawanzi* NU.ĜÁL "there is no bread to break", *INA* 

KUR <sup>URU</sup>Assuwa lahhiyawanzi esun "I had to campaign in the land Assuwa" (cf. English I was to *fight*).

b) *kisari* "it becomes" with the infinitive means "it is possible to do sth" : *mān tuk-ma warissuwanzi UL kisari* "if it is not possible for you (Sg.) to help".

275) a) An accusative can be the complement of an infinitive, but Hittite readily makes this accusative depend on the infinitive by placing it as object of the main verb if this verb is active :  $ap\bar{a}s$ -ma-mu harkanna san(a)hta : "lit. : but he looked for me to knock down" (i.e. "he looked for knocking me down").

b) If the main verb is passive or is the verb "to be", the noun or the pronoun which is interpreted as the object of the infinitive appears in Hittite as the subject of the main verb :  ${}^{L\dot{U}}MUNABTUM$ EĜIR-*pa piyanna UL ara* (or  ${}^{L\dot{U}}MUNABTUM$  EĜIR SUM-*anzi UL ara*) "lit. : a refugee (is) not right for an extradition" (i.e. it is not right to extradite a refugee), *nu-ssi* GUD *piyawanzi* SIxSÁ-*at* "lit. : and an ox was established to him to give" (i.e. it has been established for him to give an ox), *mān* URU<sup>LUM</sup> *kuiski* ... *ANA* <sup>m</sup>Ulmi-<sup>d</sup>U *piyanna UL* ZI-*anza* "lit. : if a city is not the intention (of the Sun) to give to U." (URU<sup>LUM</sup> *kuiski* is a nominative !).

276) In these constructions, the infinitive is indifferent :

a) to the tense ; it is used likewise for present and future : DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-kan kuis ANA <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> tarnumanzi SIxSÁ-at "lit : the deity who was observed to admit the 'Sun' (i.e. who was observed that he shall be left for the 'Sun')" as well as for preterite : DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-ma-kan kuis arha sarrumanzi SIxSÁ-at "lit : the deity (the divine picture) who was observed to break (i.e. the divine picture who was observed that it has been broken)".

b) to the voice ; cf. the last example of a).

c) to the difference between the causative and the base verb :  $ap\bar{a}s$ -ma-mu harkanna san(a)hta "lit : he looked for me to collapse (i.e. he aimed to knock me down)" (hark- "to collapse" instead of harganu- or harnink- "to throw down"), nas katta asanna kuit SIxSÁ-at nan katta asashun "lit. : and since she was observed to be seated (!), then I seated her" (es- "to be seated" instead of ases- "to seat").

#### b) The participle

277) a) The Hittite participle in *-ant-* is passive for transitive verbs and active-intransitive for intransitive verbs. Thus the following meanings : on one hand *kunant-* "killed" (from *kuen-* "to kill"), *appant-* "grabbed, collected" (from *ep-* "to grab"), *dant-* "taken" (from  $d\bar{a}$ - "to take"), *sekkant-* "known" (from *sak-* "to known"), on the other hand  $p\bar{a}nt$ - "gone" (from  $p\bar{a}i$ - "to go"), *akkant-* "dead" (from *ak-* "to die"), *tepawessant-* "decreased" (from *tepawes-* "to decrease, to get fewer"), *huyant-* "fled" (from *huya-* "to flee").

b) Exceptionally, *adant*- and *akuwant*- mean not only "eaten" and "drunk" (from *ed*- "to eat" and *eku*- "to drink"), but also "having eaten" and "having drunk" (like Lat. *pransus* and *potus*, Old-Indian *bhukta*- and *pīta*-).

c) The participle has sometimes the meaning of a verbal adjective : *kappuwant-* "counted" also means "countable, few".

278) About the expression of the gerund, cf. §186.

### H. Negation

279) a) To negate the positive sentence, texts usually use the Akkadian *UL* and seldom the Hittite *natta*.

b) Other negations are also used : *nāwi* "not yet" (§224b. 260) and *nūwān (nūwān)* "not at all ; no more" (§224b).

280) a) The prohibitive negation is  $l\bar{e}$  with the indicative present, cf. §264a.

b) One can sometimes find :

1.  $l\bar{e}$  with the imperative (§264) : *nu-tta* LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> ŠU.GI  $l\bar{e}$  memiskandu "and the elders cannot talk to you",  $l\bar{e}$ -ta  $n\bar{a}hi$  "do not be afraid".

2. once *lē* with *man* potential-present in Old-Hittite with the meaning of Lat. *utinam ne* : *lē-man-se* LUGAL-*us kissan tezzi* "may the king not talk of him like this".

281) The negation is placed before the verb, and, for compound verbs, between the particle and the verbal form : *nu namma INA* <sup>ÍD</sup>Seha UL pāun "so (§315) I did not go to the land of the river Seha", *nu-wa BĒLNI INA* <sup>URU</sup>*Hayasa lē pāisi* "now, our lord, do not go to Hayasa", *apiya-ya-ta-kan anda UL daliyami* "then I will not let you down", *nu-za-kan memiyani sēr lē karussiyasi* "do not stay quiet in front of the thing", *nu namma* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> <sup>URU</sup>*Duqqaman saruwawanzi UL tarnahhun* "So (§315) I, the Sun, let here the city Duqqama without plundering it".

282) a) However, various accentuated words can attract the negation : *nu-wa BELNI lē namma uwasi* "now, our lord, do not come yet", *nu-tta UL kuwatqa ammēl* A.ŠÀ *kueri anda zahhiya tiyami* "now, I will by no means come to fight on my field (and my) soil".

b) The emphatic negation can be placed at the end of short sentences : *namma-ma-kan* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Hapalla kuenta-ya UL epta-ya-at UL* "then you did not strike the land Hapalla and you did not seized it either", *nu-war-an sannatti-ya lē munnāsi-ya-war-an lē* "now do not hide him and do not conceal him", *parkunusi-ma-za UL kuit* "but you do not let the least go through".

c) The negation is placed at the beginning of the interrogative sentence : *UL-war-an-kan tuētaza memiyanaz kuennir* "did not they kill you because of your word (cf. §213b2) ?".

d) The negation can also be doubled to strengthen the negative aspect : *nu-war-an huwappi* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-ni UL parā UL kuwapikki tarnahhun "now, I have never, never left him with a bad deity".

283) A negation can act on the following sentence : hassannas DUMU-an idālu lē kuiski iyazi nussi-san ĜÍR-an takkeski "nobody should mistreat a son of the family, nor prepare a dagger against him", ANA BULUĜ<sub>3</sub> GIM-an hassatar-set NU.ĜÁL UL-an A.ŠÀ-ni pēdanzi nan NUMUN-an ienzi "since there is no vitality in malt (?), it is not brought to the field and it is not sown".

### I. Interrogation

284) a) Interrogation was expressed in speech by the tone rather than by a particle, hence it is not directly recognizable in written texts : ŠEŠ-*YA-za malāsi* "do you agree, my brother ?", DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-za kīdas waskuwas sēr TUKU.TUKU-wanza "is the deity very angry because of those breaches ?".

b) The negation is placed at the beginning of the interrogative sentence (cf. §282c).

285) a) The double interrogation uses *nu* and *-ma* in the second clause : BAL *andurza kuiski* DÙ*-yazi ... nu* BAL *arahza-ma kuiski* DÙ*-zi* "does someone revolt inside ... or does someone revolt outside ?", *nu-war-at* ŠEŠ-*YA ĪDE nu-war-at UL-ma ĪDE* "does my brother know it or does not he know it ?".

b) About the indirect double interrogation with *mān* - *mān* "if - or else", cf. §333.

286) Abrupt questions can occur, e.g. : kuit apāt "what (is) that ?", nu namma kuit "what more ?".

### J. Particles

### 1. Generalities

287) The following words are designated as particles in the strict sense : -wa (-war) of quotation, -pat "also, too, even", the positioning particles -kan and -san and the still poorly understood particles -(a)sta and -(a)pa (-ap), maybe too the enclitic conjunctions -a (-ya) "and" and -ma "but". In a broader sense, the enclitic pronominal forms (§§100 and 102) as well as the reflexive pronoun - za (-z) (§240 - 243) can be added. All these enclitic elements are affixed to the first accentuated word of the sentence and their abundance gives its peculiar character to the linking of the Hittite sentences, especially in Neo-Hittite.

288) If these enclitic words seem crowded, they are however affixed in a perfectly regular order :

1. The conjunctions -a (-ya) "and" and -ma "but" (§302 - 305. 318 f.) are at the first place.

2. The quotation particle -wa (-war) (§289 - 292) is at the second place.

3. The enclitic pronouns (§§100 and 102) and the reflexive pronoun -za (§240 ff.) come after the

conjunctions and after -wa.

4. The particles -kan, -san, -(a)sta and -(a)pa (§294 - 301) end the series.

5. a) Several enclitic pronouns come before ; thus, the forms of the 3rd person (\$102) are generally placed before the forms of \$100 and before *-za*.

b) -za also follows the forms of §100.

Examples (with a reference to the numbering of the enclitics) : *nu-mu-kan* "and to me" (3. 4), *n-at-mu* "and he to me" (3. 5a), *n-at-si* "and it (they) to him" (3. 5a), *n-as-za* "and he himself" (3. 5a), *nu-mu-za-kan* "and to myself" (3. 4. 5b), *kinun-as-mu-kan* "now he to me" (3. 4. 5a), *mahhan-ma-mu-kan* "but while to me" (1. 3. 4), *n-an-za(n)* "and he himself" (3. 5a ; about *-za(n)*, cf. §§34. 42b), GE<sub>6</sub>.KAM-*az-ma-at-kan* "but during the night it (they)" (1. 3. 4), *piran-ma-at-mu* "but it in front of me" (1. 3. 5a), *nu-war-an* "and he" (2. 3), *nu-war-as-za* "and he himself" (2. 3. 5a), *ammuk-ma-wa-kan* "but me" (1. 2. 4), *nu-wa-mu-za* "and to myself" (2. 3. 5b), *nu-wa-mu-kan* "and to me" (2. 3. 4), *nu-wa-nnas-za* "and we ourselves" (2. 3. 5b), *nu-wa-mu-san* "and to me" (2. 3. 4), *nu-wa-smas-(s)ta* "and to you (Pl.) (to them)" (2. 3. 4) (about *-(s)ta* for *-(a)sta*, cf. §42c), *nu-war-as-ta* "and he to you (Sg.)" (2. 3. 5a), *unnanzi-ma-war-as* "but they bring him away" (1. 2. 3), *kinun-a-war-as* "and now he" (1. 2. 3), *KASKAL*<sup>HI.A</sup>-*ya-wa-smas* "also the roads to you (Pl.)" (1. 2. 3), *arahzenas-wa-mu-za* "the neighbors themselves to me" (2. 3. 5b), *mānn-a-wa-mu* "and if to me" (1. 2. 3), DUMU-*ŠU-ma-wa-ssi-za-kan* "but his son to himself" (1. 2. 3. 4. 5b), *kinun-ma-wa-tu-za* "but now to himself" (1. 2. 3. 5b), *about -tu-*, cf. §§40. 100), <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>*ŠI-wa-du-za-kan* "the Sun to yourself" (2. 3. 4. 5b).</sup>

### 2. The quotation particle

289) If a quotation is included in a narration, the enclitic particle *-wa* is affixed to the first accentuated word of each clause of the quotation : <sup>m</sup>Pihhuniyas-ma-mu kissan hatrāes UL-wa-tta kuitki EĜIR-pa pihhi mānn-a-wa-mu zahhiya uwasi nu-wa-tta UL kuwatqa ammēl A.ŠÀ kueri anda zahhiya tiyami ANA KUR<sup>TI</sup>-KA-wa-tta menahhanda uwami nu-wa-tta-kkan ANA ŠÀ KUR-KA zahhiya tiyami "but Pihhuniya wrote thus to me : I will give you nothing back. And if you come to fight me, I will go by no means onto my own land (and) soil ; I will meet you in your country and I will fight you in your country".

290) Several enclitic words starting with a vowel can follow the quotation particle, such as all the forms of the pronoun *-a*- (§102) or the particles *-asta* and *-apa* (§301). In that case, the particle occurs in its whole form *-war*- (§30) : *nu arahzenas* KUR.KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *kissan memir ABŪŠU-wa-ssi kuis* LUGAL KUR *Hatti esta nu-war-as* UR.SAĜ*-is* LUGAL*-us esta nu-wa-za* KUR.KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *tarahhan harta nu-war-as-za* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>*-is* DÙ*-at* DUMU-*ŠU-ma-wa-ssi-za-kan kuis ANA* <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>GU.ZA *ABĪŠU esat nu-wa apāss-a karū* <sup>LÚ</sup>KALA*-anza esta nu-war-an irmaliyattat nu-wa-za* apāss*-a* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>*-is kisat* "and the neighboring enemy countries spoke thus : his father, who was king of the land Hatti, was a heroic king and he held the enemy countries in check ; and he became a god. But his son, who sat on the throne of his father, was before a war hero too ; now he fell ill (§200b) and he became a god too".

291) It sometimes happens that the verb introducing the quotation is missing ; the sentence can be understood by adding "with the words" before the quotation : *nu-kan* NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> *katta uer nat-mu* ĜÌR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*as kattan haliyandat BĒLĪNI-wa-nnas lē harnikti* "the prisoners came down, and

they knelt at my feet (with the words) : our lord, do not slaughter us !".

292) a) In the language of mythological texts, more rarely in the other texts, the use of the particle is less strict : *nu sarā nepisi atti-ssi halzāis ammuga* EĜIR-*pa anda ep lē-mu genzuwāisi* "now, he called his father towards heaven : bring me again ! do not shield me !" (next to several correct uses of the particle in the same text).

b) Conversely, -wa can be found at the wrong place in isolated cases : nu DUMU<sup>MES</sup>-KA DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup>-pat AŠŠUM BELUTIM pahsantaru nu-wa-smas HUL-lu menahhanda le sanhateni "and your sons must respectfully get under the authority of the sons of the Sun. And do not plan anything evil !", nu-wa <sup>m</sup>Ukkuras <sup>LÚ</sup>UGULA.10 MUNUS.LUGAL *li-in-kán!-ta* "and Ukkura, the decurion of the queen swore (!)".

c) 1. Occasionally, *-wa* can be found at the beginning of a quotation, but not in the following part of the quotation.

2. -wa can also be omitted in short sentences of a dialogue.

### 3. The particle -pat "even, also"

293) Only the main uses of the enclitic particle *-pat* (of unsure reading, maybe *-pit* or *-pe*) can be presented here since there is no thorough study about it :

a) it corresponds to English "even" (concerning what has already been mentioned) : if a slave has stolen, and *takku BĒLŠU tezzi ser-wa-ssi sarnikmi nu sarnikzi takku mimmai-ma nu* ÌR-*an-pat sūizzi* "if his master says : 'I want to execute his punishment for him', then he must execute the punishment. But if he refuses, he must even forsake the slave", *nu-kan* <sup>m</sup>Uhha-LÚ-is aruni anda BA.UG<sub>7</sub> DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠUNU-ma-za arha sarrandat nu-kan 1-as ŠÀ A.AB.BA-pat esta 1-as-ma-kan

*arunaz arha uit* "and Uhha-LÚ died in the sea (i.e. on an island). His (§353c) sons separated (§254b); and one still stayed in the sea, but the other came back from the sea".

*apās-pat* can be translated by "this very, it itself" : *takku* ÌR-*is huwāi nas kururi* KUR-*e pāizzi kuis-an* EĜIR-*pa uwatezzi nan-zan* (§34) *apās-pat dāi* "if a slave flees and goes into an enemy country, the one who brings him back can keep this very one for himself".

b) *-pat* with a possessive pronoun has the meaning "own" : *apēl-pat annasas katta* "with his own mother", SAĜ.DU-*KA-pat* "your own head".

c) With a predicate, it means "also, as well" : nu-za  $AB\bar{U}YA$  kuwapi DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-is DÙ-at <sup>m</sup>Arnuwandas-ma-za-kan ŠEŠ-YA ANA <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>GU.ZA  $AB\bar{I}SU$  esat EĜIR-an-ma-as irmaliyattat-pat "and as soon as my father became a god, my brother Arnuwanda sat on the throne of his father. But after, he also fell ill".

d) A frequent meaning of *-pat* is "only" : *kappuwantes-pat-mu-kan antuhses isparter* "only few people (lit. countable, §277c) escaped from me", LUGAL-*us-san hantezziyas-pat* DUMU.LUGAL *kikkittaru* "only the first prince shall become king", *nu-za* ÌR-*SÚ-pat dāi sarnikzil* NU.ĜÁL "he can only take his slave, there is no compensation". In predictions, often after having determined the reason for the divine wrath : *mān kī-pat namma-ma tamai* NU.ĜÁL *kuitki* "if there is only this one, then nothing else is available".

e) Less frequently, it means "nevertheless, all the same" :  $nu-za m\bar{a}n irmalanza-sa$  (§25b) esta <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup> $\check{S}I$ </sup>-ma-tta ANA AŠAR ABĪKA tittanunun-pat "and although you are ill, I have nevertheless installed you at the place of your father".

### 4. The particles of position -kan and -san

294) The particles *-kan* and *-san* are presented together since they both imply a relation with location; they are mainly used with verbs of motion. The different uses of *-kan* are not yet fully understood.

295) *-kan* is especially found with locations. It modifies above all the meaning of the particle of verbs of motion. If the motion is the consequence of a previous motion, *-kan* is lacking, if it is an independent motion, *-kan* is present. More precisely :

- anda without -kan "again inside", with -kan "inside"
- appa without -kan "back", with -kan "away"
- arha without -kan "home", with -kan "outside, far"
- parā without -kan "again forward", with -kan "forward, outside"
- *katta* without *-kan* "again below", with *-kan* "below"
- sarā without -kan "again above", with -kan "above".

Examples : *nekuz mehur-ma* DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> anda udanzi "in the evening however, they bring the deity in again", *nu-war-as-kan kāsma sumās anda uit* "and see! he came in your house", GIM-an-ma <sup>URU</sup>Neriqaza EĜIR-pa uizzi "as he comes back however to Neriqqa", *nan-kan* EĜIR-pa INA KUR-ŠU pehutezzi "and he brings him away to his country", *nas* <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-si arha udahhun "and I brought them back to my house in Hattusa", *nas-kan* URU-riaz arha hūdak pāiddu "and he must immediately leave the city", *lukkatta-ma parā pāun* "but the following day, I went forward", LÚ <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>PA-ma-kan parā aski pāizzi "but the messenger goes out through the gate", *nu nekuz mehuni hūdak* GAM pāitten "and goes down again immediately at night", *nu-kan* ERIN2<sup>MEŠ</sup>

URU-*az katta udas* "and he brought troops at the bottom of the city", *nas INA* É DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> sesuwanzi hūdak sarā uiddu "and he must go up again immediately to the temple to sleep", *nu-kan* <sup>URU</sup>Astata URU-ri sarā pāun "and I went up to the town Astata".

296) One can compare other cases : *nat-kan ANA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Hatti istarna uda* "bring that to the land Hatti", *nas-kan aruni parranda pāit* "and he crossed the sea", *nat-kan INA* KUR *Gasga kattanda pēdas* "and he brought him down to the land Gasga", *kuitman-as-kan INA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Hatti sēr* "as long as he (is) above in the land Hatti". Conversely, *nu-mu* ŠEŠ-YA <sup>d</sup>NIR.ĜÁL-*is* EĜIR-*anda uit* "and my brother Muwattalli came behind me", *nu-mu* EN<sup>MEŠ</sup> *hūmantes menahhanda uer* "and all the lords came in front of me".

297) -kan disappears :

a) next to the particles *-san* (§300) and *-asta* (§301a) : *nasta* LUGAL-*us* IŠTU É <sup>d</sup>Zababa parā uizzi "and then the king went out of the temple of Zababa".

b) near *andan, appan* and *kattan* : *nu-ssi INA* <sup>URU</sup>Samuha ukila kattan pāun "and I myself went to his house in Samuha".

c) when a verb has no particle : nan BELUM kuiski uwateddu "and any lord must bring him back".

298) 1. -kan is also present :

a) with some adverbial phrases of spatial meaning such as *pedi daliya*- "to give place", ŠÀ-*ta tarna*-"to take into account", ŠU-*i dāi*- "to put in one's hand", KASKAL-*si dāi*- "to implement".

b) with verbs of meaning "to influence someone physically or mentally" such as es- "to occupy",

kuen- "to strike", ishāi- "to impose", zammurāi- "to humiliate", etc ...

c) with verbs of meaning "to be influenced by someone" such as *nahh*- "to be afraid of", *aus*- "to see something in somebody", *wemiya*- "to find something in somebody", etc...

2. But it is lacking with these verbs in legal texts after *takku* : *man-kan kuenzi* "and he kills him", *nan-kan kunanzi* "and they kill him", but *takku* <sup>LÚ</sup>DAM.GÀR <sup>URU</sup>Hatti kuiski kuenzi "if someone kills a merchant of Hatti", *takkus* LÚ-*is wemiyazi tus kuenzi* "if a man finds them and kills them".

299) The particle *-san* never occurs next to *-kan*. They are mutually exclusive (§297a). The group *-za-san* becomes *-zan* according to §42b1.

300) -san is especially found with verbs of position which can also use -kan; -san probably gives to these verbs the special meaning "on, over". The particle ser is frequently found next to -san. Examples : ser-a-ssan ŠA ĜIŠ <sup>LÚ</sup>IŠ artari "and upon it a wooden handlebar is found" (on the other hand  $ANA^{\hat{G}I\check{S}}$ GIGIR-ya-kan kuēdani apēdani UD-ti arhahat "and the chariot on which I stood that day"), nas-san ŠA <sup>d</sup>U <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>ŠÚ.A asāsi "and he seats her on the chair of the Storm-god" (but nan-kan <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>huluganni asesanzi "but one seats him in the chariot"), nu-ssi-ssan UDU <sup>UZU</sup>GAB-i ser epzi "and he holds the sheep on his chest" (next to nu-ssi-kan iskisas ser epzi "and he holds (it) on his back"), nu-zan mān ANA <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> ser SAĜ.DU-KA-pat ser autti "and if you watch the Sun (like) your head".

### 5. The particles -(a)sta and -(a)pa

301) a) The meaning of the particles -(a)sta and -(a)pa (-ap) is not yet understood; the latter commonly and occasionally alternates with -(a)sta in Old-Hittite.

b) 1. About the reduction of -asta in -sta or -ta after the syllables -as, -is, -us, cf. §42c1.

2. If *-apa* follows a word ending in *-i*, it is reduced to *-pa* : aki "he dies" + *-(a)pa* > akipa, nu + *-at* + *-si* + *-(a)pa* > natsepa "and it to him".

## K. Conjunctions

### 1. *-a, -ya* "and, also"

302) a) The conjunction is affixed as an enclitic to the second word or the first word of the second clause. It is written *-a* after a consonant, *-ya* after a vowel or a logogram, cf. §41a.

b) It is sometimes written -a + -ya without any particular reason :  $w\bar{a}tarr-a-ya$  "and water",  $ap\bar{a}tt-a-ya$  "also this", and often *kinun-a-ya-war-an* "and now him".

303) a) -*a*, -*ya* "and" connects individual words : *appanti kunanti-ya mekki esta* "the prisoners and the killed were many", <sup>m</sup>Manapa-<sup>d</sup>U-an-ma-za KUR <sup>ÍD</sup>Seha-ya ÌR-anni dahhun "but I have enslaved Manapa-Datta and the land of the river Seha", <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup>-in-pat sāk pahsi-ya-an "so 'my Sun', recognize them and protect them".

b) However, some words are easily paired without conjunction (asyndeton) : attas annas "father and

mother" (= "parents"), LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL "king and queen, the royal couple", ERIN<sub>2</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> "foot-soldiers and charioteers", *arahzenēs antūrēs* "foreigners and natives", *mallanzi harranzi* "they grind and crush", *adanna akuwanna* "to eat and to drink".

304) a) Moreover, *-a, -ya* connects two juxtaposed clauses without progress of the action : *nu-mu*  ${}^{d}ISTAR$  GAŠAN-*YA kuit kanissan harta* ŠEŠ-*YA-ya-mu*  ${}^{d}NIR.ĜAL-is$  assu harta "because Ištar, my lady, kept me blessed and my brother Muwattalli kept me well", *nu-wa memiyan* ANA  ${}^{d}UTU^{SI}$  hatrāi antuhsann-a-wa ep nu-war-an ANA ABI  ${}^{d}UTU^{SI}$  uppi "write the word to the 'Sun' and arrest the man and send him to the father of the 'Sun'".

b) 1. -*a* ... -*a* (-ya ... -ya) means "sth ... as well as sth" :  $\check{S}A$  <sup>m</sup>Attarissiya-ya 1 LÚ SIG<sub>5</sub>-in kuennir anzēll-a-kan 1 LÚ SIG<sub>5</sub>-in kuennir "they killed a noble man of A. as well as a noble man of ours", eppirr-a mekki kuennirr-a mekki "they sheltered many as well as they killed many".

2. With a negation, it means "neither ... nor" : *nu-war-an sannattiya lē munnāsi-ya-war-an lē* "neither hide him nor conceal him".

305) a) Finally, -*a*, -*ya* means "also, too" : *nu-wa-za apāss-a* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*is kisat* "now he has become a god too (like his father before)", *nu-za* MU.KAM-*za ser tepawessanza esta*  $B\bar{E}L\bar{U}^{\rm HI.A}$ -*ya-mu memir* MU.KAM-*za-wa-tta ser tepawessanza* "then the year had become (too) short. Also the lords told me : the year has become (too) short".

b) Occasionally, *-a, -ya* is translated by "but" : *karū* 30 GUD<sup>HI.A</sup> *peskir kinun-a* 15 GUD<sup>HI.A</sup> *pāi* "one formerly used to give 30 oxen, but now he gives 15 oxen", *kissan-a lē tesi* "but you (Sg.) must not speak like that".

### 2. *nu* "and"

306) a) *nu* is used to connect whole sentences. With the pronoun *-a*- ( $\S102$ ) and the particles *-(a)sta* and *-(a)pa*, it becomes *na*- ( $\S38a$ . 103a), *nasta* and *napa* ( $\S301a$ ).

b) *nu* is a word to which enclitic pronouns and particles are easily affixed ; examples at §288.

307) In Neo-Hittite, nu has two functions :

a) It connects two coordinate clauses and corresponds to "and" ; it implies however a progress in the action ("and then") : *nu-mu-kan* <sup>m</sup>SUM.MA.<sup>d</sup>KAL-*an* DUMU-*ŠU menahhanda parā nāesta nas-mu INA* <sup>ÍD</sup>*Astarpa* MÈ-*ya tiyat nan* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> *zahhiyanun nu-mu* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>*Arinna* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ya hūmantes piran huēr nu-za* <sup>m</sup>SUM.MA.<sup>d</sup>KAL-*an tarahhun nan-kan kuenun nu-kan INA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Arzawa parranda pāun nu-mu* <sup>m</sup>*Uhha*-LÚ-*is UL mazzasta nas-mu-kan huwāis nas-kan aruni parranda pāit nas-kan apiya anda esta* "and he dispatched his son S., and he went forward to the river Astarpa to fight me, and I, the Sun, fought him. And the Sun-goddess of Arinna and all the gods rushed before me, and I defeated S. and I stroke him. Then I went into the land Arzawa and Uhha-LÚ did not resist to me and he fled before me and he crossed the sea to an island and he stayed there".

b) It connects the main clause (apodosis "then ...") to the conditional subordinate clause (protasis "if ...") : *kuitman-za-kan ANA* <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>GU.ZA *ABĪYA nāwi eshat nu-mu arahzenas* KUR.KUR<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *hūmantes kururiyahhir* "as I was not yet seated on the throne of my father, all the enemy

neighboring countries began to attack me".

308) a) *nu* can also stand at the beginning of longer sections where it can be translated by "then" : *nu tuēl mahhan* <sup>m</sup>*Mashuiluwas ABŪKA ITTI* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> *wastas zik-ma-za* <sup>m</sup>*Kupanta-*<sup>d</sup>KAL*-as ANA* <sup>m</sup>PÍŠ.TUR*-wa UL* KÚR*-as esta nu-tta-kan UL* É *ABĪKA arha dahhun* "then after your father Mashuiluwa had sinned against the 'Sun', from you, K., who were not hostile against Mashuiluwa, I did not take the house of your father", *nu kuitman ABŪYA INA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Mitanni esta* "then while my father was in the country Mitanni, (this and that happened)".

b) However, it is usually missing at the beginning of long sections :  $AB\bar{U}YA$ -annas-za <sup>m</sup>Mursilis 4 DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> hasta "my father Mursili begot 4 children" (at the beginning of the autobiography of Hattusili).

c) 1. It is especially missing in general at the beginning of quotations : nat-mu  $\hat{G}IR^{MES}$ -as kattan haliyandat  $B\bar{E}L\bar{I}NI$ -wa-nnas  $l\bar{e}$  harnikti nu-wa-nnas-za  $B\bar{E}L\bar{I}NI$  IR-anni  $d\bar{a}$  "they prostrated themselves at my feet (with the words) : our lord, do not slaughter us, and take us, our lord, at your (§240) service".

2. But it sometimes stands at the beginning of a quotation : <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*sa tezzi nu-war-an kuit handa UL wemiyatten* "and the Storm-god says : then since you did not find him". It is the same with shorts sentences : *nu kuit* "so what? (i.e. what is there to say?)".

309) In Old-Hittite, *nu* has a more restricted use :

a) It can occasionally stand between two coordinate clauses : *takku* LÚ-*is* GUD-*as katta wastai hurkil aki-as* LUGAL-*an aski uwatezzi* "if a man sins with an ox, (it is) an abomination, he will be killed. He will bring him at the court of the king (§62c)".

b) It generally stands between coordinate clauses in asyndeton in rituals :  $nu P\bar{A}NI \,^{\hat{G}I\check{S}}DAG$ -ti  $\dot{U} P\bar{A}NI \,^{d}Zababa 2-\check{S}U \,^{d}ai hassi 1-\check{S}U \,^{\hat{G}I\check{S}}DAG$ -ti 1- $\check{S}U \,^{\hat{G}I\check{S}}AB$ -ya 1- $\check{S}U \,^{\hat{G}I\check{S}}hattalwas \,^{G}I\check{S}$ -rui 1- $\check{S}U \,^{namma} hassi tapusza 1-\check{S}U \,^{d}ai \,^{U}GULA \, L\acute{U}^{ME\check{S}} \,^{MUHALDIM}$  ispanduzzisar  $\hat{G}E\check{S}TIN \, LUGAL$ -i parā epzi LUGAL-us  $Q\bar{A}TAM \,^{d}ai$  "then he sets once in front of the throne and in front of the god Zababa, once in front of the hearth, once on the throne, once in the window, once on the wooden bolt, once more next to the hearth. The manager of the cooks holds a wine ration out to the king, the king puts his hand".

c) In legislative texts, an asyndeton should generally be understood when a protasis has several terms : *takku* DUMU.MUNUS LÚ-*ni taranza tamais-an pittenuzi* "if a girl (is) promised to a man (and if) another one abducts her".

d) Old-Hittite generally does not add *nu* to the apodosis contrary to §307b : *takku* ÌR-*an* KAxKAK*set kuiski wāki* 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pāi* "if someone bites off the nose of a slave (§213a), he will give 3 shekels of silver", *nu* GIM-*an lukkutta* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*us-kan kalmaraz uit* <sup>m</sup>Kissis suppiyaz sastas (!) *arāis* "then when the morning after the Sun-god came above the mountain (?), K. arose from the pure bed" (*sastas* : mistake for *sastaz* ?).

310) In some cases, nu is omitted, especially in Neo-Hittite :

a) at the beginning of a long section (cf. §308b);

b) with prohibitive clauses between two prohibitions, with an order and a prohibition, as well as with a positive clause after a prohibition : *nu-wa-kan* ŠÀ <sup>URU</sup>*Iyalanda tuēl* UKU<sub>3</sub>-*an lē kuinki wemiyami ziqqa-wa-za-kan* EĜIR-*pa anda lē kuinki tarnatti ammēl-wa* ÌR<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ukila* EĜIR-*an sanhmi* "now I do not want to find any of your people in the city I. ! Do not let any inside again ! I

will look after my sujects by myself", *apūn-wa* UKU<sub>3</sub>-*an dā lē-war-an arha datti* "accept this man ! You should not take him away";

c) 1. with emphasis, especially with emphatic and rhetorical questions : *eshar INA* KUR  $^{URU}$ KÙ.BABBAR-*ti ara* "is the blood (crime) lawful in the land Hatti ?", UKU<sub>3</sub>-as DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ass-a ZI-anza tamais kuiski UL "is the mentality different between men and gods ? No !";

2. on the other hand, *nu* is present with rhetorical questions after a subordinate clause : ŠEŠ-*tar kuis kuēdani hatreskizzi nu-kan UL assiyantes kuēs nu* 1-*as* 1-*ēdani* ŠEŠ-*tar hatreskizzi* "those of the brotherhood who keep on writing, (are they) not those who (are) friends ? Thus, the one keeps on writing to the other one of the brotherhood";

d) in the explanatory parenthetical clauses :  $k\bar{a}s$ -ma <sup>LÚ</sup>KARTAPPU kuis ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL-za kuit ŠA MÁŠ<sup>TI</sup> harzi INA KUR <sup>URU</sup>Hatti ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL MÁŠ<sup>TUM</sup> mekki salli nas-mu UL imma <sup>LÚ</sup>HADANU "but this riding master, because he has (a woman) from the family of the queen - in the land Hatti, the family of the queen (is indeed) highly regarded - (is) so to speak (lit. not completely) a brother-in-law of mine";

e) in result adverbial clauses (English "in such a way that, to the point that") : namma-kan mān IŠTU KUR <sup>URU</sup>Hatti kuiski idālus memiyas ŠA BAL sarā isparzazi KUR<sup>TUM</sup> kuitki arahza ANA <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> kururiyahzi ITTI <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup>-ma hūman SIG<sub>5</sub>-in nu AWĀT <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> huski "besides, if the bad rumor of a riot comes out from the land Hatti, in such a way that a country starts a war outside against the Sun, all (is) favorable however for the Sun, so await the instructions of the Sun", nu mān <sup>m</sup>DU.<sup>d</sup>U DUMU-ŠU ANA PĀNI <sup>m</sup>Abiratta ABĪŠU kuitki wastai ABAŠU HUL-anni sanhazi "if now his son D. sins against his father A. in such a way that he looks for his father for evil (i.e. that he tries to act badly towards his father)", nu KUR-ya andan kāsza kisati DUMU.LU.ULU<sub>3</sub><sup>LU.MEŠ</sup>

DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*s*-*a kistantit harkiyanzi* "and in the country the famine happened, to the point that men and gods starve to death" ;

f) next to the unreality particle man : nu-war-as-mu-kan sullāit nu-wa-mu ÌR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-YA kattan harnamniyat man-wa-mu menahhanda kururiyahha nu-war-as-mu piran arha piddais "and he quarreled with me and he persecuted (?) my subjects (and) he would have started to make war against me ; and he fled before me", man-kan mān ANA <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> kuwapi HUL-wanni kittat man-ta <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> arha pessiyanun man-ta-kkan É ABĪKA arha dahhun "if this had ever (§253bβ) appeared evil for the Sun, I, the Sun, would have rejected you and I would have taken the house of your father from you" (on the other hand, in the real mode : kinun-a-kan ANA <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> kuit HUL-wanni UL kittat-nu-tta arha UL pessiyanun nu-tta-kan É ABĪKA arha UL dahhun "since this has not appeared evil for the Sun, I have not rejected you and I have not taken the house of your father from you").

g) in series of clauses with kuitman "until" (§326d3).

311) a) The sentences with *kuit* "because" (§323) usually have *nu* at the beginning of the clause with *kuit* as well as at the transition with the main clause : *nu-wa-mu* IBILA *kuit* NU.ĜÁL <sup>m</sup>Kupanta-<sup>d</sup>KAL-as-ma-mu DUMU ŠEŠ-YA nu-war-an-mu EN-YA DUMU-anni pāi "since there is no offspring for me, but K. is the son of my brother, then give him to me, my lord, as a descendant".

b) However, the clause with *kuit* can also have no particle : *ABŪKA-mu kuit tuēl ŠUM-an memiskit nu-tta apaddan* EĜIR-*an san(a)hhun* "since your father had told (i.e. recommended) me several times your name, then I have taken care of you".

c) In the same way, nu can be missing from the beginning of the main clause : ANA PANI

DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> kuit parā handandanni iyahhahat ŠA DUMU.NAM.LÚ.ULU<sub>3</sub><sup>LU</sup>-UTTI HUL-lu uttar UL kuwapikki iyanun "since I have walked in front of the gods according to (their) rule, I have never made the evil of humanity (i.e. I have never acted badly as the other men usually do)".

312) The verbs *uwa-* "to come" and *pāi-* "to go" (along with the imperatives *it* "go! (Sg.)" and *itten* "go! (Pl.)", §164 2a) are often followed by another verb. In that case, they are placed before the following verb in asyndeton and they can take, like an adverb, the particles at the beginning of a clause : *wer-ma* <sup>m</sup>*Tettes* <sup>m</sup>EN-*urtass-a ITTI* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> *kururiyahhir* "but Tetti and E. came (and) fought against the Sun", *nu-wa uizzi zilatiya ANA* KUR<sup>TI</sup> EN-*as* "then he will go (and he will be) in the future the lord in the country", *it-wa-mu karsin memiyan zik* EĜIR-*pa uda* "go (and) bring back a clear information !", *pāiweni-war-an-kan kuennummeni* "we want to go (and) kill him".

They can also be placed between a transitive verb and its preceding direct object : *nan uwammi*  $^{LU}KUR$ -*as iwar wal(a)hmi* "and I will come (and) I will attack it (an aforementioned city) as an enemy".

313) a) In a sentence like "this would have happened, but for any reason it happened differently", Hittite usually uses *nu* to say "but" : *man-ta-kkan kuennir nu zik isparzasta* "they would have killed you, but you escaped", *man-si pāun mān-an arha harninkun nu-mu-kan* AMA-ŠU menahhanda parā nāista "I would have gone against him (and) I would have thrown him down, but he sent his mother to me (with an offer for peace)".

b) *-ma* "but" is sometimes used in this case : *man INA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Azzi taninumanzi pāun mahhan-ma* LÚ<sup>MEŠ URU</sup>*Azzi istamassir* "I would have gone in the land Azzi to organize it (as a district). But when the people of Azzi heard (this) (they voluntarily surrendered)".

314) a) *nu* and *-ma* are very rarely found together in positive sentences : *nu ammuk-ma* GIM-*an nakkesta nu-mu-za hantī kuwapiki esta UL-mu-za* GAM-*an esta* "while it was starting to be oppressive for me, you were somewhere far away from me, and you were not with me".

b) The group *nu* ... -*ma* on the contrary is very frequent in multiple interrogations (cf. §285a).

315) *namma* "furthermore, again" is tied to *nu* in the expression *nu namma* "thus, hence, consequently" whose terms can only be separated by enclitics : *nu-mu* MU.KAM-*za kuit ser tēpawessanza esta nu namma* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Azzi UL daninunun* "since the year had now become (too) short for me, then I did not organize the land Azzi (as a district)", *nu mahhan* <sup>m</sup>*Uhha*-LÚ-*is* GIG-*at nas-mu namma zahhiya menahhanda UL uit* "since U. has now fallen ill, he has therefore not come to fight me".

### 3. ta and su "and"

316) ta is used as a synonym of nu by Old-Hittite as well as by the legislative language and the language of worship. It is also used :

a) to link coordinate clauses : cf. the alternation between *nu*, *ta* and the asyndeton in the ritual :  $L U^{MES} \hat{G}I^{S}BAN \tilde{S}UR$ -*kan* 2 <sup>NINDA</sup>*mitgaimius danzi tas* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL-*ri pianzi ta parsiyanzi*  $L U^{MES} \hat{G}I^{S}BAN \tilde{S}UR$ -*kan* 2 <sup>NINDA</sup>*mitgaimis appanzi nas-kan appa suppayas*  $\hat{G}I^{S}BAN \tilde{S}UR^{HI.A}$ -*as tianzi* "the table servants take 2 loaves of *mitgaimi*-bread and they give them to the royal couple, and they break (them) (§237a). The table servants take the 2 loaves of *mitgaimi*-bread and they put them again on the pure tables", and nearly identical but with a different distribution of the conjunctions :  $L U^{\tilde{G}I\tilde{S}}BAN \tilde{S}UR$  ... NINDA *mitgaimius dāi* LUGAL-*i pāi* 

LUGAL-us parsiya tus-kan LÚ  $^{GIS}BANŠUR$  appa suppai  $^{GIS}BANŠUR-i$  dāi "the table servant takes ... the loaf of *mitgaimi*-bread (and) he gives (it) to the king, (and) the king breaks (it). The table servant puts it again on the pure table".

b) in introduction to the apodosis : takku  $R^{MES}$ -SU  $GEME_2^{MES}$ -SU  $ku\bar{e}lqa$  hurkel iyanzi tus arnuwanzi "if the servant and the maid of someone commit an abomination, then they will be dismissed".

c) about the peculiarity that an accusative pronoun in the 3rd person cannot be expressed with ta, cf.  $\S237a$ .

317) *su* has the same usage as *nu* and *ta*, but is more rarely used and only in Old-Hittite texts : *uk-wa atti-mi UL assus su-wa* <sup>URU</sup>*Hattusi hingani pāun* "I (am) not the favorite of my father and I will have to go to Hattusa to die", <sup>m</sup>*Isputas-Inari-ma piir san-atta IŠTU* É.EN.NUN *tarnir* "they however went to I. and they left him out of prison".

### 4. Other coordinating conjunctions

318) -ma means "but", sometimes with a weaker meaning (like Greek  $\delta \dot{\varepsilon}$ ).

a) It is generally affixed as enclitic to the first word of the sentence : *mahhan-ma-za-kan*  $^{d}UTU^{\check{S}I}$ *ANA*  $^{\hat{G}I\check{S}}GU.ZA$  *ABĪYA eshat* "but when I, the Sun, sat on the throne of my father, (such thing happened after)".

b) It is often found affixed to the second word in the protasis of conditional sentences and in conditional relative clauses : *mān-kan* ERIN<sub>2</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ma* ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> *warri UL arnusi* "if you do not bring foot-soldiers and chariots" (next to the sentence of similar meaning *mān-ma-kan* ERIN<sub>2</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> *warri UL arnutti* ), *takku kessiras-ma wastai* "but if the hand commits an outrage", *kuis-an appa-ma uwatezzi* "but who brings him back".

c) In the same case, *-ma* is occasionally doubled : *mān-ma-as-ta-kkan* ŠÀ KUR-*KA-ma uizzi* "but if he comes to you into your country".

319) *-ma* has sometimes so little intensity in the apodosis that it can be left untranslated in English : GIM-*an-ma-za* ŠEŠ-*YA* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*is* DÙ-*at* <sup>m</sup>Urhi-<sup>d</sup>U-upan-ma DUMU ŠEŠ-YA sarā dahhun "but since my brother had become a god, (but) I took Urhi-Tessup, the son of my brother".

320) a) *nasma* usually means "or" : ÌR-*an nasma* GEME<sub>2</sub>-*an* "a servant or a maid", *mān tuk-ma kuiski* <sup>m</sup>*Targasnallin nasma* DUMU-*KA kunanna sanhanzi* "but if you, Targasnalli, or your son try to kill someone".

b) *nassu - nasma* means "either - or" : *nassu* LÚ <sup>URU</sup>*Hatti kuiski nasma* LÚ <sup>URU</sup>*Arzawa kuiski* "either a man of the land Hatti, or a man of the land Arzawa", *nassu-wa-kan* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *apūs kuindu nasma-wa-kan* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *apūs kunandu* "either the enemy can strike these one, or these one can strike the enemy".

321) *nassu* sometimes has the meaning of the disjunctive conjunction "or" : EBUR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-wa-mu-kan piran nassu kusāta nassu KASKAL-as nasma tamai kuitki uttar "the harvest (occurs) for me before the dowry or a trip or anything (that will require an expense of money)".

Thus, *nassu* originally meant "either" as well as "or", and *nasma* (< *nassuma*) contains the multiple interrogation particle *-ma* (§285a).

## L. Clauses

### 1. Final clause and purpose clause

322) Hittite has no specific forms for the final clause or the purpose clause. In order to build such clauses, Hittite only juxtaposes them with *nu* : *nas UL tarnahhun nan-kan UL kuennir* "and I did not let them, and they did not kill him" (= I did not allow that they kill him), *takku* LÚ-*an nasma* MUNUS-*an ELLAM wal(a)hzi kuiski nas aki* "if someone strikes a free man or a (free) woman and (in such a way that) he (she) dies", *nu taskupāi nu* URU-*as dapiyanzi isdammaszi* "cry now, and the whole city will hear (it)" (= in such a way that [or : in order that] the whole city can hear it).

### 2. Causal clause and dependant positive sentence

323) The conjunction introducing a causal clause is *kuit* "because". It never stands at the beginning of the clause. The clause introduced by *kuit* usually stands first : *nu ABŪYA genzuwalas kuit esta nas ŠA* MUNUS<sup>TI</sup> *memiyani kāri tiyat* "because my father was lenient, he favorably received the case of the woman", *annisan-ma kuit ANA <sup>m</sup>Mahsuluwa* IBILA NU.GÁL *esta nu-za tuk <sup>m</sup>Kupanta-* <sup>d</sup>KAL-*an* DUMU ŠEŠ-ŠU IBILA-*anni sarā dān harta* "but since at that time no descendant was born to M., then he had taken you, K., the son of his brother as descendant".

About the presence or not of *nu* in the causal clauses, cf. §311.

324) kuit can also mean "that"; in this case, the clause introduced by kuit often stands after. Thus :

a) with *kuit* with the meaning "the fact that" :  $amm\bar{e}l \ k\bar{a}s$ -pat 1-as dammeshas kiy-an 1-an dammeshanunun IŠTU É.GAL<sup>LIM</sup>-pat-kan kuit katta uiyanun "this (is) my only sentence : thus I only condemned that I throw him away of the palace";

b) after a verb of perception : *mahhan-ma* LÚ<sup>MEŠ URU</sup>Azzi auer URU<sup>DIDLI.HI.A</sup> BÁD-kan kuit zahhiyaz katta daskiwan tehhun "but the people of Azzi saw that I started to subdue cities in fighting".

325) A nominalized participle or a noun can also depend on a verb of perception or of speech with the meaning "that" : *ammuk-war-an akkantan IQBI* "he announced him to me as dead" (i.e. he told me that he was dead), *mahhan-ma* KUR.KUR<sup>MEŠ LÚ</sup>KÚR <sup>m</sup>Arnuandan ŠEŠ-YA irman istamassir "but since the enemies heard my brother Arnuwanda ill" (i.e. since they heard that he was ill).

### 3. Temporal clause

326) The temporal clauses are introduced by :

a) *mahhan* "while, as, when" : *mahhan-ma hameshanza kisat* "but as it was spring", *mahhan-ma* <sup>UZU</sup>Ì *zeyari* "but while the fat is cooking" ;

b) *mān* "as, when" in Old-Hittite instead of *mahhan* : *mān-san* <sup>*m*</sup>*Telepinus INA* <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>GU.ZA *ABĪYA eshat* "when I, Telepinu, sat on the throne of my father" ;

c) *kuwapi* "at the time" : *nu-za ABŪYA kuwapi* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*is* DÙ-*at* "at the time when my father became a god" ;

d) *kuitman* = lat. *dum*, thus :

1. "as long as, while" : *nu kuitman ABŪYA INA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Mitanni esta* "as long as my father was in the land Mitanni" ;

2. "until" (placed after the main clause) : nu É-ri-ssi anneskizzi kuitman-as SIG<sub>5</sub>-attari "and he works in his house until he recovers";

3. Multiple clauses introduced by "until" are tied in asyndeton (§310g) : *nu-wa-ssi kās*  $L^{U}KARTAPPU$  pidi-si esaru kuitman-as uizzi kuitman-as apiya EĜIR-pa uizzi "and this stable master must stay at his place until he comes (and) until he goes back";

4. *nāwi kuitman* "not yet" also means "before" : *nu ANA* KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *nāwi kuitman kuēdanikki pāun* "before I leave against any enemy country".

e) *kuit* sometimes means "on the occasion of, when" : nu-za KUR <sup>URU</sup>Arzawa kuit hūman tar(a)hhun nu-za <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> kuin NAM.RA *INA* É LUGAL uwatenun nas anda 1-etta 66.000 NAM.RA esta "the prisoners that I, the Sun, when I destroyed the whole land Arzawa, brought away to the royal palace, were altogether 66,000 prisoners".

### 4. Conditional clause

327) a) The real conditional clause is usually introduced by *mān* "if" : *mān-kan* <sup>LÚ</sup>*MUNABTUM IŠTU* KUR-*KA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Hatti* <sup>LÚ</sup>*pittiyantili uizzi nan-ta* EĜIR-*pa UL piyanzi* "if a refugee comes into the country Hatti as a refugee, then he will not be expelled", *mān-kan* ŠÀ KUR<sup>TI</sup> *akkiskittari nat mān kururas kuiski* DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> *iyan harzi nu kissan iyami* "if inside the country a great mortality occurs and if any god of the enemy caused it, then I act as follows".

b) The ancient word *takku* "if" is especially used in legal texts, more rarely in other kinds of texts : *takku* LÚ-*an ELLUM sullannaza kuiski dasuwahhi* 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pāi* "if someone blinds a free man during a fight, he will give one mina of silver".

328) a) The conjunction is sometimes totally missing : *INA* ITI.12.KAM DUMU-*as miyari apās* DUMU-*as* <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠU.GI-*eszi* "(if) a boy is born at the 12th month, (then) this boy will grow old", *wasdul kuēlqa autti ... nu-za pankun* EĜIR-*pa punuski* "(if) you see a crime, ... then always ask to the community", NINDA-*an-za wemiyanun nanza AHĪTĪYA natta kuwapikki edun* "(if) I have found bread, then I did not eat it secretly".

b) 1. *nasma* mainly means "or if" : *nasma*  $\text{ERIN}_2^{\text{MEŠ}}$  ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ANA* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> *wekti nu-tta nassu* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup>  $\text{ERIN}_2^{\text{MEŠ}}$  ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> *uppahhi nasma-tta* KUR-*eas* ZAG-*as* EN-*as* EĜIR-*an uizzi* "or if you want foot-soldiers (and) chariots from the Sun, either I, the Sun, will send you foot-soldiers and chariots, or the lord of the borders of the country will help you (lit. : will come behind you)".

2. But one also finds *nasma mān* : *nasma mān* KUR<sup>TUM</sup> kuitki zahhiyaza LUGAL KUR <sup>URU</sup>Hatti anda hatkisnuzzi "or if the king of the country Hatti attacks with a fight any country".

329) In the potential conditional clause,  $m\bar{a}n$  is found with the present, according to the only known evidence. By analogy with the unreal conditional clauses built in the same way, this  $m\bar{a}n$  should probably be understood as the unreal particle *man* with omission of the conjunction  $m\bar{a}n$  "if". Evidence :  $m\bar{a}n$ -wa-mu 1-an DUMU-KA paisti man-war-as-mu <sup>LÚ</sup>MUTĪYA kisari "if you gave me one of your sons, he could become my husband".

330) a) 1. In the unreal conditional clause, one usually finds  $m\bar{a}n$  "if" and the unreal particle man (§265ff.) in the expression man mān with the preterite : man-kan mān ANA <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> kuwapi HUL-wanni kittat man-ta <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> arha pessiyanun</sup> "if this had been done with an evil intent towards the Sun, I, the Sun, could have driven you away", man-kan mān ANA <sup>m</sup>Attarsiya huiswetenn-a kastita-man akten "even if you were gone to A. alive, you would however have starved to death".

2. With the spelling  $m\bar{a}n$  instead of  $man : m\bar{a}n$ -kan  $m\bar{a}n$  ANA <sup>m</sup>Pittaggatalli-pat warpa tehhun man-mu <sup>LÚ</sup>auriyalus kuit ŠA <sup>m</sup>Pittaggatalli auer m $\bar{a}n$ -mu piran arha tarnas "since, if I had led the march (?) directly towards P., the guards of P. would have seen me, he would have left in front of me".

b) However, the conjunction can here again vanish, in such a way that the protasis only contains the particle *man*, eventually written *mān* : EĜIR-*an-man kuwapi apēdas ANA* NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> *tiyanun man* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> EĜIR-*an tiyanun* "if I had ever bothered about these prisoners, I, the Sun, would have looked after them (i.e. I would have looked after them personally)", *ammuk-man-wa kuwapi* DUMU-YA esta ammuk-man-wa ammēl RAMĀNĪYA ammēll-a KUR-eas tepnumar tamētani KUR-e hatrānun "would I have, (if) I already had a son, written to another country the humiliation of myself and of my country ?".

331) a) An unreal or potential protasis can sometimes be followed by a real apodosis : *man-ma-za* DAM-*YA ANA* MUNUS.LUGAL *isiyahhiskattallas kisat nu idālu kuitki iyat* "should my wife have become an investigator against the queen if she did something wrong ?".

b) The apodosis can sometimes be understood in curses and oaths : *nasma-kan mān* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>SI</sup> *kuēdani anda idālu istamasti nat-mu-kan mān sannatti nat-mu UL mematti apūnn-a-mu antuhsan UL tekkussanusi nan anda imma munnāsi* "or if you hear evil from someone against the Sun, (then woe betide you) if you conceal it from me and you do not tell it to me, if you do not either show me these men and you hide them from me", *mān-ma-wa* <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>KARA<sub>2</sub> *iskallahhun nasma-wa* <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB *duwarnahhun nasma-wa-za dahhun kuitki* "(I be cursed) if I cut the lace or if I broke the seal or if I took something for myself".

### 5. Concessive clause

332) a) The concessive clause is generally introduced by *mān-a* "although" : <sup>m</sup>Urhi-<sup>d</sup>U-upas-ma-mu mān HUL-luss-a esta ammuk-ma UL karussiyanun "but although Urhi-Tessup was ill-disposed towards me, I did not stay quietly watching him", *nu-za mān irmalanza-sa* (§25b) esta <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup>-ma-tta ANA AŠAR ABĪKA tittanunun-pat "and although you were ill, I nevertheless (§293e) installed you at the place of your father".

b) *mān* "if" alone can also be used as a concessive conjunction : *zik-ma-za* <sup>m</sup>*Kupanta-*<sup>d</sup>KAL-*as ANA* <sup>m</sup>PÍŠ.TUR-*wa kuit* DUMU-*ŠU esta mān-za UL manga wasdulas esta man-ta-kkan* É *ABĪKA* KUR-*KA-ya UL arha dāir* "since you, K., were however the son of Mashuiluwa, could not someone take from you, although you were absolutely not guilty, the house of your father and your country?".

### 6. Indirect interrogative clause

333) The indirect interrogative clause which is not introduced by an interrogative pronoun (kuis

"who ?", *masiwant-* "what size ?", etc...) or by an interrogative adverb (*kuwapi* "where ? when ?", *kuwat* "why ?", etc...) starts with *mān* "if" (also for the double interrogation *mān - mān* "if - or else") : *nu* <sup>m</sup>Urhi-<sup>d</sup>U-upas kuit apiya nan punus mān kisan mān UL kisan "since Urhi-Tessub (is) there now, then ask him if it is like this (or) if it is not like this".

### 7. Relative clause

334) a) Hittite does not build the relative clause the same way as English does, e.g. "the man whom you have seen is my father", but instead "you have seen this man, this is my father". The relative clause also stands before the main clause in most cases. The relative pronoun is often, though not necessarily, at the second place in the clause it belongs to. Hittite pulls the noun that the relative clause depends on (that would stand in the main clause in English) into the relative clause, and usually mentions it again in the following main clause : *nu-za* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>*ŠI*</sup> *kuin* NAM.RA *INA* É LUGAL *uwatenun nas* 15.500 NAM.RA *esta* "and the prisoners whom I, the Sun, drove to the royal palace, were 15,500 prisoners", *nasma-tta* <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-*sas* ZAG-*as kuis BĒLU maninkuwan nu* ERIN<sup>2</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> *apēdani wekti* "or the lord of the borders of Hattusa who (is) near you, (if) you ask him for foot-soldiers (and) chariots", *pēdi-ma-kan kuē* KUR.KUR<sup>MEŠ</sup> *daliyanun nu-smas* ZAG<sup>HI.A</sup>-*us tehhun* "but the countries that I left in place, I set their borders", *nu kuis tān pēdas* DUMU<sup>RU</sup> *nu* LUGAL-*us apās kisaru* "the one who is a second-rank son, that one must become king", *nu-mu arahzenas* KUR.KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *kuēs kururiyahhir nu ANA* KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *nāwi kuitman kuēdanikki pāun* "these neighboring countries that had started to attack me, before I went into one of these countries".

b) Example of nested relative clauses : <sup>d</sup>U-*as kuēdani* UD-*ti hatuga tethiskit* ... <sup>TÚG</sup>NÍG.LÁM<sup>MEŠ</sup> *kuē apēdani* UD-*ti wassan harkun* ANA <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>GIGIR-*ya-kan kuēdani apēdani* UD-*ti arhahat nu kē* <sup>TÚG</sup>NÍG.LÁM<sup>MEŠ</sup> ... <sup>ĜIŠ</sup>GIGIR-*ya tūriyan apātt-a dāir* "that day when the storm-god had terribly thundered several times ... these clothes that I had worn that day, and the chariot I stood on that day, they have taken (for themselves) these clothes ... and this harnessed chariot".

c) Other examples of relative clauses : ÌR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-YA-wa-za kuēs dās nu-war-as-kan kattanta pehutet nu-war-as-mu arha uppi "my subjects that you have taken and brought away, bring them back to me !", NAM.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> kuēs ABŪYA arnut ammuqq-at arnunun nu-mu-kan mān apēl kuiski ŠA NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> huwāizzi "these prisoners whom my father drove away and whom I drove away, if one of these prisoners runs away from me".