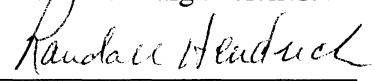LOCAL ADVERBS IN NEO-HITTITE

by
Donna M. Salisbury

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Linguistics.
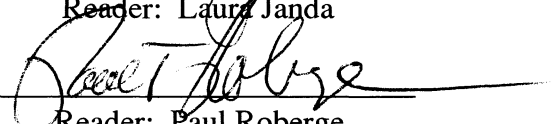
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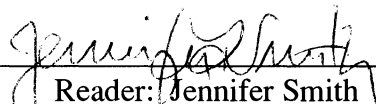
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ABSTRACT
DONNA M. SALISBURY: Local Adverbs in Neo-Hittite
(Under the direction of H. Craig Melchert)

This dissertation systematically and exhaustively evaluates the functions of the local

adverbs in Neo-Hittite as determined by their use in assured Neo-Hittite compositions.

The primary finding is that the Old Hittite synchronic system of contrasting directional

and locatival pairs as established by Starke (1977) remains fundamentally intact in Neo-

Hittite. There are a limited number of specific cases of overlap. The triple distinction in

function of preverb, postposition, and freestanding adverb likewise continues throughout the

history of the language.

This study accounts for each Neo-Hittite occurrence of a local adverb, assesses its

functional role, and presents a justification for its inclusion in a given class. Where possible,

it provides an explanation of the likely path by which evolved meanings of a preverb have

arisen.

An analysis of instances of consecutive adverbs evaluates whether the two coincidentally

co-occur or have developed a specialized function in combination. Those established as

unitary combinations are categorized as preverb, postposition, or freestanding adverb

compounds.

Lastly, a reconsideration of the relationship of local adverbs to Hittite word order takes

into account the three functional roles. This preliminary analysis identified a basic word

order with numerous possible deviations, certain of which may be considered preferred for each specific function. A process of fronting of the local adverbs to positions before the subject in a sentence accounts for some but certainly not all non-standard configurations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to many people who contributed in different ways to the completion of this project, only a few of whom are named here:

The members of my dissertation committee, Randall Hendrick, Laura Janda, Paul Roberge, and Jennifer Smith, who were very helpful with their attention to detail and numerous insights, many of which I was not able to incorporate here but hope to take advantage of in the future, having found them both useful and fascinating.

My friend and sister graduate student, Julie St. John, who plodded along with me and helped push me across the finish line.

My friend Julia Stockton, who provided companionship both inside and outside the classroom, a sounding board both for my worries and my practice presentations, and diversion from academic responsibilities.

My dad, Don Salisbury, who helped spark my interest, cheered me on to finish, and showed pride in my accomplishment.

My late father-in-law, Paul L. Parker, who seemed genuinely amused and impressed by the possibility of devoting oneself to work on Hittite adverbs.

Those unnamed others along the way who flattered me by showing an interest.

My advisor, H. Craig Melchert, who was extraordinarily generous with his time and so many talents, and showed great patience toward me during the process of writing the

dissertation. I only hope he has an inkling of how grateful I am to him for his help and for sharing so much of his knowledge and process with me. He and Randy Hendrick also worked on my behalf to be awarded a University of North Carolina dissertation completion fellowship, which did indeed enable me to finish and for which I am very grateful.

My husband, Hugh Parker, who deserves more thanks than I can possibly give him, most of all for his emotional support and for his enthusiasm for my undertaking and carrying out this crazy project. He is the best thing that ever happened to me, followed, of course, by the achievement of the goal that required the writing of this dissertation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
CHD	*The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (see bibliography)
CTH	*Catalogue des textes hittites* (see Laroche in bibliography)
conj	conjunction
d-l	dative-locative
erg	ergative
gen	genitive
iter	iterative
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Bogazköy.* Leipzig, Berlin. 1916ff.
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Bogazköy.* Berlin. 1921ff.
neg	negative
pl	plural
prohib. neg.	prohibitive negative
prt	particle
quot	quotative particle
refl	reflexive particle
sg	singular
VBoT	*Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte.* A. Götze (ed.). Marburg. 1930
[ ]	indicates text within brackets has been restored

[( )]	indicates text within parentheses has been restored based on other available copies
\	A sign used by scribes to call attention to an unusual feature (comparable to "sic!"), most often to mark a foreign word
⸢	A sign used by scribes to call attention to an unusual feature (comparable to "sic!"), most often to mark a foreign word
!	A sign used either to mark a text emendation or to note an unusual feature (comparable to "sic!")
<< >>	indicates that within brackets is to be omitted

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Preliminaries

The goal of this dissertation is to examine systematically and exhaustively the function

of local adverbs in Neo-Hittite. The cover term *local adverbs* is used to indicate a group of

words that express direction and location, the Hittite equivalents of English words such as *in,*

out, up, down, above, and *below.*[1] These adverbs function in three distinct roles in Hittite as

in other languages: as preverbs, postpositions, and freestanding adverbs. A preverb works in

combination with a verb to express direction, telicity, or a specialized meaning as compared

to the verb used alone. A postposition governs a preceding noun (predominantly in the

dative-locative case in Neo-Hittite) and is the equivalent of an English preposition.

Freestanding local adverbs are independent adjuncts of the verb or sentence. An example of

each will illustrate the three functions in both Hittite and English, beginning with a Hittite

preverbal usage of *anda* 'in':

(1)   *namma* LÚ KÚR   *išpandaza anda ari*
       then   the enemy   by night   comes in/arrives
       'then the enemy arrives by night' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 i 22)

---

[1]I follow Goetze (1963) and others in using the label *local adverbs.* Boley (1985) and others
instead use the term *place words.*

A similar expression may be used in English: *He came in from California on Thursday.* Hittite preverbs are comparable to English verbal particles. The expression *She gave in to the temptation* illustrates an English verb-particle construction with a specialized meaning in which *in* is not obviously directional. Hittite shows parallel usages.

The following sentence again includes *anda* 'in,' this time as a postposition. As such it is preceded by an object noun in the dative-locative case:

(2)   *nu ꞊ za ꞊ kan* ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*aš   anda šāšduš ēššešta*
        conj-refl-prt mountains(d-l.)   in   beds   (he) made
        'He made himself beds (a place to stay) in the mountains'
        (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 ii 28)

The English equivalent is a preposition with an object following, just as used in the translation for sentence (2): '*in* the mountains.'

The local adverbs may also have a function that is independent of the meaning of the verb and is unassociated with any object noun phrase, which I will call a *freestanding adverb*.[2] A usage of *anda* in this function is seen at (3):

(3) $^{m.d}$LAMMA ꞊ *aš* ꞊ *ma* ꞊ *kan ŪL kuwapikki anda ēšta*
        Kurunta-(nom.)-conj-prt not anywhere therein was
        'but Kurunta was not anywhere therein' (i.e. 'he was in no way involved')
        (Bo 86/299 i 11)

The same freestanding adverbial role is seen in English in an expression such as *That ball was in! It was a fair ball!*

Hittite texts available to us span four centuries, from the 16th to the 13th century B.C. It has been clear for some time that the language underwent changes during the historical

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[2]Again following Goetze (1963) and others who use the term *independent adverb,* I indicate this third functional category as distinct from the general category of *local adverb* with the specific label *freestanding.*

period. These changes certainly include the use of the local adverbs. Puhvel (1984: 76) described it this way:

> In OHitt. *anda* is mainly postpositional and preverbal, rarely adverbial, whereas *andan* is chiefly adverbial, rarely postpositional, and never preverbal. In later Hitt. the distinctions are obscured, with *anda* equally adverbial and *andan* often postpositional and (newly) preverbal;

Starke (1977) undertook a systematic synchronic study of the local adverbs of Old Hittite and other scholars (Tjerkstra 1999, Francia 2002) have done longitudinal studies that compared a sampling of Old, Middle, and Neo-Hittite usages. A full understanding of the changes in the local adverbs will not be achieved, however, until an exhaustive synchronic account of Neo-Hittite is available for comparison. This is the gap that the current study will fill. The need for such a complete study is made evident by the fact that my previous systematic study of *anda/andan* in Neo-Hittite (Salisbury 1996) has refuted Puhvel's claim about that pair in Neo-Hittite, just as Starke (1977: 127 ff) had falsified Puhvel's claim about Old Hittite.

Previous research

Hrozný (1917) first identified the local adverbs in his work on Hittite grammar, but a full analysis of this class of constituents was not possible at this early stage in our knowledge of the language.

Zuntz provided the first stystematic study of local adverbs, reported in her 1936 publication "Die hethitischen Ortsadverbien *arḫa, parā, piran*." She categorized the local adverbs as either adverbs, preverbs, or postpositions, considering sentence position to make this distinction. She thus particularly struggled with adverbs in what she labelled "Mittelstellung," the position both directly following a dative-locative noun and immediately

preceding a verb. If one relies on sentence position to determine function, an adverb in this position could warrant either the label postposition or preverb. In the Old Hittite example (4) *peran* follows a dative-locative noun, so from this perspective of the word order, should be called a postposition. At the same time it immediately precedes a verb, so by this alternative description and based solely on word order, should be labelled a preverb.

(4) DUMU.É.GAL   LUGAL-*i*   *peran*   *ḫuwai*
     palace official   king (d-l)   ahead   runs
     'The palace official runs ahead of the king.' (KBo 17.15 Vo 18)

Goetze (1963: 98) made the three-way contrast even more explicit, and acknowledged that the "middle position" makes it impossible to rely on word order to distinguish preverb from postposition. He did recognize (1963: 100) that a particular local adverb might in one case be a postposition and in another, a preverb, such as with *anda ištamašš-* in the following examples, where *anda* looks postpositional in the first but preverbal in the second:

(5) *našma* GÙB-*tar kuedanikki*   *anda išdammašteni*
     or   evil   someone(d-l) in   (you pl) hear
     'or you hear evil in (the mouth of) someone' (CTH 255.2.B = KUB 26.8 iii 11)

(6) *mānn꞊a* ŠEŠ   LUGAL *kuiēš* EN   DUM[(U LUGAL ᴸᵁSAG)]
     if-also   brother king   some lord son   king   dignitary

     ŠA LUGAL ḪUL-*lu*   *uttar anda išt[(amašzi)]*
     of king   evil   word overhears

     'If some (pl!) brother of the king or lord or prince or dignitary
     overhears an evil word about the king' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 44)

Goetze judged this to be a stylistic difference. He also curiously judged that in cases where adverbs that otherwise functioned as postpositions occurred with enclitic pronouns (resulting in separation of postposition and its object), they must become preverbs. In his words (1963:

99): "Obviously enclitics cannot support the postpositions, hence these are promptly prefixed to the verb and become preverbs."

Kammenhuber (1973: 143) also recognized the three-way functional distinction and in particular, defined preverb in terms other than position next to the verb. She cited as clear examples those with evolved meanings and those where there is no local reference in the clause, thus eliminating readings as postpositions or independent adverbs in those cases. The example at (6) above illuminates both these ideas. She also acknowledged (1973: 144) the difficulty of neatly assigning some cases, such as with *āppan tiya-* meaning 'step behind' vs. 'support.' See (7) as an example in which either meaning is possible, but 'step behind' implies that *āppan* is still a postposition, whereas a meaning 'support' implies that this pair has developed a specialized meaning as a preverb-verb pairing.

(7)   *n=aš   ANA ABI=YA   EGIR-an tiyat*
        conj-he d-l. father-my behind   stepped
        'He stepped behind/followed/joined my father' (CTH 105.A = KUB 23.1+ ii 28)

A shortcoming of Kammenhuber is that she still defines postposition strictly by word order, as did Zuntz. She also includes Neo-Hittite copies in her evidence for Old Hittite and does not restrict her Neo-Hittite evidence to assured Neo-Hittite compositions, distinctions that must be made, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Another problem is that she analyzes two Old Hittite instances of É-*ri andan* differently (1973: 148), one as postposition and the other as independent adverb, with no justification for this inconsistency. Finally, she also (1973: 149 & 153) labels *anda=šše* in the Laws as a postposition, although she then correctly translates this instance as an independent adverb: 'In addition, to him one gives...'[3]

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[3]For Kammenhuber (1974) on double adverbs, see chapter eight below.

Starke's 1977 study detailed the functions of the local adverbs in Old Hittite. He delineated two sets of adverbs, one indicating *place to which* and one *place where*:[4]

Directional		Locatival	
anda	'into'	*andan*	'in'
āppa	'back; again'	*āppan*	'behind'
katta	'down'	*kattan*	'below'
parā	'forth, out'	*pēran*	'in front'
šarā	'up'	*šer*	'above; on (top); on behalf of'
		katta₂/katti-	'with, beside'[5]

The sample sentences just below illustrate these usages.

Place to which:

(8) *anda ꞊ š[(an parna nāwi paizzi)]*
into-prt. house not yet (he) goes
'He hasn't yet gone into the house.' (KBo VI 2 iv 37-38) (Starke 1977: 152)

Place where:

(9) *andan ꞊ a É-ri   kuit   ḫarakzi*
in-conj.   house-(d-l.) which perishes
'that which perishes in the house' (KBo VI 2 iv 54) (Starke 1977: 168)

(10) *[(ku)]it kuit   É-ri   andan [(ḫarakzi)]*
whatever   house-(d-l.) in   perishes
'whatever perishes in the house' (KUB XXIX 28 i 8) (Starke 1977: 171)

While Starke's directional/locatival division is solid, he makes other claims that are not, including that these adverbs are historically and synchronically nouns, and that adpositions are superfluous in languages where the same functions can be expressed via a case ending alone. Starke also argues against the traditional view that Hittite local adverbs have the three

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[4]Information in this section is also in Salisbury (1996: 2f.)

[5]Starke's identification of the unpaired adverb *katta₂/katti-* 'with, beside' as separate from the other *katta/kattan* is to be especially noted. Other Hittitologists have not acknowledged this distinction.

distinct functions and claims that there is but one functional category, adverb. However, contrary to Starke's claim, the traditional three-way functional contrast is seen already in Old Hittite. Evidence for this includes widely accepted interpretations of *anda* as a preverb with various verbs, for example with *ēp(p)-* 'take,' where the combination *anda ēp(p)-* clearly has an evolved meaning 'take to oneself, seize.' Beside these preverbal usages there are adverbs from the locatival set functioning as postpositions with genitive nouns, as in this example:

(11) [DUM]U.MEŠ LUGAL *pānzi* LÚ.MEŠ*MEŠEDI-an*   *āppan tienzi*
      princes   go   bodyguard-men(gen. pl.)   behind step
      'the princes go and step behind the bodyguard-men' (KBo 17.11 i 3-4)

Note against Starke that in (11) the locatival *āppan* 'behind' does occur with a motion verb (see further below). Local adverbs also stand alone or with a dative-locative noun but not in a fixed position after it, thus functioning independently. For more detailed arguments against a number of these positions including Starke's stance on the three functional categories see Salisbury 1996: 7-15 and 1999: 62-65.

Others, including Puhvel (shown above), continue to accept the three-way functional distinction, but also claim that Starke's categorization breaks down between Old and Neo-Hittite.[6]

In Salisbury 1996 and 1999, I examined every occurrence of *anda* and *andan* in the Neo-Hittite corpus in order to ascertain whether the distinctions in function for this pair were indeed obscured in the later language. I showed that although the usage of this pair had changed significantly, with very rare exceptions there is no overlap in their usage in Neo-Hittite. For details see chapter two below.

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[6]See also Boley 1994: 132.

Tjerkstra (1999) was a longitudinal study focusing on the functions of the local adverbs with four different verbs (three motion verbs + $dā$- 'take'), with the stated goal of drawing a general conclusion about a variety of verbs from this limited sampling. She drew on texts from across the history of the language in order to compare usages from Old to Middle and Neo-Hittite. A main focus of her study was the relationship of sentence particles (such as $=kan$ and $=ašta$) to the local adverbs and the verbs she chose. Tjerkstra convincingly shows once and for all that word order alone cannot determine the syntactic function of the local adverbs (see 1999: 175). Her use of the notion of "predicate frame" (1999: 16-18) is very helpful in distinguishing the three different syntactic functions of the local adverbs. However, her highly restricted corpus and longitudinal approach do not allow her to deal with all aspects of the problem.[7]

Francia's (2002) study likewise looks at the local adverbs through Old, Middle, and Neo-Hittite. She agrees with Starke on the division of the pairs into directional and locatival categories, but against him she shows that the three-way functional distinction of preverb, postposition, and freestanding adverb existed already in Old Hittite and continues throughout the history of the language. She argues that the locatival set of local adverbs function as postpositions already in Old Hittite with the dative-locative as at sentence (10) above (2002: 25). Also against Starke, and with me, she shows that the *place where* adverbs can occur with motion verbs to indicate a position that results from movement, as illustrated in (11) above (see also Tjerkstra 1999: 141). On the negative side, Francia, along with Tjerkstra, fails to distinguish carefully Neo-Hittite *kattan* that is an alternate form of *katta₂* 'with, beside' from *kattan* 'below, under' (see Melchert 2001: 216 and 2003: 892). By basing her

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[7]See also the review of Tjerkstra (1999) by Melchert (2001).

study on contemporary manuscripts of assured compositions of each period, Francia was able to refute claims of a breakdown of the system of local adverbs in Neo-Hittite. However, the necessity of selecting a limited sampling of texts prevented Francia from identifying some of the changes that occurred over time, such as those I found for *anda/andan* by doing a comprehensive analysis of their occurrences in the later language.

Organization

This study will analyze all occurrences of each local adverb in the Neo-Hittite corpus to categorize them as preverb, postposition, or freestanding adverb. Each chapter is devoted to one pair of the adverbs so that the functions of one may be detailed next to those of its partner. Another chapter evaluates consecutive occurrences of these adverbs in order to determine whether each adverb functions independently in these cases or whether two of them in combination have a single function (an issue also addressed by Francia but again restricted by her limited set of data). Finally, general issues of word order are discussed.

An adverb is examined in context and a determination made as to whether it functions as a preverb, postposition, or freestanding adverb in each case. That determination was made based on the following definitions and guidelines:

A preverb has a semantic link to the verb it accompanies. It either adds direction to a motion verb or modifies the meaning of the verb in another way, as in marking completion of the verb's action or extending the meaning beyond that of additive preverb + verb. These are comparable to English verbal particles as in the phrase *lock up* or *gave out*. They are also analogous to German separable prefixes as in *ein-nehmen* 'capture, occupy' (from 'take in')

or *ein-schlafen* 'go to sleep,' where the prefix indicates telicity.[8] The Hittite phrase *anda*

ištamaš(š)- illustrates *anda* 'in' as a preverb with *ištamaš(š)-* 'hear': in combination it means

not 'hear in' but 'overhear,' as in (6), repeated here as (12).

(12) *mānn꞊a* ŠEŠ LUGAL *kuiēš* EN DUM[(U LUGAL ^{LÚ}SAG)]
      if-also brother king some lord son king dignitary

      ŠA LUGAL ḪUL-*lu* *uttar anda išt[(amašzi)]*
      of king evil word overhears

      'Also if some (pl!) brother of the king or lord or prince or dignitary
      overhears an evil word about the king' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 44)

Although labeled *preverbs* and although they may directly precede verbs, these adverbs often

occur elsewhere in the sentence, a subject to be discussed further in subsequent chapters.

When they function as postpositions these adverbs govern a noun or pronoun most often

in the dative-locative case and have meanings that are not particularly linked to the verb.

They may be found immediately following a noun in the dative-locative, but frequently do

not directly follow their object(s), particularly if that object is an enclitic pronoun. The

following sentences show two instances of local adverbs as postpositions.

(13) *nu꞊kan ammel ABU꞊YA ku[it!* *dann(atti)]* URU-*ri* EGIR-*an* AN.ZA.GÀR *wetet*
      conj-prt my father-my because empty city(d-l) behind fortifications built
      'Because my father had built fortifications behind the empty city'
      (CTH 40.II.D = KUB 19.11 iv 14)

(14) [*n*]*u꞊šmaš꞊kan maḫḫan tuppi peran ḫalzēr*
      conj-them-prt when tablet in front read
      'When they had read out the tablet in front of them'
      (CTH 40.IV.E.3 = KBo 14.12 iv 33)

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[8]See Talmy (1985: 102-121) for an interesting discussion of this category of constituent, which he labels "satellite," and its occurrence cross-linguistically. He furnishes evidence that aspect and "path" (= roughly the direction and locative functions discussed here for Hittite) are expressed through the use of "satellites" across languages from other language families as well as Indo-European.

The third functional category of these adverbs is that of freestanding adverb. These function independently, apart from the meaning of the verb and apart from any object of the adverb. These may have local meanings such as 'therein' for *anda*, but may also have meanings that mark sequence or time, such as *parā* 'further, furthermore' seen at the beginning of the second clause below:

(15) [*na*]*mma ꞊ an arḫa warnunun parā ꞊ ma* {erasure}[*INA* KU]R *Piggainarešša pāun*
      then-it   (I) burned up   next-conj   into land Piggainaressa (I) went
      'Then I burned it up. Next I went into P.-land' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iv 28)

As discussed by both Tjerkstra (1999) and Francia (2002), word order is not an adequate diagnostic for determining the functions of these adverbs in a sentence. Preverbs often occur just preceding a verb (as their label implies), but may also occur in sentence-initial position or just after conjunctions and clitics, separated from the verb by a number of elements. Postpositions often immediately follow their objects (as their label likewise implies), but are also often separated from them, particularly (but not solely) when the object is an enclitic pronoun, which by Wackernagel's Law must appear in second position in the sentence. The object pronoun may thus be found forward in the sentence without an accompanying postposition, for second position does not attract the postposition as it does the clitic.

Thus judgments about the roles of these adverbs must be made in part based on other criteria. Semantics is significant in making these distinctions. That is, if an adverb plus verb appear to have a "special" or "evolved" meaning, one that is not compositional, those two may be deemed to be a preverb-verb pair (as in example (12) above). If the meaning is not different from the sum of the two parts, but the adverb appears to add an element of directionality to the verb, these again fit the definition of a preverb. In both the preceding

cases, if there is no available object for the adverb, then there is really no option to consider it a postposition, as a postposition by definition must have an object to govern. Conversely, if there is a potential object in the dative-locative case, then a function as postposition must be considered. But it is often the case that an adverb appears just following a potential object (a noun in the dative-locative) and just before the verb (which is nearly always sentence-final): that adverb sits in a position of ambiguity between the roles of postposition and preverb (the so-called "middle position"). It may be impossible to be certain that it is one or the other; it is in fact this potential ambiguity that allowed reanalysis in speakers' minds from one role to the other historically, an issue that will be discussed in the following chapters. The CHD (P: 118), in discussing *parā* puts it this way:

> It is often difficult to decide between *parā* used as a preverb and *parā* used as a postposition w. abl. In the many cases where the order is abl. -- *parā* -- verb, a decision between preverb or postposition for *parā* is impossible and unnecessary.

The CHD (P: 122) affirms the three-way distinction when it adds the definition of *parā* as an adverb with meanings 'further(more), moreover,' and others.

The determination that some local adverbs are freestanding is made when a special or evolved sense of the adverb in combination with the verb is lacking, when a potential object required by a postposition is lacking, and when the adverb does not alter or constrain the sense of the verb. Arguments will be stated for each judgment made in the bodies of the chapters that follow.

The corpus

As noted earlier, Hittite texts available to us span four centuries, from the 16th to the 13th century B.C. It has been known for some time that the language underwent change during the historical period; advances in our ability to determine the relative chronology of the

manuscripts have enabled improved accuracy in the study of these changes. While some

debate over these divisions is ongoing, Hittite is conventionally seen to include three

successive synchronic periods, with this approximate dating: Old Hittite 1570-1450, Middle

Hittite 1450-1380, and Neo-Hittite 1380-1220 (Neu-Rüster 1975: vii).[9]

Regardless of the *absolute* dates of the texts, accurate claims about changes in the

language can be made only if one restricts the corpus for each era to those texts known to

have been *composed* within that synchronic period and presented in contemporary

manuscripts. This is particularly an issue in the dating of Hittite manuscripts because many

older texts were copied in a preservation effort during the Neo-Hittite era. Because the

language had changed over the intervening period, Neo-Hittite scribes, unfamiliar with the

language of the earlier texts, may have produced copies that do not accurately represent the

usage of either synchronic period. This study will therefore make use of a corpus of

assuredly Neo-Hittite compositions (described below).[10,11]

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[9]These absolute dates are approximations only, as they depend on which of the Ancient Near Eastern chronologies one adopts, a matter of controversy.

[10]See Melchert (1977), McIntyre (1986) and Yoshida (1991) for background.

[11]The need to base conclusions about the synchronic grammar of any given period on *assured contemporary compositions* in contemporary manuscripts is still not fully recognized. I reject the criticism of Groddek (2002: 86, fn. 33) that I failed to include all relevant Middle Hittite texts in my (1999) study of *anda* and *andan*. None of the instances of *andan* he cites from Middle Hittite *manuscripts* comes from a text whose *date of composition* can be independently verified as being Middle Hittite. All of the ritual and mythical texts he cites may be Middle Hittite copies of older compositions. Likewise, the conclusion of Neu (1996: 3-7) that the Hittite translation of the Hurrian "Song of Release" is a Middle Hittite composition is unproven. All of the linguistic features Neu cites are equally compatible with an Old Hittite composition. I must insist that only historical texts are reliable evidence for the Middle Hittite language.

As in Salisbury (1996), I will use the corpus of Yoshida (1991: 36-43) with a few revisions. First, Šuppiluliuma I has been eliminated because these texts have been argued to be linguistically closer to Middle than to Neo-Hittite (McIntyre 1986: 47-52, after Neu, 1979). Second, the bronze tablet (Bo 86/299) has been added under Tutḫaliya III/IV. Third, several assuredly Neo-Hittite texts which had been wrongly left out by Melchert (1977) simply because they couldn't be assigned to a particular king have been included. These have been added at the end of the list of texts, unassigned. I am aware that there is much debate about the assignment of certain texts to the reign of particular kings. I have followed Beckman (1996), but do not mean to make any strong claim thereby. For my purposes, all that is crucial is the status of these texts as Neo-Hittite compositions.[12]

Neo-Hittite Texts

Arnuwanda II

57.   Recognition of Piyaššili

58.   Fragment (KBo XII 33)

Muršili II

40.   Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (except those listed by Laroche under VII.1)

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[12]Professor Melchert and I have compiled a computer database of most of the Neo-Hittite corpus, and this was used to retrieve some of the data for this study. Since this database was organized according to the catalogue numbers (CTH) of Laroche (1971), I have cited occurrences by this system. I have added the standard references to the respective cuneiform editions only for those passages cited in full. Those without access to Laroche may correlate CTH numbers with the cuneiform editions by using the online concordance of Silvin Košak (http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/). Citations are given using bound transliteration, wherein ⸗ indicates a morpheme boundary and a hyphen separates a logogram from its phonetic complement.

Bo 86/299.   Treaty with Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša

Šuppiluliuma II

121.   Conquest of Alasiya

122.   Treaty with Talmi-Tešub of Kargamis

123.   Treaty (KBo IV 14+)

124.   Oath of a Scribe

125.   Treaty/Protocol (KUB XXVI 33)

126.   Fragments: 2. KUB XXVI 25   4. KBo XII 30

256.   Protocol (*ABoT* 56)

Unassigned

181.   Letter to Tawagalawa

182.   Letter to Milawata

183.   Letter to a King of Aḫḫiyawa

386.1.   Fragments of prayers to the Storm god of Nerik

561.   Oracles about royal campaigns in the area of the Kaskeans

566.   Oracles about the cult of the "god of Arušna"

CHAPTER TWO

anda and *andan*

anda 'in' and *andan* 'into' are the first pair of adverbs detailed. Both function as preverbs, but *anda* is predominant in this role, often with the meaning 'in(to)' but at times with a more general sense of coming together. It may otherwise adopt a telicizing function or one of a number of evolved, non-concrete meanings. *andan*, having been reintroduced in Neo-Hittite as a postposition, comes to function as a preverb in just a few specific cases (*andan gulš-* 'inscribe' and *andan nāi-* 'turn toward'). *anda* alone may act as a freestanding adverb meaning 'therein,' 'in addition,' or 'in that case.' *anda* may also function as a postposition meaning 'in,' whereas *andan*'s main function is as a postposition 'into' with motion verbs and expressed locations. In this chapter I describe their functions further and provide examples of each.[13]

I.   *anda*

anda shows the triple distinction in function in Neo-Hittite: preverb, freestanding adverb, and postposition. Following are examples of all three, along with some observations about transitions in meaning that appear to have occurred over time in the language.

I.A.   *anda* as preverb

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[13]For more detail and a list of every occurrence of these adverbs in Neo-Hittite, see Salisbury 1996 and 1999. This chapter is adapted in large measure from Salisbury 1996.

anda appears with a considerable number of verbs as a preverb, continuing its Old Hittite usage. I have grouped these preverb-verb combinations into six categories which are defined by the various functions of *anda*, outlined here:

1. *anda* with its fundamental meaning of motion 'into.'

2. The specification of 'in(side)' has been lost; this meaning involves bringing one thing up against another or arrival at an end/goal.

3. *anda* moves toward a more figurative coming in: it expresses a sense of bringing two things together, of joining in, coming together, or forming an attachment.

4. The sense of reaching a physical goal is generalized to that of having completed an action.

With these first four groups one can see a progression in meaning from physical movement to a non-physical telic function.

5. *anda* with a meaning 'surround' (cf. English *en-close*).

6. Some special cases that seem to fall outside of these definitions.

Further descriptions of these functions and examples to illustrate them are provided just below.

I.A.1. *anda* with a sense of motion into (intransitives)

anda pai-   'go in'

(1)   *n ꞊ ašta*   L^ÚMÁS.GAL *anda   lē   paizzi*
      conj-prt   goatherd   in   not   go
      'No goatherd shall go in' (Bo 86/299 ii 5)

Note that in this context the meaning is that a goatherd is not to stray across a boundary (a nuance perhaps indicated by use of the particle *꞊ašta*).

(2) *n‿aš‿kan* BÀD   *anda uet*
conj-he-prt fortification he entered
'He (the enemy) entered the fortification' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 90)

This construction, which includes an expressed locative + verb of motion in the sentence, is quite rare in Neo-Hittite.[14] We will see later that this is due to the advent of a new construction using *andan* with motion verbs and expressed locatives.

anda ar-   'come in, arrive'

(3) *namma* LÚ KÚR   *išpandaza anda ari*
then   the enemy   by night comes in/arrives
'then the enemy arrives by night' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 i 22)

This last combination demonstrates both the 'motion into' sense that *anda* can convey ('comes in') but also the sense of reaching an end or a goal ('arrives'). Thus it forms a bridge between the first and other categories, and helps illustrate the progression of meaning that seems to have occurred.

I.A.2.   *anda* with the sense not of moving one thing into another, but of bringing something up against oneself or against another; also, reaching an end point or goal (transitives)

anda ḫuittiya-   'pull in, pull in/gather to oneself'

(4) *nu‿šši*   *ABU‿YA*   ZAG   *anda ḫuittiat*
conj-him(d-l) father-my   border pulled in
'My father pulled in (i.e. reduced) the border for him' (Bo 86/299 i 23)

This usage illustrates a transition in meaning as well. While there is an image of motion 'in,' it is motion only to a certain limit, stopping short of motion of one thing fully into

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[14]My previous example of *anda pai-* in KUB 5.1 i 54 cited in Salisbury (1996: 17) and (1999: 65) was based on an erroneous reading in the corpus I used. The alleged example of expressed locative plus *anda uwa-* cited by Francia (2002: 152) from the Alaksandu Treaty is based on a very dubious restoration and also is unlikely to exist.

another. Note the absence of a local particle. There is a second occurrence of this preverb-

verb combination in:

(5)   *antuḫšatarr꞊a꞊za꞊kan kuit   tēpauwaz   anda [ḫu]ittiyan ḫarta*
       population-also-refl-prt although in small no.   in   pulled (he) had
       'Though he had also gathered to himself (only) the population in small numbers'
       (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 ii 30)

Here there is an explicit goal (himself), and *꞊kan* is present.

I.A.3.   *anda* with a sense of joining in or together, attachment

   anda kiš-   'join with, connect'

(6)   *nu꞊šši꞊ššan   anda imma   kišta[ti]*
       conj-him(d-l)-prt in   even   (you) join
       'and you even join in with him' (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Ro 8)

I.A.4.   *anda* with a telic function, a sense of completion, and without motion towards

   anda wemiya-   'find (out)'

(7)   *nu꞊wa꞊ta kuedani mēḫuni* LÚ.MEŠ *ṬE₄-ME   anda wemiya<n>zi*
       conj-quot-you which   time   messengers   find
       'at which time my messengers find you' (CTH 176 = KUB 21.38 Ro 18)

I.A.5.   *anda* with a sense of surrounding

   anda waḫnu-   'surround, enclose, besiege'

(8)   *nu   pāun*   URU*Purandan*   *anda waḫnunun*
       conj (I) went (city)Puranda(acc.) (I) surrounded
       'I went and surrounded (the city) Puranda.' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 64)

I.A.6.   Other cases of *anda* as a preverb

   anda ištamaš(š)-   'overhear'

This combination doesn't fit into any of the given categories. *ištamaš(š)-* alone means

'to hear.' *anda*'s function seems to have originally been adverbial or postpositional and

associated with the noun, having to do with where something was heard.[15] An example of

this is:

(9)   *našma* GÙB-*tar kuedanikki anda išdammašteni*
      or   evil   someone(d-l.) in (you pl.) hear
      'or you hear evil in (the mouth of) someone' (CTH 255.2.B = KUB 26.8 iii 11)

This locatival use seems to have evolved into a preverbal use, as in the following example

where *anda* does not directly follow the noun in the dative-locative:

(10)   *našma*=*kan* ^{LÚ}*araš*   *ari*   *ŠA* LUGAL GÙB-*an*
      or - prt   the one   the other of king   evil

      uttar ˀ*kugurnijaman anda ištamašzi*
      word   slander   overhears

      'or if the one overhears an evil word (or) slander about the king in (the
      mouth of) the other' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 6)

In the following example (6 from chapter one repeated here as 11) there is no expressed

source of what was heard. That is, there is no noun in the dative-locative. Thus *anda* must

necessarily be a preverb in function here.

(11)   *mānn*=*a* ŠEŠ   LUGAL *kuiēš* EN   DUM[(U LUGAL ^{LÚ}SAG)]
      if-also   brother   king   some lord   son   king   dignitary

      ŠA LUGAL ḪUL-*lu*   *uttar anda išt[(amašzi)]*
      of king   evil   word overhears

      'Also if some (pl!) brother of the king or lord or prince or dignitary
      overhears an evil word about the king' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 44)

    anda šakk-   'know'

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[15]Correctly Friedrich (1952: 91) "bei jem. hören" vs. von Schuler (1957: 31) "drinnen hören." See also Goetze (1963: 100).

In (12), *anda* can be analyzed as a postposition to *ANA* ZI (underlying this is the Hittite

dative-locative *ištanzani* 'soul'; the genitive phrase 'of the goddess, my lady' would have

preceded this in spoken Hitite). The same would be true in (13).

(12) *nu = kan appad = aya ANA* ZI DINGIR-*LIM* GAŠAN≠*YA anda ŪL kuiški šakta*
      conj-prt that-also d-l mind goddess   lady-my   in no one knew
      'No one knew (that) that too (was) in the mind of the goddess, my lady'
      (CTH 383 = KUB 21.19+ 1193/u ii 2-3)

Similarly, for (12), Singer (2002b: 743) and CHD Š: 27.

(13) [*ANA* Z]I DINGIR-*LIM* GAŠAN≠*YA and[a k]uiš šakta*
      in soul/mind god   lady-my   in who knew
      'Who knew [   ] in the mind of the goddess, my lady'
      (CTH 383 = KUB 21.19 i 24)

Compare (14), where it is conceivable that the relative pronoun is merely breaking up

what is still a noun (missing) and postposition, but this example does look as though it's

undergone reanalysis in the same way as described for *anda ištamašš-* above.

(14) [. . .] *kuiš anda šakta*
            who knew in
      'who knew . . . ' (CTH 383 = KUB 14.7 i' 6)

The Hittite usage would be similar to German *ein-sehen* 'perceive' and *Einsicht* 'perception,'

in English preserved only in the noun *insight*.

  anda šarnink-   'indemnify'

(15) *nu = šši = kan*   *mān wakšiyazi kuitki*   *n = an = kan*
      conj-him (d-l)-prt if   is lacking something   conj-him-prt

      anda šarninkiškemi mānn = a ANA   NUMUN ^m.d^LAMMA *nakkišzi*
      (I) indemnify   If-conj. to   seed   Kurunta   is heavy

      kuitki   *n = an = kan* DUMU≠*YA* DUMU.DUMU≠*YA*
      something conj-him-prt.   my son   my grandson

      QATAMMA *anda šarninkiškeddu*
      thus   may he indemnify

'If he lacks something, I indemnify him for it. And also if something is a burden to Kurunta's offspring, likewise may my son and my grandson indemnify him for it.' (Bo 86/299 ii 75, 76)

(16) UMMA ^mMumulanti [(I≠aš≠wa akkan)za (n≠at punušmi
Thus spoke Mumulanti One-nom.-quot. is dead conj.-it (I) question

n)]≠at≠kan anda šarnikmi
conj-it-prt (I) indemnify

'Thus spoke Mumulanti: "A person is dead. I will investigate it. I will indemnify it (the house of Wašili)." ' (CTH 585.J = KUB 31.58(+) 75 Vo 9-10 (with duplicates))

šarnink- without the preverb means 'to replace, make restitution for.' Use of the preverb anda changes the object of šarnink- to the one receiving restitution, and seems to reinforce the meaning 'in respect to, or for it.' The difference is supported by the use of the particle ≠kan with anda šarnink- 'indemnify,' and not in cases of šarnink- alone. This usage could follow from the adverbial meaning of anda: 'therein' whence 'in that case/matter.' The other instances of anda šarnink- in Neo-Hittite occur in broken passages whose restorations would allow for this same interpretation of meaning.

anda ḫantiyāi- 'look after, care for'

(17) [INA] É ^{f.d}Umanawa≠at≠kan ŪL anda ḫanteyat [   ]
in house Umanawa-it-prt not looked after
'One did not look after it in the house of Umanawa'
(CTH 225.A = KUB 26.43 Vo 25)

Again, anda appears to be a preverb here. ḫantiya-is assumed to be from ḫant- 'face, front,' so the development is from 'confront' > 'look after, tend to,' and from anda in its sense 'up against.'

anda šipand- 'pour in a libation'

(18)   *ammuk꞊ma꞊wa [l]ē ēpti*   *nu* MUNUS.LUGAL *ammuk* DAM꞊*YA*
me-conj-quot   do not take conj queen   me   wife-my

DUMU꞊*YA ANA* ᵈ*Išḫara [*   *]x-ket*   *nu꞊nnaš꞊kan anda šipanzaket*
son-my   to (god)Ishara (?verb) conj-us-prt (she) poured in libations

nu꞊kan DAM꞊*YA apellaz*   BA.ÚŠ
conj-prt wife-my that(abl.+gen.) died

'Do not take me. . . The queen X-ed me, my wife and my son to Ishara. She poured
in libations repeatedly against us. My wife died from that action of hers.'
(CTH 70 = KUB 14.4 iv 23)

šipand- means 'worship' and can also mean 'consecrate.' In this context, where the

queen mother was doing nasty things, it seems that *anda šipand-* means that she did libations

which resulted in making the king and his family cursed. Compare Latin *sacrāre*, which

means not only 'make sacred,' but also 'declare accursed.' Perhaps an even closer parallel

might be made with Latin *invideo* 'to hate, to look at with hostility.'[16] In this case *in-* has the

meaning 'against,' just as *anda* seems to with *šipand-.*[17] This parallel might suggest that

anda šipand- could be part of category II above (motion up to/towards an object, here in a

hostile sense).

anda šunna-   'fill in'?

(19)   *nu꞊kan AWATE*.MEŠ *ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *anda šunni*
conj-prt matters   to   gods   in (I) fill
(CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 iii 43)

This is a peculiar expression, the precise meaning of which is unclear. *šunna-* 'to fill'

otherwise never appears with *anda*. There is a second verb *šuniya-* which does, and means

'to immerse something in something else.' Neither of these verbs is attested elsewhere with

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[16]This was suggested by Michael Weiss (personal communication).

[17]De Martino (1998: 38) likewise translates "ha continuato a fare sacrifici contro di noi." Cf.
CHD (L-N: 399): "And she continually made sacrifices concerning us."

anything but a concrete object, either a liquid or something put into a liquid. Goetze's (1969: 398) translation is this: 'the matters (which I lay before the gods in prayer,) pass them on in full to the gods.' Singer (1996: 41) renders 'emit.' (See his commentary, 1996: 66.) In either case, the sense of *anda* seems to be one of (successful) completion. Craig Melchert (personal communication) has suggested 'pour out these words in front of the gods.' There is no other similar metaphorical usage in Hittite, but Leslie Kurke (1989: 113) has pointed out that at least three "separate poetic traditions of Indo-European reflect the image of pouring prayer or sacral song like a libation." These parallel usages may help explain what is otherwise a mysterious expression.

anda ḫar(k) 'hold within' > 'take to heart'

(20) *mān = ma = kan zik* ^{m.d}LAMMA-*aš kēl   tuppiaš uttār   anda ḫarti*
      if-conj-prt   you Kurunta   of this tablet   matter take to heart
      'If you, Kurunta, take the matter of this tablet to heart' (Bo 86/299 iv 12)

The meaning of *anda ḫark-* in context seems clear enough, but the lack of any other examples of this combination makes its formal analysis uncertain. Although *anda* is in a preverbal position, the meaning seems most easily derived from the adverbial use of *anda* as 'inside' (see next section). Perhaps, then, as in other cases cited above, the original free-standing adverb 'hold . . . within (yourself)' became incorporated with the verb as a preverb in this particular idiom of 'take to heart, observe' (cf. Francia 2002: 129). Compare the very similar formal and semantic development of German *inne-halten* 'observe, keep to' from 'hold' and 'within.'

The type of syntactic reanalysis discussed for the examples in this section is not unusual. The function of a word can be reanalyzed by speakers of a language so that the word loses its original syntactic affiliation and takes on a new one. Consider this related English sentence:

The police took them in. Surely *take in* as it is used in this example comes from *took them into custody.* Notice that in the latter phrase, *in/into* is associated with the noun *custody.* The preposition becomes reanalyzed as part of the verb phrase, giving us: *The police took them in.* To *take in* can now stand without the noun *custody,* and has developed a meaning related to the original full phrase that included that noun phrase.

I.B. *anda* as freestanding adverb

I.B.1. Physical sense 'therein'

Neo-Hittite *anda* can be freestanding with an adverbial locative meaning: 'in,' 'therein,' 'inside.' This can also be translated with the English preposition 'among.' This is an innovation; in Old Hittite, this function was served by *andan.* This section contains citations of these freestanding locatives meaning 'therein' or 'among.' Note that all these examples include the particle ⸗*kan.*

(21) ^{m.d}LAMMA⸗*aš*⸗*ma*⸗*kan*   *ŪL kuwapikki anda ešta*
Kurunta-(nom.)-conj-prt not anywhere therein was
'but Kurunta was not anywhere therein' (i.e. 'he was in no way involved')
(Bo 86/299 i 11) (So also CTH 81.F = KUB 19.67+ i 14 & duplicates.)

(22) *n*⸗*aš*⸗*kan apiya   anda   ešta*
conj-he-prt   then   therein was
'he was in there then' (i.e. he was on the islands referred to in the preceding sentence) (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 32)

Francia (2002: 177) argues that *anda eš-* is a preverb-verb combination ("esserci"). I find this conclusion unlikely. Francia cites CTH 81.A as support for her stance, and claims that the writing in that text, ŠÀ KUR.KUR.MEŠ ^{URU}*Ḫatti . . . anda* gives evidence for an adverb (ŠÀ 'inside') plus preverb (*anda*). Rather, this is more likely explained as an orthographic redundancy due to the separation of the object 'lands of Hatti' away from its

postposition *anda*. Without any incontrovertible evidence for *anda eš-* as a preverb-verb

combination, it is preferable not to assume it just for (22).

(23) *nu* ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫurri uezzi*
conj troops   horses   of   country Hurri comes

^m*Takuḫliš = a = kan* ^{LÚ}*amumikuniš   anda*
Takuhli-conj-prt   *amumikuni*   among (was)

'the troops and chariotry of the Hurrian country came--and Takuhli, the *amumikuni*
was among (them)' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 ii 17)

I.B.2.   'in addition'

anda as freestanding adverb goes beyond the meanings shown in the section above to the

development of the meaning 'in addition.'

(24) É-*er = ma = wa = ta = kan* ANA É-*TI   anda   peḫḫi*
house-but-quot-you-prt to   house in addition I give
'but I give you house in addition to house' (CTH 85.2 = KUB 21.37 Ro 24)

(25) *[nu] = ta = k[an . . .]* ANA ZAG KUR *Milawata anda kuit UL peḫḫun*
conj.-you-prt.   to boundary land Milawata also because not I gave
'because I did not give you [...] in addition to the boundary land of Milawata'
(CTH 182 = KUB 19.55+ Vo 46-47)

(26) KUR-*ē = ya = ši = šan   anda   ḫarnikmi*
country-also-his-prt. in addition I will destroy
'And in addition I will also destroy his country' (CTH 76.B = KUB 21.5+ ii 10)

I find unnecessary the special sense 'here and there' = 'everywhere' assumed by Francia

(2002: 116).

I.B.3.   'in that case, with respect to that'

(27) *nu = kan mašieš   imma* UD.ḪI.A *anda = ma*   SI x SÀ-*ri*
conj-prt how many even   days   in that case-conj are determined
'however many days are determined for that' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 60)

This meaning 'in that case' seems reasonably to derive from 'in addition,' discussed just above. See also *šarnink-* above at (15) and (16). There are otherwise dozens of cases of *ḫandaittari* without *anda*, making this interpretation the likely one.

(28) [nu ₌ mu   meḫur] anda   taparriyai
      conj-me   time   in that case (you) determine
      'You determine the time for me in that case' (Restoration after Edel 1994: 218)
      (CTH 176 = KUB 21.38 Ro 36)

I.C.   *anda* as postposition

In this section we look at occurrences of *anda* with expressed locatives. These differ from the preverb occurrences cited in section I.A. The verbs here occur with *anda* sometimes immediately juxtaposed and sometimes less proximate. In all these cases, I will argue that *anda* functions as a postposition with the locative noun rather than being semantically or syntactically associated with the verb. Note the presence of *₌kan* in all three examples, which cannot be motivated by the verbs used.

(29) nu ₌ za ₌ kan ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-aš anda šāšduš ēššešta
      conj-refl-prt mountains(d-l.)   in   beds   (he) made
      'He made himself beds (a place to stay) in the mountains'
      (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 ii 28)

On purely formal grounds, *anda* here could be either a preverb separated from its verb by the direct object or a postposition/adverb associated with the preceding locative. The semantics argue decisively for the latter: here *anda* in no way limits nor modifies the sense of 'made,' but rather adds further specificity to the locative, which in Hittite can by itself cover 'in, on, at.' The analysis as a postposition is supported by the fixed word order of *anda* following an expressed locative.

(30) *n ꞊ an ꞊ k[an]*   ÌD-*i*   *anda IŠTU* ᴳᴵˢB[AN
      conj-him-prt river(d-l)   in   with bows

      ᴳᴵˢG]AG.Ú.TAG.GA *IŠTU* NA4 *walḫḫišker*
      arrows   with stone (they) struck

      'They struck him with bows and arrows and with stones in the river.'
      (CTH 83.3 = KUB 31.20 + KBo 16.36 iii 7-9)

Here the word order would seem to make a role as preverb unlikely. Again, however, it

is the meaning which is decisive: *anda* obviously further specifies ÌD-*i* 'at, by, in the river'

and has nothing to do with 'strike.'

(31) *ammug ꞊ a ꞊ kan ANA* ᵐ*NIR.GÁL ANA ARAD꞊KA* ZI-*za anda [(duš)]gai*
      me-conj-prt   d-l   Muwatalli d-l servant-your soul within rejoices
      '(My) soul rejoices within me, Muwatalli, your servant'[18]
      (CTH 381.B = KUB 6.46 iv 29)

The word order in (31) is not an argument against an interpretation as postposition. The

dative-locative object of the postposition has been fronted for emphasis, a fact that is also

shown by the use of the stressed form *ammug*.

II.   Neo-Hittite *andan*

II.A.   As postposition with motion verbs and expressed locatives

andan occurs relatively infrequently in the Neo-Hittite corpus. The majority of

occurrences are cases of *andan* used as postposition with a motion verb and a noun phrase

expressing location. Listed here is an example for each of these motion verbs. A list of all

other occurrences is found in Salisbury 1996.

      pai-   'go'

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[18]Cf. Goetze (1969: 398), "I, Muwatalli, thy servant, my innermost soul rejoices" and Singer (1996: 41, 67-68 and 2002: 92), "As for me, Muwatalli, your servant, (my) soul will rejoice inside (me)."

(32) *n̥ aš INA* ^{URU}*Šamuḫa*   *andan pait*
      conj-he to (city)Samuha   into   went
      'He went into (the city) Samuha.' (CTH 85.1.A = KBo 6.29+ ii 20)

(33) *nu* ^{URU}*Ḫanḫana andan paizzi*   *nu* ^{URU}*Ḫarnan RA-zi*
      conj (city)Hanhana into (he) goes   conj (city)Harnan (he) strikes
      'He goes into Hanhana and (then) strikes Harna' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 86-87),

      uwa-   'come'

(34) *nu INA* KUR ^{URU}*Tegaramma andan uwanun*
      conj to land (city)Tegaramma into I came
      'I came into the land of Tegaramma.' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iii 19)

Note the absence of *=kan* in the examples in this section, and its presence in all the examples in the following section.

II.B.   *andan* as preverb

There are very few attestations of *andan* other than with motion verbs and expressed locatives, but these are interesting to consider.

      andan gulš-   'inscribe'

andan occurs with the verb *gulš-* in the Neo-Hittite corpus as a preverb-verb combination. Examine this occurrence:

(35) *[n]u̥ kan QATAMMA ašanta* LÚ-*natar.*ḪIA *a[nd]an gulšun*
      conj-prt thus   true heroic deeds   (I) inscribed
      'Thus I inscribed true heroic deeds.' (CTH 121 = KBo 12.38 ii 14)

Otten (1988: 44f, with note 80) cites evidence for *andan gulš-* as a preverb-verb combination apparently replacing *anda gulš-* as such in Neo-Hittite.

      andan nāi-   'turn toward'

(36) *nu̥ zḁ kan* IGI.ḪIA-*wa kuwattan ANA* KUR LÚ KÚR *andan naiškenun*
      conj-refl-prt eyes-quot wherever to   land enemy into   (I) turned
      'to/toward whichever enemy land I turned my eyes' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 68)

andan also seems to function as a preverb here with *nāi-*, as the pair has undergone a semantic shift from a literal meaning of 'turn/go into' to a more figurative 'turn toward.' Francia (2002: 56) argues rather that *andan* is postpositional in (36), which makes sense in terms of the configuration of constituents but ignores the change in meaning. In its true Neo-Hittite postpositional use *andan* implies arrival at a goal, whereas in this case it merely reinforces the direction of the gaze. The following example shows an even further shift, from 'turn (my eyes) toward' to 'be disposed toward':

(37) *našma ₌ kan ANA* ᵈ*UTU-ŠI   aššuwanni   kuiški   a[nd]an neanza*
     or-prt   to   His Majesty goodness(d-l) someone   is turned toward
     'or if someone is well-disposed toward his majesty' (CTH 255 iii 38)

Example (36) with the meaning 'toward' indicates that *andan* with *nāi-* is a preverb. Note, however, that in both examples (36) and (37) the word order is also consistent with *andan* being a postposition. We have seen other evidence in Neo-Hittite for *andan* as a postposition with expressed locatives indicating 'place (in)to which.' I propose that *andan* came to be used (as a postposition) with expressed locatives with the verb *nāi-* but was then reanalyzed as a preverb. This is analogous to the process discussed for *anda* in a section above. Hand in hand with its syntactic shift from [locative *andan*] *nāi-* to locative [*andan nāi-*], its meaning shifted from 'lead/turn into' to 'turn toward' and eventually 'be disposed to.'

andan gulš- must have been similarly reanalyzed from 'etch into (+ locative)' to 'inscribe.' It thus has become a preverb-verb combination replacing *anda gulš-* in Neo-Hittite.

CHAPTER THREE

āppa and *āppan*

āppa 'back, again' and *āppan* 'behind' are the pair of adverbs examined next. Note that while the same basic approach is being taken in looking at the *āppa/āppan* pair as with *anda/andan*, there is not a strict parallel in the semantic relationship between the two, nor within the entire set of five pairs discussed by Starke (1977). In the case of *anda/andan*, it can be seen that if one moves *into* a place that the result will be that one ends up *in* a place. The same is not necessarily true of *āppa/āppan* : moving *back* or certainly *again* does not result in every case in one being *behind* the place of reference. (If one started out facing someone else, for example, and stepped *back* from there, one ends up farther away from, but not *behind* that someone). This might well be one factor contributing to the pairs apparently having undergone different changes between Old and Neo Hittite.

āppa functions most often and in a large number of cases as a preverb, showing a range of meanings from physical reverse motion to restoration, straightforward repetition, reaction, temporal movement back, and others. Identification of these categories sheds light on the process of incremental meaning changes that must have been at work here. *āppan* is also used frequently as a preverb, and as such it may retain its basic meaning 'behind' or 'after.' In other cases some element of that meaning remains transparent as the sense evolves from the compositional 'stand behind' or 'go behind' to non-compositional 'support.' As a

preverb *āppan* may also express a temporal sense 'behind,' meaning 'permanently, in perpetuity.'

āppa as freestanding adverb has the sense 'afterward' or 'further' and as such often functions to indicate a sequencing of events. *āppan* in freestanding usage may likewise mean 'afterward,' transparently from its underlying meaning 'behind.' It may also represent freestanding spatial 'behind' to describe location.

āppa does not function as a postposition, whereas *āppan* does, with either the spatial meaning 'behind' or the evolved non-locatival meaning 'according to.'

The uses of *āppa* as a preverb and as an adverb will be detailed first, followed by *āppan* in its various functions.

I.   *āppa* 'back, again'

āppa appears with a large number of verbs as a preverb, sometimes retaining its meaning of physical motion back, and showing beyond this a number of related but evolved meanings.

I.A   *āppa* as preverb

I have divided these into ten categories which describe the various meanings:

1. Physical reverse motion with intransitive verbs (e.g., 'go back')

2. Physical reverse motion with transitives (e.g., 'bring it back')

3. Transitional cases from reverse motion to replication or restoration (e.g., 'put it back')

4. Fully established 'again' or 're-' (e.g., 'do it again,' 'redo')

5. Transition to response or reaction (e.g., 'write back')

6. Other cases of reaction but without motion (e.g., 'contest, challenge')

7. Collapsing of two predications into one with motion verb suppressed (e.g., 'ask

back')

8. 'Back' with verbs that express non-movement in cases where something else has been

moved forward or away (e.g., 'remain back')

9. Temporal movement 'back' (i.e. postponement)

10. Other

Examples are cited below to illustrate each type. All occurrences of the preverb that fit a

given category are listed within it.

I.A.1. Intransitives with *āppa* indicating reverse motion

āppa functions as a preverb specifying the physical direction of motion *back*, in this

section with intransitive motion verbs. An explicit goal may or may not be stated with these

intransitives.

    āppa uwa-   'come back'

(1)   *maḫḫan ꞊ ma ꞊ aš* EGIR-*pa uet*
        when-conj-he   back   came
        'When he came back' (CTH 58 = KBo 12.33 ii 4)

āppa is clearly not postpositional in (1) as there is no object named. It is a preverb by

virtue of its close functioning with the verb *uwa-* 'come,' specificying its direction, a reverse

motion. Addition of an explicit goal does not change this relationship, and *āppa* remains a

preverb in cases like (2), with a dative-locative noun.

(2)   *namma ꞊ aš INA* ḪUR.SAG*Zukkuki* EGIR-*pa uet*
        conj-he   d-l   mount   Z.   back   came
        'Then he came back to Mount Zukkuki' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 i 1)

For other occurrences of *āppa uwa-* see: CTH 40.II.D iv 40, 40.IV.A i 40. 49. iii 26,

61.I.A ii 7. 47. iii 58. 69. 93. iv 33, 61.II.2.B i 10. iv 34, 61.II.5.B iii 40. 54. 55, 61.II.7.A iii

37, 61.II.7.C iii 40, 90.1 iii 15, 61.II.9.D i 15, 105.A iii 13 (+ *anda*), 126.4 ii 9. 15 (+ *anda*)

(restored), 176 Ro 21 (could be 'afterwards'), 181 ii 72. 76. iii 61, 561 i 59. ii 45. iii 23. 79. 85.

Each of the following occurrences of *āppa uwa-* includes a break in the sentence which limits its interpretability: CTH 40.IV.A i 49, 40.IV.E.1 i 12, 40.V.34 i 46, 40.VI.50.A 2, 61.I.A i 43. ii 8. iii 13, 61.II.2.A ii 8, 61.II.8.l ii 14, 181 i 38.

The two examples with *pāi-* that follow are parallel to those with *uwa-* just above in showing preverbal *āppa* without and with an accompanying goal.

    āppa pāi-   'go back'

(3)   *n = aš* EGIR-*pa ŪL pait*
             conj-he back neg. went
             'He didn't go back' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iv 63)

(4)   *kuiēš = ma = kan ḫāppiri* EGIR-*pa panteš*
             some-conj-prt town (d-l.) back   gone (participle)
             'Some had gone back into town' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 i 17)

Other instances of *āppa pāi-* 'go back' are found in CTH 40.IV.A i 20 (+ *=kan*), 61.II.8.e i 18, 81.B iii 72 (EGIR), 86.1.A i 17. 20 (restored), 89.A ii 12, 378.4.A iv 21 (+ *=kan*), 561 i 70. ii 39. 53.

Several more occur in these broken sentences: CTH 61.II.4.d iv 3, 61.II.8.e ii 18, 61.II.8.l ii 19, 81.M iv 15, 561 ii 73.

Following are listed all other Neo-Hittite occurrences of preverb-intransitive verb pairs in which *āppa* clearly indicates the physical direction *back*.

    āppa ḫuwāi-   'flee back'   CTH 69.A ii 20

    āppa iya-   'return'   CTH 40.I.B ii 2, 81.A ii 80 = 81.B ii 58

Other examples are in broken sentences: CTH 83.1.A ii 28, 181 iii 38 (+ *anda*).

    āppa nuntarnunu-   'rush back'   CTH 61.II.8.e ii 6

āppa weḫ- 'turn back, around' CTH 209.20 5 (broken and therefore uncertain).

See also *āppa ar-* 'return, go back' in chapter eight on occurrences with two adverbs.

I.A.2. Transitive verbs with *āppa* meaning 'back'

In this section are listed occurrences in which *āppa* indicates a physical reverse motion

with transitive verbs.

āppa nāi- usually means 'send back' when referring to people, but 'turn back' otherwise.

One example here illustrates each case.

(5)   *nu ꞊ mu ꞊ kan* IGI.ḪI.A-*wa* LÚ KÚR EGIR-*pa* ŪL *kuiški nāiš*
conj-me-prt eyes   enemy   back   not any turned
'No enemy turned his eyes back toward me'
(CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 69 = 81.B i 58)

(6)   *n ꞊ an ꞊ kan* BELI ꞊ YA EGIR-*pa parā ḫūdāk*   *nau*
conj-him-prt lord-my   back   out immediately send (3 sg imperative)
'Let my lord send him back (out) immediately' (CTH 202 = KBo 18.15 14-16)

āppa ēp(p)-   'take back'   CTH 83.1.A i 9, 83.1.B iii 35

Those in broken sentences are in CTH 61.II.4.b ii 11, 61.III.4 ii 5, 90.1 ii 16.

See also section I.A.3 below.

āppa ḫink-   'hand back over'   CTH 566 Vo 64

āppa pāi-   'give back, hand over'

(7)   *nu ꞊ war ꞊ aš ꞊ mu* EGIR-*pa* {EGIR-*pa*} ŪL *paišta*
conj-quot-them-me(d-l) back back   neg (you) gave
'"You did not give them back to me"' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 11)

Other instances of *āppa pāi-* are found in: CTH 40.II.F iii 21, 61.I.A iii 83. 88, 61.II.1

iv 22, 61.II.5.B iv 49. 51, 61.II.5.E ii 8, 62.II.A ii 42, 63.A i 17. iii' 21, 67 Ro 38 (twice). 40.

43, 68.A i 20. 21, ii 4, 68.B i 25, 68.C i 13, 39, iv 30, 68.D ii 2, 68.G i 7, 76.A iii 42, 71, 76.B

iii 58, 81.F i 27 (+ *parā*, 86.1.A ii 4, Bo 86/299 ii 65, 182 Vo 4 (EGIR), 255.1.A iv 38-39,

561 i 30, ii 59. 65, iii 82, iv 63, 585.G + I Ro 9. 10 (gapped).

Those in broken sentences are in: CTH 40.III.18.A i 19, 61.I.B iii 10, 63.F i 6, 67 Vo 4, 68.E ii 1, 89.A ii 34, 255.1.B iv 6 (= 255.1.A iv 38-39).

āppa pe̮ute- 'bring back' (usually of people) CTH 69.A ii 20, 40.II.E i 5, 81.F i 6, 181 ii 68. A broken sentence with this verb is found in CTH 81.F i 27. See also section I.A.6 below.

āppa pēda- 'take, carry back' CTH 85.2 Ro 43-44.

āppa piya- 'send back' CTH 182 Vo 4.

A broken example is in CTH 61.II.5.A i 7.

āppa dā- 'take back' CTH 81.A i 63, 585.G + I Ro 4.

āppa uda- 'bring back' CTH 40.IV.A iii 4. 22. 25, 105.A iii 13 (+ *anda*). A broken sentences with *uda-* is in CTH 40.II.A iii 10.

āppa uwate- 'bring back' CTH 378.2.A i 27 = 378.2.B ii 27 = 378.2.C ii 28, 40.II.D i 10, 40.III.18.A i 3, 61.I.B iv 34 (partially restored), 89.A i 18, Bo 86/299 iii 19, CTH 106 Ro 14. Also to be restored in 61.I.A ii 76.

CTH 61.II.8.i 4 is a broken sentence containing *āppa uwate-*.

āppa wa̮unu- 'turn back (transitive and intransitive); switch allegiance'

Some verbs straddle several categories. *āppa wa̮unu-* is one preverb-verb pair that may function transitively or intransitively, and may indicate a physical reverse motion or have a derived meaning. An example of each is listed here, first with *āppa wa̮unu-* as a transitive motion verb with the meaning 'turn back.'

(8)   ('The words that I make to the gods as a plea,')
n=at=mu   EGIR-*pa lē*   *waḫnuwanzi*
conj-it/them-me back   prohib. neg. turn
'Let them not turn them back to me'[19] (CTH 381.B = KUB 6.46 iv 7 = 381.A iii 39)

Beckman (1997: 205) and similarly Ünal (1978: 61) translate *āppa waḫnu-* in (9) as

'exchange.' While this translation is appropriate in the context, close reading shows that

āppa waḫnu- does mean 'turn back' in a physical sense here, and the rest of the 'exchange'

(the idea of substituting other offerings), is implicit.

(9)   *ŪL=war=at*   EGIR-*pa waḫnuwanzi*
neg-quot-them back   (they) turn
'They do not turn them (the offerings) back (= exchange them)'
(CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 24)

This combination may be used intransitively with a compositional meaning, 'turn back':

(10)   ^{URU}*Tanizila=ma*   *ŪL* EGIR-*pa waḫnuzi*
(city) Tanizila-conj neg back   (he) turns
'He does not turn back to Tanizila' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 61)

In an intransitive usage it may also take on the derived meaning 'switch sides' (so also

Francia 2002: 194):

(11)   *[nam]ma* EGIR-*pa=pat waḫnut*
then   (he) switched sides-emphatic
'Then he even switched sides'
(CTH 68.A = KBo 4.7+ iii 10 = 68.E iii 51)

(12)   []x=*ma* KUR ^{URU}*Kinza=ya ammedaz* EGIR-*pa waḫnuer*
      -conj land (city) K-also me (abl.)   back   (they) turned
'... x and the [people of the] land of Kinza switched over to my side'
(CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 ii 7)

For other occurrences, see CTH 68.A iii 21, 68.E iii 60, 76.C.2 i 13.

āppa widāi-   'bring back'   CTH 61.II.7.C ii 21 (broken and uncertain)

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[19]See Singer (2002a: 91).

āppa ḫūittiya-   'pull back one's robe'

(13) DINGIR-*LIM ꞊ naš ANA INIM* ᵐ·ᵈSIN.ᵈU   *šer* ᵀᵁᴳ*šeknun* EGIR-*pa ŪL* SUD-*yaši*
      god-us(d-l)   (d-l) matter Urhi-teshub on   robe   back   neg (you) pull
      '(If) you, the god, do not pull back your robe on us on account of the matter of
      Urhi-teshub' (CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 i 39)

'Pulling back one's robe' is clearly a sign of divine anger. For one suggestion on just

how it means this, see Melchert (1983: 144). See CTH 569.1 iii 49 and 66 for other

instances with this meaning.

See also sections I.A.3 and I.A.4 for other usages of this preverb-verb pair.

I.A.3.   Transitional cases to replication/restoration (i.e. 'again')

A shift in meaning from spatial 'back' to temporal 'again' or 're-' is exemplified here.

This seems commonplace: consider the analagous use of English *back*. With verbs like

come, this natural transition is easy to fathom.

āppa uwa-   'come back/again'

(14) *namma ꞊ aš* EGIR-*pa* [*INA* ᵁᴿᵁ]Timuḫala *andan uet*
      then-he   back   (city) T.   into came
      'Then he came back into Timuhala' vs. 'Then he came into Timuhala again'
      (CTH 40.V.34 = KUB 19.13 i 46)

Coming back can simultaneously represent a physical coming *back* to a place from which one

had gone out, and coming *again* to that place one had left earlier. That is, the physical return

results in the restoration or replication of an earlier state. Compare:

āppa dāi-   'put back'

(15) *n ꞊ an* EGIR-*pa INA* KUR *Wiluša* LUGAL-*eznani tiḫḫi*
      conj-him back in land W. kingship   (I) put
      'I put him back in kingship in the land of Wilusa' (CTH 182 = KUB 19.55+ Vo 41)

In (15) the emphasis is clearly on the restoration of a previous state even though the

person is in some sense being placed physically in a position. In (16), the boundary is

probably not being physically installed, but a previous agreement about its location is

restored.

(16) *kinun ꞊ a ꞊ šši*   ^dUTU-*ŠI*   *annallin* ZAG   EGIR-*pa teḫḫun*
       now-also-him(d-l) His Majesty former boundary back   (I) put
       'Now I, His Majesty, also put back the former boundary for him' (Bo 86/299 i 25)

For another case of this verb with *āppa*, see Bo 86/299 ii 64. See other usages at I.A.2

and I.A.4.

The following example is probably another case of *āppa dāi-* with this sense of

restoration:

(17) 2 SIG₅-*uanza* SILIM-*ul* ME-*aš nu ꞊ kan* EGIR-*pa* ^{GIŠ}DAG
       good   well-being took conj-prt back   throne dais
       '2. Good took well-being and re(stored) (it) to the throne-dais.'
       (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 97)

Cf. Beal (1999: 46): "Second: 'Good' took 'well-being'. Behind 'the dais'."

See also 561 ii 11, iii 21,96, iv 32, 569.1 iii 27 and with the spelling EGIR also 561 i 14,

35, 62.

These examples from the "KIN"-oracles require special discussion because of the

specialized nature of these texts and their difficult interpretation.

With Melchert (personal communication.), I assume ellipsis of either the verb *dāi-* 'put'

or GAR-*ri* 'is placed' because both of these occur elsewhere in CTH 561, regularly

accompanied by the particle *꞊ kan*, as in (17).[20] Ünal's (1974: 2.34 ff.) choice of *pai-* 'give'

must be rejected due to *꞊ kan*'s appearance. EGIR-*pa pai-* does occur frequently in these

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[20]The only exception is 561 iv 88, where *꞊ kan* is omitted in a clause with EGIR ^{GIŠ}DAG
GAR-*ri* (thus vs. Ünal, 1974: 92). This is most likely merely an accidental omission. The
same ellipsis of 'put' or 'is placed' is seen with *anda* (and again *꞊ kan*) in the "KIN"-oracles,
as in, e.g., KUB 5.24+ i 36 and ii 4 and 7 (for the text see van den Hout 1995: 250 and 256).

contexts, but never with =*kan.*

Also in question is the meaning of EGIR-*pa* in these sentences. Archi (1974: 127 et passim) and Beal (1997: 209) both interpret it as 'behind' on analogy with KIN oracle sentences in which various tokens are placed (GAR-*ri*) to the right or left of recipients. The presence of the particle =*kan* once again provides evidence illuminating the actual usage in these examples: Sentences with the verb GAR-*ri* (*kittari*) 'is placed' with ZAG-*za*/GÙB-*za* 'to the right/left' never include this particle, and are therefore not analogous to these with EGIR-*pa*, and thus do not support the meaning 'behind.' In addition, *āppa* functions nowhere else as a postposition meaning 'behind,' so this is not likely here. Finally, if the sense were 'behind the throne-dais,' the given word order (EGIR-*pa*^{GIŠ}DAG-*ti*) would require analysis as a *pre*position, for which there is no evidence in Hittite.

As Ünal (1974: 2.60 et passim) and the CHD (P: 52) support EGIR-*pa pai-* having its usual syntax and meaning ('give back') in the KIN oracles, so must =*kan* . . . EGIR-*pa dāi-* /*ki-* ('put/is placed back'). That is, just as 561 ii 59a *n*=*at* EGIR-*pa paiš* 'And gave it back' is parallel to 561 i 39 *n*=*at ANA* ^dUTU AN-*E paiš* 'And gave it to the Sun-god of Heaven', likewise sentence (19) above is parallel to 561 ii 23: ḪUL-*uanza ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM dapian* ZI-*an* ME-*aš n*=*an*=*za*=*an*=*kan karpi* ME-*iš* 'Evil took the entire soul of the deity and put it with/in anger.' The rationale for the choice between 'give' and 'put' (with and without 'back') remains unclear.

Hittite style in texts such as the KIN oracles apparently allowed that these expressions meaning 'gave back' and 'put back' could be used without mention of the objects referred to having previously been taken away. We can reasonably infer in these cases that the recipient was viewed as already lacking whatever object or quality is being restored with the taking of

the oracle. This usage is comparable to that of *āppa ḫuittiya-* (below) to mean enticing *back* the gods whose departure or absence was not explicitly stated.[21]

(18) also shows a transition to restoration, as the translation clearly shows.

āppa tiya-   'return (to a position)'

(18)   *nu kuitman* KUR-*TAM annalli* EGIR-*pa tiyazi*
        conj while   land   former   returns
        'And while the land returns to its former state' (Singer 2002a: 83)
        (CTH 382 = KBo 11.1 Ro 25)

āppa lā-   'remove (an undesirable condition), dispel; free from a spell'

(19)   *n ꞊ aš ANA ŠA* dU   *šauwari*   EGIR-*pa lānni   kutruwanni artar[i*
        conj-he to of stormgod resentments   to remove   in witness stands
        'He/she stands in witness to removing the resentments of the Storm-god'
        (CTH 382 = KBo 11.1 Ro 8)

The *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (L-N: 4) discusses the idea of restoration in this case: "the adverb *āppa* is used with *la-* to indicate the return to a previous state or condition. *āppa la-* is especially frequent in mng. 6: 'to release from sorcery, to free from a spell.' "

See also: CTH 378.2.C iii 10, 382 Ro 12.

āppa ḫūittiya-   'draw back = induce, entice, pull back'

ḫūittiya- means 'induce, attract.' The addition of *āppa* signals that the object is being drawn or attracted back (i.e., restored) to a previous state. Note that *ḫūittiya-*, like some other verbs, when paired with *āppa* has a range of possible meanings, from a physical reverse motion (see (13) in I.A.2) to restoration (here) to a temporal sense in (26) and (27) just below, in I.A.4.

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[21]I am indebted to Craig Melchert for clarification of this text and the issues presented.

(20)　*nu mān ammuk* DINGIR.MES NINDA.GUR₄.RA-*az* ^{DUG}*išpan[duzziyaz]*
　　　conj if　I　　　gods　　　bread (abl.)　　　libations (abl.)

　　　EGIR-*pa ḫuittiyami*
　　　back　(I) draw

　　　'If I draw back the gods with bread and with libations' (CTH 70 = KUB 14.4 ii 15)

　　　āppa ēp(p)-　　　'regain (a place), retreat to'

(21)　*nu = šmaš pēdan QATAMMA* EGIR-*pa appanzi*
　　　conj-refl places thus　　　(they) regain
　　　'They regain their places' (CTH 382 = KBo 11.1 Ro 26)

(22)　*nu*　KUR-*eanza ḫūmanza* URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A BÀD　EGIR-*pa ēpper*
　　　conj population　all　　　cities　　　　　　walled retreated to
　　　'The whole population retreated to the walled cities' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iv 37)

The evolution of meaning of *āppa ēp(p)-* seems likely to have been from original 'take

back' > 'take again' > 'regain (a place)' > 'retreat to.' Cf. Francia (2002: 87).

See also: CTH 40.II.E i 6, 61.I.A iv 37, 61.II.2.B iii 34. 37, 61.II.7.A ii 24, 378.2.A Vo

22, 381.A iii 40. 41 = 381.B iv 9. 11.

　　　āppa ḫar(k)-　　　'reoccupy'; also 'take as refuge,' 'retreat to'[22]

(23)　EGIR-*pa = ma* ḪUR.SAG*Ellurian ḫarta*
　　　back-conj　　　mountain E.　　held
　　　'He took refuge in Mt. Elluria'[23] (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 iii 5)

Here, *āppa* and *ḫar(k)-* are separated by other constituents of the clause, but are

nonetheless semantically bound to each other meaning 'keep back, hold as a refuge' or 'take

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[22]CHD (L-N: 366)

[23]Compare Puhvel (1984: 151): "but in the rear he had Mt. Elluria." Puhvel cites Götze in
Die Annalen des Muršiliš 156 (*KUB* XIV 15 I 27): ^{URU}*Impān ḫarta* '[he] held I.'
[militarily]. However, 'in the rear' is simply not feasible for *āppa*.

refuge.'[24] This evolved meaning must have developed from the independently functioning words in this way: 'hold again' > 'reoccupy' > 'take as refuge' (e.g. 'in Mt. Elluria').

For another occurrence, see CTH 61.II.5.B iv 31.

I.A.4. Temporal 'again'

'Make it back into a land of Hatti' is a functional English as well as Hittite phrase, and the meaning of *back/āppa* with the verb *make* in both languages indicates either the restoration of a previous state or simply repetition, 'again.' This is certainly temporal, not physical *āppa*.

> *āppa iya-*   'to do/make again'

(24)   *n ₌ at* EGIR-*pa ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti* KUR-*e iyanun*
      conj-it back   of land   (city) Hatti land   (I) made
      'I made it back/again into a land of the land of Hatti' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iii 95)

(25)   *[nu]* ^{m}*Ḫūtupiyanzaš* KUR ^{URU}*Kalaašma ḫūman* [EGI]R-*pa*
      conj   H.   land   (city) K.   all   back

      ŠA KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti* KUR-*e [iya]at*
      of   land   (city)Hatti land   made

      'H. made the whole land of K. (part) of the land of Hatti again'
      (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ iv 28)

For other instances with *iya-* 'do, make' see CTH 40.IV.A i 39, 40.IV.E.1 i 11, 40.VI.51 11, 81.A ii 68, 81.B ii 48, 378.4.A i 42. 43. iv 2, and in the broken sentences in CTH 40.II.G iv 8 and 40.IV.A i 48. (Note: Those in 378.4.A do not have double objects and mean just 'remade, restored.')

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[24]Alternatively, the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (CHD L-N: 97) states: "*āppa-ma* which is clause initial, frequently paragraph initial, is not the preverb, but a transitional adverb, relating paragraphs in a temporal sequence." Although the context of this text is broken, I am confident that *āppa* is not a transitional adverb in this instance.

āppa ašešanu- '(cause to) resettle'

Occurrences are in CTH 81.A ii 67. 70, 81.B ii 11, 47, 50, 81.C ii 14, 81.E iii 24. Those in

broken sentences are in 63.A iii' 3, 81.A iii 57, 81.B iii 5 = 81.E iii 4, and 88 Ro 18.

āppa ḫūittiya- is also found in CTH 81.A iii 14, 383 ii 18 and 20, and 569.1 ii 37 with

the meaning 'bring up again, revive (some affair),' *āppa* here no longer representing a

transition to restoration, but fully 'again.'

Puhvel (1991: 348) incorrectly translates *āppa ḫūittiya-* in (26) below as 'protracted'

(similarly Otten 1981: 19). The meaning here is correctly represented by van den Hout

(1997: 202) in his translation, 'was reopened.'

(26) *IŠTU É.LUGAL DI-eššar ku[(itki EGIR-pa)][(ḫuitti)]yattat*
      from palace   lawsuit some again   was brought up
      'Some lawsuit of the palace was brought up again'
      (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ iii 14 = 81.F i 2 = 81.K 18 = 81.B ii 71 (broken))

(27) DINGIR-*LUM kuit ŠA* ^f.d*IŠTAR-atti uttar* EGIR-*pa* SUD-*at*
      deity   that of Šaušgatti affair again was brought up
      'That the deity has brought up the affair of Šaušgatti again . . .'
      (CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 ii 37)

The sense 'to bring up again' is confirmed by the occurrences in CTH 383 (= KUB 21.19+

1303/u ii 16-21), referring to the affair of Danuhepa. See the text and translations of Lebrun

(1980: 319) "ramener à souvenir," Singer (2002a: 98 and 2002b: 743) "drag up again," and

Cohen (2002: 149) "reopen."

āppa kūruriyaḫḫ- 'become hostile, make war again' CTH 40.V.34 i 44

āppa laḫiyai- 'again campaign against'

(28) *nu* EGIR-*pa* ^ḪUR.SAG*Ḫaḫarwa laḫiyaizzi*
      conj againMt. Haharwa (he) campaigns against
      'He again campaigns against Mt. Haharwa' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 66)

The CHD (L-N: 9) incorrectly claims that *āppa* in (28) is an adverb, not a preverb.

āppa meaning 'again' can only stem from its use as a preverb.[25] Its only temporal meanings

as a freestanding adverb are 'afterwards, next.'

    āppa mema-   'repeat, say back'[26]

(29)   *nu ꞊ za maḫḫan kūn memian* ZI-*ni*   EGIR-*pa kiššan*   *AQBI*
       conj-refl when this word soul(d-l) back   as follows (I) said
       'When I repeated this word to myself thus:' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 ii 49)

There are two other occurrences of *āppa mema-*, both in broken sentences, and in both of

which the sense is unclear: CTH 178.1.B Vo 9 and 209.22 Ro 5.

    āppa šuppiyaḫḫ-   'purify/sanctify again'

There are two occurrences in CTH 382 Ro 34 and one in 382 Ro 35.

    āppa taninu-   'put back in order/arrange again'

Occurrences with *taninu-* are found in CTH 83.1.A i 8 = 83.1.B i 21 (restored), 378.4.A iv 3.

5, and in the broken CTH 378.4.A iv 16.

    āppa tarḫ- (+ ꞊za)   'defeat again'

See CTH 61.II.2.A i 31 and 61.I.A i 54, a broken sentence.

    āppa wete-   'rebuild'

See CTH 40.IV.A i 47, 61.I.A iii 94, 61.II.4.c i 15 (*wedaḫḫun!*), 81.E iii 15 (incomplete),

83.1.A i 8 = 83.1.B i 20, i 21 (written EGIR), 89.A i 13, 384 iv 41, and in two broken

sentences: CTH 40.II.F iv 3 and 383 iii' 20.

The sense 'again' is sometimes reinforced by *dān* 'a second time,' as in (30) and (31):

    āppa ARAD-*(n)aḫḫ-*   'to subject again, re-subject'

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[25]The absence of a suitable form with prefix *re-* for a given instance is merely an accidental gap of English.

[26]A meaning 'say back, reply' is also attested outside my restricted Neo-Hittite corpus. See CHD L-N: 262, 13.c.

(30) [*nu ŠA* KUR ^{UR]U}*Durmitta* ^{URU}*Gašgaš dān* EGIR-*pa* ARAD-*aḫtat*
conj of land (city) D.   (city) G.   second back   subjected
'The Gasgean (people) of Durmitta subjected themselves again a second time'
(CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 i 41)

All other examples with this verb show the transitive active verb, rather than a middle as

above: CTH 561 iv 49, and broken sentences in CTH 61.I.A i 47, 61.II.2.A i 4, 61.II.8.1 iii

29.

āppa ēš- (+ =za)   'occupy again, resettle'

(31) *nu=za* KUR ^{URU}*Tapāpanuwa kuit dān* EGIR-*pa ešat*
conj-refl land (city) T. because second again occupy
'Because one occupied T. again a second time'
(CTH 61.II.9.A = KBo 19.37.A iii 28)

See also: CTH 61.II.9.A iii 5, 61.II.9.C iii 20, 61.II.10 i 1.

It is unclear whether EGIR-*pa ašeškattat* (to *ašaš-*) in a broken context in CTH 61.II.8.1

= KBo 14.19 ii 25 is 'resettled' or passive 'was resettled.'

āppa SIG₅-*aḫḫ-*   'make right again'

See CTH 378.2.A Vo 39, 381.A iii 47 = 381.B iv 16, 382 Ro 33, 41, 382 Vo 5, 6, and

the broken 382 Ro 43.

āppa IR- *= wek-*[27]   'reinquire by oracle'

(32) *n=at* EGIR-*pa* IR-*uen*
conj-it again   (we) questioned/did an oracle inquiry
'We questioned it again' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iv 49)

Sentences (33) - (35) provide the only occurrences of *āppa* with the particular verbs

listed. They are too broken to interpret with certainty, but are tentatively included here based

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[27]Evidence that *wek-* is the Hittite verb underlying the Sumerian writing IR is a writing -*ker*
of the phonetic complement (that is, IR-*ker*) in CTH 566 Vo 63. -*ker* could not be the
complement to either of the other possible verbs underlying IR, *punušš-* or *ariya-*.

on our best determination of *āppa*'s meaning 'again' in these cases.

    āppa punušš-   'ask again'

(33)   *mān = as ŪL* BA.ÚŠ x[
      EGIR-*pa punussun n = as = mu kunann[a* SIxSÁ-*at*]
      (CTH 71 = KBo 4.8 ii 3)

    āppa išḫiya-   'bind again'

(34)   [   ]EGIR-*pa išhiyan?du*
      (CTH 89.A = KUB 21.29 ii 42)

    āppa lukk-   'become day again'

(35)   [EG]IR-*pa tūwa lukkatta*
      (CTH 61.II.2.A = KBo 19.76 i 13)

I.A.5.   Transition to response/reaction

With the verb *ḫatrai-*, *āppa* indicates a response. *ḫatrai-* means 'write' not in the sense of the physical act of inscribing, but rather in the sense of communicating in writing, sending written word of. Thus *āppa* here does not serve to restore a previous state or repeat a previous act, but to respond to an act. The element of physical motion in writing back has faded in favor of a more general 'reply, respond.'

    āppa ḫatrai-   'to write back'

(36)   *n[u = tta] maḫḫan* ᵈUTU-*ŠI* EGIR-*pa ḫatrāmi*
      conj-you when Your Majesty back (I) write
      'When I, His Majesty, write back to you' (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Ro 31)

For other cases see CTH 40.IV.A iii 51, 61.I.A iii 82, 87, 209.23 Ro 18, 566 Ro 17.

The following broken sentences include *āppa ḫatrai-:* CTH 61.II.4.d i 6, 68.C iii 26, 68.D iv 3, 76.A iii 22; it should be restored in 61.II.2.A iii 32.

I.A.6.   Reactive, without motion

As with *āppa ḫatrai-* 'write back' above, this category is defined by reaction, but in this

group without any physical motion.

In (37), there is not the sense of restoration as with *āppa iya-* above in (24) and (25).

Rather, *āppa iya-* here expresses that something is done *in response, in turn, to repay,* or

perhaps *in revenge.* The action is taken in reaction to some situation.

(37)   MUNUS.LUGAL *apūn memian ANA* DA[M-*YA*] EGIR-*pa waštul kuwat iyat*
       queen   that matter for   wife-my   in turn   sin   why made
       'Why did the queen in turn make that matter into a sin for my wife?'
       (CTH 70 = KUB 14.4 iii 18)[28]

Reaction without motion is also expressed in *āppa ḫulla-* 'contest, challenge.' *ḫulla-*

alone means 'fight'; with the addition of *āppa,* reaction to the words of the tablet comes in a

challenge to them.

āppa ḫulla-   'contest/challenge'

(38)   *[nu] ꞊za kuiš kē tuppiyaš uddār* EGIR-*pa ḫul[lai]*
       conj-refl who this tablet   words   challenges
       'who challenges the words of this tablet' (CTH 88 = KBo 6.28+ Vo 40)

āppa peḫute-

(39)   *[(nu ḫannišnanza* DI-*eššar* EG)]IR-*pa peḫutet*
       conj lawsuit   lawsuit   back   brought
       'The suit brought a countersuit' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 iii 17 = 81.B ii 73)

āppa peḫute- in this instance surely expresses reaction with the idea that a countersuit

results from the original suit. That is, the case brought by Arma-Tarhunta against Hattusili

led to a counteraccusation against Arma-Tarhunta. This resulted in a finding of witchcraft

against him and his family. Puhvel (1991: 81 and similarly Otten 1981: 19) instead

translates, "The trial brought in a verdict." His rendering is slightly off the mark with

different meanings for *ḫannišnanza/ḫanneššar,* which is probably not justified. Van den

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[28]See de Martino (1998: 35 f).

Hout (1997: 202), like Puhvel, uses slightly differing interpretations for

ḫannišnanza/ḫanneššar, but unlike Puhvel, he takes *āppa* as 'again' (thus also Francia 2002:

193: "The process resulted again in a verdict" ("and they found witchcraft").) The CHD

(Vol. P: 260) also renders *āppa* in this instance as 'again': "The judgment brought again a

judgment." Although van den Hout, Francia, and the CHD thus acknowledge a role for *āppa*

in this construction, it implies a verdict on the original accusation against Hattusili, for which

there is no evidence.

I.A.7.   Collapsing of two predications

āppa occurs in cases of *wanting* something *back* where the preverb-verb pair surely

represents two predications that have been collapsed into one. To *ask* for something *back* is

to *ask* someone to *give* something back. Sentence (40) shows this, and the sentence that

follows it in the text confirms this meaning. (For this follow-up sentence, see (7) above).

      āppa wewakk-   'ask for something back, demand back' = 'ask [to give] back'

(40)   *nu ₌ war ₌ aš ₌ ta*   EGIR-*pa kuit*   *wewakkenun*
        conj-quot-them-you back   because (I) asked
        '"When I asked you for them back"' ('you did not give them back to me')
        (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 11)

There are no other examples with *āppa wewakk-*.

(41) is broken, but is probably parallel in meaning:

      āppa wekiške-   'want, request back'

(41)   [   ]EGIR-*pa kuit wekiskenun* (CTH 61.I.B = KBo 16.1 iii 9)
       [LÚ.×.M]EŠ ^{URU}x[   ]×.MEŠ ^{UR[U]}*Ḫatti*
       [EGIR]-*pa wekešket* (CTH 61.II.8.1 = KBo 14.19 iii 5)

Similarly with *āppa tarna-* 'let back,' a verb of motion is collapsed into the meaning:

      āppa tarna-   'let return or come back'

(42)   *[zi]qq ꞊ a ꞊ wa ꞊ za ꞊ kan* EGIR-*pa anda lē*   *kuinki*   *tarnatti*
        you-also-quot-refl-prt   back   in   prohib. anyone let
        "'Also you must not let anyone (come) back in'" (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 i 20)

There is not an intact occurrence of *āppa tarna-* without a second accompanying adverb.

Other examples with two adverbs or preverbs will be discussed in chapter eight below. See

another case of *āppa tarna-* in CTH 85.1.A iii 18 (+ *peran*), and in broken sentences in CTH

40.III.25.C i 8-9, 40.III.27'.A i 11, 85.1.B iv 13 (+ *peran*), 181 iii 49.

I.A.8.   'back' with verbs that express non-movement

In this section *āppa* doesn't indicate a reverse physical motion nor a restoration, but

rather a position held ('back') by the subject while something else moves ahead or moves on.

In (43) the stones are not taken along when people go away. In (44), *āppa* indicates the

location of messengers relative to a princess, whom they accompany as described in a

preceding sentence.

      āppa āš-   'remain back'

(43)   *\takkišra ꞊ wa ꞊ kān kue*   NA₄.HI.A ꞊ *ya* EGIR-*pa āštat*
        t.-quot-prt   which stones-and   back   remained
        'the t. and the precious stones that were left back' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 18)

      āppa ar-   'stand back'

(44)   ('When the messengers went behind her,')
        nu ꞊ war ꞊ at EGIR-*pa IŠTU* IKU *arantat*
        conj-quot-they back from IKU stood
        'they stood back by an IKU (measure)'
        (CTH 176 = KUB 21.38 Vo 8)

Unlike in (23) where *āppa ḫar(k)-* had a derived meaning, in (45) it does mean 'hold

back,' the sum of its parts. The verb *hold* does not involve movement; *āppa* shows that the

animals are prevented from moving forward.

(45) 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL.LÁ 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA MU.RU MUNUS.AL.LÁ
one breed mare   one young breed mare

2 ANŠE.KUR.RA NITA 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA TUR ^m*Nanatalli nūwa* EGIR-*pa ḫarzi*
two stallions   two young horses   N.   still   back   holds

'Nanatalli is still holding back a breed mare, a young breed mare, two stallions and
two young horses' (CTH 585.G + I = KUB 31.53+ Ro 6)

I.A.9. Temporal movement 'back'

āppa ki- 'postpone'

(46) *nu ꞊ kan INIM* ^f*Nāru kuit* EGIR-*pa kittat*
conj-prt matter (name) because was postponed
'(Is this) because the matter of Naru was postponed?'
(CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 34)

(47) *nu ꞊ kan apāšš ꞊ a memiaš* EGIR-*pa kittari*
conj-prt that also matter   is postponed
'And also that affair will be postponed' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 38)

Ünal (1978: 2.65) and Beckman (1997: 206) both take these as 'postpone,' which
makes good contextual sense. One of the ways Hittites viewed time was as something that
comes towards one, as seen in the word *āppasiwatt*, 'after-day,' meaning 'future.' Thus
delaying something means pushing or putting it back. Compare English *push back* or *set
back* of something scheduled, which matches the meanings of *āppa* 'back'and *ki-* 'set, place'
(passive). So events here are being *set back* in time, or postponed (while time otherwise
marches on).

āppa dai- is the active verb form equivalent of *āppa ki-*, and in sentence (48) it too has
the meaning 'postpone.' Note that all three of the sentences, two with the verb *ki-* and one
with *dāi-*, contain the particle *꞊kan*. This is apparently significant in creating the meaning
'postpone' from the combined meaning of the components 'set back,' as *꞊kan* occurs each
time the meaning is temporal. Because we have limited understanding of the meanings and

functions of particles such as *=kan*, it is unclear how it has this effect. Nevertheless, *=kan* does seem to be what distinguishes the two meanings. Compare sentences (15) & (16) above which have *dāi-* but are without *=kan,* where *āppa* and the verb add up to 'put back' = 'restore' versus 'postpone.'

(48)   *kūn=ma=kan INIM* ᶠ*Pāttiy[a kuit? sa]rnikzilas ANA* ᶠ*Ḫepamuwa* EGIR-*pa tiyer*
        this-conj-prt matter (name)   because restitution (d-l) (name)   (they) postponed
        '[Because?] they postponed for Hepamuwa this matter of Pattiya regarding
        restitution' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 13)

I.A.10. Other uses

āppa ištapp- below shows idiomatic developments: the meaning 'catch' has developed out of the direct gloss 'close back.' *āppa* probably has a terminative function here, adding a note of finality to the verb, as *up* does in the English phrase *close up.*[29] In the case of the fish in (49), it is caught up in the net, never to escape.

āppa ištapp- 'lock up, close up, catch'

(49)   *apūn=ma* ᵈ*IŠTAR* ᵁᴿᵁ*Samuḫa* GAŠAN-*YA* KU₆-*un* GIM-*an* ∖*ḫūpalaza*
        him-conj   Ishtar (city)Samuha lady-my   fish   like   fishnet (abl)

        EGIR-*pa ištapta*
        back   closed

        'My lady, Ishtar of Samuha, caught him like a fish with a fishnet'[30]
        (CTH 85.1.A = KBo 6.29+ ii 34)

Other instances can be found in CTH 81.B iii 68 = 81.M iv 12, ?384 ii 5.

āppa au(š)- *(+ =za)*   'look back' vs. 'see behind'

(50)   *maḫḫan=ma=an=za=an=kan* EGIR-*pa uḫḫun*
        then-conj-him-refl-him-prt   back/behind (I) saw
        'Then I saw him behind me' (vs. 'Then I looked back and saw him')

---

[29]I am indebted to Harry Hoffner for suggesting this possibility.

[30]As per Puhvel (1991: 385). Likewise Tjerkstra (1999: 60).

(CTH 61.II.2.A = KUB 14.16 ii 15)

From context it is clear that (50) has to do with looking *back* or *behind,* not *again.*

Although *āppa* usually means 'back' and not 'behind,' this may be a case of overlap of

function from *āppa* to *āppan,* as the latter translation seems to match the given construction

more precisely than the former. Cf. Francia (2002: 128).

In (51), *āppa* shows a true overlap in function with *āppan.*

āppa kappuwai- 'account for, take stock of, settle scores with'

(51)   [*nu* EN]-*ŠU apūn* ARAD-*TI*₄ EGIR-*pa ŪL kappuwezzi*
        conj lord-his that   servant   neg-settle scores
        'The master does not settle scores with this servant'[31]
        (CTH 378.2.A = KUB 14.8 Vo 28)

This is the only case of *āppa* with this verb, but *āppan* occurs with it with the same meaning,

and in a greater number of occurrences. The use of *āppan* with *kappuwai-* appears to be

older. See (75) below in Section II.B for *āppan kappuwai-.*

I.B.   *āppa* as freestanding adverb

There are a few cases where *āppa* functions as a freestanding adverb, what the CHD

calls a "transitional adverb." The following sentence occurs in a section of the text that lists

the king's conquests. Here *āppa* indicates the sequence of events, and its initial position in

the sentence is one marker of this function, often reinforced by the conjunction *=ma.*[32]

(52)   EGIR-*pa=ma* ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫaḫani parḫešni paizzi*
        afterward-conj (city)Hahani in haste (he) goes
        'Afterward he goes in haste to Hahani' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 15)

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[31]Puhvel 1997: 67. Also Singer 2002a: 60: "will not call that servant to account."

[32]*=ma* is a conjunction marking a change of topic between sentences, so often occurs
coincidentally with the local adverbs when they mark sequential events. See also *parā*
(=ma).

By contrast, *āppa* in (53) is non-initial and is a preverb as in the examples at the

beginning of this chapter.

(53)   ^dUTU-*ŠI*^{URU}*Neriqaza* EGIR-*pa* ^{URU}*Ḫaḫani*   *paizzi*
      king   Nerik(abl.) back   Hahana (d-l.) goes
      'The king goes back to Hahana from Nerik' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 53)

See also CTH 561 i 19. 80, ii 48.

Again below, *āppa* toward the beginning of the sentence functions independently of the

verb, conjoining sequential events.

(54)   *nu* ꞊ *kan* EGIR-*pa* ꞊ *ma ANA* ^{URU}*Nerik kēzza*   GÙB-*liszi*   NU.SIG$_5$-*du*
      conj-prt later-conj   for (city)Nerik this (abl.) is unfavorable. Let it be unfavorable.
      'Will it later be unfavorable for Nerik on this account? Let (the oracle) be
      unfavorable.' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iii 40)

Cf. Beal (1999: 50): "Will it become sinister for Nerik afterwards on this account? Let

(the oracle) be unfavorable."

The importance of the sentence-initial position and the position just after the

conjunction-clitic compound will be addressed in chapter nine.

I.C.   Uninterpretable cases

Every Neo-Hittite occurrence of *āppa* has been examined for this study. In this section I

have listed those instances where meanings cannot be confidently proposed, mostly due to

broken contexts resulting from broken texts.

āppa šakk-, probably 'know again,' occurs only once in Neo-Hittite in this broken

sentence:

(55)   [EGIR-*p]a? šekkallu* (CTH 209.23 = KUB 57.125 Ro 16?)

The following instance of *āppa duwarnāi-* is also unclear in meaning:

(56)   GUB-*laza* ꞊ *ma* ꞊ *aš arḫayan ši* ^{GIŠ}TUKUL GUB-*laš* EGIR-*pa duwarnanza*
      (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 49)

Listed here are occurrences of *āppa* in fragments too broken to be understood for this study: CTH 40.I.A i 21, 40.II.D iv 15, 16, 40.II.E i 20, 40.II.F iv 24, 40.II.G i 20. 31, iv 26, 40.III.25.C i 4, 8, 40.III.27'.A iv 11, 40.IV.C Vo 8 (probably *iya-* 'make'), 40.IV.E.3 iii 22, 40.V.34 i 5, 40.VI.49 6, 40.VI.51 17, 61.I.B iii 3, ??61.II.2.A iii 32, 61.II.4.a ii 7, 13, 61.II.4.b iii 10, 61.II.4.d i 2, 61.II.5.A i 6, 61.II.5.B iv 64, 61.II.6 x 19, 61.II.8.e ii 3, 61.II.8.h.B 7, 61.III.2.A i 49, 61.III.4 iii 6, 69.A ii 2, 76.A ii 18, 76.B iii 10, 81.D i 49, 83.1.B i 13, 85.1.B i 12, 86.1.B i 5, 88 Vo 25, 89.A i 19, 123 iii 1, 2, 171 ii 18, 176 Ro 26,[33] 176 Ro 38, 181 i 46, 181 iv 28, 182 Ro 13, 209.23 Ro 13, 255.2.A iii 2, 378.1.A Ro 27, 378.2.B i 14, 378.4.A i 38, 378.4.A iv 22, 384 ii 37, 561 ii 36, 566 Vo 23.

II. *āppan* 'behind, afterward, permanently, in perpetuity'

āppan is well-attested in all three functions: postposition, preverb, and adverb.

II.A. *āppan* as postposition

āppan occurs frequently as a postposition meaning 'behind' in Neo-Hittite. In many of the examples in this category, *āppan* directly follows a noun (a location) in the dative-locative case, but it may be separated from its object by another element. It may also be separated from the verb by one or more words. The meaning here is plainly 'behind,' and is not particularly linked to the verbs nor does it limit the sense of the verbs, but just indicates where an action takes place or a state exists. The postpositional phrases occur as expected with a variety of predicates, a sampling of which is given here.

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[33]See Edel 1994: 218.

(57) *INA* ^{URU}*Ḫurna꞊ma꞊ššan kuit* É ^dU   ^{URU}*Ḫurna* EGIR-*an ēšta*
(d-l) (city) Hurna-conj-prt which temple stormgod (city) Hurna behind was
'The temple of the stormgod of Hurna that was behind Hurna'
(CTH 61.II.9.A = KBo 19.37.A iii 43)

The following sentence is certainly parallel to that above, but the verb *ēš-* 'be' is

unstated, as the sentence is in the present tense.

(58) *nu꞊ššan INA* ^{URU}*Kapperi kuit* É.DINGIR-*LIM ŠA* ^d*Ḫatipuna* EGIR-*an*
conj-prt d-l (city) Kapperi which temple   of Hatipuna behind
'The temple of Hatipuna which is behind Kapperi'
(CTH 61.II.9.A = KBo 19.37 iii 37)

In both of the instances above the object NP of the postposition has been fronted. For

more on this see chapter nine.

(59) *nu꞊kan* LÚ KÚR *Pišḫurun INA* ^{URU}*Palḫuišša* EGIR-*an kuenun*
conj-prt enemy Pishuru (d-l) (city) Palhuissa behind (I) struck
'I struck the enemy Pishuru behind Palhuissa' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 5)

(60) *nu꞊mu꞊ššan INA* ^{URU}*Palḫuišša* EGIR-*an* LÚ KÚR *Pišḫuruš* MÉ-*ya tiyat*
conj-me-prt (d-l) (city) Palhuissa behind enemy Pishuru battle(d-l) stepped
'The enemy Pishuru stepped into battle with me behind Palhuissa'
(CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 2)

(61) ('Whatever cities were Armatarhunta's,')

n꞊an꞊kan ḫumanti꞊ya꞊pat EGIR-*an* ^{NA4}ZI.KIN *[t]ittanuškanzi*
conj-her-prt all (d-l)-and-emphatic behind marker (they) set up
'behind every one (of them) they will set up her (statue as) a marker'[34]
(CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ iv 72)

(62) *nu꞊kan ammel ABU꞊YA ku[it!   dann(atti)]* URU-*ri* EGIR-*an* AN.ZA.GÀR *wetet*
conj-prt my   father-my because empty   city(d-l) behind fortifications built
'Because my father had built fortifications behind the empty city'
(CTH 40.II.D = KUB 19.11 iv 14)

There are two other (broken) examples with *wete-* in which *āppan* is probably

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[34]Otherwise van den Hout (1997: 204): "behind every single cult monument they will erect
her (statue)" and Otten (1981: 29): "wird man sie jeweils an jeden einzelnen <Ort> hinter
der Masse beaufstellen." But ^{NA4}ZI.KIN cannot be a dative-locative object of EGIR-*an*. It
must be accusative in apposition to ꞊*an*.

postpositional: CTH 61.II.5.A i 14 and 61.II.5.E ii 9.

See also CTH 40.IV.A i 16, 61.II.2.B iii 57, 61.II.9.A iii 39. 45, 89.A i 17,

379 iii 20.

āppan in (63) appears to function as a postposition with a dative-locative object. It is

best translated as 'according to (the word of),' but one can see how this could develop from

'behind' > 'following' > 'according to.' (64) likewise shows this meaning.

(63)   *nu   ANA ^mTemeti* EGIR-*an   UL* DÙ-*anzi*
       conj (d-l)   Temeti according to not (they) do
       'They do not do (it) according to the word of Temeti' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iii 78)

(64)   *parā ꞊ pat daḫḫi   nu ^dUTU-ŠI   ZI-YA ꞊ pat   EGIR-an   DÙ-mi*
       (I) select-emph   conj My Majesty will-my-emph according to (I) do
       'I will go ahead and select and I will do, My Majesty, according to my own will'
       (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iii 52-53)

Cf. Beal (1999: 50-51): "I will decide and I My Majesty do according to my own will."

See also CTH 561 iii 84.

The writing EGIR stands for *āppan* and functions as a postposition meaning 'behind' in

the following texts, in each case with KASKAL, the whole phrase meaning 'behind the path':

CTH 486.C iv 47, 569.1 iv 15. 20

II.B.   *āppan* as preverb

āppan has also come to function as a preverb in some cases, showing a significant

semantic link to the verb. Some of these are the same verbs with which *āppan* was listed as a

postposition above. The claim that *āppan* is a preverb here is based on a unitary meaning of

the preverb in combination with the verb. It can be difficult to prove a transition from

postposition to preverb in these cases. For example, in (65), one sees that the position of

āppan allows it to be ambiguously postpositional or preverbal, as has been discussed before.

It is a small semantic leap from 'step behind' to 'support, be on the side of.' Compare

English *stand behind*: Even at the point that we understand *stand behind* to mean 'support'

and not to physically 'move behind' someone, *behind* still functions as a preposition. Yet the

unitary meaning of *stand* + *behind* indicates a change of status in that pair of words.

Compare an instance of *peran ḫuiyatalluš* 'the vanguard,' which stems from *peran ḫuwai-*

'run in front,' a parallel construction that is an undeniable combination of preverb + verb.

(See CTH 81.A ii 28 in chapter five.)

     āppan tiya- 'step behind, support, follow, tend to, busy oneself with'

(65)   *n = aš ANA ABI = YA* EGIR-*an tiyat*
       conj-he d-l. father-my behind stepped
       'He stepped behind/followed/joined my father' (CTH 105.A = KUB 23.1+ ii 28)

In (65), either a meaning 'stepped behind' or 'followed/joined' is possible with the

given word order and context. Other uses of *āppan tiya-* show a more evolved semantic tie

between preverb and verb, so that they function as one, such as in cases of *āppan tiya-*

meaning 'tend to' or 'busy oneself with' rituals:

(66)   *nu ANA ŠA* ᵈUTU ᵁᴿᵁ*Arinna = pat* GAŠAN = *YA* SAG.UŠ-*aš ANA* EZEN.ḪI.A
       conj (d-l) of sungoddess Arinna-emph lady-my regular   (d-l)   festivals

       EGIR-*an tiyanun*
       (I) tended to

       'I tended to the regular festivals of my lady, the sungoddess of Arinna'
       (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 i 21)

Compare on the overall problem Francia (2002: 171-173), who retains the analysis as

postposition for cases like (65), but takes that of (66) as a preverb-verb combination.

There are many other occurrences of *āppan tiya-* meaning 'support': CTH 61.II.2.A iv

14, 15, 61.II.2.B iv 26 (twice), 41, 67 Ro 9. Vo 7. 8, 68.A i 10. 12, 68.B ii 7. 20, 68.C iv 18.

32. 34, 68.D i 10. 12, 81.A iv 16. 28. 29 = 81.B iii 59. 69. 70 = 81.M iv 13, 85.1.A ii 14. 15 (twice), 85.1.B ii 16, 105.A ii 28, 224 Ro 7, 255.1.A ii 5. 6, 375 iii 20. It occurs also in the following broken sentences: CTH 61.II.2.A iii 28, 61.II.2.B iii 57. iv 18. 42, 69.A i 33, 69.B iii 8, 81.F ii 53.

These are cases of *āppan tiya-* meaning 'tend to': CTH 61.I.A i 21, 63.A iii' 6 (= 63.B iii 6), 63.A iii' 7, 70 ii 12, and in the broken 61.I.B i 33 (= 61.I.A i 21).

Also see CTH 561 i 7 (written EGIR).

āppan pāi-   'go behind, follow,' 'support (politically)'

(67)   *[nu ₌ šš]i* EGIR-*an pāun*
        conj-him behind (I) went
        'I supported him'[35] (CTH 68.A = KBo 4.7+ i 13 = 68.D i 13 = 68.E i 12)

Again *āppan* is positioned ambiguously as postposition or preverb.

āppan uwa-   'come after, come to the aid of'

(68)   *nu ₌ wa ₌ mu* EGIR-*an uwatten*
        conj-quot-me behind (you) come
        '"You (pl.) come to my aid!"'[36] (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Vo 27)

Other instances are in CTH 67 Vo 28, 123 iii 52.

āppan ar- (Middle)   'stand behind' = 'support'

(69)   [...] NIŠ DINGIR-*LIM* EGIR-*an kūš*   DINGIR.MES *arantaru*
        oath gods   behind   these gods   stand (3 pl. imperative)
        'May these gods stand behind [this] oath' (CTH 225.A = KUB 26.43 Vo 21)

Additional cases are in CTH 68.B ii 8 and 71 iii 7 (sense uncertain).

āppan mauš-   'pursue' (*mauš-* = 'fall, drop')

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[35]Likewise Tjerkstra (1999: 67).

[36]Cf. Tjerkstra (1999: 67): " 'Support me'."

(70) [(*nu ꞊ šši ꞊ kan idalāuwanni* EGIR-*an ŪL n*)]*amma maušḫaḫat*
      conj-him-prt evil   behind no longer (I) fell
      'I no longer pursued him in enmity' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ iii 24 = 81.F i 16)

Compare the translation in the CHD (1983: 212): 'I did not fall back into maliciousness against him.' It would seem problematic to translate *āppan* as 'back' here when it otherwise means 'behind.' Compare English *to fall in behind*.

Further support for the claim that these are indeed preverbs is seen in cases such as the following, where the transitivizing of the verb as shown by the accusative object precludes a postpositional reading.

āppan pāi-   'pass behind'

(71) *nu takšatar EGIR-an paizzi*
      conj plain(acc.) behind (he) goes
      'He will pass behind the plain' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iv 65)

The opportunity for reanalysis is apparent in (72). *āppan iya-* evolves from 'go behind' to 'go after' to 'follow.' The object of *āppan iya-* is accusative, showing that speakers understood this as a preverb-verb pair. Were *āppan* postpositional here, it would require that a dative-locative noun precede it.

āppan iya-   'follow, go after'

(72) ^m*Pallānn ꞊ a ꞊ wa ꞊ kan*   EGIR-*an iyaḫḫut*
      Palla(acc.)-also-quot-prt behind go (imperative)
      '"Also follow Palla!"'[37] (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 37)

Broken sentences including this pair are in CTH 68.F i 2 and 561 iv 40.

Compare:

āppan ar-   'attend to'

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[37]Similarly Tjerkstra (1999: 33): " 'and go after Palla'. "

(73) *n = at* EGIR-*an artari*
    conj-it (acc.) (he) attends to (< behind stands)
    'and he attends to it' (Singer 2002a: 100) (CTH 383 = KUB 21.19+ iv' 17)

āppan ēp(p)-   'pursue, follow, harrass, press'

(74) *namma = an* EGIR-*an = pat*[38] *AṢBAT*
    then-him   behind-emph (I) took/seized
    'Then I (continued to) pursue him' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 28)

For other instances of *āppan ēp(p)-*, see CTH 61.I.A ii 64 = 61.I.B iv 17.

āppan kappuwai- 'account for, figure out, keep tabs on, take stock of, record, inventory,

take account of, take into account, value, esteem, take care of, settle scores with' (Puhvel

1997: 66)

(75) EN-*KA = wa = tta* EGIR-*an kappū[wai]t*
    lord-your-quot-you squared accounts
    'Your lord has squared accounts with you' (Puhvel 1997: 68, with Sommer)
    (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 iii 66)

See also: Bo 86/299 i 45, 81, CTH 106 Ro 27 and compare *āppa kappuwai-* in (51),

section I.A above.

āppan šanḫ-   'seek after'

(76) *mān = aš*   ᵈUTU^{ŠI}   EGIR-*an šanḫun*
    when-them My Majesty (I) sought after
    'I, My Majesty, would have sought after them' (CTH 63.A = KBo 3.3+ iii' 23)

Compare *šanḫ-* alone, which means 'seek, look for, investigate.' *āppan* functions with

šanḫ- to mean 'seek after.' The CHD (Š: 168) interprets this differently, as 'look after, take

care of,' but I see no justification for this sense of 'caretaking' from the original 'seeking.'

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[38]A note on the emphasizing particle *=pat:* The *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (1995: 227),
after Hoffner, says that "it will usually attach itself to that modifier which serves to
particularize or define the construction to the highest degree." In preverb-verb combinations
it is usually attached to the former, directing focus on the meaning of the preverb-verb
combination, rather than the verb alone, as in this case.

The context refers to the recovery of missing civilian captives.

See also: CTH 62.II.A i 14, 19, 63.A iii' 10 (= 63.B iii 9), 22, 89.A iv 12, Bo 86/299 iii

18, CTH 106 Ro 13, 181 i 21, 378.1.A Vo 20 and a broken occurrence in 378.1.A Ro 46.

āppan wemiya- 'find (from) behind, discover'

(77)   *mān ǥ ma ǥ ši kupiyati[n k]uinki* EGIR-*an* KAR-*anzi*
       if-conj-him(d-l) plot   some behind (they) find
       'If they uncover some plot on his part'[39] (CTH 89.A = KUB 21.29 iii 35)

wemiya- alone means 'find,' so the sum of the parts of *āppan wemiya-* is 'find (from)

behind.' The use of *āppan* adds the notion of catching someone by surprise in Hittite as in

English. The same sense of surprise appears to be present also in (78), as seen by Francia

(2002: 102):

(78)   *nu ǥ ššan pāun*   KUR ^{URU}*Piggainarešša šašti*   *walḫun*
       conj-prt (I) proceeded land   P.   camp/hiding place (I) struck

       IŠTU NAM.RA.ḪI.A GU$_4$ UDU EGIR-*an wemiyanun*
       (from) deportees   cows sheep (I) discovered

       'I proceeded to strike the land of P. in its bed and caught (it) with deportees, cows
       and sheep.' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iii 36-37)

Also in: CTH 61.I.8.f i 11 (restored), 61.II.5.B iii 37, 89.A iii 35 and in the broken

61.II.8.f i 11 and 61.II.8.l ii 26.

Note that in (72) - (78) the subject carries out the action by approaching the object *from*

behind, whereas in (79) - (83) the subject leaves/puts the object *behind him*.

In cases like (79) - (83), *āppan* originally indicated a physical movement of the object

behind the subject. But as with *āppa*, the physical can shift to the temporal, so that the thing

first left physically behind (momentarily), becomes left behind indefinitely. Thus the

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[39]See Puhvel (1997: 256).

actions/states expressed by the verbs come to be done 'permanently,' 'in perpetuity' with the

addition of *āppan*.

āppan tarna-   'leave behind, grant permanently, in perpetuity'[40]

(79)   [*n = a*]*t = kan* EGIR-*an tarnaḫḫun*
        conj-it conj behind (I) released
        'I granted it in perpetuity' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 iv 67)

Additional instances are found in CTH 40.III.25.A i 33, 81.A iv 70, and 585.G + I.

This combination also occurs with the meaning 'cancel, remit.' Compare the double

sense of English *remit*, both 'pay' and 'cancel.' An example is:

(80)   ('They shall take a male as heir,')
        mān NUMUN DUMU.NITA*=ma ŪL ēszi* EGIR-*an = at = kan tarnattari*
        if   seed   male   -conj not is   it shall be remitted
        'but if there is no male "seed," it (the requirement) shall be remitted'
        (CTH 106 = KBo 4.10 Ro 12)

See also CTH 121 ii 16, 378.2.B iii 18 = 378.2.A Vo 6 (broken).

āppan arawaḫḫ- 'free/release permanently'

(81)   *ANA* DINGIR.MES URU.d*U-tašša = aš = kan*   EGIR-*an arawaḫḫun*
        (d-l) gods   (city) Tarhuntassa-them-prt behind (I) released
        'For the gods of Tarhuntassa I released them permanently' (Bo 86/299 iii 56)

Otten (1988: 23) translates this as, "In Interesse der Götter von Tarhuntassa habe ich sie

freigestellt," but Melchert (1990: 206) suggests another instance of 'permanently, in

perpetuity.'

āppan dala-   'leave, leave behind'

(82)   *nu = kan* EGIR-*an ŪL kuitki*   *dālišta*
        conj-prt behind   neg anything   (he) left
        'He didn't leave anything behind' (CTH 70 = KUB 14.4 ii 7)

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[40]See Melchert (1990: 32-33) regarding this meaning of *āppan tarna-*. Francia (2002: 39) accepts the sense, but views *āppan* as a freestanding adverb.

āppan pāi-   'remit,' i.e. 'give permanently'

(83)   *apāt꞊ma꞊šši*   KARAŠ *ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM ša[ḫḫani] luzzi*   EGIR-*an* SUM-*er*
those-conj-him(d-l) troops of god   taxes (d-l) work(d-l) (they) remitted
'They have remitted to him those troops for (paying/doing) the god's taxes and work'
(CHD P: 52)[41] (CTH 106 = KBo 4.10 Ro 45)

See also CTH 97 Ro 21, 22, 23, Bo 86/299 i 82, iii 68, CTH 106 Ro 45 (three), 46.

āppan ēš-   'be remaining, left over'

The following demonstrates a transition in meaning from 'was behind' to 'was

remaining' or 'left behind.' Again parallel to some of the cases with *āppa*, here something

else has moved away, and the subject remains behind as a result of this other action.

(84)   URU*Alatarme꞊za꞊kan ŪL* 1-*aš* EGIR-*an ešun*
(city) Alatarm-refl-prt neg one behind (I) was
'Did I not alone remain behind in A.?' (='Was I not left all alone in A.?')[42]
(CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 ii 11)

The difference between this *(āppan ēš-)* and *āppa aš-/ar-* cited earlier (see (43) and

(44)) is small, but compare German *hinter-* and *zurückbleiben*, which are also virtually

equivalent.

See also Bo 86/299 i 81 (twice).

(85)   *nu꞊kan mān INA* É.LUGAL *kuit ḫurtiyaš uttar nūwa* EGIR-*an*
conj-prt if in palace some curse matter still behind
'If some matter of a curse (is) still behind in the palace' (i.e., lingers, persists)
(CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 24)

While the usages of EGIR-*an* in (84) and (85) have a sense of *remaining behind* as in

the earlier preverbal usages with the meaning 'in perpetuity, permanently,' it is also possible

to see these as freestanding adverbial 'behind' usages. It is difficult to decide between

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[41]Compare CHD Š: 6: "They have waived to him that troop (and) the *šaḫḫan* and corvée of the divinity."

[42]See Otten 1988: 15 and 41 with references: "bleiben zurück."

preverb and adverb labels with certainty in these cases.

II.C. *āppan* as freestanding adverb[43]

āppan also occurs as a freestanding adverb and maintains its meaning 'behind' in some

cases where it stands alone, as in (86). Here we know that the king bowed in the direction of

the substitute ox as the latter was led away. *āppan* either as 'behind' (spatial) or

'after/afterwards' (temporal) is freestanding in these instances as there is no object named.

(That we know the reference in the overall context of the event does not affect its

freestanding status.)

(86) ᵈUTU*ŠI* ꞊ *[m]/a* EGIR-*an ḫinkatta*
       His Majesty-conj behind   (he) bowed
       'His Majesty bowed behind (the substitute ox)' (CTH 486.A = KUB 43.50+ Ro 17)

(87) ᵁᴿᵁ*Ninaintaš* ꞊ *ma* ꞊ *kan INA* KUR ᶦᴰ*Ḫūlaya āššanza* ᴳᴵˢTUKUL *ŠA*
       (city) Ninaintas-conj-prt in land (river) Hulaya remaining weapon of

       ᴸᵁKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN꞊*ma*꞊*kan kuiš* EGIR-*an n*꞊*aš*꞊*kan ANA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI āššanza*[44]
       gold-spear man-conj-prt   that behind   conj-it-prt (d-l) His Majesty remaining

       'The city Ninaintas belongs to the land of Hulaya. The weapon of the gold-spear man
       that (is) behind belongs to His Majesty.' (Bo 86/299 i 45)

In (87), the 'weapon of the gold-spear man' is the name for some topographical object.

See also CTH 106 Ro 27.

āppan also has the meaning 'afterward' when it occurs as a freestanding adverb. The

advent of this meaning is transparent: if one comes *behind* someone, one comes *after* him, or

afterward. The shift from the physical to the temporal is once again seen, and with it an

extension of usage from accompanying verbs of motion to all types of verbs.

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[43]See the similar analysis by Francia (2002: 38-39).

[44]In this description of boundaries the participle of *āšš-* 'to remain' has the sense 'belong to.'

(88) EGIR-*an ꞊ ma ꞊ aš irmaliyattat ꞊ pat*
afterward-conj-he fell ill-emphatic
'Afterward he became ill' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 i 5)

The only meaning that makes sense here is 'afterward,' and this interpretation is

reinforced in two ways. The attachment of *꞊ pat* to the verb rather than to *āppan* is an

indication that the latter is not a preverb,[45] as is its sentence-initial position. First position is

logical in cases where *āppan*'s meaning is 'afterward' and its function is to conjoin

consecutive events. We see the same usage in (89) - (91):

(89) EGIR-*an ꞊ ma* 2 NINDA.GUR₄.RA *ANA* ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ ÍD.ME.EŠ KUR
afterward-conj 2 breads   to   mountains   rivers   land

paršiya[zzi]
(he) breaks

'Afterward he breaks 2 breads to the mountains, the rivers, and the land'
(CTH 381.B = KUB 6.46 iv 52)

(90) EGIR-*ann ꞊ a ꞊ kan INA* ŠÀ   KARAŠ *ḫinkan   kišat*
afterward-also-prt d-l. inside camp   epidemic happened[46]
'Also afterward an epidemic happened inside the camp'
(CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 i 9)

(91) EGIR-*ann ꞊ a ꞊ at   naḫšarriyantat*
afterward-also-they became afraid
'And afterward they became afraid' (CTH 40.V.34 = KUB 19.13 i 49)

However, inital position in a sentence is not a prerequisite for the meaning 'afterwards,'

as shown with examples (92) and (93).

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[45]See footnote 38 from earlier in this chapter.

[46]Otherwise Güterbock (1956: 90) and Puhvel (1997: 195): 'In the rear, amidst the army, plague broke out.'

(92) *našma ANA AWĀT* KUR ᵈU-*tašša*   *kuit*   *kiššan* EGIR-*an iyanzi*
or   on   matter land Tarhuntassa something thus afterward (they) do
'or (if) afterwards something is done as follows regarding the matter of the land of
Tarhuntassa' (Bo 86/299 iii 3) (Similarly Otten (1988: 21): "nachträglich.")
Otherwise Francia (2002: 27 "in eterno!")

Compare CTH 86.1.A ii 14.

(93) *nu≠šši≠za*   EGIR-*an ŪL memaš*
conj-him(d-l)-refl afterward neg (he) said
'Afterwards he said "no" to him'[47] (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 i 12)

In the following example the meaning is probably also 'afterwards,' but this is unclear

due to the broken context.

(94) *ANA ABA ABI≠[Y]A šer* [
EGIR-*an ŪL k[ui]tki da[aš*
'Afterwards he took nothing' (CTH 88 = KBo 6.28+ Vo 14)

See also: CTH 88 Vo 7. 9, both broken.

Listed here are sentences in which there is an *āppan*, but there is a break in the sentence

and the verb cannot be clearly made out: CTH 40.I.C i 2, 40.II.A iii 2, 40.II.D iv 27, 40.II.E i

3, 61.II.1 iv 3. 14?, 61.I.B ii 52, 61.II.2.B iii 58, 61.II.4.b ii 10, ii14, 63.B iii 4, 67 Ro 2. Vo

35, 68.E i 9, 76.A ii 52, 86.1.A iii 24, 124.A iii 20, 178.2.b Vo 2, 209.2 iii 27, 378.4.A ii 7,

378.4.B ii 6, 585.D iv 13, 585.H Ro 2, 585.J Vo 14, Vo 16, 585.S i 30, iv 3, and in initial

position, 40.II.F iv 27, 40.II.G i 23.

Broken sentences containing EGIR are in CTH 40.V.29 9, 61.II.2.A ii 23, 86.1.A ii 38,

182 Vo 15, 561 iv 24.

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[47]Cf. CHD (N: 261) which gives the phrase *≠za natta mema-* with the meaning 'to say "no,"
refuse.'

CHAPTER FOUR

katta and *kattan*

This chapter examines *katta* and *kattan*. As with the other local adverbs, there is a pair

with related meanings, *katta* 'down' alongside *kattan* 'below, under.' But unlike in the other

cases, there are in addition the lexical items *katta* and *kattan* meaning 'beside, with' to be

considered separately.[48]

katta as preverb has the basic directional meaning 'down,' but comes to have evolved

meanings, as in the case of *katta uiya-* 'expel, banish,' which derives from the literal 'send

down.' As a preverb it may also express a temporal sense of 'down,' such as with the verb

dala- 'leave,' where it is used in reference to handing something down to the next generation.

The related temporal sense 'subsequently' is seen frequently for freestanding adverbial *katta*.

Another freestanding adverbial locatival usage, 'down (there),' is rarely seen.

kattan 'below, under' appears in several instances as a preverb where its meaning is not

truly locatival, such as in *kattan ēp(p)-* 'undertake, concern oneself with.' Some preverbal

usages of *kattan* and *katta* show overlap, such as with *=za katta(n) au(š)-* 'watch over.'

Cases of overlap will be detailed below.

As a postposition, *kattan* may mean 'below, under' in either a physical or non-physical

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[48]This follows Starke 1977: 181 ff.

sense (e.g. in the expression 'place under oath'). *kattan* may also stand alone to express location 'below.'

In Neo-Hittite there are also two separate lexical items *katta* and *kattan* meaning 'beside, with, in(to) the presence of,' both postpositions. *katta* in this meaning is a continuation from Old Hittite, whereas *kattan* in this meaning appears from Middle Hittite onward. *kattan* meaning 'beside, with' has also become preverbal in the cases of ⸗*za kattan pāi-* 'betray,' ⸗*kan kattan nāi-* 'defect,' and also *kattan tiya-/ar-* 'stand by, support.' It is important to avoid mixing or confusion of the two sets of forms, *katta* 'down'/ *kattan* 'below' and *katta/ kattan* 'with.'

I.   *katta* 'down'

katta functions as a preverb, often with its basic meaning 'down' or with evolved meanings. It also has a freestanding adverbial meaning 'subsequently,' which will be discussed below.

I.A.   Preverbal *katta*

Listed in this section are preverbal usages with the meaning 'down,' intransitives followed by transitives. The preverbal usages with *uwa-* 'come' and with *pāi-* 'go' illustrate, as with previously discussed preverbs, the narrowed meaning of the verb that results when the local adverb is used as a preverb to specify the direction of action. Also as with other preverbs, these can occur with or without a stated goal (or origin).

I.A.1.   Intransitives with meaning 'down'

katta uwa-   'come down'

(1)   *n ⸗ aš IŠTU* KUR ^{URU}UGU-*TI katta uet*
conj-he from   upper land   down came
'He came down from the upper land' (CTH 40.II.E = KUB 19.10 i 8)

(2)   *nu ꞊ kan* NAM.RA.MEŠ *katta uēr*
        conj-prt deportees   down came
        'The deportees came down' (CTH 61.II.2.A = KUB 14.16 iii16)

(3)   BÀD-*eššar ꞊ ma ŠA IZZI* 40(!) *gipeššar katta uet*
        fortification-conj of wood 40   *g.*   down came
        'The fortification of wood, 40 *gipessar* (high), came down'[49]
        (CTH 85.1.A = KBo 6.29+ ii 33)

For (3) the meaning of *katta uwa-* in context is 'fell,' as often for *came down* in

English.[50] See also: CTH 40.II.F iii 23, 61.I.A ii 58, 181 i 5, 561 ii 47, and the broken

occurrence with *uwa-* in CTH 61.II.9.C ii 9.

    katta pāi-   'go down'

(4)   GIM-*an ꞊ ma* ŠEŠ-*YA*   ^mNIR.GÁL *IŠTU AMĀT* DINGIR-*LIM ꞊ ŠÚ*
        as-conj   brother-my Muwatalli by   word   god-his

        INA KUR *ŠAPLITI katta pait*
        in   lower land   down went

        'As my brother Muwatalli went down into the Lower Land by the word of his god'
        (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 76 = 81.B i 65)

See also the broken sentences 61.II.9.A iii 55 and 61.III.4 iii 9.

    katta ḫuwai-   'run down'   CTH 61.I.A ii 68, 61.I.B iv 28.

    katta iya-   'go, walk down'   CTH 89.A ii 14

    GAM *ki-*   'lie down'   CTH 561 i 61.

    katta piddai-   'run down'

(5)   ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU ꞊ man ꞊ kan* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*za* GAM *pittaizz[i*
        charioteer-irreal-prt   chariot (abl) down run
        'Should the charioteer run down from the chariot' (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 48)

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[49]Similarly Götze (1925: 51) "stürzte". I assume that the spacing in *IZ-ZI-ḪI gí-pé-eš-šar* is faulty and take "*ḪI*" as the numeral "40" with *gipeššar*.

[50]Also similarly Tjerkstra (1999: 60f.).

katta and *piddai-* occur together in a different sense also, as discussed at (64) below.

katta tiya- 'step down'

(6) *mān꞊kan* ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU* LÚ ^{URU}*Kašga ANA* EN KUR-*TI* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR GAM-*an*
    if-prt   charioteer   man   Gasga (d-l) lord land   chariot beside

    artari . . . n꞊aš꞊kan IŠTU ^{GIŠ}GIGIR GAM *tiy[a]ddu*
    stands   conj-he-prt from   chariot down let step

    'If the charioteer, a man of Gasga, stands beside the lord of the country (on) the
    chariot . . . Let him step down from the chariot' (CTH 89.A = KUB 21.29 ii 10-11)

See also: CTH 83.1.A ii 16 and 69.A iv 32 (broken).

I.A.2. Transitives with meaning 'down'

katta dā-   'take down'

(7) URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A BÀD꞊*kan kuit zaḫḫiyaz katta daškewan teḫḫun*
    walled cities-prt   that battle (abl) down to take (I) began
    'The walled cities that I began to take down in battle'[51]
    (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iv 29)

See also: CTH 61.I.A iv 40 (with ꞊*kan*), 61.II.10 i 5 (with ꞊*kan*).

katta dai-   'put down'

(8) *nu꞊šmaš* ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.ḪI.A *namma katt[a d(air)]*
    conj-their weapons   then   down (they) put
    'They then put down their weapons'[52] (CTH 40.II.D = KUB 19.11 iv 11)

(9) *nu꞊war꞊at INA* É ^{LÚ}ŠÀ.TAM *katta! daiš[t]a*
    conj-quot-it in house chamberlain down (she) put
    'She (the queen) put it down in the house of the chamberlain'
    (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 14)

See also: CTH 61.I.A iv 48, 182 Ro 7, 566 Vo 16.

katta arnu- 'transport down' CTH 83.1.B i 24 in broken context + 178.1.B Vo 15

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[51]See Francia (2002: 197) for discussion of 'taking down' a walled city.

[52]Cf. Güterbock (1956: 65): "and in consequence they put the weapons down."

katta išḫuwa- 'throw down'   CTH 569.1 i 11

katta laknu- 'knock down'   CTH 382 Ro 40

katta peḫute- 'bring down' (usually of people)   CTH 61.I.A ii 70, ii 73 = 61.I.B iv 30

katta peda-   'take down' (in the sense 'carry')   CTH 81.A ii 53 = 81.B ii 34

katta uda-   'bring down'   CTH 61.II.10 iii 60 (+ *꞊kan*), 86.1.A iii 12 (+ *꞊kan*),

and perhaps 61.III.2.A i 28 (restored; if correct, without *꞊kan*).

katta uwate- 'bring down' (usually of people)[53]

(10)   *nu꞊kan* NAM.RA.ME[Š] *IŠTU* ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳ*Arinnanda katta uwatenun*
        conj-prt deportees   from Mount *Arinnanda* down (I) brought
        'I brought the deportees down from Mt. A.' (CTH 61.II.2.A = KUB 14.16 iii 20)

See CTH 61.II.2.A iii 6. 23, 61.II.2.B iii 49, 61.II.10 iv 10, 61.II.10 iv 22. 24. 26, 81.A

iv 31 = 81.B iii 73 = 81.M iv 15, 85.1.A ii 36, and 61.II.8.1 ii 30 (broken).

(awan) katta ḫašš-   'give birth down (from)'

(11)   ŠEŠ.MEŠ ᵈUTU-*ŠI꞊ya*   *kuieš šakuwaššara<aš> ŠA* MUNUS.LUGAL
        brothers His Majesty-also those full (gen.)   of queen

        awan GAM *ḫaššanteš*
        down are born

        'Also those brothers of His Majesty who are born (down) of the full queen ...'
        (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 17)

We know that the Hittites typically used a birthing chair or stool, *ḫarnau-* (see Beckman

1983: 102 and Puhvel 1991: 175, with references). *katta* in this instance must refer to the

downward (physical) direction of the delivery, and *awan* is used because the action

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[53]In all places with complete context here accompanied by *꞊kan*.

originates from a person (cf. section 5.a in chapter eight).[54]

katta laḫiyai- below shows what in English translation seems a slightly odd preverbal use of *katta*, giving a 'downward' direction to an attack action. However, Hittite must have allowed such a construction; it is the only sensible interpretation in sentence (12), where a mountain is named as the place of origination of the downward attack. We will see this usage with *katta* and other verbs below, as well as with *šarā* 'up' in (13) and in a later chapter.

> *katta laḫiyai-*   'attack downward'

(12)   URU(!)*Talmalian ⸗ kan* TA ḪUR.SAG*Ḫaḫarwa* GAM *laḫiyaizzi*
        (city) T.-prt   from Mount Haharwa down (he) attacks
        'Shall he attack T. down(ward) from Mt. H.?' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 65)

Similarly Beal (1999: 45): "He will campaign down from Mt. Haharwa against Talmaliya."

The CHD (L-N: 9) translates this passage in the same manner, but insists that GAM (*katta*) is an adverb, not a preverb. Because *katta* limits the direction of motion expressed by *laḫiyai-* just as much as for the preceding examples, it seems arbitrary not to view it likewise as a preverb.

katta walḫ- 'strike down on' shows a parallel usage to that with *laḫiyai-*. The second sentence included in (13) gives further evidence for this type of preverb-verb pairing, as it indicates the contrasting upward direction of the strike by the Gasgean people.

> *katta walḫ-* (*katta* RA-)   'strike down on'

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[54]Less likely but conceivable is a temporal sense of *katta* 'down' (cf. section I.A.4) and a meaning comparable to English *descended from*.

(13) KUR ^{URU}Talmalian ꓹ kan ^{d}UTU-ŠI $^{ḪUR.SAG}$Ḫaḫarwaza GAM RA-zi
land (city) T.-prt   His Majesty Mount H.   down strike

LÚ.MEŠ Gašga$^{ḪI.A}$ꓹma ꓹ an ꓹ kan dapianteš GAM UGU RA-anzi
people   Gasga-conj-it-prt   all   below up   strike

'His Majesty will strike down (on) the land of T. from Mt. Haharwa.
All the people of Gasga will strike it up from below' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iii 61-62)

Likewise Beal (1999: 51): "His Majesty will strike Talmaliya down from Mt. Haharwa.

All the Kaskaeans will strike it up from below."

(14) nu ꓹ kan $^{ḪUR.SAG}$Ḫaḫarwa EGIR UGU paizzi nu ꓹ kan GAM ^{URU}Talmalian RA-zi[55]
conj-prt Mount Haharwa back up (he) goes conj-prt down (city) T.   (he) strikes
'He will go up Mt. Haharwa from behind. He will strike down (on) T-city.'
(CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 55)

Cf. Beal (1999: 48): "He will go up Mt. Haharwa from behind. He will attack

Talmaliya below," but see discussion in chapter eight. Cf. also Tjerkstra (1999: 87): "Will

he (=His Majesty) go up from behind Mt. Haharwa and attack Talmaliya (from) below . . .?"

See also CTH 561 iv 60.

As Talmaliyas must be the grammatical subject in (15), perhaps there has been ellipsis

of an infinitive (for walḫ- or laḫiyai-) there: 'is unfavorable (that T. be attacked) down from

Mt. H.'

(15) eni ꓹ kan   kuit ^{URU}Talmaliyaš $^{ḪUR.SAG}$Ḫaḫarwaza GAM NU.SIG$_5$-ri
aforementioned-prt that (city) T.   Mount H.   down unfavorable
'As to the fact that it is unfavorable (to attack) T. down from Mt. H.'
(CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 22) (cf. Ünal 1974: 55)

Cf. Beal (1999: 46): "Concerning that Tamaliya down from Mt. Haharwa is

unfavorable."

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[55]Note the word order difference in the two examples here of katta walḫ-: In (13), the preverb-verb pair are juxtaposed, while in (14) they are separated by the object. See chapter nine for discussion.

katta walḫ- may also be used as a modifier (here in participle or verbal noun form, or in

a relative clause). This can be translated as 'struck down,' though it is not clear in every case

just how to interpret this.

(16) ᶠ*Ḫepamuwaš = ma memai* ᶠ*Pattiyaš = wa = kan katta* GUL-*anza*
H.-prt   speaks P.-quot-prt   down is struck
'Hepamuwa speaks: "Pattiya is struck down"' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 15)

(17) *eni = ma kuit* MUNUS.LUGAL UN.MEŠ-*šuš katta* GUL-*anteš*₁₇ ANA ᵈUTU-*ŠI*
aforementioned-prt that queen men   down struck   to His Majesty

IŠPUR
wrote

'As to the fact that the queen wrote to His Majesty (about the) struck-down men'
(CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 61)

(18) *INIM* MUNUS.LUGAL ᶠ*tawannanna* UN.MEŠ-*uš kuiēš katta walḫanzi*
matter queen   tawananna   men   whom down (they) strike

ANA ᵈUTU-*ŠI IŠPUR*
to His Majesty wrote

'The matter (that) the queen, the tawananna, wrote to His Majesty (about) the men
whom they strike down' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 74)

(19) *nu* x [. (. .)] *kuedani INA pedi kat[ta* GUL-*uwar ar]i*
conj   which (d-l) in place down striking arrives

TÚG.ḪI.A=*ya apiya katta tiyanzi*
garments-and there down (they) put

'in which place the striking down arrives (takes place)
there they also put down the garments' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 16)

See also CTH 566 Vo 30. 44. 61. 65.

I.A.3.   Evolved meanings

In the set of preverb-verb pairs that follows, the meanings have changed from the

compositional, as we have seen occur in other pairs in previous chapters.

katta tarna- 'let decline'

(20) *nu꞊šši* ŠUM-*an katta lē   tarnatti*
conj-his name   down prohib. neg. let go
'Do not let his name decline' (You're to uphold his name.)
(CTH 178.2.a = KUB 23.92 Ro 11)

My translation for *katta tarna-*, 'let decline,' is not far from the direct gloss 'let

go/release downward,' but indicates a more figurative than physical motion downward. The

CHD's translation is similar to mine but shows an additional degree of freedom: "And do

not debase his (viz., your father's) name" (CHD L-N: 35).

See also CTH 81.A i 53 and 55, where the meaning of *katta tarna-* is 'let down' in the

sense of 'fail to support,' perhaps just a nuanced difference from that in (20).

(idalawanni) katta maniyaḫḫ-   'hand over, deliver (for evil)'

(21) *našma꞊ta꞊kkan* ᵈUTU-*ŠI   kuitki   ḪUL!-anni katta   maniyaḫzi*
or-you-prt   His Majesty some way harm (d-l) down (he) delivers
'Or he delivers His Majesty for harm to you in some way'
(CTH 105.A = KUB 23.1+ iii 15)

The *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (L-N: 167) takes *(idalawanni) katta maniyaḫḫ-* to mean

'subject (hand over, deliver) to harm, injury, or abuse,' also implying that *katta* functions as

a preverb. This sense is basically correct, but because *maniyaḫḫ-* alone can mean 'hand

over,' the role of *katta* needs to be considered. Perhaps this preverb was used to convey the

sense that such a betrayal would take the king *down* from his lofty position, metaphorically

from the highest position in the land to the low status of evil.

(22) *nu꞊wa꞊za zik āššuš ḫalziyattari* ᵈUTU-*ŠI꞊ma꞊wa꞊kan* ḪUL-*uanni* GAM *maniyaḫ*
conj-quot-refl you good call   His Majesty-conj-quot-prt harm (d-l) to deliver
"'You call yourself dear (to His Majesty?/to me?). Deliver His Majesty to harm!'"
(= 'To hell with His Majesty!' following CHD L-N: 167)
(CTH 255.1.A = KUB 26.12 + 21.42 iii 19)

katta uiya-   'expel, banish'

(23) *nu ⸗ war ⸗ an ⸗ kan IŠTU* É.GAL-*LIM katta uiyer*
conj-quot-her-prt from palace   (they) banished
'They banished her from the palace' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 16)

This meaning is again evolved but with a transparent origin from *uiya-* 'send.' The

Hittite palace was situated up in a citadel; someone expelled from there would necessarily be

'sent down.' (Cf. English *sent down* = 'demoted,' of a ball player sent to a minor league.)

See also CTH 71 ii 14, iii 15, and 566 Ro 35.

katta ašeš- 'sit (someone) down'; also 'banish'

(24) *n ⸗ an katta ašašḫun*
conj-her down (I) sat
'I sat her down' (CTH 71 = KBo 4.8 ii 7)

See CTH 71 ii 4, 6 (*katta ašanna*).

(awan) katta mema-   'tell something confidential, reveal'

To *katta mema-*, literally to 'say something down' to someone, may have come to

describe speaking in confidence from the act of speaking *down* in volume to keep it quiet. In

addition, something spoken *down* from a (higher) source is *revealed*. The use of the

additional adverb *awan* is part of this construction and is discussed in chapter eight.

(25) *našma ⸗ za* LUGAL-*uš ŠA* ZI-*TI memian kuedanikki awan* GAM *memai*
or-refl   king   of person matter someone (d-l)   reveal
'Or if the king should reveal to someone a personal matter'
(CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 11)

(26) *[na]šma ⸗ za* DUMU LUGAL *kuiški* GÙB-*an uttar ANA* ᴸᵁSAG
or-refl   prince   some evil   word to chief

[aw]an GAM *memai*
reveals

'Or some prince reveals an evil word to the chief' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 27)

See also CTH 255.2.A i 57 (broken sentence) and 255.1.A iv 25.

In (27) and (28) just below, *katta* 'down' is paired with *au(š)-* 'see,' but means 'look over, examine.' This shift in meaning ('see down' > 'look down (on)' > 'look over' > 'examine') is not obscure. Compare English *look something over* for 'look closely, examine.'

> *katta au(š)-*   (with *=kan*)   'look over, examine'

(27)   GIM-*an=ma=kan* ŠEŠ-*YA* ᵐNIR.GÁL *uttar katta aušta*
  as-conj-prt   brother-my Muwatalli matter examined
  'As my brother, Muwatalli, examined the matter' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 61)

(28)   ᵈUTU-*ŠI=kan maḫḫan ŠA* LUGAL KUR ᵈU-*tašša*
  My Majesty-prt as of king   land Tarhuntassa

ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ ᵁᴿᵁˑᵈU-*tašša*   *šaḫḫan luzzi katta ūḫḫun*
of gods   (city) Tarhuntassa   *šaḫḫan luzzi* (I) looked over

'As I, My Majesty, looked over the *sahhan* and *luzzi* of the king of the land of Tarhuntassa for the gods of T.-city' (Bo 86/299 iii 60)

See also: CTH 384 ii 4 (broken).

In (29), *katta auš-* without *=kan* does appear to mean 'look down,' here of one body part vis-à-vis another. This is part of an oracle text, and the untranslated words are parts or features of the exta, these words represented by abbreviations in the text.

(29)   *ni ši ta ki   iškišaš*   GAM *uškezzi*
  ni. ši. ta. ki. back (d-l) down (it) looks
  '(There is a) *nipašuriš,* a *šintaḫiš,* a *tananiš,* and a *keltiš,* and it looks down toward the back' (CHD L-N: 448) (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iv 49)

Cf. Beal (1999: 52): "*n., š., t.,* the *k.* looks down to their backs."

Now in the three following sentences, with the addition of the reflexive pronoun *=za* the meaning is further changed to 'look down on, watch over,' rather than either 'see down' or 'look over.' The evolution of this semantic shift is not difficult to fathom, but note that this may be an inheritance from Indo-European with verbs of seeing. Compare Lydian *kaτare-*

(i.e. *kat-sare-*) and Avestan *ni-har-* 'look down on' thus 'protect, guard' (Melchert 1992: 47).

₌za katta au(š)- (without *₌kan*) 'watch over'

(30) *n₌an₌za₌an katta QATAMMA uški*
conj-it-refl-it down thus   (you) look
'Thus watch over (them, the garrison troops)!' (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 iv 4)

(31) *namma₌za z[ik ᵐK]upanta-ᵈLAMMA-aš tuēl* GIM-*an* {sic!} UN.MEŠ-*tarr₌[a*
then-refl you Kupanta-ᵈL.   your over   people-and

ᴸ�Ú·ᴹᴱˢ*AMA.[A.TU katta] uškeši* ᵈUTU-*ŠI₌ya₌ta kuin* ÉRIN.MEŠ
house slaves   (you) watch   My Majesty-also-you which troops

ᴸ�Ú·ᴹᴱˢ*a[šandulan] arḫa [daliyan]u[n] n₌an₌za₌an katta uški*
garrison   (telic) (I) left conj-it-refl-it (you) watch over

'Then you, K-ᵈL, as you watch over your people and your house slaves, also the garrison troops which I, My Majesty left behind with you, watch over them' (CTH 68.C = KBo 4.3+ iii 14-15 = CTH 68.E = KUB 6.41+ iv 14)

(32) *nu₌du₌za lammar lammar katta uškānzi*
conj-you-refl hour·hour   (they) watch over
'They watch over you hour after hour'[56] (CTH 384 = KUB 21.27 iii 47)

The sentence preceding (32) in the text says 'You are the breast ornament of the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna,' so the physical meaning 'look down at' is also present in this case.

katta pāi-   'go down'

(33) *katta pānta₌ma kue* [   ] *nu apiya₌ya* EGIR-*pa* SIG₅-*aḫḫanzi*
down gone-conj which   conj there-also back (they) make favorable
'And that which is lost [...] there also they shall set it right'
(Singer 2002a: 84) (CTH 382 = KBo 11.1 Vo 5).

pānta is the participle of the verb *pāi-*; *katta pānta* would be translated literally as the

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[56]CHD renders this, "and they look at you constantly" (L-N: 36) and Singer (2002a: 104) "and they watch you time after time." Neither accounts for the inclusion of *katta* and *₌za* in the text.

'gone down things' or 'the things that had gone down,' neither of which is meaningful.

Singer's interpretation is reasonable, though the process of this semantic change has become

obscured.

I.A.4. Temporal 'down'

katta functions as a preverb meaning 'down' with verbs like *dala-* 'leave' to mean 'hand

down,' in terms of an inheritance. Its function becomes temporal rather than local or

physical in these cases (handing something down to the next generation), and it then takes on

the meaning 'subsequently, down the line, in the future,' functioning as a freestanding

adverb with that meaning.

(34) below shows the preverbal "inheritance" usage of *katta*, where it reinforces the idea

of leaving something to the next generation:

(34)   *[AB]U ꞊ YA꞊pat ꞊ mu ꞊ kan kuiēš* ZAG.ḪI.A *kat[ta dal]e?šta*
       father-my-emph-me-prt   those boundaries down   left
       'The boundaries that my very father handed down to me'
       (CTH 379 = KUB 31.21+ iii 21)

Singer (2002a: 67) translates this, "Those borders that my father left me," but the Hittite use

of *katta* makes explicit that something is passed *down* to the son.

See also CTH 63.A ii 9 (= 63.B ii 13), and in broken sentences 85.1.A iii 11, 85.2 Ro

51, and 254 i 8.

For another likely use of preverbal *katta* in a temporal sense see the discussion of *katta*

ariya- in I.B.2 below.

I.B.1. Freestanding adverbial *katta* 'down'

(35)   ('I afterwards se[nt] on that account Zuzu the charioteer, the eunuch' . . .)
       [*ka]tta ištantait*
       down (there) (he) tarried
       'He tarried down there' (CTH 176 = KUB 21.38 Ro 22)

This appears to parallel a usage *šarā ištantai-* 'tarries up there,' found in chapter six.[57]

I.B.2.   Freestanding adverbial *katta* 'subsequently'

Given the temporal usage of *katta* to indicate inheritance, an extension of meaning to 'subsequently, down the line, in the future' is unsurprising, along with a shift from preverbal to adverbial function.

In this use, *katta* 'subsequently' can also be further specified by *ḫašša ḫanzašša* 'to the first and second generation' (for which see Melchert (1973) [1976]: 63ff):

(36) *zilatiya ꞊ ta   katta [ḫašš]a ḫanzašša   tuēl* DUMU-*an*
In the future-you down to the first and second generation   your son

ammel DUMU.MEŠ꞊*YA* DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ꞊*YA [paḫḫa]ššantari ꞊ pat*
my   sons-my   grandsons-my   will protect-emph

'In the future, down to the first and second generations, my sons and my grandsons will continue to protect your son' (CTH 76.A = KUB 21.1 i 73)

(37) is similar, capturing this transition to a temporal and freestanding adverbial usage, but with *katta* in sentence-initial position.

(37) *katta ꞊ ma ammel* DUMU꞊*YA* DUMU.DUMU꞊*YA ḫašša ḫanzašša   paḫši*
down-conj my   son-my   grandsons-my first and second generations protect
'Down to the first and second generations protect my son and grandson'
(CTH 76.A = KUB 21.1 i 70)

As in other cases in which an adverb marks sequential occurrences, when used to mean 'subsequently,' *katta* often (but not always) comes first in a clause, as in the next two examples. As noted with *āppa* in a similar usage, it is often followed by ꞊ *ma*.

(38) *katta ꞊ ma ꞊ za ANA* DUMU.MEŠ [d]UTU-*ŠI NARARUM šardiyaš* GÉŠPU-*ašš ꞊ a ēš*
subsequently-conj-refl to sons His Majesty aid   helper strength-and be
'Subsequently, may you be aid, helper, and strength to the sons of His Majesty'
(CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 ii 9)

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[57]Because the passage is incomplete, we cannot exclude that *katta* is here the postposition 'with' with a missing object (see III.B below in this chapter).

(39) *nu ABU꞊ŠU kuēl waštai katta꞊ma DUMU꞊ŠU ŪL wašdulaš꞊pat*
      conj father-his whose sins subsequently-conj son-his not sinful-emph
      'Whose father sins, subsequently is not his son sinful?' (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 i 15)

katta may occur elsewhere in the sentence with the meaning 'subsequently,' often

second behind a conjunction (and clitics).

(40) *našma katta DUMU.MEŠ ᵈUTU-ŠI kuiški waggariyazi*
      or subsequently sons His Majesty someone revolts
      'Or someone subsequently revolts against the sons of His Majesty'
      (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 iii 13 = 68.E iii 32)

(41) *nu katta INA KUR ᵁᴿᵁAmurri apāš LUGAL-uš ēšdu*
      conj in future in land (city) Amurri that one king let be
      'In the future, in the land of Amurri-city let that one be king'
      (CTH 62.II.A = KBo 5.9 i 25)

(42) *n꞊at katta tuel꞊pat NUMUN-anza ḫarzi*
      conj-it subsequently your-emph seed hold
      '*Your* seed shall hold it (the land of Tarhuntassa) subsequently'
      (Bo 86/299 ii 98)

(43) *ᵈUTU-ŠI꞊za katta꞊ma NUMUN ᵈUTU-ŠI AŠŠUM EN-utti ilališkeši*
      His Majesty-refl subsequently-conj seed His Majesty lordship (you) desire

      n꞊aš paḫḫa<š>ti
      conj-them (you) protect

      '(and if) you desire His Majesty and subsequently the seed of His Majesty for
      lordship and you protect them . . .' (Bo 86/299 iv 13)

See also: CTH 68.B ii 11, 68.C i 43, 76.A i 68, 76.B ii 5. 11. 17, 85.2 Ro 10. 87, Vo 8,

Bo 86/299 ii 69, ii 73, iii 25, iv 6. 17, CTH 105.A i 24, ii 4, 9, 39, 106 Ro 8, Vo 5. 8, 126.4 ii

3, 224 Ro 30, 255.1.A i 19, 36, iv 19, 255.2.A i 4, 15, 255.2.B i 15 (but note order). These

broken sentences also include *katta:* CTH 76.A i 68, 76.B ii 11, 17, 224 Ro 30, 255.2.B i 15.

See also the unfortunately broken CTH 69.A iv 32.

We might analyze the usage of *katta* as a freestanding adverb in (44). However,

because *katta* and *ariya-* occur frequently together, and because in these oracles *katta* tends

to be located just before the verb, I would suggest it's possible that these two have come to

be a preverb-verb pair. In this preverbal usage *katta* again means 'subsequently,' but usually

occurs next to the verb. *katta ariya-* could best be translated, 'do a subsequent (or follow-

up) oracle.' Compare examples (44)-(46).

(44)   *nu   ariyanun   nu ^dU   ^{URU}Manuzziya SIxSÁ-at*
conj (I) did oracle conj stormgod Manuzziya was determined

       ^dU   ^{URU}*Manuzziya ꞊ ma katta ariyanun*
stormgod Manuzziya-conj (I) did follow-up oracle

'I did an oracle. The stormgod of Manuzziya was determined. I did a follow-up
oracle on the stormgod of Manuzziya.' (CTH 486.C = KBo 4.2 iii 49 = 486.A Ro 10)

(45)   *n ꞊ an katta   nāwi   ariyanzi*
conj-it follow-up not yet (they) do oracle
'They have not yet done a follow-up oracle inquiry.' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 73)

(46)   ^{TÚG}*termaz ꞊ ma   katta   arier*
(garment) terma (abl) follow-up   (they) did oracle
'They made a follow-up oracle with the terma-garment'
(CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 10)

See also CTH 566 Ro 84, 569.1 i 30, iii 41, 569.2 Vo 1.

Perhaps *katta* has the same sort of preverbal 'subsequent' function in (47), based in part

on its position in the sentence next to the verb, and removed from initial position or the

position just following conjunctions and clitics.

(47)   *mān ꞊ ma* DUMU꞊*KA* DUMU.DUMU꞊*KA katta   waštai ꞊ ya kuiški*
if-conj son-your   gransdsons-your   subsequent sin-also someone
'If also someone (of) your sons and grandsons commits a subsequent sin (... let the
King of Hatti question him)' (Bo 86/299 ii 100)

waštai- also occurs with *katta* in broken sentences in CTH 106 Ro 9 and 378.1.A Vo 3.

The following are broken sentences with *katta* in which the verb can be made out: *arnu-:*

CTH 83.1.B i 24, 178.1.B Vo 15; *iya-*: 85.1.B iv 4; and *warnu-*: 40.VI.48 3.

Some additional occurrences of *katta* 'down' are discussed in this chapter after the section on *kattan* 'below.'

II.   *kattan* 'below, under'

kattan functions most often as a postposition meaning 'below, under.' It sometimes appears as a preverb, and rarely as a freestanding locatival adverb meaning 'below.'

II.A.   *kattan* 'below' as postposition

In Neo-Hittite, *kattan* occurs in a moderate number of cases as a postposition meaning 'below.' It occurs frequently in the expression *=mu* GÌR.ḪI.A-*aš kattan ḫaliya-* 'kneel below my feet,' i.e. 'at my feet.' Although hyperbolic, *kattan* surely means 'below' here, not 'beside' (cf. III.A): evidence comes from a writing *ANA ŠAPAL* GÌR.MEŠ,[58] *ANA ŠAPAL* being the Akkadian for 'under.'[59]

(48)   *[nu] =mu maḫḫan* NAM.RA.MEŠ GÌR.ḪI.A-*aš kattan ḫaliyandat*
        conj-my   as   transplantees   feet (d-l)   below   knelt
        'As the transplantees knelt down below my feet'
        (CTH 61.II.2.A = KUB 14.16 iii 18-19)

There are many other occurrences of *kattan* as postposition 'below' in this same context: CTH 61.I.A iii 18. 19, 61.II.2.A iii 16, CTH 61.II.2.B iii 47, 49, iv 29, iv 31, 61.II.5.B iii 46, iv 19, 32, 61.II.7.A ii 1, 63.A i 12.

There are broken examples in 61.II.8.1 iii 11, 61.II.4.c i 18.

kattan (written GAM, GAM-*an* or *kattan*) likewise functions as a postposition meaning 'under' in a nonphysical sense in the commonly used expression meaning 'place under oath,'

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[58]Neu (1968: 35) cites the writing *ANA ŠAPAL* GÌR.MEŠ in KBo 10.13 i 24.

[59]Francia (2002: 64-65) does interpret *kattan* in this context as 'at' from the meaning 'beside,' rather than *kattan* 'below' as I have it.

as in (49) and (50):

(49) *kāš ꞊ ta* INIM-*aš* GAM NIŠ DINGIR-*LIM* GAR-*ru*
this-you matter   under oath   may (it) be placed
'May this matter be placed under oath for you' (CTH 105.A = KUB 23.1+ iv 22)

(50) *nu apādda ꞊ ya* NIŠ DINGIR-*LIM* GAM-*an kittaru*
conj-that-also oath   under   may (it) be placed
'May that also be placed under oath' (CTH 76.A = KUB 21.1 iii 55)

Note the large number of occurrences of this expression: CTH 105.A iv 18, 22, 48, LE 2, 123 ii 16. 51. 72, iii 41, 255.1.A i 3, 10, 18, 21, 26, 32, 35, 39, ii 36, iii 6, 12, 20, 23, 31, iv 2, 6, 10, 37, 41, 45, 48, 53, 255.1.A LR 5, 255.1.B iv 11, 255.2.A i 62, iii 31, 36, 52, 57, iv 2, 6, 10, 37, 41, 45, 48, 53, 255.2.B ii 2, 8, iii 14, iv 28, 32, 35, iv 4, 256 iii 15, iv 9, iv 15.

There are also many occurrences in broken sentences: CTH 63.B iii 14, 69.A i 62, 76.A iii 55, 123 ii 77, 124.A iii 5, 255.1.A iii 2, 28, 35, iv 50, 255.1.B i 11, 255.2.A ii 47, 53, 58, iii 66, iv 37, 255.2.B i 24, 37, 255.2.C i 6, 256 iv 9, 15.

kattan must function similarly in (51), where *linganu-*, the causative of 'take an oath,' is the verb, and ꞊ *mu* 'me' is the pronominal object of postpositional *kattan* 'under':

(51) *nu ꞊ mu* ARAD.MEŠ *kattan linganušket*
conj-me servants   under caused to take oaths
'He made my servants take oaths under me' (CTH 68.A = KBo 4.7+ iii 12)

kattan in this context conveys the sense 'take oaths *against* me' (thus Beckman 1996: 73 and CHD L-N: 71) in that causing someone else's servants to take such oaths undermines both the speaker's authority and way of life.[60] This meaning may be reinforced by the related expression *šer linganu-* 'cause to swear allegiance to, swear an oath to' where *šer*, underlyingly 'above' (and antonym to *kattan*), functions in another of its common meanings,

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[60]Another possibility is the meaning 'surreptitiously' as seen below at II.C.1, which conveys a similar sense.

'for' or 'to.'

See also CTH 68.C ii 29.

The verb *ḫarnamniya-* comes from the word for leavening (fermentation), so it's

feasible that *kattan* in (52) carries its meaning 'under' in a metaphor of fermentation. In this

case then, trouble is *bubbling up underneath* the speaker.

(52) *nu ꞊ wa ꞊ mu* ARAD.MEŠ꞊*YA kattan ḫarnamniy[at]*
conj-quot-me slaves-my   under incited
'"He incited my slaves under (=against) me"' (CTH 68.E = KUB 6.41+ i 46)

See also CTH 68.E i 32, 68.E iii 53 (broken).

There are few other instances of *kattan* meaning 'below, underneath' in Neo-Hittite,

(53) being one of them. For others, see below under preverbs and in pairs of adverbs in

chapter eight.

(53) *mān ŠA* ᵐKÙ.PÚ-*ma* ḪUL-*lu naššu ŠA* DUMU ᵐ*Šuppilul[iyama]* ḪUL-*lu*
if   of Suppiluliyama evil   or   of son   Suppiluliyama   evil

GAM ᵈUTU AN-*E tapārriyaši*
under Sungod heaven (you) direct

'If you direct/supervise some evil against S. or the son of S., under the Sungod of
heaven' (CTH 126.2 = KUB 26.25 ii 9)

II.B.   *kattan* 'below' as freestanding adverb

There is one clear instance of freestanding *kattan* 'below,' shown here:

(54) *nu kuitman ABU ꞊ YA INA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*Kargamiš⁽ⁱˢ⁾ kattan ēšta*
conj while father-my in land   Carchemish below was
'While my father was below in Carchemish' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 iii 1)

kattan is an independently functioning locative, with 'in Carchemish' as added

information.

II.C. *kattan* 'below' as preverb

II.C.1. Non-compositional meanings

AWATE[MEŠ] *kattan piddai-* in the following instance has an idiomatic meaning, 'rumors

circulate surreptitiously.' This surely stems from *kattan* meaning 'underneath,' the entire

phrase being metaphorical: 'rumors run underneath.' Over time the originally freestanding

kattan grew to be semantically linked to the verb, and thus a preverb in this case.

(55) *nu ₌ kan AWATE*[MEŠ] *kattan piddāeškānzi*
      conj-prt rumors   underneath run
      'Rumors circulate surreptitiously'
      (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 iv 9 = 68.C iii 20 (broken) = 68.E iv 17')

For another instance of this expression, also with ₌*kan*, see CTH 76.B iii 31 = 76.C.2 i

41 (broken).

kattan ēp(p)- (written *IŞBAT*) is seen in (56) to be a preverb-verb pair meaning 'concern

oneself with':

(56) *nu   ŠA DUMU-RI kattan IŞBAT*
      conj of son   under (he) took
      'He concerned himself with (the matter of) a son' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 iv 15)

Güterbock (1956: 97) translates this, "and [he] concerned himself with the matter of a son."

Puhvel (1997: 126) seems to be aiming for something tied to the standard meaning of 'held,

took' for *ēp(p)-* with his translation, "he came to grips with the matter of (sending) a son."

Puhvel also suggests 'undertake' for *katta(n) ēp(p)-*. Translating *kattan* in its basic sense

'under' here, with *ēp(p)-* 'take,' opens the possibility of a parallel, both in construction and in

meaning, with English *undertake*. (> 'He undertook the matter of a son.')

kattan dāi- together have the meaning 'undermine, besiege,'[61] as seen in the following

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[61]See Otten (1981: 11): "besieged the city."

examples. This stems from the meaning 'put under' for the parts of this expression taken separately.

(57)   man ꞊ ši kattan teḫḫun   man ꞊ an ꞊ kan katta [d]aḫḫun
        irreal-it (I) undermined irreal-it-prt   down (I) took
        'I would have undermined it (besieged it) or I would have taken it down (but the year got too short for me)' (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ i 5)

(58)   [nu] ꞊ šši kattan ŪL teḫḫun
        conj-it   (I) undermined not
        'I didn't undermine (besiege) it' (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ i 7)

(59)   INA ^URU Pittiyariga ꞊ ma kattan dāiš
        (d-l) (city) P.-conj   (he) besieged
        'He besieged P.-city' (CTH 81.B = KBo 3.6+ ii 5 = 81.C ii 6)

II.C.2. *katta/kattan* overlap

There are several other instances where *kattan* appears to function as a preverb, but as will be seen in this section, these cases may have resulted from a substitution of *kattan* for *katta* or vice versa.

Sentences (30)- (32) above illustrated the use of ꞊*za katta au(š)-* meaning 'watch over.' Compare the following sentence with ꞊*za kattan au(š)-*, the same construction as above but with *kattan* in place of *katta:*

(60)   n ꞊ an ꞊ za ꞊ an kattan QATAMMA uški
        conj-it-refl-it (you) thus watch over
        'Thus watch over it/them' (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Ro 26)

One would not expect *kattan* in this instance where the meaning *must* be as for ꞊*za katta au-*. The same unexpected overlap occurs in (61), where *kattan* is written in a sentence where the meaning is taken to be 'down' (Neu 1968: 87, Beckman 1996: 157). These do appear to be instances of *kattan* being substituted for *katta* as a preverb.

(61)   *ŠA ^mAzira išḫiul   ANA ṬUPPI kiššan   kattan GAR-ri*
        of Azira regulation (d-l) tablet   as follows down   is put
        'The regulation of Azira is put down on the tablet as follows'
        (CTH 63.A = KBo 3.3+ iii' 15 = 63.B iii 14)

katta ēp(p)- as shown in (62) is clearly an idiomatic expression meaning 'concern

oneself with,' just as discussed for *kattan ēp(p)-* above. Prior to the given sentence, King

Tutankhamen's widow has asked for one of Suppiluliuma's sons. The narrative continues:

(62)   *nu ꓩ šmaš ABU ꓩYA ANA DUMU-RI katta namma IṢBAT*
        conj-them father-my (d-l) son   under again took
        'My father again concerned himself with the matter of a son for them'
        (CTH 40.IV.E.3 = KBo 14.12 iv 25)

Güterbock's (1956: 98) translation is, "so then my father concerned himself on their behalf

with the matter of a son." Now compare the nearly identical sentence that is written with

kattan, rather than *katta, ēp(p)-* ((56) repeated here as (63)):

(63)   *nu   ŠA DUMU-RI kattan IṢBAT*
        conj of son   under (he) took
        'He concerned himself with (the matter of) a son' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 iv 15)

(62) and (63) certainly show a case of overlap between *katta* and *kattan* in combination with

the verb *ēp(p)-*.

(64)   *nu ꓩ kan A[WAT]E^{MEŠ} katta piddānzi*
        conj-prt rumors   down there run
        'Rumors circulate surreptitiously' (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Ro 28)

(64) has the same meaning as *AWATE^{MEŠ} kattan piddai-* in (55), where it was proposed

that this sense could reasonably stem from the direct gloss 'rumors run underneath.' As

kattan occurs four times in this expression elsewere and *katta* only in this case, (64) might

reasonably be thought to have occurred in error. Another possibility is that *katta* was

substituted for *kattan* 'underneath' in this case as sometimes occurs with *katta/kattan* in its

meaning 'beside, with.' (See the section below for discussion). However, (64) would

represent the only occurrence of *katta* replacing *kattan* in its meaning 'underneath,' so this

seems unlikely. Rather, *katta* here may have originally had the sense 'down (there)' as it

does in *katta ištantāi-* 'tarry down there,' seen above at (35). As such, it is nearly

synonymous with *kattan* 'underneath,' so that a Hittite speaker could probably have

expressed the same idea in a grammatically correct way using either form of the adverb.

III.   *katta/kattan* 'beside, with'

As noted earlier, Starke (1977: 181ff) established that Old Hittite has a postposition

katta meaning 'with' and 'beside' (given here as *katta₂* to distinguish it from the directional

adverb *katta* 'down'). Together with the form *katti =*, used with enclitic pronouns, this

continues into Middle Hittite, where a new variant *kattan* also appears.[62]

Tjerkstra (1999: 142) denies the Old Hittite distinction made by Starke, based on the

incorrect claim that the directional and locatival adverbs merge in Neo-Hittite. We have seen

that there is no significant merger between *katta* 'down' and *kattan* 'below, under.'

Francia (2002: 46) both correctly defines postpositional *katta₂/kattan* and notes that the

variant *katta₂* is still sporadically attested in Neo-Hittite. However, she undercuts these

correct observations with several inaccurate ones. For example, she claims (2002: 61) that

Old Hittite *katta₂* means 'giù, sotto' as well as 'presso, accanto a.' She also falsely attributes

the sense 'insieme, con' to the directional adverb *katta* 'down' (2002: 217) and likewise the

meaning 'insieme a; accanto a' to *kattan* 'below, under' (2002: 218). Also misleading is the

implication (2002: 215) that the form *katti =* is attested in Neo-Hittite. Due to the nature of

her corpus, Francia cites no evidence for the true usage of *katta₂/kattan* 'with, beside' in

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[62]Given that *katta₂* appears earlier than *kattan* in this usage, Francia's attempt (2002: 46) to derive the former from the latter can hardly be correct. Discussion of the source of *kattan* 'with, beside' is beyond the scope of the present work.

Neo-Hittite. This usage in Neo-Hittite will therefore be presented in full here.

III.A. *kattan* as postposition

III.A.1. 'beside, with'

In (65) – (68), *kattan* is best translated 'beside,' as contexts indicate concrete locations

here, and one person or object is physically positioned next to another.

(65) *mān=kan* ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU* LÚ ^{URU}*Kašga ANA* EN KUR-*TI* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR GAM-*an*
      if-prt   charioteer   man Gasga   (d-l) lord land   chariot beside

      artari
      stands

      'If the charioteer, a Gasgean, stands beside the lord of the land (on) the chariot'
      (CTH 89.A = KUB 21.29 ii 10)

(66) TUR-*annaš=mu* ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU ANA* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR GAM-*an tiškezzi*
      youth (gen.)-me charioteer   on   chariot beside (he) stands
      'He used to stand beside me on the chariot as the charioteer of youth' (when I was a
      child) (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 ii 60)

(67) *īt=war=an=za=an=k[ā]n ANA* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR GAM-*an tittanut*
      go-quot-him-refl-him-prt   on   chariot beside   place
      'Go and place him beside you (*=za* = 'yourself') on the chariot'
      (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 i 10)

In (67), *=za*, the reflexive pronoun, is the object of GAM-*an* (*kattan*). This use of *=za*

as an alternative to the enclitic personal pronouns is seen in several instances. Compare to

(66) just above. See also CTH 181 i 70.

(68) ('They found that gold wreath . . . ')
      kattann=a=šši SUR$_{14}$.DÙ.A^{MUŠEN} GUŠKIN ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN *IŠḪUNADU* NA$_4$
      beside-also-it falcon   gold   . . .

      8 *AYARI* 10 *pénkita ŠŪR ENI KAPP[Í] ENI ŠA* NA$_4$ *kittat*
      . . .   lay

      'Beside it lay also the gold falcon . . .' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 19)

(69)   *ANA UNŪT* DINGIR-*LIM⸗wa kuit kattan* GAR-*ri*
       (d-l) paraphernalia god-quot   what with   is placed
       'What is placed with the paraphernalia of the god' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 24)

Sentence (68) is included as an example of *kattan* meaning 'beside,' here conjoining

two phrases. Although *kattan* precedes its object (⸗*šši*), its function is clearly postpositional

here. (The occurrence of *kattan* in initial position in the sentence will be discussed further in

chapter nine.) The interchangeability of the meanings 'beside' and 'with' is illustrated with

examples (68) and (69). ('Beside it/ with it lay the gold falcon ...') Note the direct contrast

between NP + *kattan* GAR-*ri* 'is placed beside/with' (with *kattan* = *katta₂* 'beside') versus

NP + *kattan* GAR-*ru* 'shall be placed under' in examples (49) and (50) earlier in this

chapter.

In (70) - (76), the translation 'with' indicates the sense of accompaniment rather than

one-to-one physical proximity.

(70)   KARAŠ⸗*ma⸗šši* ŪL *kuitki kattan ešta*
       troops-conj-him not any   with   were
       'No troops were with him' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 ii 27)

See also: CTH 40.II.D iv 25 = 40.II.E i 16, 40.II.D iv 41, 61.I.A ii 51, 61.II.2.A i 25,

61.II.5.A i 30, 61.II.7.A i 2, 81.B iii 49, 81.A iv 4 (= 81.L iii 11), 85.1.A ii 23, 81.A ii 37,

81.B ii 21, 123 ii 8.

(71)   *nu⸗mu ziqq⸗a   QADU* ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *kattan laḫḫeškeši*
       conj-me you-also along troops   cavalry   with go to battle
       'You too shall (continue to) go to battle together with me along with your troops and
       cavalry' (CTH 76.B = KUB 21.5 iii 21 = 76.C i 27)

Note that in the absence of *kattan* '(together) with,' a dative-locative object of the verb

laḫḫiyai- indicates those *against* whom one battles.

See CTH 40.II.E i 12 (GAM-*an*), 61.II.5.B iii 50, 76.B iii 23 (= 76.C.2 i 31).

(72) *n ꞊ at ꞊ mu laḫḫi kattan paišgauwan tiyēr*
conj-they-me battle (d-l) with to go began
'They began to go with me into battle' (See CHD L-N: 5)
(CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 ii 4)

(73) *n ꞊ at IŠTU ÉRIN.MEŠ ꞊ ŠUNU [ANA] ABI ꞊ YA Ù ANA ABA ABI ꞊ YA*
conj-they with troops-their (d-l) father-my and (d-l) grandfather-my

laḫḫi kattan [i]yantat ammug ꞊ at kattan laḫḫi iyantat ꞊ pat
battle (d-l) with went me-they with battle (d-l) went-emph

'They with their troops went with my father and grandfather into battle. They
continued to go (*꞊pat*) with me into battle.' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 iv 7, 8)

(74) *nu ꞊ za ÉRIN.MEŠ NARĀRU ŠA KUR-TI tepauwaza GAM-an ēppun*
conj-refl troops helper of country in small numbers with (I) took
'I took helper-troops of the country along with me in small numbers'
(CTH 81.B = KBo 3.6+ ii 7 = 81.A ii 22 = 81.E ii 16)

Note above that the reflexive *꞊za* functions as the object of *kattan* as seen elsewhere.

(75) *ŠA* ᵁᴿᵁ*Mizri ꞊ ya! ꞊ šši LÚ ṬEMU* ᵐ*Hāniš BELU kattan uet*
of Egypt-also-him messenger Hani lord with came
'Also the messenger, lord Hani from Egypt, came with him'
(CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 iii 45)

In (76), *kattan* is postpositional 'with' following its dative-locative object ZI-*ni*, so 'with

your will, with your mind.'

(76) *zik ꞊ ma ꞊ za ꞊ kan* ZI-*ni* GAM-*an galgaltūri anda lē niyaši*
nu ꞊ za ZI-*ni* GAM-*an ꟾḫalwatiya lē* DÙ-*ši*
conj.-refl. will (d-l.) with quarrel prohib. neg. do
'Do not willfully put on the tambourine. Do not willfully make a quarrel(?).'
(CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 31)

Cf. Puhvel (1991: 50): "Be not minded to bring in a tambourine [= make commotion?],

nor be minded to act in quarrel[some] fashion." See CHD L-N: 360 for *꞊za anda nai-* as

'put on,' but the idiomatic sense of 'put on the tambourine' remains unclear.

See also: CTH 255.1.A i 30.

kattan in its meaning 'with' is used not in a physical sense, but rather a figurative one in

(77). By saying 'His Majesty was not with her' is meant not that His Majesty was not

physically in the presence of the queen, but that he was not in accord with her.

(77)   ('As to the matter of Pattiya about which the queen wrote His Majesty')
       ᵈUTU-*ŠI⸗ma⸗šši kattan ŪL*
       His Majesty-conj-her with not
       'His Majesty was not (in accord) with her' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 67)

kattan is probably also figurative in (78). Compare this to (79), where a different

postposition is used, but surely with the same effect. *šer* (UGU) with the meaning 'for,'

used frequently in this way, will be discussed in chapter six.

(78)   [LUGAL]-*i* GAM-*an āk* GAM *MAMIT* GAR-*ru*
       king (d-l)   with   die under oath   let it be placed
       'Die with the king! Let it be placed under oath' (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 ii 72)

(79)   *nu* LUGAL-*i* UGU *āk* GAM *MAMIT* GAR-*ru*
       conj king (d-l) for die under oath   let it be placed
       'Die for the king! Let it be placed under oath' (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 ii 16)

See also CTH 123 ii 65.

In (80), *kattan* takes the basic meaning 'beside,' but is used as if placing one thing

beside another for comparison.

(80)   *n⸗aš⸗kan ammuk kattan* SIG₅-*anza*
       conj-he-prt me   beside is excellent
       'She is excellent beside me,' meaning 'She's just as good as I am'
       (CTH 380 = KBo 4.6 Ro 12)

Cf. Singer (2002a: 72): "Compared to me, she is excellent."

The sense in the context of (81) is also 'compare with':

(81)   *apedaš⸗an⸗kan kuwapi UL* GAM-*an išḫa[nn]a! tar!aḫmi*
       them-her-prt   any way not to   to bind   (I) am able
       'I can't in any way connect her to them' (lit. 'bind somebody next to')[63]
       (CTH 176 = KUB 21.38 Ro 14)

---

[63]As per Edel, (1994: 217), following Starke.

This forms a link to the next set of meanings and illustrates how a chain of small transparent changes can add up to a larger, more opaque, change: 'with' > 'beside' > 'next to' > 'to' > 'into the presence of.'

III.A.2.   *kattan* as postposition 'to, into the presence of'

kattan occurs with verbs of motion or transport in this section. When an action moves something to a position *beside* or *with* someone, that thing is moved *to* or *into the presence of* someone, a very slight semantic shift.

(82)   *n = at   2-ela ANA AB[U = YA . . .] kattan uēr*
       conj-they both d-1   father-my   to   came
       'They both came [   ] to my father' (CTH 40.III.27 = KUB 19.7 i 9)

Both *kattan* 'to'and *peran* 'before' are used as postpositions with verbs of motion such as *uwa-* 'come.' The difference in meaning between *X kattan uwa-* 'come to somebody' and *X peran uwa-* 'come before somebody' seems small, yet a distinction was made by Hittite speakers. I suggest that *peran* may have been used to express that someone came *before* a superior, such as to have an audience with or be judged by him, whereas *kattan* was used to express that someone came *to* or *into the presence of* someone without issue of hierarchy.

(83)   ('If some one of those transplantees flees from me,')
    n = aš tuk kattan uezzi
    conj-he you to comes
    'and he comes to you'
    (CTH 62.II.A = KBo 5.9 ii 41)

(84)   *n = at = mu kattan uēr memiēr*
    conj-they-me to came (they) spoke
    'They came to me and spoke' (CTH 61.III.2.A = KUB 14.20 + KBo 19.76 i 37)

(85)   *nu = šši INA* ^{URU}*Šamuḫa ukila kattan pāun*
    conj-him in Samuha I myself to went
    'I myself went to him in Samuha' (CTH 85.1.A = KBo 6.29+ ii 29)

    See also 40.IV.A ii 45.

(86)   *n ꞊ an ꞊ mu kattan uwater*
       conj-him-me to (they) brought
       'They brought him to me' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 ii 66)

(87)   *nu* KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *kēl ŠA* KUR-*TI ANA* ŠEŠ꞊*YA*   *laḫḫi*
       conj troops cavalry   this of land   to brother-my battle (d-l)

       INA KUR ^{URU}*Mizri kattan peḫutenun*
       in land   Egypt to   (I) led

       'I led the troops and cavalry of this land to my brother in battle in Egypt'[64]
       (CTH 81.B = KBo 3.6+ ii 52 = CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ ii 72)

(88)   *ammuk ꞊ ma ꞊ kan* DINGIR-*LUM* GAM-*an pittaiškeuwan teḫḫun*
       I-conj-prt   goddess   to   to flee   began
       'I began to flee to the goddess (i.e. repeatedly seek her as refuge)'[65]
       (CTH 85.1.A = KBo 6.29+ i 14)

      See also 61.II.5.B ii 66, 81.B ii 7.

(89)   *našma šummaš kuit* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$SAG x?[ ] *ITTI* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL
       or   you pl. that eunuchs   to   princes

       BELU^{ḪIA} *ANA* INIM *arahzenaš tapārriya*   GAM-*an uiškemi*
       lords   for matter external administration (d-l) to   (I) send

       'or in the case that I send you, the eunuchs [   ] to the princes (and) lords for
       administration of an external matter' (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ iii 34)

In (89), the Akkadian preposition *ITTI* redundantly conveys the same sense as GAM-*an*.

The former is probably used because the NP object 'princes (and) lords' has been moved

away from its postposition GAM-*an*.

III.A.3.   *kattan* 'to, beside, with' as preverb

      kattan pāi- means to 'betray (or hand over) someone to someone; abandon someone.'

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[64]Contra Otten (1981: 17) as there is no 'down' represented here.

[65]CHD P: 354 offers the same analysis, so there is ageement on this as postpositional *kattan* in the sense 'to, into the presence of', as elsewhere.

pāi- is literally 'give,' so this expression must come out of *kattan* meaning 'into the presence

of, to,' therefore *kattan pāi-* 'give (someone) over to (someone).' *kattan* cannot be

postpositional without an expressed recipient of the 'giving over,' and this is indeed lacking

in some of the examples below. These sentences all also include the reflexive particle *=za*,

which helps give this the force of betrayal. That is, if one gives someone over to someone

=za 'for oneself,' there is the sense that the agent/giver/betrayer derives some benefit *for*

himself from the action. *Betrayal* implies some reward for, or ulterior motive on the part of,

the agent that simple *giving over to* does not.

(90) *nu = za*   ŠEŠ-*aš*   ŠEŠ-*an kattan pešket*
conj-relf brother (nom) brother (acc) betrayed

[LÚ*ar]a!š = za*   LÚ*aran*   *kattan pešket*
friend (nom)-refl friend (acc) betrayed

'Brother betrayed brother, and friend betrayed friend.'
(CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ iv 16,17) (CHD P: 52)

(91) *n = an = za = an*   ANA LÚKÚR *kuwatqa kattan pešti*
conj-him-refl-him   to   enemy somehow betray
'You deliver him (betray him) to the enemy somehow' (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Vo 23)

(92) m.dSIN.dU-*aš = ma = mu = za* ANA ŠEŠ=*YA* GAM-*an peškeuwan dāiš*
Armadatta-conj-me-refl   (d-l) brother-my to   to betray began
'Armadatta (Armatarhunta) began to betray me to my brother'
(CTH 86.1.A = KUB 21.17 i 7)

(93) *nu = za*   URU-*an* GAM-*an pā[i]*
conj-refl city (acc) hands over
'He abandons/hands over the city' (CTH 89.A = KUB 21.29 iii 29)

See also CTH 76.A iii 59, 89.A iii 29, iv 4.

kattan nai- used with the particle *=kan* means 'turn against (someone), defect.' This

surely originated from *X kattan nai-* meaning 'turn from beside X,'[66] with *kattan* as a

postposition in the phrase. The semantic shift is easily identified: 'turn from beside' > 'turn

against' > 'defect.' *kattan nai-* is much like *āppan tiya-* 'step behind, support' (discussed

earlier), continuing the use of nominal complements in most cases as its meaning and

function gradually change. Sentences (94) and (95) illustrate:

(94) *našma ꞊ mu ꞊ kan* ARAD *kuiški* GAM-*an niya[ri]*
      or-me-prt   slave   some from beside turns
      'Or some slave turns against (defects from) me' (cf. CHD N: 356 3")
      (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 ii 14)

(95) *našma ꞊ mu ꞊ kan* KUR.KUR GAM-*an   niyari*
      or-me-prt   lands   from beside turn
      'Or the lands turn against me' (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 ii 26)

In sentence (96) a verbal noun form, GAM-*an neyauwar*, is unaccompanied by a noun

in the role of object of postpositional *kattan*, and thus shows evidence of completion of the

transition to preverb-verb pair.

(96) *mān* DINGIR.MEŠ-*za ꞊ pat* NU¹ SIG₅ ^{URU}*Tanizila ꞊ ma ANA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* DINGIR-*LUM*
      if   gods-emph   not favorable Tanizila-conj d-l His Majesty   god

      ŠA MÈ-*arpan* GUB-*tar* KUR-*aš* GAM-*an neyauwar UL kuinki uškeši* SIG₅-*ru*
      of misfortune sinisterness of land   defection   not any (you) see be favorable

      'If it is unfavorable[67] because of the gods, but concerning Tanizila, you, O god, see
      for His Majesty no misfortune in battle, sinisterness, nor defection of the land, let the
      oracle be favorable' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iii 47).

      Cf. Beal (1999: 50): "Is it unfavorable only because of the gods' (statues)?
      However, O deity you do not see anything at all in the way of misfortune in battle,
      sinisterness, or defection of the lands for His Majesty in Tanizila. Let (the oracle) be
      favorable."

---

[66]On 'from' as part of the meaning of these local adverbs when used with people as their objects, see chapter eight.

[67]Beal (1999: 50, footnote 41) notes that the negation is written over an erasure but is not itself erased.

Cf. CHD (L-N: 356): "If it is unfavorable only because of the gods, but (if) concerning the town of Tanizila you, O god, see for His Majesty no misfortune of battle, sinisterness, (nor) defection of the land, let the oracle be favorable"

See also: CTH 123 ii 54. 56. 62. 73, 561 iii 37, all of which have objects for *kattan,* and 83.1.A i 5 (broken).

The move from postposition to preverb in *āppan tiya-* is closely mirrored in *kattan tiya-/ kattan ar-,* as (97) - (101) show. The shift here from the literal 'stand together with, stand beside' to the figurative 'stand by, support' is again transparent and unremarkable, and its occurrence is a hallmark of reanalysis from postposition to preverb. These examples do not yet show *kattan tiya-/ar-* without a nominal or pronominal object, simply indicating that the transition is not complete.

(97)   *nu₌šši* DINGIR.MEŠ *kattan tiyēr*
conj-him gods   with stood
'The gods stood with/by him' (CTH 40.II.D = KUB 19.11 i 7)

(98)   *nu₌wa₌mu* ^{d}UTU ^{URU}*Arinna* GAŠAN₌YA *kattan tiya*
conj-quot-me sungoddess A. lady-my   with stand
'O sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, stand with/by me' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 i 26)

(99)   *n₌aš₌mu kattan tiyat*
conj-she-me with stood
'She stood with me' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 i 27)

(100) *nu ANA* ${}^{m!}$*Tarḫini ŠA* LUGA[L DINGIR.MEŠ *k]/attan tiyēr*
conj d-l Tarhini of king   gods   with   stood
'The gods of the king stood with Tarhini' (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ iii 38)

(101) *nu₌mu* ^{d}LIŠ! ^{URU}*Šamuḫa* GAŠAN₌YA *[ANA* SA]G.DU₌YA *kattan artat*
conj-me Ishtar Samuha   lady-my   d-l   person-my   with stood
'Ishtar of Samuha, my lady, stood with my person'
(CTH 86.1.A = KUB 21.17 i 12)[68]

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[68]This is a stative use of the verb *ar-* 'stand' and does not indicate the motion of standing up.

See also CTH 81.A ii 66, 81.B ii 46.

III.A.4.   Freestanding *kattan* 'along with (it)'

kattan in this sense might also stand alone, as in (102). However, the reading of

aš-šu-la-aš in this text is far from assured, so that it is impossible to tell whether this is

indeed a case of *kattan* without a noun phrase object.[69]

(102)   'Those imple[ments] which [...
         ...] was [at the temple/cultstone] of the tutelary god,'
         šarnikziel   aššulaš kuit kattan SIxSÁ-*at*
         compensation goods that with was determined
         'The compensation for goods that was determined along with (it)'
         (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 20)

III.B.   *katta* as postposition 'with, beside'

There are also some examples in Neo-Hittite compositions of *katta* (the Old Hittite form)

as a postposition 'with, beside':

(103)   *nu = šmaš = kan memiyaš katta āšta*
         conj-them-prt word   with remained
         'The word remained with them' (= 'The accusation stuck')
         (CTH 61.II.8.1 = KBo 14.19 ii 19)

See also CTH 81.A i 62 (with *= kan*) (= 81.B i 52) and 81.D i 31.

In (104), I agree with Puhvel (1984: 423) that *katta* means 'with' or 'to/on the person

of':

(104)   ('[As] you (habitually) anoint [yourself], so also')
         kē = ya = ta = kkan MAMIT[HI.A] *Q[ATAMMA] katta iškiyan   ēšdu*
         these-also-you-prt oaths   thus   to smeared   let (them) be
         'may these oaths be smeared on you' (CTH 126.2 = KUB 26.25 ii 6)

In (105), *katta* must again mean 'with' and not 'down,' based on the only possible

meaning for the context.

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[69]Thanks to Harry Hoffner and Craig Melchert, personal communication, for assistance with
this.

(105) ᵈUTU-*ŠI⸗ya⸗ta*   *kuin* ÉRIN.MEŠ *a[šand]ulin katta dāliyanun*
My Majesty-also-you which troops   garrison   with (I) leave
'And the garrison troops which I, My Majesty, leave with you'
(CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Ro 25)

Compare the following usage of *kattan dala-*, which I would argue is not another

example of overlap between *katta* 'down' and *kattan* 'below,' but is the common use of

katta(n) as a postposition meaning 'with.' Note that the speaker addresses the king, so that

he is not speaking down to a subordinate, nor is this referring to something left to another

generation.

(106) ᵈUTU-*ŠI⸗ya⸗tta*   *kuin* ÉRIN.MEŠ ᴸᵁ·ᴹᴱˢ*ašandulan kattan daliyanun*
My Majesty-also-you which troops   garrison crew with   (I) left

n⸗an⸗za⸗an   *katta QATAMMA uški*
conj-him-refl-him (thus) watch over

'The troops and garrison crew that I, Your Majesty, left with you, watch over them!'
(CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 iv 3 = 68.E iv 11')

katta arku- means 'concur with.'[70] (107) shows the only assured Neo-Hittite example of

postpositional *katta* in this specific usage. *kattan arku-* occurs in Old Hittite, indicating some

(at least historical) overlap between the two forms.

(107) ᵈUTU-*ŠI⸗ma⸗ši*   *katta ŪL arkutta*
His Majesty-conj-her with not concurred
'His Majesty did not concur with her' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 80)

katta again appears to function as a postposition meaning 'with' in (108), but a

preverbal role is also plausible, given its position in the sentence and an easy semantic shift

'walk with' > 'accompany.'

katta iya-   'walk with' vs. 'accompany'

---

[70] I follow Melchert (1998: 48), contra Ünal (1978: 79) "hat sich nicht entschuldigt" and
Puhvel (1984: 149).

(108) *nu = mu* ZAG-*ni* GÉŠPU {eras.} *katta iy/anni*
      conj-me right hand   with walk
      'Walk with me at my right hand' (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 iii 71)

The enclitic pronoun *= mu* can stand for either accusative or dative 'me'; the accusative

would occur if *katta iya-* were a preverb-verb pair and the dative if *katta* were a postposition.

katta must certainly not mean 'down,' however, given the overall meaning of this sentence,

so whether it functions as a preverb or postposition here, 'with' was its original meaning.

All these instances of *katta* meaning 'with, beside' occur with people as objects, whereas

kattan in this role occurs with both people and things. This may be merely coincidental, but

is worth noting.

Broken sentences that include *kattan* are found at: CTH 40.IV.E.2 1, 40.IV.E.3 iii 27,

40.V.38-39 ii 17, 61.II.5.D 6, 61.II.6 13, 61.II.8.l iii 17, 61.II.9.A iii 8, 67 Vo 34, 68.B i 4,

69.A i 40, 70 iii 15, 76.B iv 5, 382 Ro 6, 84.1 iv 9, 209.22 Ro 8, 255.1.A iii 38, iv 42,

255.1.C Ro! 10, 255.2.A ii 55, 255.2.E 3, 569.1 ii 13, 85.4 Ro 4, 68.E iv 14, 181 ii 33,

40.II.D iv 2, 40.VI.51 12, 178.2.b Ro 17, 40.II.D iv 41, 40.II.F iv 50, 61.II.2.A i 25, 382 Ro

21, 68.E iii 53, 123 ii 2, 86.2 1, 85.1.B ii 29, 181 ii 61, 182 Vo 5, 182 Vo 39, 61.II.10 i 18.

katta occurs in the following broken sentences: CTH 40.II.G i 22, 40.III.19 9,

40.III.25.A i 19, 40.IV.E.2 9, 40.V.38-39 ii 12, iii 6, 40.VI.46 ii 3, 58 iii 9, 61.I.B iv 24,

61.II.4.b iii 4, 61.II.6 6, 61.II.8.f iv 4, 61.II.10 iv 1, 61.III.5 i 1, 60 iii 9, 76.A i 60, ii 42, 81.F

i 36, 83.1.B iii 21, 85.1.B iv 1, 4, 8, 85.2 Ro 9, 86.1.A iii 30, 105.A iii 41, 187.1 Ro 6, 209.4

7, 224 Ro 27, 225.B Ro'' 10, 225.1.A iv 19, 380 Vo 5, 566 Ro 81.

Broken sentences that include GAM are: CTH 81.D i 31, 83.1.A iv 9, 182 Ro 11, Vo 35,

209.20 12, 255.2.B i 35, 36, 81.B i 52, 83.1.A ii 13, 181 iv 3, 182 Ro 7, 83.1.A i 5, 123 iv 28,

81.B ii 34, 123 iii 63.

CHAPTER FIVE

parā and *peran*

This chapter details the functions of *parā*, most basically meaning 'forward,' and *peran*

'in front, before.' *parā* is frequently a preverb and as such shows some diversity of meaning,

which is oulined just below. It also functions often as a freestanding adverb meaning

'further, more,' and in several specialized constructions (e.g., *parā eš-* 'be in a forward

position' and *parā ḫandandatar* 'providence'). It functions only rarely as a postposition with

the ablative, meaning 'out of, from.'

In contrast, *peran* most often functions as a postposition, sometimes as a freestanding

adverb, and rarely as a preverb. As a postposition it has either the spatial sense 'before, in

front of,' the temporal sense 'before,' or the derived meanings 'during the reign of' or 'with

respect to.' In freestanding roles it may also represent spatial or temporal 'before.' *peran*

has just a few uses as a preverb, each of which retains some transparency to the underlying

meaning of *peran* as 'in front,' but with a specialization of meaning that marks it as a

preverb.

I. **parā**

Hittite *parā* reflects Proto-Indo-European *pro(:) and once meant both locatival

'in front' and also 'forward' with a sense of motion. Going *forward* from a fixed point can

be construed as going *out of* a place or as going *onward* or *further* from a place; these are two

of the meanings that have developed for *parā*. Compare English *forth*, originally meaning 'forward,' as in *back and forth*, then both 'out of' and 'onward,' the latter as in *from this day forth/onward*. What's implied spatially in those instances is leaving something, without the necessity of a goal. With the addition of a goal, the meanings 'out to, towards' and also 'over to' develop. In a few cases, with the statement of a goal, *parā* appears to affiliate more closely with the goal than with the verb, and functions as a postposition. Just one step further from the meaning 'out to' is the meaning 'as far as' and the idea of reaching a goal, completion, or a telicizing function for *parā*.

As a freestanding adverb, *parā* continues one of its preverbal meanings, 'further.' It often functions to mark a sequence of events with this meaning, and has come to mean 'more' in a general way, rather than just having to do with distance. It may also have a locatival sense 'in front' and temporal meaning 'before.' These ideas are developed below.

   parā will be detailed as outlined here:

I.A Preverb: 1) 'forward'

                    2) 'out (of), out (to), toward'

                        a) intransitives

                        b) transitives

                    3) 'over to'

                    4) 'fully, completely,' telicizing

                    5) 'onward, further'

                        a) general cases

                        b) special case: *parā negna-* 'half brother' or 'step brother'

I.B Postposition: 'out of, from'

I.C Adverb: 1) 'further, more'

                         2) 'in front, forward' (*parā ēš-*)

                         3) 'before' (temporal) (*parā ḫandant, ḫandandatar; duwan parā*)

I.D. Unclear cases

I.A. *parā* as preverb

I.A.1. 'forward'

    parā tiya-   'step forward'

(1)   *nu = kan ḫantezzi parā tiškānzi*
        conj-prt first   (they) step forward (iterative)

        mān = ma = za DINGIR-*LIM parā tiyawar   malan ḫarti*
        if-conj-refl   god   stepping forward approved has

        'They step forward first. If you, the god, have approved stepping forward' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 62)

(2)   *parā tiyanna = ma = kan* ᶠ*Annanzaš* DAM ᵐ*Pirwa* SIxSÁ-*at*
        stepping forward-conj-prt Annanza wife Pirwa was determined
        'Annanza, wife of Pirwa, was determined for stepping-forward
        (determined to step forward)' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 63)

In sentences (1) and (2) I have translated *parā tiyanna* concretely as 'stepping forward.' This phrase may have a specialized meaning in ritual activities, but its interpretation remains difficult, as do others in these abstruse oracle texts. In example (2), *tiyanna* is an infinitive/verbal noun and shows evidence that the preverb + verb must have been an accentual unit, because the clitic, which must occur in second position, follows the two-word phrase.

(3)   *n = aš = mu = kan uet INA* ^{URU}*Gappuuppuwa = pat* ḪUR.SAG-*i šer*
       conj-he-me-prt came in (city) G.   - emph mountain (d-l) on

       parā menaḫḫanda tiyet
       stepped forward against

       'He proceeded to attack me (lit. stepped forward against me) in the aforementioned
       G. on top of the mountain'[71] (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 i 34)

I follow the CHD's translation (P: 128 #5') for (3), but disagree with their statement

that "*menaḫḫanda* is an adverb and makes the movement implied by *parā* more explicit."

Rather, I believe (and the CHD's translation implies) that *menaḫḫanda* is a postposition

here, and its pronominal object, *= mu* has been raised to the beginning of the sentence.

    See also CTH 181 ii 20 (with *= kan*).

    To move forward is to progress in a physical sense, but this readily becomes

metaphorical for making progress in more general terms. This meaning shift is shown in the

case of *parā iyanna/i-* in (4), where the idea of thriving is expressed with *parā* and a motion

verb:

       parā iyanna/i-   'make progress, thrive'

(4)   *nu = nn/aš* É-*er parā iyanniš*
       conj-our house thrived
       'and our family thrived' (CHD P: 120) (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ iii 7)

    Note the absence here of *= kan*, where there is no explicit or implicit reference point, as

there is in the concrete cases of (1) - (3).

    There are no other occurrences of *parā iyanna/i-*.

    As in one category of the last chapter, *parā ḫalzai-* expresses the essence of two verbs

collapsed into one. That is, while we can translate this simply as 'call forth/call forward,' a

---

[71]Cf. also Tjerkstra (1999: 172): "And it happened that in that very Kappuppuwa, up in the
mountain, he (= the enemy) stepped forward to meet me."

more explicit meaning would be 'call (someone) to *come* forward,' or in this case, 'He called

the great men to come forward to him(self) in the matter.'

parā ḫalzai- 'call forth, call forward'

(5)   [*nu*]⸗*za* LÚ.MEŠ GAL-*TI memiyani parā ḫalzaiš*
       conj-refl men   great   matter (d-l) (he) called forth
       'He called forth to himself the great men in the matter'
       (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 iii 17 = 40.IV.B iii 6)

I.A.2.   'out of'

I.A.2.a. Intransitives:

The first group of verbs listed here are intransitives with *parā* meaning 'out.' Note that

in this meaning, *parā* and motion verb usually occur with a particle (⸗*kan,* ⸗*šan,* or ⸗*ašta*)

in the sentence. See Götze (1933: 21) and Tjerkstra (1999: 64ff.) and compare section I.A.5

below.

parā pai- (with particle)   'go out'

(6)   *n*⸗*ašta ANA* MUN ᵁᴿᵁ*Šarmana tamaiš antuḫšaš parā lē paizzi*
       conj-prt to salt   Sarmana other person may not go out
       'No other person may go out to the salt of S-city.' (Bo 86/299 ii 14)

See CTH 61.III.4 ii 11 (with ⸗*šan*).

parā uwa- (perhaps with ⸗*kan,* but text broken)   'come out'?

(7)   *nu*⸗*wa*⸗*kan BELU*·ᴴᴵ·ᴬ *parā* x x[   ] *uwandu*
       conj-quot-prt lords   out   let come
       '"Let the lords come out x x'''? (CTH 61.II.4.c = KUB 19.30 iv 7)

(8)   [   ]⸗*ya kuie*[*eš* ᵁ]/ᴿᵁ*Gašga*·ᴴᴵ·ᴬ *parā uwanteš ešer*
              -also those   Gasga   have come out
       'The ones of Gasga had come out' (CTH 61.II.8.e = KBo 14.20 i 16)

See also CTH 585.N 9 (broken).

parā piddai-   'run out'

(9) [   ]-*ma ꞊ kan* É.ŠÀ-*za*   *parā pittāizzi*
     -conj-prt inner chamber (abl) (he) runs out
     'He[72] runs out from the inner chamber' (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 48)

There are no other occurrences of *parā piddai-*.

I.A.2.b. Transitives:

There are quite a number of transitives with *parā* with meaning 'out' listed in this

section. With *parā ēp(p)-* we see that *holding something out in front* is equivalent to

presenting it; this position is the one taken when one *offers* something to another, even when

that is a figurative ear, for listening.

    parā ēp(p)-   'to hold out in front, present, proffer, show (to someone)'

(10) *nu ꞊ mu ištaman[an . . . p]a[r]ā ēpten*
      conj-me ear   offer (2 pl. imperative)
      'Offer an ear [. . .] to me!' (CTH 378.4.A = KUB 14.13 i 20)

(11) *nu ꞊ mu* DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ GEŠTU-*an parā ēpten*
      conj-me gods   lords   ear   hold out
      'O gods, my lords, hold out an ear to me!'
      (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 i 26 = 381.B i 27)

See also: CTH 256 i 20. 23, and the broken 255.1.C Vo! 4

The following usage of *parā ēpp-* has been interpreted to mean 'afflicted,' thus, 'because

a woman's sickness was repeatedly afflicting me,' based on its context (see CHD P: 118). A

better alternative is the basic meaning 'hold out,' but with a connotation of shoving

something into the speaker's face.

(12) *ŠA* MUNUS ꞊ *YA ꞊ mu ꞊ kan kuit*   GIG   *parā appišket*
      of woman-my-me-prt   because sickness (he) kept holding out
      'because he kept holding out to me (i.e. threw in my face) the sickness of my wife'
      (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 26)

---

[72]'He' is presumably an attendant of the king.

parā nai-   'to send out/off, dispatch' (with *=ašta* or *=kan*)

(13) ^m*Lupakkin=ma=kan* ^{m.d}*U-zalmann=a INA* KUR ^{URU}*Amka parā naišta*
      Lupakki-conj-prt   ^dU-zalma-and (d-l) land   Amka   (he) sent out
      'He sent out L. and ^dU-zalma into the land of Amka' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 iii 3)

(14) *nu=kan* ^m*Tarḫinin parā neḫḫun*
      conj-prt Tarhini (I) sent out
      'I sent T. out' (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ iii 31-32)

See also (these texts with the particle *=kan* unless otherwise noted): CTH 40.IV.B iii 10, iv 7 (restored), 61.I.A ii 23, ii 44, iii 24, 61.I.B iii 27 (small break), 61.II.2.A iii 24, 61.II.2.B iv 28 (restored), 61.II.5.B i 40, ii 53, ii 59, ii 69, 61.II.7.A iv 17, 61.II.8.l ii 23, 61.II.9.A iii 27 = 61.II.9.C iii 19, 61.II.10 iii 32, 62.II.A ii 21. 23. 28, 63.A iii' 32, 67 Vo 19, 76.A iii 70, 123 ii 15, 176 Ro 18, 182 Vo 41, 202 10, ?382 Ro 27 (with *=šan*), 486.A Ro 22, Ro 23.

Broken sentences are at: CTH 40.I.B ii 13 (with *=kan*), 40.II.B ii 9 (with *=kan*), 40.II.A ii 5, 40.II.F iii 11, 40.IV.A iii 21, 40.VI.52.A Ro 13, 40.VI.52.B 12, 61.I.A iii 18, 61.II.4.d iv 2. 9, 61.II.5.E iii 5, 61.II.7.C ii 19, 61.II.9.A ii 49, 105.A iv 47, 176 Ro 18 (restored), 486.B Vo 10, 486.C iii 55, 486.C iv 13. 22 (initial *parā* with restored *nair*).

parā peḫute-   'lead out'   CTH 566 Vo 64

parā peda-   'carry out'   CTH 225.A Vo 38

There is also a broken occurrence in CTH 70 i 15.

In (15) below, the verb is a transitive one, but because it is a general call to provoking a revolt its object (that is, who's to be provoked) is not stated.

parā wagariyanu-   'provoke a revolt against'

(15) *zig ꞊ a ꞊ man* LUGAL-*i par[ā]* BAL-*nuši*
       you-conj-irreal king   provoke a revolt
       'Should you provoke a revolt against the king' (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 ii 33)

The CHD (P: 121) interprets the sentence at (15) very differently, reading BAL-*nuši* as

waḫnuši, thus 'Then you must conduct him to the king.'

There are no other occurrences.

parā šalik-   'reach out/forward'

The basic meaning of *šalik-* in this context is '(illicitly) touch,' and *parā* indicates that

the subject reaches *out* to do the touching.[73] In this instance there is a metaphorical sense of

illicitly touching or *intruding* on the work at hand.

(16) *ANA* KIN É.GAL-*LIM parā šalikiške[t]*
       (d-l) work palace   reached out (iterative)
       'And she repeatedly reached out into (i.e., intruded in) the work of the palace'
       (CHD Š: 104) (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 6)

See also CTH 566 Ro 76.

parā dai-   'put out, bring out'

(17) *UNŪTE*^MEŠ *꞊ ya ꞊ kan ḫantezzi parā tiškānzi*
       utensils-also-prt   first   (they) put out
       'Shall they also put out the utensils first?' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 48)

See also CTH 566 Vo 62.

parā tarna- 'let out'

(18) *eni ꞊ za*   *kuit* ^d UTU-*ŠI*   *AWĀT* MUNUS.LUGAL
       aforementioned-refl that   His Majesty   matter queen

       antuḫšaš katta GUL-*aḫḫandaš parā ŪL tarnaš*
       people   down beaten   didn't let out

       '"As to the fact that His Majesty did not allow (let out) the word of the queen of
       (=about) the 'beaten people'" (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 43)

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[73]Similarly Tjerkstra (1999: 31).

Compare CHD P: 115. See also section I.A.3 'over to' and I.A.5 'on, along' sections for other occurrences of *parā tarna-*.

para uiya- 'to send forth/out to, dispatch

(19) *šummaš = ma kuiēš* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG *nu = za parā kuinki kuedanikki uiyami*
you-conj-who eunuchs conj-refl out someone someone (d-l) (I) send
'You who (are) eunuchs: (if) I send someone (of you) out to someone'
(CHD P: 116) (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ iii 62)

See also CTH 81.A i 66, 123 iii 72, 255.1.A LR 2 (slightly broken), and the broken texts 255.2.B iv 9 and 255.2.D 2.

With both *ḫuittiya-* and *dā-*, one sees that either pulling or taking someone *out* of a group indicates choosing that person over others for some activity. It can thus mean that the person taken out is selected for an honor or duty over the others in the group, as in the examples I show. Note that none of these indicates a physical pulling out, but rather just a figurative one.

parā ḫuittiya- 'to pull out' or 'to select, prefer,' 'to pick someone out of a group'

(20) *n = an parā ḫuittiyanun n = an* EN-*LAM iyanun*
conj-him (I) selected conj-him lord (I) made
'I had selected him, made him a lord' (CHD P: 119)
(CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ iii 25)

(21) *n = an parā ḫuittiyat*
conj-him (he) promoted
'He promoted him' (CTH 87 = KBo 4.12 Ro 16)

parā dā- 'to take out (of a group), pick out, select'

(22) ARAD*=YA = ma = wa nūwān parā daḫḫi*
slave-my-conj-quot never (I) pick out
'"I do not wish to take/pick out my slave"'[74]
(CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 iii 14 = 40.IV.B iii 3)

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[74]Similarly Tjerkstra (1999: 115).

(23)   *parā=pat daḫḫi*   *nu* ᵈUTU-*ŠI*   ZI-*YA=pat*   EGIR-*an* DÙ-*mi*
        (I) select-emph   conj My Majesty will-my-emph according to (I) do
        'I will go ahead and select and I will do, My Majesty, according to my own will'
        (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iii 52-53)

Cf. Beal (1999: 50-51): 'I will decide and I My Majesty do according to my own will.'

The context leading to (23) is that the god is not treating the campaign well.

parā watkuzzi may mean 'spring forth,' or 'desert, abscond.' Due to the gap in the

example we have from Neo-Hittite, it is difficult to tell.

(24)   *nu=tta=kkan ANA* É-*TI*[
        parā lē kuēlqa watku[zzi
        (CTH 68.C = KBo 4.3+ iv 40)

The following Neo-Hittite example with *parā karp-* is too broken to interpret, but *parā*

karp- elsewhere is a preverb-verb pair meaning 'pick out.'

(25)   [*nu=war]=an* [
        [DINGIR-*LI*]*M-ni parā*[
        [×-*a*]*n karapmi*
        (CTH 81.M = KUB 1.8 iv 2)

        parā uda-   'to bring out'

(26)   *nu=kan* ×[
        parā udanzi
        'They bring out _____' (CTH 256 = ABoT 56 iii 11)

That above is the only occurrence.

I.A.3   'over to'; 'as far as'

This is, in effect, a subcategory of that above which occurs when *parā* 'out to' with a

stated goal combines with verbs that have a recipient: when one *gives* or *says* something, for

example, there must be someone out there to receive the gift or the word. The sense of *parā*

that is most explicit in these circumstances is 'over to.'

In the first two examples that follow with *parā arnu-*, the meaning is 'carry forth.' The next example, (29), has both an instance of *parā ar-* and *parā arnu-*, the latter having a different meaning than those above, that is, 'cause to attain to.' All of the examples do share in expressing a goal. In the case of *parā ar-* 'arrive out at, reach out to, reach as far as,' *parā* underscores the attainment of a goal.

parā arnu-   'to bring (an object) out, carry (a task out),' 'to cause (offerings, etc.) to reach out to or correspond to'

(27)   *n = at   ANA* $^{\mathrm{d}}$IŠKUR *tuel ḫuḫḫi [U]*
conj-them to Storm-god your grandfather [and]

ANA $^{\mathrm{d}}$UTU $^{\mathrm{URU}}$PÚ-*na   tuel ḫanni   parā arnuši*
to   sungoddess Arinna your grandmother (you) carry forth[75]

'You will carry them (=words) forth to the Storm-god, your grandfather, and to the sungoddess of Arinna, your grandmother' (CTH 384 = KUB 21.27 iv 10)

(28)   *n = at = mu   * $^{\mathrm{d}}$U $^{\mathrm{URU}}$*Zippalanda* EN*=YA parā arnut*
conj-them-me stormgod Zippalanda lord-my carry forth
'You, stormgod of Z., my lord, carry them (my words) forth for me'
(In context, carry it forth to your father and mother) (CTH 384 = KUB 21.27 iv 46)

parā ar- 'to arrive out at, come out to, extend/reach to'

(29)   *nu = kan[...]ANA ŠA* DINGIR.MEŠ *šaklāi   parā ŪL ari . . .*
conj-prt   to of   gods   requirement doesn't reach out to

nu = kan Š[A DINGIR$^{\mathrm{M}}$]$^{\mathrm{EŠ}}$ *[kuit š]aklāyaš   par[ā ŪL a]rnuan ḫarmi*
conj-prt of   gods   what requirements not caused to meet (I) have

'[Whatever] does not reach out to (as far as) (i.e., attain or conform to) the requirement of the gods, [what] I have not caused to meet the requirements of the gods . . . ' (Similarly CHD (P: 109-110) and Singer (2002: 83.) (CTH 382 = KBo 11.1 Ro 21, 22)

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[75]Similarly Goetze (1969: 394): "relay."

(30) *n = aš parā*   *INA* ^{URU}*Zazziša ārašket*
      conj-he as far as (d-l) Zazzisa   reached
      'He reached as far as Zazzisa-city' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iii 72)

For other instances of *parā arnu-* see CTH 382 Ro 22 (with slight break), 384 iv 7. 22.

34. 49. For other instances of *parā ar-*, see CTH 81.A ii 13, 81.E ii 7, 566 Ro 2.

   parā pai-   'to give out(ward); to hand over, deliver'

(31) *n = an = mu parā piēr*
      conj-it-me (they) handed over
      'They handed them (= civilian captives) over to me' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iii 22)

(32) *nu ŠA* KUR *Palā ANA* [^{LÚ}KÚR? *par]ā ŪL kuitki pešta*
      conj of land Pala to   enemy over not anything (he) handed
      'He handed nothing of the land of Pala over to the enemy'
      (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 ii 31)

(33) [(*n*) =]*at ANA* DINGIR-*LIM parā peḫḫun*
      conj-it to   god   (I) handed over

      DUMU = *YA = ya = tta* [(^m*D*)]*uthaliyan* ARAD-*anni parā peḫḫun*
      son-my-also-you   Tuthaliya   in servitude (I) handed over

      'I handed it over to the god and I also handed over Tuthaliya, my son, to you in
      servitude' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ iv 77)

See also: CTH 61.I.A iii 23, 61.II.2.A iii 34 (broken), 61.II.2.B i 14. 15, 61.II.4.c iv 6.

10, 61.II.5.A i 12, 61.II.5.B iv 36. 48, 63.A i 30 (restored), iii' 19, 63.B iii 19, 67 Ro 8. 36,

Vo 37. 53, 68.B i 7. 8. 10, ii 20, 68.H iii! 6, 69.A i 54 58, 70 ii 7. 11, 81.A iv 67. 68. 69. 70.

76, 81.B i 13, 81.C i 14, 85.1.A i 9, ii 35, Bo 86/299 iii 14, 176 Vo 1, 585.D iv 12?

Broken texts are: CTH 61.II.8.a iii 4, 67 Vo 35, 68.A i 58, 68.E iii 6, 76.A iii 70, 81.B iv

28. 29. 30, 123 ii 1, 182 Left Edge 5.

We saw an example at (18) of *parā tarna-* meaning 'let out.' Here we see the same

preverb-verb combination but with an explicit goal, so that the meaning shifts from 'let out'

to 'hand over.'

parā tarna- 'to let go, release, set free, hand over, allow'

(34) *nu꞊mu ḫūwappi* DINGIR-*LIM-ni ḫūwappi ḫannaššani parā ŪL kuwapi/kki*
       conj-me evil   god   evil   lawsuit   over not anywhere

       tarnaš
       (you) hand

       'You didn't hand me over in any circumstance (never/nowhere) to an evil god, evil
       lawsuit' (CTH 81.B = KBo 3.6+ i 34-35 = 81.A i 41)

See also CTH 61.II.7.A i 13. 14, 81.A iv 13 = 81.B iii 57, and the broken 61.II.7.B i 9,

255.2.A iv 51?, 384 iii 24?.

See also I.A.2 'out of/to' and I.A.5 'on, further' sections for *parā tarna-*.

The meaning 'pass on, reveal' could be expressed by combining *parā* 'over to' with the

verb *mema-* 'say.' The effect of the preverb *parā* is to have the information moved along to

the next recipient, or passed on.

       parā mema-   'to pass on, divulge, reveal'

(35) *lē꞊war꞊an꞊za꞊an kuedanikki [parā] mematti*
       not-quot-it-refl-it   anyone   reveal
       '"Do not reveal it to anyone"' (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ i 59)

There is another broken text at CTH 255.2.A i 61, which is the same.

(36) *n꞊at꞊za*   *parā lē kuiški kuedanikki memai*
       conj-it-refl   out not anyone to anyone reveal
       'No one should divulge it to anyone' (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ iii 24)

(37) *nu꞊šši* INIM.MEŠ LUGAL *parā memai*
       conj-him words king   reveals
       'and reveals the words of the king to him' (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ iii 65)

See also: CTH 255.1.A iv 4. 14-15. 31, 255.2.A i 61, iii 21 and in the broken 255.2.B ii

1. 6.

Again with *giving instructions* (below), the action is not done in isolation; one expects

there to be a recipient of the instructions. *parā* expresses the meaning 'over to,' that the subject is passing words to somebody.

> *parā watarnaḫḫ-* 'to give instructions to someone'

(38) *našma! = kan* {text *na-aš-ták-kán!*} LUGAL *parā kuedanikki watarnaḫzi*
     or-prt   king   gives to someone instructions
     'Or if the king gives instructions to someone' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 7)

There are no other examples.

ḫappirai- alone means 'give away, give up, sell.' Its meaning is similar when the preverb *parā* is used, so that it is difficult to be certain of the latter's function. Perhaps, as with the other verbs in this class, *parā* reinforces the idea of handing something *over to* a recipient, as would be done in a sales transaction.

> *parā ḫappirai-*   'to give up, surrender, dispose of, sell'

(39) ('If somebody steals a person of the camp')
     našma = an = za = an parā ḫappirānzi
     or-him-refl-him   (they) sell
     'Or if they sell him' (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Vo 40)

This is the only example.

I.A.4. 'fully, completely'; telicizing

parā as preverb also comes to mean 'fully' or 'completely.' The meaning 'as far as' discussed in section I.A.3, (e.g., *parā ar-* 'reach as far as') is the possible origin of this usage.[76] If something reaches as far as possible, it reaches its goal or limit; that is, it has been done completely or fully. Thus:

> *parā iya-*   'carry out, accomplish' < 'do completely'

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[76]Note that while the CHD (P: 126) likewise categorizes these as preverbal usages, it suggests that they stemmed from the adverbial comparative 'further, more' discussed at I.B.1.

(40)   ŠA ᶠ*Danuhepa⸗ma uttar [kuiš] parā iyat*
       of   Danuhepa⸗conj matter who accomplished
       'The one who carried out/accomplished the matter of Danuhepa . . .'
       (CTH 383 = 1193/u + KUB 21.19 ii 21-22)

The text in (40) is thanks to Singer (2002b: 742), who identified that *parā* reinforces the

telicizing sense of *iya-* 'do' (2002a: 99 and 2002b: 743).

   parā duške-   'make oneself glad, rejoice fully'

(41)   *nu⸗za⸗kan*   ᵈU   *piḫššaššiš* EN⸗*YA parā duškatti*
       conj-refl-prt stormgod Pihassassi lord-my rejoice fully
       'Now you, Stormgod Pihassassi, my lord, rejoice fully . . . '
       (CTH 381.B = KUB 6.46 iv 32 = 381.A iii 64)

   parā šarnink-   'compensate fully/completely'   CTH 383 ii 15

On this, see also the CHD P: 126 #7.d.

parā iyašha- may mean 'to trust completely,' but we are not sure of the meaning of

iyašha- alone, so this is uncertain in combination as well.

(42)   *nu⸗wa⸗mu⸗kan parā ŪL iyašhatta*
       conj-quot-me-prt not trust completely
       'You did not trust me completely' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 iv 3)

This is the only occurrence of *parā iyašha-*.

I.A.5.   'onward, further'

I.A.5.a.   general cases

Going *forward* or *out*, particularly if there is a sense of doing it on more than one

occasion, indicates that one is moving on (going onward) to the next destination, or going

further toward a goal. *parā* in combination with the verbs in this section has this meaning.

The instances of *parā* with this meaning with both the verbs *pai-* 'go' and *iya-* 'go' all occur

without local particles (e.g., *=kan, =ašta, =šan*),[77] so this appears to be a factor in the semantics vs. 'go out' seen in I.A.2 above.

parā pai-   'go on, farther'

(43)   [*n*]*amma parā INA* ^{URU}*Taḫappšuwana*   *pāun*
       then   on   (d-l) (city) Tahappsuwana   (I) went
       'Then I went on towards T-city'
       (CTH 61.II.9.C = KBo 16.16 iii 23 = 61.II.9.A iii 31)

(44)   *namma parā pāun*
       then   further (I) went
       'Then I went further' (CTH 61.II.8.a = KUB 19.39 ii 6)

See also CTH 61.I.A ii 1. 35, 61.II.5.B iii 52, 61.II.8.l ii 15, 61.II.9.A iii 35, 88 Ro 21

(with initial *parā = ma*).

Broken examples are in CTH 40.II.G i 2, 61.II.9.A iii 49.

parā iya-   'to go on, further'

(45)   *lukkatti = ma*   *INA* ^{URU}*Taptina*   *parā iyaḫḫat*
       at daybreak-conj (d-l) (city) Taptina (I) went on
       'I marched on/further towards T.-city at daybreak'[78]
       (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iii 43)

There are no other examples.

armizziya- alone means 'to bridge (over)'; with *parā* it means 'spread, disperse, disseminate, or pass further along,' so *parā* adds the force of 'on, further' in this case.

(46)   *n = at parā armizziyaši*
       conj-it pass on
       'You pass it on' (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ iii 28)

This is the only example.

parā au(š)- 'overlook, disregard' is a preverb-verb pair whose meaning is different from

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[77]See Goetze (1933: 21) and Tjerkstra (1999: 64ff.)

[78]Likewise Tjerkstra (1999: 32): "In the morning I marched on to Taptina."

the sum of its parts. This likely resulted from a meaning 'look further,' which is roughly

equal to 'look beyond,' and if one looks beyond someone/something, one looks past it or

overlooks it, thus *ignoring* it.

> *parā au(š)-*   'disregard, overlook, ignore'

(47)   *nu ꓽ ššan parā lē autti*
      conj-prt (you) do not overlook
      'Do not overlook (it)' (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 iii 8)

(48)   *nu ꓽ šši ꓽ kan parā autt[eni*
      conj-him-prt (you) disregard
      'If you disregard him' (CTH 255.1.B = KUB 26.13 i 10)

The meaning of all attested *finite* examples of *parā* + *au(š)-* is 'overlook, disregard.'

This usage clearly is *not* the source of the meaning of the nominalizations *parā uwatalla-*

'look-out' and *parā uwant-* 'supervisor': see correctly CHD P: 110 & 142-143. The

discussion of Francia (2002: 83-86) is rather confusing. Cf. English *to look over* vs.

overlook.

See also CTH 67 Vo 45, 68.B iii 28, 68.E iii 27. 46, 76.A ii 79, iii 50, 76.B iii 5. 66, 123

iii 11. Note that these examples all have particles, either *ꓽkan* or *ꓽšan*.

There are broken sentences with *parā au(š)-* in CTH 67 Ro 13. 17, 68.C ii 4, 182 Left

Edge 3, 255.1.A i 9.

> *parā nai-*   'continue, be carried on'

nai- in the active voice means 'send' and in the middle voice 'happen, result, ensue.'

When *parā* is combined with the middle form, the meaning 'continue, be carried on' is a

logical extension of the additive meaning 'happen further.' The idea of continuing is also

aided by the use of the iterative *ꓽške-* form of the verb.

(49) *nu꞊ššan parā nāeškattari*
     conj-prt (it) shall be carried on
     'and it shall be henceforth carried on' (CHD N: 15) (CTH 382 = KBo 11.1 Ro 27)

parā tarna- 'refrain from hearing' (lit. 'let forth in respect to hearing' per Singer)

(50) *n꞊at*   DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ *ištamaššuwanzi parā tarništen*
     conj-them gods   lords   hearing   let forth (let go beyond)
     'refrain from listening to them, divine lords' (Singer 1996 :32)
     (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 i 32 = 381.B i 33)

Here I follow Singer's (1996: 53) interpretation in taking *parā tarna-* to mean 'refrain from' rather than 'permit/allow,' as preferred by the CHD and others. In choosing this meaning Singer considers the context along with the literal translation of *ištamaššuwanzi parā tarništen* 'let forth in respect to hearing.' (I prefer 'release onward, let go beyond in respect to hearing.') In this section of the prayer the supplicant first asks for his words to be heard by the gods and then discusses the pleas that the gods do *not* wish to hear: Singer finds it more plausible that the speaker would let the gods decide which words to hear and which not to, and would *not* press to have some words heard against the god's wishes.

See also sections I.A.2 'out of/to' and I.A.3 'over to' sections.

I.A.5.a. Special usage

parā negna- = 'a half-brother or step-brother'? (CHD P: 129)

The word *parā* in this instance functions to modify 'brother' in a compound. It is thought to mean 'half-brother' or 'step-brother,' perhaps by way of the idea 'farther-brother,' meaning something like a distant brother. Another possible origin is the meaning 'more,' discussed in the following section, to express the idea of an extra or additional brother.

(51) *ANA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI* ꞊ *ya* ŠEŠ.MEŠ꞊*ŠU maiqqauš*
(d-l) His Majesty-and brothers-his many

parā ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ušš* ꞊ *a* ꞊ *mu meqqaēš* LUGAL.MEŠ *araḫzenušš* ꞊ *a meqqauš*
half-brothers-also-me   many   kings   foreign-and   many

'and (I), His Majesty, have many brothers, also I have many "*parā* brothers" and there are many foreign kings' (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ iii 59)

I.B.   As postposition

parā only rarely functions as a postposition, as in (52) below. As has been discussed in earlier chapters, it can be difficult to decide between these local adverbs as preverbs or postpositions. However, the combination *iššaz* (written KAxU-*az) parā* occurs frequently and perhaps idiomatically, an indication that these constitute a postpositional phrase rather than that *parā* is linked to the verb in these instances.[79]

(52)   *ANA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI*꞊*at*꞊*kan* K[AxU-*az* [*p*]*arā aniyan*
(d-l) His Majesty-it-prt mouth (abl) out   written
'It (was) written/copied out of the mouth of His Majesty'
(CTH 382 = KBo 11.1 Vo 25)

The CHD cites a number of other examples from Old and Middle Hittite texts with *parā* as postposition, both with the same verb, *aniya-*, and with several other verbs. The following example is from Middle Hittite (Neo Script). Here *parā* must clearly be a postposition; there is no object stated, as preverbal *parā* with *mema-* and meaning 'pass on, reveal' would require.

(53)   ᴸᵁAZU ꞊ *ma* ꞊ *kan* ᴳᴵ�Š ZA.LAM.GAR-*az parā ḫurlili kiššan memai*
exorcist-conj-prt   tent (abl)   from in Hurrian thus speaks
'The exorcist speaks in Hurrian from the tent as follows' (KUB 12.11 iv 19-20)

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[79]Its occurrence in a variety of positions in the sentence is considered an indication of *parā*'s functional role by the CHD (P: 118): "The apparent free distribution of the phrase *iššaz parā* throughout the sentence shows *parā* in postpositional function as a linguistic reality to be separated from preverbial *parā*." The use of *iššaz* + *parā* consistently as a phrase is a better diagnostic than its location in the sentence. (See chapter nine.)

I.C.1.   Adverb 'further, more'

As discussed at I.A.5, the function of *parā* as 'further' may have originally been to represent a physical distance, but could have shifted to a more general sense of going beyond. In (54) below, *parā* serves to extend the effect of the verb. English can similarly use *further* to suggest adding power, duration, or repetition to a verb, as in *His success motivated him further*, where the subject is not motivated a physical distance further, but rather further in a realm of emotion. Here, *parā* indicates that things should be of *further* concern, or *more* concern.

(54)   *tuk ꞊ ma   10-ŠÚ   parā ꞊kuwayatallu*
       you-conj 10 times   let me be of further concern
       'let me be ten times more a matter of concern to you'
       (CHD P: 123) (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 51)

See also CTH 123 iii 46.

Likewise with the verbs *ḫappinešš-* 'become rich' and *ašiwantešš-* 'become poor,' *parā* functions to extend the effect of the verbs to mean 'become richer' or 'become poorer.'

(55)   *nu mān uezzi   É   ᵈUTU ᵁᴿᵁPÚ-na parā [ḫa]ppinešzi . . .*
       conj if happens temple sungoddess Arinna gets richer

       mānn-a É ᵈUTU ᵁᴿᵁPÚ-n[a] uezzi parā ašiwa[ntešzi . . .]
       if-and temple sungoddess Arinna happens gets poorer

       'If it happens that the temple of the sungoddess of Arinna becomes richer' . . .
       'and if the temple of the sungoddess of Arinna becomes poorer'
       (CTH 225.A = KUB 26.43+ Ro 56-57)

In the case of *parā* with the verb *eš-* 'be,' the shift is from 'be further' > 'be more' > 'be added,' the meaning in (56). (Note that these examples are all with the particle *꞊kan*.)

(56)   *nu ꞊ kan ammel* MU.ḪI.A-[*uš*]/ UD.KAM-*uš ANA* ᵐKÙ.GA.PÚ-[*ma*] *parā ašandu*
       conj-prt my   years   days   to Suppiluliuma   may be added
       'May my years and days be added to Suppiluliuma' (CHD P: 119)
       (A servant is speaking.) (CTH 124.A = KUB 26.32+ iii 9)

(57) illustrates how easily this shift could occur. Compare the translation below with an

alternative: 'And what borders are added to Hatti-land.' The difference is small, perhaps

negligible in many contexts.

(57)   *par[ā] ꞊ ma ꞊ kan kue* ZAG.ḪI.A *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti ašanzi*
    further-conj-prt which borders of land   Hatti   are
    'and what further borders are (part) of Hatti-land'
    (CTH 76.A = KUB 21.1 iii 45 = 76.B iii 61)

The comparative value of *parā* can be intensified with iteration, as in (58) below.

English speakers should be comfortable with this, as we can readily say, "My circumstances

were improved further and further," "more and more," or as, in the translation given, "got

better and better." This certainly stems from the adverbial comparative or 'more' meaning

discussed just above. This is the only Neo-Hittite example of this usage.

(58)   *IŠTU* DINGIR-*LIM꞊mu parā parā* SIG$_5$-*iškattari*
    with goddess-me   get better and better
    'Because of the goddess my circumstances get better and better' (CHD P: 123)
    (CTH 85.1.A = KBo 6.29+ i 11)

parā can also function as a freestanding adverb meaning 'furthermore, then, after that.'

Although it often occurs in sentence-initial position and immediately followed by the

conjunction *꞊ma* when it has this function, these factors are independent of its meaning.

In (59) one sees a transition between 'further, more' and 'then, furthermore.' The

meaning is minimally changed with the substitution of one of these words for the other,

illustrating how these shifts in meaning might easily occur.

(59)   *parā ꞊ ma ꞊ mu* ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-*na* GAŠAN*꞊YA kuit peškezzi*
    further-conj-me sungoddess Arinna   lady-my   what gives
    'and what the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, gives me further (to do)'
    (CHD P: 123) (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iv 47)

Similarly in (60), it is an easy semantic shift from 'I went on into P-land' to

'Further(more), I went into P-land,' to 'Next, . . .'

(60) [*na*]*mma ꞊ an arḫa warnunun parā ꞊ ma* {erasure}[*INA* KU]R *Piggainareššа pāun*
      then-it   (I) burned down next-conj   into land Piggainaressa (I) went
      'Then I burned it down. Next, I went into P.-land' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iv 28)

This adverbial *parā* 'further, furthermore, thereafter' is plainly used to mark a sequence

of events in (61). The sentence-initial position is common for *parā* and other adverbs in this

function (cf. *āppa ꞊ ma* in (53)-ch. 3 and *katta ꞊ ma* in (38)-ch.4). As a clitic, *꞊ma* is

necessarily attached to the first accented element in a sentence; its role is to mark a change of

topic. Though we see many examples of it, *parā ꞊ ma* is not a semantic unit, but the two are

repeatedly forced together by these roles. CHD (P: 122) cites one example of sentence-

initial *parā* without *꞊ ma* (from outside this corpus): *parā nāwi ariyan* '(The matter has) not

yet been further investigated by oracle' (KUB 5.6 ii 12). *parā* could also function as a

fronted preverb in the sense 'further' in that case.

(61) *nu pāun* KUR ^{URU}*Taggašta ḫarninkun parā ꞊ ma* KUR ^{URU}*Ištalubba ḫarninkun*
      conj (I) went land T.   (I) destroyed next-conj land   Istalubba (I) destroyed

      parā ꞊ ma KUR ^{URU}*Kappuppuwa ḫarninkun parā ꞊ ma* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫutpa ḫarninkun*
      next-conj land K.   (I) destroyed next-conj land   H. (I) destroyed

      'I proceeded to destroy the city of Tagasta, next I destroyed the land of Istalubba,
      next I destroyed the land of Kappuppuwa, next I destroyed the land of Hutpa'
      (CHD P: 123) (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ ii 6-8)

(62) again has initial *parā ꞊ ma* but in a different context.

(62) *parā ꞊ ma* MU.KAM.ḪI.A-*aš kuitman* ŠEŠ*꞊YA* ^mNIR.GÁL-*iš INA* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti ešta*
      furthermore-conj year (d-l) while brother-my Muwatallis in   land   Hatti was
      'Furthermore, in the years while my brother, Muwatalli, was in Hatti-land'
      (CTH 81.B = KBo 3.6+ ii 2 (similar to CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ ii 16))

See also: CTH 61.II.8.f i 8, 61.II.8.f i 13, 61.II.9.A ii 32, 61.II.9.A iii 33. 41, 61.II.10 ii

14-16, iii 20. 58, iv 25, 67 Vo 42, 81.A ii 16, 81.E ii 10, 561 i 80, ii 35. 54. 56. 62.

Other examples occur in the broken sentences in: CTH 40.II.F iii 49 51, iv 11, 40.II.G i 6, 61.II.4.b ii 20, 61.II.8.b 5, 61.II.8.e i 28. 30. 33, 61.II.9.C ii 4, iii 24, 81.C ii 2, 83.3 iv 4, 105.A iv 24.

I.C.2. 'in front, forward' (locatival)

In the following instances with *eš-/aš-*, *parā* has a locatival sense meaning 'forward,' 'in a forward position,' or 'in front.' In fact we might expect *peran* 'in front' rather than *parā* 'forth' in these cases. This parallels *šarā laḫuwai-* 'pour on,' in which case *šarā* (usually 'up') occurs with a meaning usually contributed by *šēr* 'on, above.' (See next chapter.)

(63)   ÉRIN.MEŠ ^{URU}*Tāggaštaš = ma parā ešanza* KUR ^{URU}*Šadduppa*
       troops   Taggasta-conj in front were   land   Sadduppa

       [KUR ^{U}]^{RU}*Karaḫna* KUR ^{URU}*Marišta = ya ešan ḫarta*
       land   Karahna   land   Marista-and have occupied

       'The troops of Taggasta, however, which were advance troops (lit. which were stationed in front), kept the countries of Saduppa, Karahna, and Marista occupied.' (CHD P: 119) (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 i 4)

See also CTH 61.II.9.A iii 13 and the broken 61.II.8.j 4 and 61.II.9.C iii 5.

In (64), the verb *eš-* is nominalized and has a meaning 'station' or 'position'; *parā* identifies that position.

(64)   ('They didn't let them cross the river.')
       nu = šmaš   *parā ašatar* ^{m}*Ḫantiliš iy*[*at*]
       conj-them advanced position   Hantili made
       'H. made an advanced position against them' (CTH 89.A = KUB 21.29 ii 3)

I.C.3. 'before' (temporal)

Just below, *parā* again means 'in front,' but now in a temporal sense. In the cases here, the gods take care of something ahead of time (*parā*) so *providence* is the English parallel (as per Puhvel 1984: 101). The participial form of *ḫandai-* 'arrange, determine' with *parā* is

translated by the CHD as 'rightly guiding/guided.'

(65) *ammuk = ma = za parā ḫandānza kuit* UN-*aš ešun*
      I-conj-refl   rightly guided because person was

ANA PANI DINGIR.MEŠ *kuit*   *parā ḫandandanni iyaḫḫaḫat*
before   gods   because   in divine guidance (I) walked

'Because I was a divinely guided person, and because I "walked" (i.e., conducted my affairs) before the gods in divine guidance' (CHD P: 131)
(CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 47, 48)

See also: CTH 81.A i 21 = 81.B i 18 = 81.C i 19, 81.B i 39?, 81.D i 19, 381.A iii 58 = 381.B iv 27?.

Broken examples are in: CTH 70 iv 7, 81.D i 20, 81.B i 40.

The verb can also be nominalized, so with *parā, ḫandandatar* means 'divine guidance, divine power,' or again, 'providence.'

(66) *nu = za ŠA* ᵈ*IŠTAR p[(arā ḫan)]/dandatar apiya = y[(a)] mekki uḫḫun*
      conj-refl of Ishtar divine power   then-too   much (I) witnessed
      'At that time too I witnessed the divine power of Ishtar in great measure'
      (CHD P: 131) (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ iv 23)

See also: 61.I.A ii 16, 61.II.5.B i 46 (partially restored), 61.II.10 iv 15 (partially restored), 61.III.2.A i 19 (partially restored). 24. 27, 81.A i 5 = 81.B i 5 = 81.C i 5, 81.A iii 15 (= 81.F i 3), 8a.A iv 18, 81.B iii 61. 65, 85.1.A ii 30, 378.2.B iv 19, 378.2.C iv 15.

Broken examples are in: CTH 61.I.B iii 17, 61.II.2.B ii 2, 61.II.5.B ii 76, 61.II.5.C iv 1, 61.II.9.A iv 3, 61.II.10 iv 15, 81.F ii 55, 81.H i 5 (partially restored), 81.M iv 6. 10, 384 iv 3.

parā in this temporal sense also occurs in combination with the adverb *duwan*; these appear to combine to mean something more specific than just 'previously'; that is, 'up until

now, heretofore.'[80]

(67) BAD-*an* ꞊ *ma* ꞊ *mu* ꞊ *za* ^dU ^{URU}*Nerik* SAG.DU DINGIR-*LIM-iš duwān parā*
if-conj-my-refl   stormgod Nerik personal deity   heretofore

GIM-*an* SAG.KI-*za ḫarta kinuna* ꞊ *ya* QATAMMA *kēdani* ꞊ *za* ꞊ *kan*
as   front   held now-also thus   this (d-l)-refl-prt

LÍL-*ri kuwatin imma kuwatin neyaḫḫari*
field (d-l) wherever   (I) turn

'If you, Stormgod of Nerik, (are) my personal deity, as you helped (me) heretofore will it be likewise so now? Will you (assist me) now too, wherever I turn on this campaign?' (CHD P: 128) (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iii 54)

Other examples in the CHD are similar, referring to the questioner having offended the deity

"*duwan parā.*" See also CTH 378.1.A Ro 37-38.

I.D.   Unclear cases

(68)   *kī kuit* ^dUTU-*ŠI ištarakt*[*a*   *nu* ꞊ *kān* . . . DINGIR-*LI*]*M* ^{URU}*Arušna*
this that His Majesty got sick conj-prt   deity (of)   Arusna

parā ŪL kuitki ara[*n(za)*]
not

'As to the fact that His Majesty became ill . . . ' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 2)

There is no consensus on the analysis of the expression *parā arant-* that occurs in various oracle texts in connection with deities and illnesses (nor on the restoration of the text of our example). The CHD (P: 123) interprets *parā* as an adverb 'further' and *arant-* as the participle of *ar-* 'stand' in a similar passage, KBo 2.2 ii 47-48. Beal (2002a: 14 with references) renders 'singled out,' understanding this sense as derived from 'come forward.' In our passage he takes this as referring to the illness: "Concerning the sickness that befell His Majesty, [another disease other than yours], O God of Arušna, was not singled out (in

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[80]Tischler (2001: 183) chooses 'hierher' for *duwan* alone and 'bis hierher; bisher' for *duwan parā.*

previous oracle questioning)." Beckman (1997: 205) translates rather " . . . have not you, [O

deity] of (the town of) Arušna, somehow been provoked [in connection with the illness of

His Majesty]?" Although Beal's and Beckman's restorations and interpretations differ

sharply, *parā* would be by both accounts a preverb with the basic sense 'forward.' The one

analysis that is clearly false is that of Ünal (1978: 55) 'ausorakelt,' since *arant-* cannot

belong to the stem *ariya-* 'make an oracular inquiry.'

Breaks in the following text makes its interpretation difficult:

(69) *apūš꞊ma namma* ^{LÚ}KÚR [   ] *INA* KUR ^{URU}*Tupaziya*
      Ù INA ^{ḪUR.SAG}*Amuna parā* [*?walḫ*]*uwanzi ešta*
      (CTH 40.II.G = KUB 19.18 i 12)

Other broken sentences with *parā* (and no, or indistinguishable verb) are in: CTH

40.I.E ii 5, 40.I.B iii 7, 40.II.F iv 17, 40.II.G iv 27, 40.II.18.A i 19. 22, 40.IV.C Vo 4,

40.V.35.A ii 30, 40.V.37 iv 10, 40.VI.44 ii 2, 61.II.1 i 6, 61.II.2.B iii 60, 61.II.4.b ii 33,

61.II.5.B i 14, 61.II.5.E ii 6, 61.II.6 4, 61.II.7.C iv 17, ?61.II.8.a iii 4. 6, 61.II.8.e i 23,

61.III.2.A i 10, 61.III.4 ii 14, 67 Vo 41, 81.B i 55, 81.D i 35, 81.F iii 1, 81.M iv 2, 82.2 Vo 9,

83.1.A ii 33, iv 3, 85.1.A iii 2, 90.1 iii 17 (with *ḫarpiya-* but little else), 105.A ii 44, 123 i 51,

iii 53, iv 18, 176 Ro 14, 178.2.b Ro 20, 181 ii 54, 182 Ro 19, 225.2.C i 5, 378.3 Vo 14, 383 ii

22, 384 i 49, 585.D iv 3. 12, 585.S i 31.

II. *peran*

peran occurs as a postposition, a freestanding adverb, and in one case in an idiomatic

preverb-verb combination. This local adverb has first the spatial meaning 'in front, before,'

with these occurrences falling into two categories, *in front* as the location of action or *in front*

as the result of motion. Note that this division parallels that of *āppan*, where 'behind' was

the place of an action or again the result of an action. A slight semantic shift occurs in some

cases, making *peran* more accurately 'in the presence of' than 'in front of.' This is unsurprising, for if one is in front of someone, one is in view of, perhaps within earshot of, or *in the presence of* someone else.

Meaning may continue to shift slightly, so that talking about an event as occurring *in the presence of* someone, particularly if that person is an important or historical figure, leads the hearer to understand that that event occurred *in the time of* that prominent figure, or *in the reign of* a particular ruler. Occasionally the meaning 'in the presence of' can shift to the more general sense 'in respect to,' and we see a few examples of this with *peran* below.

As with *āppan* '(spatial) behind' > '(temporal) after', there is a trivial shift with *peran* '(spatial) in front' > '(temporal) before,' which needs no explanation. Note the strong parallels between *āppan* 'behind' and *peran* 'before,' mentioned in this introduction and developed with examples to follow.

Finally, there is one case in which *peran* has an idiomatic meaning when used with the verb *ēš-* 'be,' thus taking on a preverbal function as we have defined it.

This section on *peran* is organized as follows:

II.A   Postposition: 1)   Spatial 'before, in front of' as location of action

2)   Spatial 'before, in front of' as the result of motion

3)   'During the reign of'

4)   'With respect to'

5)   Temporal 'before'

II.B   Freestanding adverb: 1) Spatial 'before, in front of'

2) Temporal 'before'

II.C   Preverb

II.A.   *peran* as postposition

peran's function is often postpositional with the meanings 'before, in front of, in the

reign of, in the presence of.' It appears with either a nominal or pronominal object and

occurs with a great variety of verbs in this role. It can be written Akkadographically as well

(ANA PAN or *ANA PANI)*. Examples are listed here of *peran* with a number of different

verbs and categorized by meaning.

II.A.1.   spatial 'before, in front, in the presence of' as location of action

These examples are all locatival with the postpositional phrase indicating where an

action takes place.

(70)   [*n*]*u = šmaš = kan maḫḫan tuppi peran ḫalzēr*
         conj-them-prt   when   tablet in front read
         'When they had read out the tablet in front of them'
         (CTH 40.IV.E.3 = KBo 14.12 iv 33)

(71)   [   ]×*=ma = mu peran arpuwanteš eš*[*er*
              -conj-me in front arduous (they) were
         'They were arduous in front of me' (reference to mountainous terrain)
         (CTH 61.II.9.A = KBo 19.37 iii 50)

(72)   *nu   ANA ABI ABI = YA* DINGIR.MEŠ *peran ḫūiēr*
         conj (d-l) grandfather-my   gods   in front ran
         'The gods ran in front of my grandfather' (CTH 40.II.E = KUB 19.10 i 13)

There is frequent use of *peran* with *ḫuwai-* 'run' and with a noun or pronoun in the

dative-locative in battle descriptions such as is seen in (72). The subject is nearly always

'the gods,' and this is clearly a standard way to express having gotten help or protection in

battle: 'The gods ran in front of me' means the gods protected me from harm. This

seemingly fits one of the criteria I have set for preverb-verb combinations, that of a

specialized meaning.[81] The regular use of a dative-locative object of *peran* argues on the

other side for its interpretation as a postposition. One exception occurs in the second

sentence in (73), but note that this directly follows a sentence showing the usual usage in

which *=mu* may be a dative-locative pronominal object of postpositional *peran*.

(73)　*nu=mu* DINGIR.MEŠ *peran ḫūiēr*
　　　conj-me gods　　　 in front ran

　　ᵈU NIR.GÁL EN=*YA* ᵈUTU ᵁᴿᵁ*Arinna* GAŠAN=*YA* ᵈU ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫatti*
　　ᵈLAMMA ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫatti* ᵈU KARAŠ ᵈIŠTAR.LÍL ᵈ*Yarriš=a peran ḫūiēr*
　　(various gods)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 ran in front

　　'The gods ran in front of me. The stormgod, the sungoddess, etc. . . . ran in front'
　　(CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 iii 29)

Although I have argued that *peran* still functions as a postposition in this expression

with *ḫuwai-,* what we may be witness to again in these examples is a transition from

postposition to preverb. (Recall previous discussions on *āppan tiya-* and *kattan tiya-*.) It is

impossible to identify with certainty when *peran* ceased functioning as a separate

postposition, but evidence that this happened is given in (74), where *peran ḫūiyatalla-* is a

nominalized form of the combination and has the meaning 'leader.'[82]

(74)　LÚ.ME.EŠ *peran ḫūiyatallu[(š=ma ēppūn)]*　　*n=aš*　　ANA ŠEŠ=*YA ḫin[(kun*
　　　people　　　 leaders-conj　　　　　　　　　(I) seized conj-them to brother-my (I) handed
　　　'I seized the leaders and handed them over to my brother'[83]
　　　(CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ ii 28)

See also section II.B.1 below for a related form.

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[81]Although about this Beal (1992: 514) says: "This was probably meant to be taken quite
literally: the gods ran in front of the army, cutting down its enemies for it."

[82]See the discussion in Beal (1992: 513 ff.). Francia (2002: 87) also sees a transition to
preverb in *peran ḫuwai-* and the CHD (P: 300) classifies *peran ḫuwai-* under "(local prev.)."

[83]With Beal (1992: 513 ff.) and CHD (P: 301).

(75) *tuk⸗ma ANA* ^m*Alaksa[nd]u ŠA* ^d*UTU-ŠI ku[išk]i* ḪUL-*lun memiyan [p]eran memai*
you-conj (d-l) Alaksandu of His Majesty someone bad   word   in front   says
'If someone says a bad word about His Majesty in front of you, Alaksandu' (in your presence) (CTH 76.A = KUB 21.1 iii 27)

(76) *nu kāšma zik* ^m*Kupanta-*^d*LAMMA-aš ANA PANI NIŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ *waštaši*
conj right you Kupanta-Kurunta   in the presence of oath gods   sin
'You, Kupanta-Kurunta sin right in the presence of the oath gods'
(CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 ii 23)

(77) *perann⸗a⸗wa⸗šmaš*   *lē we[riannišk]eši*
in presence-and-quot-their not call/summon
'Also do not call/summon in their presence'[84]
(CTH 61.II.2.A = KUB 14.16 iv 21 = 61.II.2.B iv 49)

(78) ('I sent him the crown prince. He not only turned him down,')
n⸗an ANA PANI KUR.KUR.MEŠ *tepawa[a]ḫta*!
conj-him before   lands   (he) belittled
'He belittled him before (in the face of) the lands' (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 i 13)

(79) ('Take these words and')
n⸗at⸗kan   *PANI* DINGIR.MEŠ *šunni*
conj-them-prt before gods   pour
'Pour them out before the gods' (CTH 381.B = KUB 6.46 iv 6)

šunni- 'fill' has a figurative meaning, 'pour out' here. (Cf. example (19) under *anda.*)

(80) *n⸗an⸗za⸗an⸗kan*   *peran [ʔwatarn]aʔḫmi*
conj-him-refl-him-prt in presence (I) instruct
'I instruct him in my presence' (i.e., 'privately, confidentially')[85]
(CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ i 57)

⸗za is the object of the postpositional *peran* in (80) as well as (81) and (82).

(81) ÉRIN.MEŠ⸗*wa⸗az* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *peran ḫūinut*
troops-quot-refl   chariotry   in front cause to run
'"Send the troops and chariotry in advance of yourself!"'
= '"Take charge of the troops and chariotry!"' (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 iii 1)

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[84]Compare CHD (P: 302): "don't involve (yourself) with them."

[85]In support of *peran* here as a postposition with *⸗za*, compare the passage cited by the CHD (P: 298): *tuzziya⸗ma peran mā[n . . .] watarnaḫmi* 'If I instruct . . . before the army.'

ḫuinu- means 'cause to run,' so that with 'troops' in the dative-locative + *peran*, the literal

meaning is 'cause the troops to run in front.' As a practical matter, this is what army

commanders do (that is, send troops out ahead to do battle), so that the literal 'cause to run in

front of oneself' has the sense 'put under the command of oneself' or 'take charge of.'[86] See

the similar usage at CTH 68.E = KUB 6.41+ iv 7 and the Middle Hittite example cited by the

CHD (P: 300), which both show *peran* as a postposition with dative-locative, 'cause to run

in front of' = 'put under the supervision/command of.'[87]

There is another similar occurrence in CTH 68.B iii 3 and CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 19.

The context for (82) is that of a siege by Muršili in which the leader of the besieged city,

Tapalazunauli, afraid that the end is near, sends his family and other civilians out of the city

ahead of himself. This is certainly a literal usage of *=za . . . peran ḫuinu-* 'cause to run in

front,' different from the cases discussed above where troops are being commanded on a

mission (contra CHD P: 301).

(82) DAM*=ŠU=ya=wa=z*[(*a* DUMU.MEŠ*=ŠU* NAM.RA.MEŠ*=y*)]*a šarāmnaza*
      wife-his-also-quot-refl   sons-his   civilian captives-and acropolis (abl)

      peran ḫu[(*inut*)]
      ahead (he) caused to run

      'He also caused his wife, children, and civilian captives to run (down) from the
      acropolis ahead of him'
      (CTH 61.I.B = KBo 16.1 iv 29-30, restorations from KBo 3.4 ii 72-73)

Another example is in CTH 81.A ii 51 (with Otten 1981: 15 "ließ vorgehen" and contra

CHD P: 301).

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[86]In this case, *=za* is certainly the object of the postposition *peran*, the recipient of this
instruction being told to make the troops move out *in front of himself*.

[87]This shows agreement with the CHD (P: 300) on meaning but not on function, as it
considers *peran ḫuinu-* a preverb-verb combination.

See also: CTH 40.II.D iv 34. 38, 40.II.F iii 17. 26. 43, iv 31, 40.II.G i 4. 13. iv 4,

40.IV.A i 26, 40.V.34 i 16, ii 3, 57 Vo 3, 61.I.A i 26. 39, ii 4. 26. 39. 62. 69. 73, iii 32. 45.

54. 66. 90, iv 27. 39, iii 21, 61.II.2.A i 27, iii 13, 61.II.2.B i 28, 61.II.5.B ii 54, iv 11,

61.II.7.A i 12, 61.II.7.A iii 26, 61.II.7.C iii 32, 61.II.8.a ii 4. 5, 61.II.9.A ii 7. 41, iii 15,

61.II.10 ii 10, ?61.III.2.A i 30 (partially restored), 62.II.A i 13 (partially restored), 63.A ii 15,

67 Ro 19. 20. 22. 29, 68.A i 13, 68.B iii 3. 9. 19, 68.C ii 5. 14, iii 5. 7. 9, 68.D i 13, 68.E iii

21. 22. 28. 38, iv 5. 7. 20, 70 ii 13. 19, iii 18. 19, 81.A i 48, ii 24. 38. 39. 51, iv 10, 76.B iii

32 (partially restored), 81.B ii 9. 21. 23, ii 32, iii 54, 83.3 ii 12, iii 3, Bo 86/299 ii 49, CTH

176 Ro 48, 209.2 iii 14, 209.5 13, 255.2.A iii 13, iv 15. 26, 378.2.A i 32= 378.2.B ii 37,

378.2.A i 41, 378.2.B iii 33 = 378.2.A Vo 15, 380 Ro 15, 381.A i 33 = 381.B i 34, 381.A iv

61, 382 Ro 2 (partially restored). 3. 4. 5. 9, 383 i' 11, 561 iii 44. 55.

Broken examples (with some distinguishing information) are in: CTH 40.II.G iv 22,

40.IV.A ii 34, 61.I.B ii 55, iii 31. 48, iv 30, 61.I.C iii? 11, iii 8, 61.II.2.B iii 44, 61.II.4.b ii 5,

61.II.5.A i 22, 61.II.5.E iii 8, 61.II.8.a ii 2. 11, 61.II.8.h.A 4, 61.II.9.C ii 13, 68.D iv 21. 29,

76.A ii 66. 72, 81.E ii 18, 83.3 iv 10, 84.1 i 23, 85.2 Ro 31, 181 iv 21, 382 Ro 1 (partially

restored), 383 iv' 14, 384 iii 18,

Other examples of *peran ḫuiyatalla-* (noun): CTH 40.II.G i 13. iv 5 (broken).

II.A.2. spatial 'before, in front of' as the result of motion

Here the postpositional phrase indicates a location that resulted from motion.

(83) *zik=wa=kan* ᵐPÉŠ.TUR-*aš PANI ABI=YA pi[tti]yantili anda uet*
      you-quot-prt Mashuiluwa before father-my as a fugitive came in
      "'You, Mashuiluwas, came in before (in front of) my father as a fugitive'"
      (CTH 61.II.2.B = KUB 14.15+ iv 39)

(84) *nu=mu peran   sēnaḫḫa tiškanzi*
      conj-me before ambush (they) place
      'They place an ambush before me' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 i 10)

(85)   *mān ꞊ kan tuk ANA* ^m*Duppi-*^d*U-up idālauwa AWATE*^{MEŠ} *kuiški ANA* LUGAL!
      if-prt   you (d-l) Duppi-Teshub evil   words   anyone (d-l) king

      našma ANA KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti peran uidaizzi*
      or   (d-l) land   Hatti before brings

      'If anyone brings before you, Duppi-Teshub, evil words against the king or the land
      of Hatti' (CTH 62.II.A = KBo 5.9 ii 48)

(86)   ŠEŠ꞊*YA ꞊ ya ꞊ an ꞊ mu*   *QADU* DAM꞊*ŠU* DUMU.MEŠ꞊*ŠU* É꞊*ŠU peran nāiš*
      brother-my-and-him-me including wife-his children-his   house-his before led
      'My brother also led him together with his wife, his children and his house before me'
      (CTH 81.F = KUB 19.67+ i 12)

(87)   *nu* 1-*en ṬUPPU ANA PANI* ^dUTU   ^{URU}PÚ-*na tiyēr*
      conj one tablet before   sungoddess Arinna   (they) placed
      'They placed one tablet before the sungoddess of Arinna'
      (CTH 225.A = KUB 26.43 Vo 4)

See also: CTH 61.II.7.A i 17. 20, 81.A ii 47, iii 21, 81.B ii 28, Bo 86/299 iv 50, CTH

106 Ro 38, 225.A Vo 35.

In broken texts: CTH 81.B ii 77, ?384 iii 27.

II.A.3. 'during the reign of'

peran is very commonly used in its derived meaning 'during the reign of.' Its

Akkadographic writing is used especially often for this meaning.

(88)   *nu ꞊ šši* KUR ^{URU}GIDRU-*ti ḫūman peran*   SIG₅-*in iyanneš*
      conj-him land Hatti   entire during reign made progress
      'The entire land of Hatti made good progress in his reign'
      (CTH 378.1.A = KUB 14.14 Ro 30)

(89)   *ammuqq ꞊ a ꞊ aš peran*   *QATAMMA ꞊ pat*   *ešta*
      me-also-he   during reign   thus-emph   remained
      'So he was also in *my* time' (Beckman 1996: 55) (CTH 62.II.C = KUB 19.49 Ro 10)

(90)   *n ꞊ ašta ANA PAN ABU ꞊ YA ūk ꞊ pat* ^m*Tutḫaliyaš* LUGAL.GAL *tarkummanun*
      conj-prt during reign father-my I-emph Tuthaliya great king interceded
      'During the reign of my father I, Tudhaliya, great king, interceded'
      (Bo 86/299 i 88)

(91) *nu*⹀*tta* KUR ^{URU}*Mirā* KUR ^{URU}*Kuwaliya*⹀*ya ADDIN* ZAG.ḪI.A⹀*ma*
conj-you land Mira   land   Kuwaliya-and (I) gave boundaries-conj

ANA PANI ^mPÉŠ.TUR-*wa* GIM-*an ešer kinuna*⹀*at tuk QATAMMA ašandu*
in the reign (of) Mashuiluwa as (they)were now-them you thus   let be

'I gave you the lands of Mira and Kuwaliya. As the boundaries were in the reign of
Mashuiluwa, thus now let them be for you' (CTH 68.C = KBo 4.3+ i 15)

(92) *nu* KUR ^{URU}*Tūmmanna kuit*   *PANI*   *ABI*⹀*YA ēštat*
conj land Tummanna which during reign of father-my was
'The land of T. that was occupied under my father's reign'
(CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 ii 15)

(93) *nu uet* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti* [*ANA*]/ *PANI ABI ABI*⹀[*YA*   ] *dammešḫāittat*
conj came land Hatti in the reign of grandfather   oppressed
'The land of Hatti came to be oppressed in the reign of my grandfather'
(CTH 378.4.A = KUB 14.13 i 28)

See also: CTH 40.IV.E.1 i 6, 61.I.A iii 60, 61.II.1 iv 8, 70 i 7, 81.B i 21, ii 52, Bo

86/299 ii 87, CTH 85.1.A i 24??, 86.1.A ii 6, 87 Ro 5, 378.1.A Ro 31, 378.2.C i 9. 12.

II.A.4. 'with respect to'

There are fewer occurrences in which *peran* means 'with respect to.'

(94) *aši*⹀*wa*⹀*kan*   *PAN*   ^dUTU-*ŠI*   *laknut*
that one-quot-prt with respect to His Majesty make fall away
'Make that one fall away from/with respect to His Majesty' (= 'Incite him to be
disloyal') (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ iii 39)

(95) *našma tuk kuiški* ḪUL-*luš PANI*   ^dUTU-*ŠI*⹀*ma*⹀*aš* SIxSÁ-[*a*]*nza*
or   you someone bad   with respect to king-conj-he   is loyal
'or if someone is badly disposed towards you but loyal to (with respect to) the king'
(CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ iii 42)

(96) *īt*⹀*wa*⹀*šši* KUR-*TU*[*M p*]*eran*   *paḫsanuwan ḫarak*
go-quot-him land   with respect to defended   keep
'Go, keep your land safe/defended against (in the face of) him' (CHD P: 8)
(CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ iii 33)

II.A.5. Temporal 'before, in front'

I find one example where *peran* is used as a postposition with a temporal 'before'

meaning; this meaning is more common in its function as a freestanding adverb, as will be

seen in the next section.

(97) *peran ꞊ ma ꞊ at ꞊ mu* ^{m.d}*SÎN.*^d*U-aš* DUMU ^m*Zidā maniyaḫḫišket*
      before-conj-it-me Arma-Tarhunta son Zida was governing
      · 'Before me Arma-Tarhunta, son of Zida, was governing it'
      (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 27 = 81.B i 24 = 81.D i 3)

The CHD's (P: 304) definition of *peran* in (97) is 'temporally prior to someone's activity.'

Similarly, van den Hout (1997: 200): "Prior to me, however, Arma-Tarhunta, son of Zida,

used to govern it."

II.B.   Freestanding adverb

peran may also occur on its own as an adverb with the same meanings as in the

postpositional cases.

II.B.1.   Freestanding 'in front'

In the following cases there is no explicit reference for *peran* 'in front,' so it is surely

syntactically freestanding.

(98) LÀL Ì.DÙG.GA *peran laḫūwai*
      honey fine oil   in front (he) pours
      'He pours honey and fine oil in front' (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 iv 58)

(99) 1 ^{DUG}*KUKUB* GEŠTIN *peran   šippanti*
      1 (vessel) Kukub wine   in front (he) libates
      'He libates 1 Kukub-vessel of wine in front' (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 iv 17)

The usages in (100) and (101) are in the context of bird auguries, so the reference of 'in

front' depends on one's conception of how the Hittites organized the field of vision in which

these were taken (for one attempt see Beal 2002b: 65-71). In any case, *peran* is again

syntactically independent.

(100) À^{MUŠEN}⸗*kan pean   ku-uš. uet*
        eagle-prt   in front *kuštaya* came
        'The/an eagle came in front on the *kuštaya*-side' (569.1 iii 55)

A similar usage is at CTH 569.1 iv 14.

(101) *harranieš⸗ma⸗kan pean*   SIG₅-*za   uet*
        harrani-conj-prt   in front favorable came
        'The/a harrani-bird came in front on the favorable side' (569.1 iv 18)

For other freestanding usages see also: CTH 381.A iv 12. 22. 27, 381.B i 44. 48. 52. 56. 60. 64, iv 55. A broken example which may be freestanding is in CTH 225.A Vo 27.

II.B.2. Freestanding: temporal 'before'

As will be seen in chapter eight, the combination of adverbs *peran parā* often represents temporal 'before,' but as *parā* occasionally does, *peran* alone can mean this as well.

(102) *ini⸗wa⸗mu uttar karūiliyaz pe*[(*ran*)] *ŪL kuwapikki kišat*
        that-quot-me matter in old days before not ever   happened
        '"That matter never happened to me before in the old days"'
        (CTH 40.IV.B = KBo 14.9 iii 7)

(103) *nu* ANA ^m*Nuwanza* GAL.GEŠTIN *IŠTU* MUŠEN.ḪI.A *IŠTU* SU.MEŠ⸗*ya*
        conj-(d-l) Nuwanza wine chief   with   birds   with flesh-signs-and

        peran   ariyanun
        ahead of time (I) determined

        'I determined (it) (through an oracle), with birds and with flesh-signs, for Nuwanza, the wine chief, ahead of time' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 ii 50)

(104) *nu* DUMU ^m*Tette našma* ŠEŠ ^m*Teddi peran waḫnuwanzi*
        conj son   Tette   or   brother Tette ahead of time turns
        'If a son or a brother of Tette turns (on him) ahead of time'[88]
        (CTH 63.A = KBo 3.3 i 28 = 63.F i 16 (broken))

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[88]Similarly Beckman (1996: 156): "anticipates." By contrast CHD (P: 302) assumes for *peran waññu-:* "to be or become important, vital, preeminent, gain preeminence, get the upper hand," so "(If) the son of Tette or the brother of Tette gets the upper hand (?) (and [kil]l Tette)."

See also: CTH 85.1.B i 1

II.C.　Preverb

peran arnu-　　'prioritize' < 'move in front'

The following two usages of *peran arnu-* occur in an oracle text asking advice on the

king's military campaigns. Both the CHD (P: 303-304) and Beal (1999: 42 and 50) take

peran arnu- (lit. 'move in front') to mean 'prioritize' with *peran* used in its temporal sense.[89]

This seems reasonable given the context of an inquiry about which moves to make and when,

in order to achieve the safety of the king in his campaigns. The evolved meaning of *peran*

arnu- together with the lack of a referent for a postpositional usage of *peran* indicate this is a

preverb-verb pair.

(105)　^{d}UTU-*ŠI* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠA* $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Ḫaḫarwa* RA-*uanzi pean arnuzi*
　　　　His Majesty troops　of　Mt. Haharwa　to attack in front brings
　　　　'Shall His Majesty prioritize attacking the troops of Mt. Haharwa?'
　　　　(CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 15)

(106)　^{URU}*Neriqa ꞊ za ꞊ kan karapmi nu laḫiyauanzi* ^{URU}*Tanizilan pean arnumi*
　　　　Nerik-refl-prt　　(I) finish conj to campaign　Tanizila　in front (I) move
　　　　'I will finish in Nerik. I will prioritize Tanizila for a campaign'[90]
　　　　(CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iii 29)

The verb *ḫuinu-* 'cause to run' accompanied by postpositional *peran* and its object *꞊ za*

was discussed above at (81) and (82). *peran ḫuinu-* in (107) is considered by Beal and the

CHD to mean 'prioritize,' synonymous with the use of *peran arnu-* just discussed. However,

the instance at (107) looks much like that at (81), except that it lacks an object for *peran*. I

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[89]The CHD (P: 303) labels this use of *peran* as a temporal postposition, which seems
contrary to its defining the pairs *peran arnu-* and *peran ḫuinu-* in combination. There is also
no object of the postposition in these usages.

[90]But compare CHD (L-N: 9) for this: "I shall 'lift' Nerik . . . and mobilize (the town/people
of) T. for attack"

would agree, therefore, that *peran ḫuinu-* has transitioned into functioning as a preverb-verb

pair in this case, but I would suggest the meaning 'take charge of' from 'put under the

command of/cause to run in front of (himself).'

(107) [ᵈUTU]-*ŠI* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠA* ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳ*Ḫaḫarwa* RA-*uanzi pean   ḫuinuzi*
His Majesty troops   of   Mt. Haharwa for battle in front cause to run
'His Majesty will take charge of the troops of Mt. Haharwa for battle'
(CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 19)

peran eš-   'be responsible for'

peran ēš- has developed an idiomatic meaning, 'be responsible for' from the underlying

'be in front.' Because KUR-*e* (*utnē*) in Neo-Hittite may be either nominative-accusative or

dative-locative, the case syntax is unclear, but the evolved meaning suggests a preverb-verb.

The sentence given helps one picture how this developed: one would need to be at/in front of

the land to take proper care of it.

(108) *nu ꞊ wa ꞊ kan* KUR!-*e* *peran ēšte!n*
conj-quot-prt land (d-l) in front be
'Be in front of the land!' = 'Be right there taking care of the land!'
= 'Be responsible for the land!' (CTH 61.II.2.A = KUB 14.16 i 17)

The remaining occurrences of *peran* are in texts too fragmentary to be meaningful:

CTH 40.V.36 iii 5, 61.II.7.C iii 10, 62.II.C Ro 11, 63.A i 33, 71 iii 21, 76.A ii 70, 181 iv 22,

378.2.A i 41. 42, 378.2.C ii 11.

CHAPTER SIX

šarā and *šer*

This chapter examines *šarā* 'up' and *šer* 'above, on account of, on behalf of.' *šarā* as preverb ranges in meaning from 'up' to 'upright' and to an evolved meaning that reinforces the idea of the visibility of the subject. Its other occasional function is as a freestanding adverb with a locative meaning, 'up (there).' This is a function that overlaps that of freestanding *šer*, which is the form more often used to mean 'above' or 'up there.' As a postposition, *šer* has either the local meaning 'on top of, over' or the evolved meanings 'on behalf of, for, on account of' or 'in regard to.' Preverbal *šer* seems to occur only with the verb *šunna-* in place of the expected *šarā šunna-* and meaning 'fill up.'

I. *šarā* 'up'

I.A. *šarā* as preverb

šarā most often functions as a preverb meaning 'up,' adding that element of direction to the verb's meaning, but occasionally having a derived meaning that is not transparently compositional. It can also function as an independent adverb but apparently never as a postposition. Here are listed examples of preverbal *šarā* along with each of its verbal partners. Following each example is a list of the locations of other occurrences of *šarā* with that verb, where these exist. Intransitive occurrences are listed first, transitives second.

I.A.1. Intransitives with *šarā* meaning 'up'

As in the case with other preverb-verb pairs, these intransitives may occur with or without a stated goal.

šarā iya- 'go up'

(1) *^mPalliliš ꞊ ma INA* É.GAL-*LIM šarā iyattat*
Pallili-conj (d-l) palace   up   went
'Pallili went up into the palace.' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 59)

See also CTH 62.II.A ii 32, 486.C iii 43, 566 Ro 77, 89.A ii 8, 381.A iii 73 (two adverbs), 561 i 24 (two adverbs).

šarā uwa- 'come up'

(2) *nu ꞊ kan IŠTU* KUR ^{URU}*Kargamiš šarā uwanun*
conj-prt from land   Carchemish   up (I) came
'I came up from the land of Carchemish' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iii 18)

See also CTH 61.II.7.A iv 11, 61.II.10 iii 48, 181 i 45, 381.A i 31, iii 13, 381.B i 32, iii 53.

šarā tiya- 'stand up, rise up'

(3) NAM.RA.MEŠ꞊*ma ꞊ wa apel ŠA* KUR ^{LÚ}KÚR *šarā tiyazi*
refugees-conj-quot   that of   land   enemy   up   rise
'The refugees of that enemy land rise up' (CTH 63.A = KBo 3.3+ iii' 17)

See also CTH 62.II.A iii 13, 67 Vo 17, 68.E i 36, 181 iii 48 and 64.

šarā auš- 'look up'   CTH 566 Vo 59 , 569.1 i 19.

šarā pai- 'go up'   CTH 40.V.34 i 42, 61.I.A ii 55 and 56, 61.II.2.A iii 14, 61.II.2.B iii 44, 61.II.5.B ii 61, 61.II.5.B iv 7, 61.II.9.A iii 49. 53, 181 i 24, 381.A i 9, 561 i 32, 34, and 43, 561 iv 47. 52. 70.

šarā penna- 'drive up'   CTH 61.II.2.A iii 10 and 12 = 61.II.2.B iii 43.

I.A.2. Transitives with *šarā* meaning 'up'

In this section are listed all transitives verbs with *šarā* meaning 'up.' Most are quite straightforward in combining the verb's meaning with the direction up. In this first sentence, for example, the direction is *up* because the palace was situated high in a citadel.

šarā wida(i)-   'bring up'

(4)   ^f*Ammattallan kuit* DUMU.MUNUS.GAL *INA* É.GAL-*LIM karuššiyantili šarā*
       Ammattalla because   princess   to   palace   secretly   up

       widāit
       brought

       'Because the princess brought Ammattalla secretly up to the palace'
       (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 72)

See also CTH 566 Ro 29 (restored).

šarā peḫute- 'bring/carry up'

(5)   *ABI* ^dUTU-*ŠI⸗[m]a?⸗kan*   *kue*   NAM.RA.MEŠ ^{URU}*Ḫattuši*   *šarā pēḫutet!*
       father My Majesty-conj-prt which captives   Hattusa (d-l) brought up

       nu⸗wa⸗mu⸗kan mān UN-*aš kuiški* EGIR-*pa [ḫu]wāi*
       conj-puot-me-prt if   person some   back   flees

       'If some person (of) the civilian captives the father of My Majesty brought up to Hattusa flees back on me'[91] (cf. Beckman 1996: 80)
       (CTH 69.A = KBo 19.70 ii 19-20)

See also: CTH 61.II.2.A iii 18, 67 Vo 50. 51, 561 i 46.

šarā peda-   'bring up'   CTH 61.II.2.B i 11

šarā tarna-   'release upwards'   CTH 178.2.a Vo 6 (broken)

šarā uiya-   'send up'   CTH 61.II.7.C iii 34

šarā uda-   'bring up'   CTH 125 iii 8

šarā uwate-   'bring up'   CTH 89.A iii 38

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[91]The *⸗mu* 'me' is a "dative of disadvantage." The sense is 'flee from me back to where they came from.'

šarā dā- in combination means 'take up' in a physical sense. I have grouped

occurrences of this pair by the type of object taken up in each case: city or land, people, and

miscellaneous other types. In the first case, as shown in example (6), the expression used

was 'took up the country' (here, 'took *it* up') when the Hittites were talking about taking up

the things that belonged to that land, such as livestock.

(6)   *n = at IŠTU* NAM.RA.MEŠ GU$_4$.[ME]Š UDU.ḪI.A *šarā dāir*
        conj-it with   deportees   cows   sheep   (they) took up
        'They took it up along with its deportees, cows and sheep'
        (CTH 61.II.2.B = KUB 14.15+ i 26)

Others with city or land as the object include: CTH 40.IV.A iii 41, 61.I.A iii 73, 61.I.A i

34, 61.I.A iv 31, 63.A i 22 = 63.F i 10.

Those with people as objects are in: 61.II.2.A iv 12 = 61.II.2.B iv 39, 67 Ro 36. 43, 67

Ro 40, 68.A i 6 = 68.D i 6, 68.A i 61, 68.B i 13, 68.G i 7, 76.A iii 42 = 76.B iii 57, 81.A i 17

= 81.B i 15 = 81.C i 16, 81.A iii 42, 81.A iv 62 = 81.B iv 22 = 81.M iv 39, 81.F i 42, 85.1.A i

36 = 85.1.B i 9, 87 Ro 21, 255.2.A i 22 = 255.2.B i 12, 383 i 9 (person as object implied),

384 i 9.

Other objects, each type listed in parentheses, are in these texts: CTH 40.II.E i 17

(weapon), 40.III.21 ii 2 (evil word), 61.II.8.d i 1 (grain), 81.A ii 1 = 81.B i 66 (gods & the

dead), 85.1.A i 31 = 85.1.B i 3 (gods).

Broken texts with *šarā dā-* include: CTH 40.II.D iv 26, 81.A iii 29, 81.F i 26.

šarā ēp(p)-   'hold, take up/upwards'

(7)   *nu = wa ANA* ^{d}*IŠTAR* ^{URU}*Šamuḫa* GAŠAN=*YA* ŠU-*an šarā ēppun*
        conj-quot to Ishtar   Samuha   lady-my   hand   (I) held up
        'I held up a hand to Ishtar of Samuha, my lady' (CTH 85.1.A = KBo 6.29+ ii 10)

See also CTH 61.I.A i 22.

In the instance just above, *šarā epp-* in combination has the meaning of the sum of its parts. (This combination can also have a derived meaning, which will be discussed in the next section.) In (8), 'take up' has begun to take on a figurative meaning, but without too big a stretch in this case.

(8) *n=an=za=an=kan*   A-*az*   *išḫuzziya[ndu]š šarā ēpper*
     conj-him-refl-him-prt water (abl) girded   (they) took up
     'They, girded, took him up (right) from the water'
     (CTH 83.3 = KUB 31.20 + KBo 16.36 iii 6)

This is a battle description. The people involved are attacking troops, and they 'took him up' (in battle) as soon as he left the water. They did this when they were fully armed ('girded').

In (9), *šarā ēp(p)-* again means 'take up.' The dative noun phrase is here a dative of disadvantage, indicating from whom the tribute/tax was taken. This meaning with *ēp(p)-* is less common than *šarā dā-* meaning 'take up,' as discussed just above.

(9) *nu=šmaš=kan kuin arkamman šarā ēpmi*
     conj-them-prt which tribute (I) take up

     n=an ANA ᵈIŠTAR ᵁᴿᵁŠa[m]uḫa GAŠAN=YA pē ḫarkanzi
     conj-it to Ishtar   Samuha lady-my   (they) proffer

     'The tribute which I take up from them, they proffer it to Ishtar of Samuha, my lady' (CTH 85.1.A = KBo 6.29+ iii 7)

In (10), logographic UGU probably stands for *šarā*. With Puhvel (1984: 107) I take *šarā ēp(p)-* 'take or hold up' to mean 'raise,' with the whole phrase 'raise your neck' representing the idea of acting stubborn or insubordinate.

(10)   *zik≠ma≠za* [LUGAL]-*i* *karšiš*   ARAD-*iš*   *ēš* GÚ UGU *lē ēpti*
you-conj-refl king (d-l) unquestioning servant be neck do not raise

karū kuwapi ABU LUGAL-*aš* BA.ÚŠ *zik≠ma* GÚ   UGU *IṢBAT*
earlier when father king   died you-conj neck raised

'Be to the king an unquestioning servant, do not raise your neck. Earlier, when the father of the king died, you raised your neck.' (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 39)

Translating *šarā laḫḫiyai-* as 'attack upwards' seems peculiar to an English speaker, but

Hittite appears to have made use of this idea, as the following examples indicate:

šarā laḫḫiyai-   'make war on, attack up/upwards'

(11)   *mānn≠a≠šši* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti šarā laḫḫiyaizzi*
if-also-it   king   land   Hatti attacks up
'If the king of Hatti goes up and attacks it' (Bo 86/299 i 62)

Similarly Otten (1988: 13): " . . . gegen die(se) hinauf zu Felde zieht."

Compare this next example which includes a second adverb, *kattan* (written GAM):

(12)   *n≠an≠kan* GAM   UGU≠*ma laḫiyaizzi*
conj-it-prt from below (he) attacks up-conj
'He attacks it up from below' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 68)

The juxtaposition of the adverb meaning 'from below' (GAM) with the preverb *šarā* (UGU)

'up' helps confirm this meaning and argues against the possibility of *šarā* as a telicizing

preverb with *laḫiyai-*. A more detailed discussion of these occurrences of two adverbs in

sequence appears in chapter eight.

I.A.3.   *šarā* **as preverb meaning 'upright'**

In the next three examples, because the verbs aren't motion verbs but involve setting

something in a position, *šarā* doesn't simply indicate the direction of motion, but the position

as a result of motion or of the verb's action, *upright*.

šarā ašeš-   'set up'

(13) GIDIM⸗*ya šarā ašešanzi*
dead-and   (they) set up
'And they also set up the (image of the) dead person' (CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 iii 61)

šarā ašešanu-   'set up' (causative)

(14) GIDIM⸗*ya šarā ašešanuwanzi*
dead-conj   (they) set up
'And they (cause to) set up the (image of the) dead person'
(CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 iii 44)

šarā tittanu-[92]   'put up/upright, stand or sit up'

(15) *nu ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ⸗*[Y]A* ᴺᴵᴺᴰᴬ*ḫaršin* ᴰᵁᴳ*išpan[tuzzi(* ⸗*ya)]*
conj for gods   lords-my   bread harsi libation vessel-and

šarā tittanu[uške]r
(they) set up

'They put/set up the harsi-bread and the libation vessel for the gods, my lords'
(CTH 378.4.A = KUB 14.13 + 23.124 i 26)

I.A.4.   *šarā* as preverb pointing out visibility

With *išpart-* 'escape, remain, come up,' the use of *šarā* as a preverb modifies the

meaning of the verb in a way different from indicating the direction *up*. In combination, *šarā*

išpart- means 'arise, emerge, come to prominence'; *šarā* seems to reinforce the visibility of

the subject. This is perhaps comparable to *up* in the English particle verb *show up*, meaning

'appear.' Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 6 ff and 46) treat *šarā* similarly in taking *šarā*

ar- to mean 'be available, be at hand, be at someone's disposal,' with this idea of visibility or

availability provided by the preverb. This must also be its role in the phrase (*peran*) *šarā*

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[92]In the following excerpt, due to broken text we are unable to know just what is said, but it seems likely to be similar to the *šarā tittanu-* example here. For *šarā dāi-* 'set up': *mān⸗kan* ᶠ*Anniella[n . . .*] *šarā dāiš* 'If (he has) set up Annillan' (CTH 70 = KUB 14.4 iii 5). Cf. de Martino (1988: 35).

warrišša- 'show up to help,' which will be discussed in chapter eight along with other pairs of adverbs occurring together.

(16) *namma ꞊ kan mān IŠTU* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti kuiški idaluš memiyaš ŠA* BAL
then-prt   if from land Hatti some evil   word of revolt

šarā išparzazi
emerges

'Then if from the land of Hatti some evil word of a revolt emerges'
(CTH 68.E = KUB 6.41+ iii 13)

(17) ('She has bread (and) water.')
nu ḫūman šarā artari
conj everthing is available
'Everything is available.' ('She lacks nothing.') (CTH 71 = KBo 4.8 ii 9)

See also CTH 62.II.A ii 15, 67 Ro 10 and 18, 68.A iii 32, 68.B ii 27, 68.C iii 3, 81.A iv 87, 81.B iv 47, 81.F iv 10, 81.N iv 9 (broken), 88 Ro 16, Bo 86.299 i 62, Bo 86/299 iii 45.

I.B. *šarā* as freestanding adverb

In the following case, *šarā* doesn't modify the direction of tarrying as it would do as a preverb. And although preceded by a dative-locative form, *šarā*'s function here is not postpositional. Rather, it's an independent locative, 'up there,' with 'in the palace' as added information. This is a function that overlaps *šer*, as will be seen in section II below.

(17) ^f*Pattiyaš ꞊ wa ꞊ kan kuit INA* É.GAL-*LIM šarā ištatāit*
Pattiya-quot-prt because in palace   up tarried
'Because Pattiya dwelt/tarried up in the palace' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 44)

See also CTH 566 Vo 4 and 6.

šarā occurs in the following broken contexts: CTH 61.II.10 ii 16, 61.II.8.e ii 9.

II. *šer*

šer most often functions as a postposition with one of two meanings: 'above, on top of' or 'for, on behalf of, on account of.' *šer* can also be freestanding with meaning 'up (there), on top.' There are also a few cases where *šer* looks like a preverb.

II.A. As postposition

II.A.1. 'on top of, over'

šer functions in the greatest number of cases as a postposition. Collected in this first section are the occurrences of postpositional *šer* as a locatival meaning 'on top of.'

(18)   EGIR-*ŠU* = *ma* = *kan memal* NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A *ANA* NINDA.GUR₄.RA.ḪI.A *šer*
        afterward-conj-prt   meal   fat bread   (d-l)   thick bread   over

   šuḫḫai
   (he) pours

   'Afterward (he) pours meal (and) fat bread over the thick bread'
   (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 iv 11)

(19)   *nu* = *šši* ᵈ*IŠTAR* ᵁᴿᵁ*Samuḫa* GAŠAN=*YA palaḫšan šer ēpta*
        conj-him Ishtar   Samuha lady-my   *palaḫša* over held
        'Ishtar of Samuha, My Lady, held (her) p. over him'
        (CTH 83.3 = KUB 31.20 + KBo 16.36 iii 10)

(20)   *nu* = *mu* DINGIR-*LUM* GAŠAN=*YA* ⁺*kuwayami meḫuni ŪL kuwapikki šer tiyat*
        conj-me goddess   lady-me   some?   time   not anywhere over stepped
        'The goddess, my lady, never stepped over (overlooked) me at the critical time'
        (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 52 = 81.B i 44)

In (20), *šer* with *tiya-* clearly means that one steps *over*, ending up on the other side of something, not *on top of* it. See van den Hout (1997: 200), who interprets this as, "never passed over me in time of fear." This, along with the other examples in this section, shows that *šer* as postposition indicates that something is higher than something else, and doesn't specify whether there is contact or not between the two objects.

(21) [nu] AWĀT ^mDuthaliya ANA KUR-TI šer nakkišta⁹³
      conj affair Tuthliya (d-l) land   was weighing on
      'The affair of Tuthaliya was weighing on the land'
      (CTH 378.1.A = KUB 14.14+ Vo 14)

šer here must reinforce that the affair weighed *upon* the land.

(22) nu = za = kan ⅄irmalaš = pat ŠA DINGIR-LIM ḫandandatar šer uškenun
      conj-refl-prt ill-emph   of deity   providence   over (I) saw
      'I saw (watching) over me, even when ill, the providence of the deity'
      (Puhvel 1991: 105) (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 45)

In (22), the reflexive particle, = za, functions as the object of the postposition šer, just as

the first person pronoun = mu would (contra Francia 2002: 41 "a riguardo").

Below we have postpositional šer with its object (šuḫḫi, 'roof) clearly fronted from their

usual position close to the verb. The phrase ^dUTU-i menaḫḫanda has also been fronted,

perhaps to set the scene: 'On top of the roof, facing the sun he sets up . . . '

(23) šuḫḫi = kan šer ^dUTU-i menaḫḫanda 2 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR AD.KID [ka]a?riyanda dāi
      roof (d-l)-prt on sun   facing   2   wicker offering tables   covered sets
      'He sets up two offering-tables of wickerwork covered (with a cloth) on the roof
      under the open sky' (Goetze 1969: 397) (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 i 4)

(24) nu = mu ^dU piḫaššaššiš EN = YA armuwalašsḫaš iwar šer armūwala/i
      conj-me storm-god Pihassassis lord-my full moon like upon beam

      nepisaš = ma = mu ^dUTU-uš iwar šer wantai
      sky-conj-me   sun   like above shine

      'So, Storm-god Pihassassis, my lord, beam upon me like the full moon
      and shine above me like the sun in the sky' (Goetze 1969: 398)
      (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 iii 69-70)

See also CTH 81.A i 42. 57, 81.B i 38, 81.D i 28, 378.1.A Ro 10, 381.A iv 16. 21. 26.

54. 57, 381.B i 43. 48. 51. 56. 60. 64, 381.B iv 54, 566 Vo 47 (on the last passage and similar

examples from extispicy texts see Beal (2002b: 62-63 with notes 44 and 56).

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⁹³The beginning of this line is not complete on the tablet. The CHD (Vol. L-N: 372) restores
nu-za, but the verb nakkešš- does not elsewhere take -za.

II.A.2. šer 'on behalf of, for, on account of,' 'in regard to'

šer also comes to have a derived meaning, 'on behalf of, for, on account of.' Examples

of šer with this meaning are included in this section, along with a list of all its occurrences in

the Neo-Hittite corpus. The considerable number of these occurrences indicates that this was

a common usage. The first four examples given show šer meaning 'on behalf of' or 'for.'

(25) *mān=za* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Mizri ANA [ABU]=YA*
      if-refl   king   land   Egypt   to   father-my

   edaš ANA KUR.KUR.MEŠ šer   a[rkuwar] iyat
   those (d-l) lands   on behalf of plea   made

   'If the king of the land of Egypt made a p[lea] to my father on behalf of those lands
   (I did not know)' (CTH 379 = KUB 31.21+ ii 14)

(26) *šer=ši   imma ḫanneiškenun   genzu=ya=aš=mu ešta*
      on behalf of-him even (I) litigated   mercy-also-he-me was
      'I even litigated on his behalf, and he was also (an object of) mercy for me'
      (CTH 383 = 1193/u + KUB 21.19 ii 6-7)

The text of (26) is thanks to Singer (2002b: 742), but I do not take his interpretation

(2002a: 98 and 2002b: 743): "when I passed judgment over him." Hattusili is claiming that

he not only was not involved in the ruin of Danuhepa's sons, but even litigated for him.

(27) *[nu=šš]i=šan* LÚ KÚR *šer   kuenun*
      conj-him-prt enemy   on behalf of   (I) slew
      'I slew the enemy on behalf of him'
      (CTH 68.A = KBo 4.7+ i 14 = 68.D i 14 = 68.E i 13)

   See also 61.II.2.B iv 43, 76.A i 73, 76.B ii 3.

(28) *nu ANA* DUMU.MEŠ ^{m}*Middan^{an}namūwa šer memiyaḫḫat*
      conj d-l sons   Middannamuwa   for (I) spoke up
      'I spoke up for the sons of Middannamuwa' (CHD L-N: 261)
      (CTH 87 = KBo 4.12 Ro 27)

(29) $^{m.d}$LAMMA-aš = ma = mu apēdani = ya mēhuni šer akta
Kurunta-conj-me   at that-also time   for died
'Kurunta also died for me at that time' (i.e., was prepared to die for me)
(Bo 86/299 ii 55)

See also Bo 86/299 iii 24, CTH 105.A ii 36, 123 ii 16 and 25.

In (30), the translation 'on behalf of' shifts slightly to 'for' or 'for the sake of':

(30) našma <<piyan>> kuiški ŠA ^{m}[Ḫa]ttušili ḪUL-uanni še[r?] ANA DINGIR.MEŠ
or   someone of Hattusili   evil   for   to   gods

piyan ḫarzi
given has

'If someone has given to the gods for the sake of harm/evil to Hattusili'
(CTH 384 = KUB 21.27 iii 21)

See also 61.II.2.B iv 25 with piyanai- 'to reward' and 378.1.A Vo 30, 384 ii 18 and 384

iv 36 (with šarnink- 'make restitution').

šer continues this denotation of benefit or loyalty in frequent occurrences with the verb

linganu- 'swear an oath':

(31) nu = šši KUR ^{URU}Kargamiš šer linganunun
conj-him land Carhemish to (I) made swear
'I made the land of Carchemish swear allegiance to him'
(CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iii 14)

For other examples of šer in this specific usage, see also: CTH 61.II.5.B iii 16, iv 59,

62.II.A i 18 and 22, 68.D i 12, 68.E i 29, 255.1.A i 16 and 17, 255.1.A iv 20, 255.A.B i 18,

Bo 86/299 ii 38 and 41, CTH 123 ii 47, iv 24. 25, 124.A i 4, 255.2.A i 3, 378.1.A Ro 15

(twice).

šer can be used in a similar way, connecting a verb's action to that which motivates it,

but having a more neutral emotional tone and meaning 'on account of' rather than 'on behalf

of':

(32) *nu ŠEŠ   ABI ᵈUTU-ŠI   ᵐNIR.GÁL-iš LUGAL KUR ᵁᴿᵁMizzari ꓿ ya*
conj brother father His Majesty Muwattalli   king   land   Egypt-and

ANA LÚ.MEŠ KUR Amurra šer   zaḫḫer
(d-l) people   land Amurra on account of fought

'Also the brother of His Majesty's father Muwattalli and the king of the land of Egypt
fought on account of the people of Amurra'
(CTH 105.A = KUB 23.1 i 36 = 105.B Ro 12)

See also CTH 181 iv 8 (broken).

(33) *nu ꓿ za   kāša ANA ᵈIŠKUR   EN꓿YA ḫingani šer   arkūwar ēššaḫḫi*
conj-refl behold to   storm-god lord-my plague on account of plea   (I) make
'I am hereby making a plea on account of the plague to the storm-god, my lord'
(CTH 378.2.A = KUB 14.8 Vo 20)

See also 378.1.A Ro 7. Vo 16, 378.2.C i 22.

(34) *mān꓿ta꓿kan āššaui memiyanni šer LÚ ᵁᴿᵁGIDRU-ti kuiški EGIR-pa anda uezzi*
if-you-prt good intentions on account of person Hatti some back   in   come
'If some person of Hatti should come back in to you with (on account of) good
intentions' (CHD L-N: 273) (CTH 126.4 = KBo 12.30 ii 9)

šer is also used with forms of the interrogative and demonstrative to make expressions

for 'for what reason, why' and 'for that reason, therefore.'

(35) *iyami(y)꓿at꓿za kuedani udda[n]ī ḫingani šer*
(I) do-it-refl   which reason   plague on account of
'For which reason I do it, on account of the plague . . .'[94]
(CTH 378.2.B = KUB 14.11 iii 21)

Example (35) is interesting for the fronting of its verb.

(36) *tuk꓿ma ŠEŠ-tar   kuwatta šer   [ḫa]trāmi*
you-conj brotherhood why   on account of (I) write
'Why (on what account) shall I write you (about) brotherhood?'
(CTH 171 = KUB 23.102 i 13)

šer remains postpositional in the fixed phrase *appada(n) šer*, 'on that account.'

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[94]Similarly Singer 2002a: 59 and Goetze 1969: 395.

(37) [*nu apadd*]*a šer* ^mPÉŠ.TUR-*luwaš ANA* ^dUTU-*ŠI* ^{LÚ}KÚR
conj on that account Mashuiluwa   to His Majesty enemy
'On that account, Mashuiluwa is an enemy to His Majesty'
(CTH 69.A = KBo 19.70 ii 9)

(38) *apadda* ꞊ *an* ꞊ *kan šer aššuli ḫandanun!*
that account-her-prt on well (I) treated
'On that account, I treated her well' (CTH 70 ii 9)

(39) *mān* ꞊ *za* DINGIR-*LIM apadda* ꞊ *pat šer* TUKU.TUKU-*uanza*
if-refl   god   that-emph over   is angry
'If you the god are angry just over that' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 11)

See also CTH 566 Ro 2. 4. 10. 27. 28, 569.1 i 14. 15, ii 53, iii 7. 8. 18.

(40) *nu   apadda šer   šarnik<zi>il* SIxSÁ-*at*
conj on that account compensation has been determined
'On that account compensation has been determined'
(CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 77)

(41) *nu mān* DINGIR-*LIM apadda šer   šarnikziel ŪL kuitki šanaḫta*
conj if   god   on that account fine   not any sought
'If you the god sought no fine for that' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 7)

See also: CTH 69.A i 47, 566 Ro 45. 64. 76, Vo 28. 30, 31, 45 (twice).

From 'on account of' *šer*'s meaning can become furthur diluted, to mean simply 'on' or

'in regard to':

(42) *namma* ꞊ *za* ꞊ *kan memiyani šer karuššiyatti*
then-refl-prt   matter   on (you) are silent
'Then you are silent on the matter' (CTH 68.E = KUB 6.41+ iii 66)

See also 68.A iii 9 = 68.C ii 25 = 68.E iii 50, 76.B iii 14, 76.C.2 i 18, 566 Ro 62. 75.

(43) *ANA* ARAD.MEŠ *ŠA* ZI LUGAL꞊*man* GIM-*an ANA* ZI LUGAL UGU
(d-l) servants   of soul king-potential as   (d-l) soul king   upon

꞊*naḫḫūwai*
weigh

'As it should weigh upon the servants of the "soul" of the king with respect to the
"soul" of the king' (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 22)

Note that despite similar meanings, the verb ꜣnaḫḫūwa- in (43) and nakkešš- in (21) are used in different constructions. See CHD (L-N: 347) for explanation. For an additional example of 'with respect to the "soul" of the king,' see CTH 123 iii 16.

(44) zaršiya꞊ma   še!r   kī   arnunun
       safe-conduct-conj in regard to this (I) dispatched
       'I dispatched this in regard to the safe-conduct' (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 ii 64)

Examples (45) and (46) show šer with a sense that's expressed by 'for the interests/purposes of' rather than 'on behalf of, for the sake of,' and used alongside the verb tēpawēš(š)- 'become small.' The Hittite kings did not campaign through the harsh Anatolian winters, and this expression was used to indicate that the king had run out of time in one campaign season. In (45), ꞊mu . . . šer indicates that the year became too short 'for me' ('for my purposes.')

(45) nu꞊mu MU.KAM-ZA šer tēpawēšta
       conj-me year   for became small
       'The year became (too) short for me' (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 22.5+ i 6)

Compare (46), in which the reflexive particle, ꞊za in the first clause with šer 'for' functions as the object of that postposition. Thus this looks like a case of long-distance reflexivization, the reflexive being governed by the first person subject of the preceding clause. This is the only such case of long-distance reflexivization in Hittite known to me.

(46)   *nu ꞊ mu anda wemiyēr*
      conj-me (they) found

      man INA ^{URU}*Hayaša pāun ꞊ pat*   *nu ꞊ za* MU.KAM-*za šer tēpauēššanza ēšta*
      irreal d-1 Hayasa (I) went-emph   conj-refl year   for become-small was

      BELU-MEŠ꞊*ya ꞊ mu memier*   MU.KAM-*za ꞊ wa ꞊ ta šer tēpauēššanza*
      lords-also-me   told   year-quot-you   for become-small

      'They found me. I would have kept going to Hayasa, but the year was too short for me. The lords also told me: "The year is too short for you."'[95]
      (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iii 23. 24)

The enclitic ꞊ *ta* with *šer* meaning 'for you' in the second half of this narration reinforces the pattern of the construction and the meaning 'for me' in the earlier clause.

    See also CTH 61.II.5.B iv 38.

II.B.   Freestanding *šer*

In this section are listed examples of *šer* as a freestanding adverb meaning 'above' or 'up there.' In some of these, *šer* stands without an object, so cannot be postpositional, while in other cases the meaning of the sentence as a whole indicates this freestanding status. What is conveyed of these subjects is that they are stationed in a place, so that they require the locatival *šer* 'up there' to complete the description.

(47)   *nu ꞊ kan gurtan šer uetenun*
      conj-prt citadel above (I) built
      'I built the citadel above'[96] (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 ii 62)

(48)   *nu ꞊ za ꞊ kan UNUTUM šer dalaḫḫun*
      conj-refl-prt baggage   above (I) left
      'I left my baggage up (on top/above)' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 iii 12)

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[95]Francia (2002: 41) treats this otherwise.

[96]Similarly Tjerkstra (1999: 63): "I built a stronghold on top."

(49) ÉRIN.MEŠ⸗ya⸗kan pankuš   šer ēšta
      troops-also-prt   totality above was
      'Also the totality of troops was above' ('the troops en masse')
      (CTH 61.II.2.A = KUB 14.16 iii 11)

(50) ᶠPattiyaš⸗ma⸗kan INA É.GAL-LIM šer   ēšta
      Pattiya-conj-prt in   palace   above was
      'Pattiya was up in the palace' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 68)

(51) nu⸗kan mašiēš imma UD.ḪI.A UGU   pēdai
      conj-prt however many days   up there (he) spends
      'However many days he spends up (there)'[97] (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 88)

In (51), one's first inclination might be to interpret UGU as šarā, but this falls in line

with freestanding šer as in the examples just above. CTH 561 i 79 has the same expression,

and example (52) has a similar usage:

(52) nu⸗kan mašieš   imma   UD.ḪI.A   anda⸗ma   SI x SÀ-ri
      conj-prt how many even   days   in that case-conj   are determined

      n⸗aš⸗kan UGU GUB-ri
      conj-he-prt up there stays

      'However many days are determined for that, he stays up there'
      (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 60)

See also: CTH 40.II.F iv 42, 40.IV.A ii 20, 61.I.A ii 67, 61.II.7.A i 29 = 61.II.7.B i 26,

61.II.9.A iii 26 = 61.II.9.C iii 18, 61.III.2.A i 36, 69.A i 12, 83.1.A ii 20, 86.1.A iii 8, 89.A ii

6, iii 41, 126.4 ii 1, 382 Ro 6, 561 iv 77.

The finite verb 'to be' in the present tense is often unexpressed, as in the next several

examples.

(53) ÉRIN.MEŠ⸗wa⸗kan ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ kuiš INA ᵁᴿᵁMurmuriga šer
      troops-quot-prt   cavalry   who in   Murmuriga up
      'The troops and cavalry who are up in M.-city' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 ii 24)

---

[97]With CHD L-N: 205 (under maši-) for this interpretation.

(54) É-*TUM*≠[*ma*≠*šš*]*i*≠*kan QADU* DAM.ME.EŠ≠*ŠUNU* DUMU.ME.EŠ≠[*ŠUN*]*U*
house-conj-prt-his-prt including wives-his   children-his

URU-*ri šer*
city   up

'His house along with his wives and children are up in the city...'
('Investigate this man.') (CTH 89.A = KUB 21.29 iv 11)

šer in (53) and (54) follows the pattern established in (47) - (52) and is freestanding,

with 'in the city' as added information. When mountains are mentioned, as in (55), it is

difficult to say whether *šer* is freestanding 'up (there)/above' or postpositional 'on top of.'

(55) *wātar*≠*ma*≠*kan kuit INA* ᴴᵁᴿˑˢᴬᴳ*Ārlanta šer*
water-conj-prt which in Mount Arlanta up/above
'The water which is up in Mt. A.' (Bo 86/299 i 41)

The same provision is in CTH 106 Ro 25. See also CTH 566 Ro 65 where the reference

is to parts of the liver.

(56) *nu*≠*ššan šer*   *šakuwantariyanun*
conj-prt up there (I) tarried
'I tarried up there' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 i 38)

Compare *šer* in (56) to *šarā* in (17) above. Both have the same function, used with

different verbs that have similar meanings.

(57) ᵈUTU-*ŠI*≠*kan ANA* ᴴᵁᴿˑˢᴬᴳ*Ḫaḫarwa* UGU *paizzi n*≠*aš*≠*kan* UGU *šešzi*
His Majesty-prt to Mount Haharwa up   goes conj-he-prt up there sleeps
'His Majesty goes up to Mt. Haharwa. He sleeps up there.'
(CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 32)

The logogram UGU can represent either Hittite *šer* or *šarā,* so it is impossible to be sure

about which underlies UGU in the second clause of (57). The UGU of UGU *paizzi* clearly is

šarā 'up' with a motion verb. It is clear nonetheless that UGU represents a freestanding

adverb for 'up there' in the second clause. A search through the Neo-Hittite corpus produced

no phonetically written *šer šeš-* nor *šarā šeš-* examples. However, from non-Neo-Hittite

writings we find these examples:

(58)　*nu INA* É.GAL-*LIM kuiēš šer šešanzi*
　　　conj in palace　　　who up sleep
　　　'The ones who sleep up in the palace' (KBo 5.11.i 5)

There is another occurrence in the same text (column iv, line 26) (*šer šešuwaš*). In addition

there are two occurrences of *šer* + the verbal noun form of *šeš-* found in the colophon of

tablets, indicating that the subject of the tablet is 'of sleeping above/up.'

Compare the following usage of *šarā šeš-*:

(59)　*nu* 1-*aš* 1-*aš INA* É DUNGIR-*LIM šarā šešuwanzi lē-pat karaštari*
　　　'Let not a single one fail to sleep up in the temple.' (Puhvel 1997: 100)
　　　(KUB 13.4 iii 5-6)

This is considered a Neo-Hittite manuscript of a Middle Hittite text. These examples may

confirm the notion that by Neo-Hittite there was some confusion/ mixing of the functions of

the *place where* and *place to which* categories, as *šarā* takes on a *šer* function here. For this

reason, when we find UGU with *šeš-* as we do here, we don't know whether it represents

šarā or *šer*.

For further examples of UGU *šeš-* see also: CTH 561 i 38. 43. 56. 99 (twice), 101 and

105, 561 iv 57.

(60)　*šer* ꞊ *ši*　　　KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*Zallaraš* ZAG-*aš ā*[*šta*]
　　　up there-him　land　　Zallaras　boundary was
　　　'Up there the land of Z. was the boundary for him' (CTH 82.2 Vo 12)

(61)　UGU꞊*ma* ꞊ *aš* ꞊ *kan UL* [*šeš*]-*zi* (*sic!*)
　　　up there-conj-he-prt not (he) sleeps
　　　'He doesn't sleep up there' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 61)

Beal (1999: 45) also translates (61), "He shall not sleep (?) up above" with a footnote:

"[*še-eš*]-*zi* is possible according to A. Walther's collation."

See also CTH 561 iv 42.

(62)   ('He will go up Mt. Haharwa from behind. He will strike down on Talmaliya.')
        nu mān MU-*za* UGU *ēšzi*   *nu* ^{URU}*Kamman* RA-*zi*
        conj if   year   above is   conj K.   (he) strikes
        'If there is time in the campaign season (lit. 'if the year is above'),
        he will strike Kamman' (after Beal 1999: 48) (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 56)

I follow Beal (1999: 48 with footnote 33) in his interpretation of example (62), against

an alternative reading.[98] The expression is not seen elsewhere, but Beal's approach makes

sense in context. UGU must in any case represent a freestanding usage of *šer*.

II.C. *šer* as preverb

In the next example, *šer šunna-* has the meaning of *šarā šunna-* 'fill up.' By its meaning

as well as by comparison to *šarā šunna-*, it must be a preverb-verb combination. This

appears to be another instance of overlap of the functions of these two adverbs.

(63) ^{URU}*Šamuḫann=a* URU-*LUM* DINGIR-*LIM alwanzešnaza šer šunništa*
        Samuha-also   city   god   witchcraft (she) filled it up
        'Also Samuha, city of the god, she filled up with witchcraft'
        (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ ii 79)

For *šarā šunna-* 'fill up' outside the present corpus see KBo 10.2 i 21 (Acts of Hattusili

I, OH/NS): *nu* É-*er=mit āššawīt šarā šunnaḫḫun* 'I filled up my house with goods!'.

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[98]Tjerkstra (1999: 87), for example, translates this line: "and when he is up (there), will he attack Kammama?"

CHAPTER SEVEN

arḫa

There is one additional local adverb that must be described, the directional adverb *arḫa* 'away (from).' It has no related locatival form with which it pairs, but because it does frequently co-occur with another of the local adverbs, its description is necessary to a full treatment of consecutive adverbs in the chapter that follows. I will provide an illustration of each meaning of *arḫa*; besides meaning 'away' it has a telic function (as is the case with other preverbs). I include a list of the verbs with which it occurs in each sense and a citation of at least one text illustrating that. I also introduce word order issues concerning *arḫa* here.

The basic meaning of *arḫa* is 'away.'[99] As a directional adverb it unremarkably occurs with motion verbs such as *pai-* 'go.' Examples (1) and (2) show it with and without an ablative noun indicating the starting point.

(1)   *namma ⸗ kan A[BU ⸗ YA* ᵁᴿᵁ*Šamuḫa]az arḫa pait*
        then-prt   father-my Samuha (abl) away went
        'Then my father went away from Samuha' (CTH 40.II.D = KUB 19.11 i 11)

(2)   *n ⸗ aš   arḫa ⸗ pat   pait   maninkuwannaš ⸗ mu ŪL ⸗ pat   uet*
        conj-he away-emph went   near-me   not-emph (he) came
        'He went away! He didn't come near me at all.' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ ii 49)

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[99]The standard view is that *arḫa* is the frozen allative form of the noun meaning 'boundary.' To my knowledge it has not been found to this date as an adverb in Old Script.

I reject the claim by Götze (1933: 21) that *arḫa* plus motion verb without *=kan* means '(towards) home,' which was also incorrectly repeated by Tjerkstra (1999: 58 et aliter) and Francia (2002: 4). The text following example (2) shows that Muwattalli did not go home. As per Otten (1981: 15), the meaning is rather that Muwattalli did not come near Hattusili, but kept his distance, not crowding Hattusili in his sphere of command. Likewise in sentence (3), there is no indication that Mursili had ever been in Sammaha, and it was certainly not "home":

(3)   *namma arḫa uwanun maḫḫan INA* ^{URU}*Šammaḫa ārḫun*
        then   away (I) came when d-l.   Sammaha (I) arrived
        'Then I came away. When I arrived in Sammaha . . . ' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iii 48)

It is only with the reflexive particle in the expression *=za arḫa pai-* that the meaning is 'go home,' where it is *=za* that gives the sense 'home.' An additional counterexample to the 'towards home' idea is at KBo 2.5+ 7. Tjerkstra (1999: 56) correctly identifies that *=kan* regularly appears with *arḫa pai-* and *uwa-* when the origin is expressed, but not when the goal is expressed, as in (1).

Other examples with *arḫa* meaning 'away' may be found with:

Intransitive motion verbs: *ar-* 'get away, be removed, disappear' (CTH 123 iii 32 & 34, 561 iii 20), *parš-* 'flee' (with place in ablative as object, CTH 81.A iv 2), *tiya-* 'step' (CTH 76.A ii 7, 123 ii 45), *uwa-* 'come' (CTH 61.I.A ii 54, iii 40, 61.II.9.A ii 25).

Transitive motion verbs: *peḫute-* 'lead' (CTH 61.II.5.B iv 23, 81.A ii 51), *pete-* 'take, carry' (CTH 61.II.7.B i 2), *unna-* 'drive' (CTH 123 ii 9), *uda-* 'bring' (CTH 61.I.A i 34. 46), *uwate-* 'bring, lead' (CTH 61.I.A ii 45, iii 8), *watkunu-* 'chase' (CTH 61.II.2.B iv 23, 63.A i 11, 68.A i 4).

Other verbs: *ḫalai-* 'rebuff(?),' 'desert'[100] (CTH 62.II.A iii 9), *ḫarnink-* 'destroy'[101]

(CTH 69.A iv 39, 76.A iv 37, 106 Vo 27), *ḫuittiya-* 'draw' (CTH 70 iv 15[102]), *ištantai-* 'hold

off (intransitive)' (CTH 123 ii 67), *laḫiyai-* 'battle, campaign' (CTH 561 i 55--but see below

at (11)), *nini(n)k-* 'mobilize' (Bo 86/299 iii 46), *dā-* 'take' (CTH 40.II.F iii 20, 61.I.A ii 65.

76, Bo 86/299 iv 17), *u(i)ya-* 'send' (CTH 40.IV.A i 44, 81.A i 72, 81.A iv 20), *upp(a)-*

'send' (CTH 61.I.A iii 81, 566 Ro 19. 23), ellipsis of *eš-* with *kurur* 'be hostile' (CTH 181 iv

5--see below at (10)).

In the case of *arḫa tittanu-, arḫa* means 'away' in a slighly different sense. From

tittanu- 'install,' as into a government office, comes its opposite, *arḫa tittanu-* 'remove from

office.'

(4)   *našma ANA* ᵐ*Duppi-*ᵈ*U-upan! INA KUR* ᵁᴿᵁ*Amurri*
        or   d-l. Duppi-Teshub   d-l. land   Amurri

        ANA LUGAL-*UTTIM arḫa tittanummanzi   takkeszi*
        d-l.   kingship   to remove from office (he) undertakes

        'or he undertakes to remove D. from kingship in Amurri-land'
        (CTH 62.II.A = KBo 5.9 ii 36)

See also CTH 71 ii 6. 15, 105.A i 43 (the latter without expressed dative-locative).

arḫa has a telicizing function with some verbs. For example, with *warnu-* 'burn,' the

meaning is akin to English 'burn down':

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[100]Beckman (1996: 57) translates =*za arḫa ḫalaši* as "rebuff(?)" whereas Puhvel (1991: 12) renders it as "if you leave the king in the lurch," so this may have either the 'away' or telic sense.

[101]Please see also the discussion of ablative plus *arḫa ḫarnink-* in chapter eight at examples (49) and (50).

[102]Puhvel (1991: 347) translates this text: "She distorted the mouth of a sick man." 'Distort' seems logically possible from 'draw away' referring to the mouth.

(5) *namma* URU-*an*   *arḫa warnunun*
     then   city (acc.) (I) burned down
     'Then I burned down the city' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 6)

Other telic usages are in these instances: *arḫa ar-* 'arrive' (CTH 121 iii 11), *arḫa ed-* 'eat up' (CTH 89.A iv 6), *arḫa ḫark-* 'perish' (CTH 61.II.1 iv 17, 83.1.A i 6), *arḫa ḫarnink-* 'destroy completely' (CTH 61.II.2.B iv 27), *arḫa ḫulla-* 'defeat completely,'[103] (CTH 61.II.4.b ii 29), *arḫa išḫuwā-* 'discard' (CTH 40.II.A ii 9), *arḫa kuer-* 'cut off' (CTH 561 iii 87), *arḫa laḫu(wa)-* 'pour out' (CTH 255.A Vo 37), *arḫa ⸢pappaša-* 'swallow up' (CTH 123 iii 37), *arḫa parašešš-* 'scatter, disperse' (CTH 61.II.7.A i 20), *arḫa paškuwanu-* 'neglect entirely' (CTH 486.C iii 44), *arḫa pippa-* 'overturn' (CTH 83.2 9, 83.3 ii 14), *arḫa pittalai-* 'abandon, discard, disregard, neglect, scorn' (as in CTH 40.I.B ii 4), *arḫa šarnink-* 'make (full) restitution' (CTH 70 iii 27), *arḫa dala-* 'leave' (CTH 61.II.7.A iii 39, 61.II.9.A iii 40, 81.A iii 26, 181 iii 55. 57), *arḫa tarna-* 'leave off (cease)' (CTH 61.III.2.A i 33) and 'abandon, leave behind' (CTH 81.A i 76), *arḫa wemiya-* 'find out, discover' (CTH 67 Vo 37).

In some cases, *arḫa* may represent a transition between the 'away' or telic meanings, as with *tarna-* in (6).

(6) *IŠTU* KUR-*KA⸗ya⸗za⸗kan arḫa lē kuinki [tarn]aši*
     from land-your-also-refl-prt away not someone (you) release
     'Also you release no one/let no one away from your land'
     (CTH 69.A = KBo 19.70 i 56)

Another ambiguous case is with *arḫa peššiya-* 'throw away,' which shades over to 'reject, abandon' (for example in CTH 62.II.A i 12 or 68.B i 24). For the technical sense 'exclude' for *arḫa peššiya-* in augury texts see Beal (2002b: 68).

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[103]After Neu (1968: 58).

The combination *ištarna arḫa* as a unit means 'across' or 'through' and appears with a

noun in the accusative case representing that which is crossed:

(7) *lukkatta = ma = kan* KUR ^{URU}*Ištalubba ištarna arḫa pāun*
     at daybreak-conj-prt land Istalubba   across   (I) went
     'At daybreak I went across the land of Istalubba' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 i 30)

There are several others with this combination, including CTH 61.II.9.C iii 10.

Another special case is (*= za*) *arḫa šarra-* 'separate from each other.' For this see CTH

40.IV.A i 22, 61.I.A ii 52 and 61.II.2.B iii 30.

arḫa fits the criteria of a preverb in most cases, but in certain constructions looks

postpositional. (8)-(10) show examples in which *arḫa* is situated after a noun in the

ablative, potentially its object, and is separated from the verb by one or more words. The

label of postposition is tempting due to *arḫa*'s placement in the sentence. However, we will

see in chapter nine that word order is not an adequate diagnostic for function in Hittite

adverbs.

(8) *maḫḫan = ma = kan* ^{URU}*Aštataz arḫa INA* ^{URU}*Kargamiš andan iyaḫḫat*
     when-conj-prt   Astata (abl) away d-l. Carchemish into (I) proceeded
     'When I proceeded into Carchemish from Astata-city'
     (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 ii 67)

(9) LUGAL-*uš = ma = kan* ^{URU}*Maraššaz arḫa* KARAŠ.[ḪI]/.A *ḫuittiyanun*
     king-conj-prt   Marassa   away troops (camp) (I) drew
     'I, the king, withdrew the troops (or 'moved the camp') from Marassa'
     (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ iii 18)

(10) *našma = za = kan* IŠTU KARAŠ *kuiški arḫa antuḫšan* LÚ ^{URU}*Arzauwa taya[zzi]*
      or-refl-prt   from camp someone away man   Arzawa steals
      'Or someone steals a man of Arzawa away from the camp'
      (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Vo 39)

See also 561 i 54 (cited below).

Similarly in (11) and (12), *arḫa* could be labelled a postposition. In (11) Beal reads it as such with object *apezza*, together meaning 'away from there.' Alternatively, it could be argued that this is a case where Hittite can combine a sense of motion with a verb where English can't: *laḫiyai-* means 'campaign against' without a preverb, but *arḫa laḫiyai-* 'campaign away against.' Such was the case with *šarā laḫiyai-* 'strike/campaign upward' seen in an earlier chapter.

(11)   *nu ꞊ kan* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠA* ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳ*Ḫaḫarwa ŠALMŪTIM apezza   arḫa laḫiyaizzi*
       conj-prt troops   of   Mt. Haharwa intact   from there campaign away
       'From there he will campaign away against the intact troops of Mt. Haharwa'
       vs. 'Away from there he will campaign against the intact troops of Mt. Haharwa'
       (after Beal 1999: 44, but see also his footnote 18) (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 55)

arḫa seems unlikely as a preverb in (12) because the verb is unstated.

(12)   *ammetaza ꞊ ma ꞊ wa ꞊ za ꞊ kan* KUR-*eza arḫa lē kurur*
       1 sg. abl.-conj-quot-refl-prt   land (abl.) away not hostile (be)
       'Do not be hostile from <u>my</u> land!' (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 iv 5)

Above is only a partial list of the occurrences of *arḫa*, but is representative of its different functions and the verbs with which it occurs. The discussion about word order and function will be picked up again in chapter nine.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Sequences of two adverbs

Two adverbs occur consecutively with some frequency in these texts. These juxtapositions could logically result from the chance co-occurrence of two syntactically independent units, or from the functional combination of two adverbs into one syntactic/semantic unit. Seven categories define these sequences:

I. Two preverbs, one of which is *āppa*

II. Postposition + preverb, where the postposition expresses a goal or location of action

III. Postposition + preverb, the first having an evolved, non-local meaning

IV. Adverb + preverb, the first with an evolved, non-local meaning

V. Postposition + preverb, the first indicating the starting point of action

VI. Adverb + preverb, the first indicating the starting point of action

VII. Two local adverbs that form a unit and have specialized meanings.

I. Sequences of two preverbs

āppa 'back, again' is the sole preverb that can co-occur with other directional adverbs. This is possible because rather than adding a true second direction to that indicated by the

other preverb it specifies a return to a prior location or restoration of a previous state.[104]

I.A. *āppa* preceding another preverb

It is the unmarked order in these cases for *āppa* to immediately precede the other

preverb, as seen in numerous examples such as those given here:

(1) [ ] *ANA* ᵐ·ᵈ*Arma-*ᵈU EGIR-*pa parā peḫḫun*
  to Armatarhunta back (I) handed it over
  'I handed it back over to Armatarhunta' (CTH 81.F i 27 ≈ 81.A iii 30)

(2) *nu ꞊ tta ꞊ kkan ŠA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI kuitki* ᒼ*kuggurniyauwar* EGIR-*pa anda udai*
  conj-you-prt of His Majesty some slander   back   in (he) brings
  '(He) brings back in to you some slander of His Majesty'
  (CTH 105.A = KUB 23.1+ iii 13)

(3) *n ꞊ an ꞊ kan BELI ꞊ YA* EGIR-*pa parā ḫudāk nau*
  conj-him-prt lord-my back   out quickly send
  'May my lord send him back out quickly'[105] (CTH 202 = KBo 18.15 15)

(4) [*zi*]*q ꞊ wa ꞊ za ꞊ kan* EGIR-*pa anda lē kuinki tarnatti*
  you-quot-refl-prt back   in not anyone let
  'Do not let anyone (come) back in' (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 i 20)

I.B. *āppa* following another preverb

āppa may instead follow another preverb, which results in a difference in word order

from the unmarked one above, but no difference in meaning. This shows that the order of

preverbs is not fixed relative to each other, thus that one of the two preverbs may be moved

from the unmarked position, and that each preverb is construed independently with the verb.

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[104]But compare, e.g., KUB 33.120 ii 70: *šarā katta ꞊ ya* 'up and down' (or 'above and below'), where contrast between opposite directions is deliberate, is marked by the conjunction ꞊*ya*, and is unlike the examples cited here.

[105]The *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (P: 128) states, in discussing *parā* in combination with other adverbs, that "the local adverb *āppa* (EGIR-*pa*) functions in all the relevant passages as a postposition." I disagree that *āppa* takes this role, and certainly not in this case where there is no noun present to be the object of a postposition. Indeed in its entry for the verb *nai* (L-N: 359) the *CHD* translates this passage, "let my lord send him back promptly."

Leftward movement of GAM (*katta*) in (5) and *arḫa* in (6) is logical, for their meanings

('down' and 'away') link them more closely than *āppa* 'back' with the preceding ablative

nouns, even while they remain preverbs in function.

(5) ḪUR(!).SAG*Ḫaḫarwaza = kan* GAM EGIR-*pa* URU*Aštigurqa andan uezzi*
    Mount Haharwa (abl)-prt down back   Astigurza into (he) comes
    'He will come back down from Mt. H. into Astigurqa' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iv 65)

Cf. Beal (1999: 53): "He will come back down from Mt. Haharwa and enter Astigurqa."

(6) d*UTU-ŠI = kan* URU*Neriqaz arḫa* EGIR-*pa* URU*Ḫakmiš uezzi*
    His Majesty-prt Nerik (abl) away back   Hakmis comes
    'His Majesty will come back away from Nerik to Hakmis'
    (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 45)

Compare Beal (1999: 47): "His Majesty will leave Nerik and come back to Hakmis."

I.C.   *āppa* in sentence-initial position with a second preverb separated from it

The occurrences at (7) and (8) differ from those just above only in that *āppa* rather than

the other preverb has been fronted, and to a position at the beginning of the sentence. Here

the adverbs are not consecutive, so the two are unlikely to be seen as a syntactic unit. These

examples give further evidence that in this free word order language both adverbs may be

linked to the verb but still be independent of each other.

(7) ('For however many days are determined he shall go up')
    EGIR-*pa = ya = aš = kan šešuanzi* GAM GIN-*ri*
    back-and-he-prt   to sleep down go
    'And he shall come back down to sleep'[106] (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 61)

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[106]See Beal (1999: 44-45 with footnote 21).

(8)   ('However many days he spends up there,')

EGIR-*pa* ⸗ *ma* ⸗ *aš* ⸗ *kan* ^{URU}*Kaštama pean* GAM *uezzi*
back-conj-he-prt   Kastama   before down comes
'He will come back down in front of Kastama' (similarly Beal 1999: 45)[107]
(CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 80)

II.   Postposition + preverb, where the postposition expresses a goal

Sequences of two adverbs may occur in which one is a preverb and the other a

postposition expressing the goal of the action described. In (9) - (12) *āppa* is again the

preverb, but here it co-occurs with various postpositions.

(9)   *nu ANA* ^m*Urḫi-*^dU-*up* GAM-*an* EGIR-*pa pāun*
conj to   Urhiteshub   to   back   (I) went
'I went back to Urhiteshub' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ iv 31)

The postposition *kattan* in (9) and (10) has its sense 'beside, next to, to,' reinforcing the

dative-locative case markers of the noun and pronoun.

(10)   *nu-šši*   *kattan* EGIR-*pa kuedani   meḫuni   arḫun*[108]
conj-him(d-l.) to   again   which(d-l) time(d-l) (I) caught up
'At which time I caught up to him again'[109] (CTH 85.1.A = KBo 6.29+ ii 31)

For another example with *ar*-, see CTH 176 Ro 26, but this is a broken text in which *ar*-

may well be in a different clause from EGIR-*pa*.

Sentences (11) and (12) have *āppa* fronted to second or initial position, both common

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[107]Sentence (8) includes a third adverb, the postposition *pean* (a spelling for *peran*) to locate the goal of 'coming back down,' which will be addressed below. That *āppa* is the preverb 'back' rather than the freestanding adverb 'afterwards' here is based on the fact that the text previously described the king's return from being up on the mountain. It is true that either translation is possible. By comparison, the following shows *āppa* in its frequent sentence-initial meaning 'afterwards,' as discussed in chapter three: EGIR-*pa* ⸗ *ma* ^dUTU-*ŠI anda* KAR-*zi* 'Afterwards he will find His Majesty' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 48). Cf. Beal (1999: 47) for this: "Afterwards he will meet up with His Majesty."

[108]Wh-words such as *kuedani* commonly intervene between preverb and verb as seen at (10).

[109]Likewise Götze (1925: 51) "Und zu welcher Zeit ich wieder bei ihm anlangte." Cf. Tjerkstra (1999: 60): "At the moment I arrived back with him."

locations for local adverbs. I have included these here because, despite the separation of the

two adverbs and the resulting variety of word orders, the meanings in these are parallel to

those in (9) and (10) where the adverbs are consecutive.

(11) *namma ꞊ aš* EGIR-*pa* [^{URU}]*Timuḫala andan uet*
      then-he   back   Timuhala   into   came
      'Then he came back into Timuhala' (CTH 40.V.34 = KUB 19.13 i 46)

    See also CTH 81.B iii 72.

(12) EGIR-*pa ꞊ ma* ^{URU}*Neriki ꞊ pat andan*
      back-conj   Nerik (d-l)-emph into
      'Back (he will go) into Nerik' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 41)

For (12), Beal (1999: 47) renders, "Afterwards (he will go) again into Nerik,"

confusingly translating *āppa* with a preverbal restorative and freestanding temporal sense at

the same time. The preceding line does mention movement into Nerik, so there is a prior

action providing reference for *āppa* as 'back' in this case. See also CTH 561 i 19.

There is more than one reason to believe that the examples cited thus far each shows two

independently functioning adverbs rather than a compound. One is that the order of adverbs

is not fixed in these cases, as might be expected if a pair were a true syntactic/semantic

combination. Another is that there is no specialized meaning that results from combining the

two adverbs; rather the meaning is simply additive of each of the adverbs' individual

meanings. It can also be shown that each adverb functions alone in just the same way that it

functions when used alongside another. For example, in (11), *āppa* means 'back' and *andan*

'into' with the verb *uwa-* 'come.' These same meanings hold for *āppa* in (13) and *andan* in

(14) where each adverb occurs separately with the verb *uwa-*:

(13)   *namma ꞊ aš INA* ḪUR.SAG*Zukkuki* EGIR-*pa uet*
      conj-he   dat. mount Z.   back   came
      'Then he came back to Mount Zukkuki' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 i 1)

(14)   *nu   INA* KUR ^{URU}*Tegaramma andan uwanun*
      conj to   land (city)Tegaramma into   (I) came
      'I came into the land of Tegaramma' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iii 19)

Clearly *āppa* and *andan* have these identical functions in (11), and just coincidentally co-

occur there.

In a similar kind of co-occurrence, *arḫa* 'away, out,' is preverbal with the verb *pēda-*

meaning 'take or carry out, bring' and *kattan* is a postposition in (15). *kattan* emphasizes the

goal, *ANA* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Taggašta,* in this instance.

(15)   *nu ꞊ kan ANA* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Taggašta memian kattan arḫa pēter*
      conj-prt to   people   Taggasta word   to   (they) brought (out)
      'They brought word to the people of Taggasta' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 i 7)

See also CTH 61.III.2.A i 22.

Again, evidence that these adverbs are not dependent on each other in combination

comes from instances of each standing without the other while maintaining its core meaning.

For example, *arḫa* occurs with *pēda-* but without *kattan* in KBo 27.165 rev. 15 (a non-Neo-

Hittite text):

(16)   *lukkatta ꞊ m(a) ꞊ uš ꞊ kan   arḫa pēdanzi*
      in the morning-conj-them-prt (they) carry off
      'In the morning they carry them off' (as per CHD P: 348)

kattan may likewise occur alone with verbs meaning 'bring, carry' as in (17).

(17)   *n ꞊ an ꞊ mu kattan uwater*
      conj-him-me to (they) brought
      'They brought him to me' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 ii 66)

Comparing their functions in (16) and (17) with those in (15) affirms that two adverbs

may occur together without necessarily being unified.

Sentence (18) provides a similar example of a goal plus postposition alongside a

preverb-verb combination.

(18) *nu[u]⸗šši⸗kan memian* GAM-*an arḫa watar/naḫzi*
      conj-him-prt   word   to   (he) communicates
      'and he communicates the matter/incident to him' (CHD M: 274)
      (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 ii 26)

See also: CTH 61.II.9.A iii 19, 61.II.9.C iii 12, 566 Ro 46 and 48 for others with GAM-

an and *arḫa* (but each of which is a broken text).

In several examples that follow the preverb is either *šarā* 'up' or *katta* 'down,' a

modifier of the direction of the verb, exemplifying one of the main roles of preverbs. The

postposition *peran* 'in front (of), before' indicates the goal in all these cases.

(19) *nu⸗mu namma* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}ŠU.GI⸗*ya peran šarā ŪL uēr*
      conj-me then   elders-also   before up not came
      'Then also the elders did not come up before me' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 iv 11)

See also CTH 61.II.2.B ii 9.

(20) *n⸗at⸗mu INA* KUR ^{URU}*Paḫḫuwā peran šarā uwatet*
      conj-it-me in   land   Pahhuwa   before up (he) brought
      '(He) brought it up before me in the land of Pahhuwa'
      (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 iv 20)

Cf. CHD (P: 295): "and led it up into the land of Pahhuwa in my presence."

See also CTH 61.II.8.a iii 14 (broken).

(21) *nu⸗kan* ^{URU}*Neriqa pean* GAM *uezzi*
      conj-prt Nerik   before down (he) comes
      'He will come down before Nerik' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 88)

(22) *nu⸗kan INA* ^{URU}*Kašimula peran katta uwanun*
      conj-prt in   Kasimula in front down (I) came
      'I came down in front of K.-city' (CTH 61.II.9.A = KBo 19.37 ii 36)

(23)　EGIR-*pa = ma = aš = kan* ^{URU}*Kaštama pean* GAM *uezzi*
　　　back-conj-he-prt　　　Kastama　in front down comes
　　　'He will come back down in front of K-city' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 80)

Sentence (23) is a duplicate of (8), included this time to focus on the postposition-preverb sequence *pean* GAM. Beal (1999: 45) emphasizes the first of the two adverbs as goal when he translates this (and others similarly), "he will come down to before Kaštama." In cases like (21) - (23), where there is a motion verb and a stated location in the dative-locative case, I see no reason to take *X peran katta* as anything but a juxtaposition of postpositional phrase and preverb, just as numerous similar sequences have been shown to be (likewise CHD P: 311 following Götze, and Francia 2002: 108). Motion verbs may occur with just the postposition *peran* or just the preverb *katta,* supporting the idea that the two may only be juxtaposed by chance in the cases above. Compare (24), which shows *katta uwa-* as preverb-verb without *peran.* (25) shows *peran* with *pai-* 'go' and without directional preverb, and is surely a parallel to the usage of *peran* with *uwa-* 'come'.

(24)　*n = aš IŠTU* KUR ^{URU}UGU-*TI katta uet*
　　　conj-he from　upper land　　down came
　　　'He came down from the upper land' (CTH 40.II.E = KUB 19.10 i 8)

(25)　GIM-*an* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA ^{LÚ}ḪAL=*ya kariwariwa(r) PANI* É DINGIR-*LIM pānzi*
　　　when　　priests　　　exorcist-and in morning before　temple　　　　　go
　　　'When in the morning the priests and the exorcist go before the temple'
　　　(KUB 31.113 10-11)

The verb *dai-* 'put, set, place' indicates movement of an object, so to add preverbal direction *katta* 'down' to that verb is unremarkable, as is the addition of postpositional *peran* to indicate where an item is put. Occurrences of *peran dai-* and *katta dai-* where each adverb occurs without the other cast doubt in this case as in others that these function in combination.

(26) *nu＝za* DINGIR.MEŠ *kī DĪNAM peran katta dāišten n＝at punušten*
conj-refl   gods   this law case before down lay   conj-it ask about
'May you gods lay down this law case before yourselves and investigate it'[110]
(CTH 71 = KBo 4.8 ii 17)

In (26) the reflexive particle *＝za* is the object of peran (this usage of *＝za* having been

seen in previous chapters as well). This is likely the case in (27) also.[111]

(27) *nu＝za* ŠEŠ*＝YA BĒLU*-MEŠ *peran* GAM *dāi*
conj-refl brother-my lords   in front down sets
'My brother, set down the lords in front of yourself' (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 iii 12)

(28) *n＝at＝ši{y}＝a[(t peran katta)]* [(*tīer*
conj-they-him-it in front down   set
'They set it down in front of him' (i.e., confronted him with it)
(CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ iii 18 ＝ 81.F i 8)

(29) *tuk＝ma karū   kuit   kē* INIM.MEŠ *peran* GAM *tiyan* DÙ-*nun*
you-conj already because these things   before down put (I) had
'Because I already had these things put down before you'
(CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 23)

Again, these sentences with two adverbs may be compared with single adverb clauses to

affirm that the co-occurrence is coincidental. In the case of *dai-* 'put,' as in English this verb

requires three arguments, a subject, direct object, and a location or goal for the object. In

Hittite this goal can be a simple nominal phrase in the dative-locative:

(30) *n＝aš＝kan* ᴳᴵˢBANŠUR-*i ŠA* ᵈ*Ḫepat dāi*
conj-he-prt table (d-l)   of Hebat puts
'And he puts them (the leavened breads) on the table of Hebat'
(CTH 381.B = KBo 6.46 i 50)

Naturally this can also occur when there is a directional preverb with the verb:

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[110]Similarly Hoffner (1983a: 188).

[111]As per Sommer (1932: 146), the context here is also probably one of interrogation/
examination, but he ignores the reflexive and incorrectly analyzes *peran katta dai-* as a
unitary expression.

(31) *namma⹀ššan* SÍG ZA.GÌN SÍG SA₅ *paddani   katta dāi*
      then-prt   wool blue   wool red basket (d-l) down (she) puts
      'Then she puts blue wool and red wool down into the basket'
      (KUB 12.58 ii 15, Ritual of Tunnawi)

The goal for 'put' can also be expressed by a postpositional phrase:

(32) *n⹀at PANI* DINGIR-*LIM teḫḫi*
      conj-it before goddess   (I) place
      'I will place it (the tablet) before the goddess' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 74)

In (32), the writing *PANI* DINGIR-*LIM* stands in for the Hittite postpositional phrase *šiuni*

peran, šiuni being the word for 'god' in the dative-locative and the object of *peran* 'before.'

Thus the sequence *X peran katta dai-* is merely the natural result of adding a directional

preverb *katta* 'down' to the verb *dai-* 'put,' along with a postposition *peran* 'before' and its

object, a dative-locative noun or pronoun. This is just one of many similar co-occurrences of

postposition + preverb + verb, a theme repeated many times here.

See also CTH 81.A i 53. 55 (⹀ 81.B i 44. 46), 81.D i 24 (broken). 26, 81.F i 8, 181 iv 46

(broken), 383 iii 9.

There is evidence in one case that a compound postposition or freestanding compound

adverb *peran katta* 'down in front' did develop. This occurs with the verb *iya-* 'do, make.'

The text cited (as per CHD P: 309) is from Middle Hittite:

(33) *šer⹀ma⹀ššan* NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ ᴺᴵᴺᴰᴬ*wageššar* ᴺᴵᴺᴰᴬ*šarlinn⹀a teḫḫi*
      on-conj-prt   bread-soldier   bread-*wageššar* bread-*šarli*-and (I) place

      peran katta⹀ma   GUNNI   *iyami*
      in front down-conj fireplace (I) make

      'On top (of the table) I place soldier-breads, *wageššar*-breads and *šarli*-breads, but
      down in front (of it) I make a fireplace' (VBoT 24 iii 23-25)

Here it really is doubtful that *katta* would function as a preverb: to use a directional

preverb to modify a non-motion verb to mean 'make something down' is odd, whereas

'making something down in front (of something else)' is not. This does not, however, implicate *peran katta* as a compound postposition in other occurrences. Examples of compound adverbs expressing time in our corpus will be detailed in section six below.

In (34) there are three adverbs functioning independently of each other: *šer*, the postposition indicating the location *on* the mountain, the preverb *parā* which combines with *tiyet* to mean 'came forth,' and the postposition *menaḫḫanda* 'against,' whose object is *=mu* 'me.'

(34)   *n=aš=mu=kan uet INA* ^{URU}*Gappuppuwa=pat* ḪUR.SAG-*i šer*
       conj-he-me-prt came d-l   Gappuppuwa-emph mountain (d-l) on

   parā menaḫḫanda tīēt
   forth   against   stepped

   'Right in the city of G. on the mountain he came forth against me'
   (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 i 34)

Compare the CHD's (P: 128) translation for (34) (= (3) of chapter five): "It happened that he (i.e., the enemy) attacked me (lit. stepped forward against me) in the aforementioned Kappuppuwa on top of the mountain." The CHD labels *menaḫḫanda* an adverb that makes the movement implied by *parā* more explicit, but translates it within its parentheses as a postposition.[112]

III. Postposition + preverb where the first has an evolved meaning

In earlier chapters it was shown that local adverbs functioning as postpositions have in some cases come to have evolved meanings as compared to their original locatival senses, such as with *šer* 'on account of, for' and *peran* '(temporal) before.' It is the evolved meanings of these postpositions, and the fact that they are clearly not spatial, that make their

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[112]As in footnote 71 above: Cf. also Tjerkstra (1999: 172): "And it happened that in that very Kappuppuwa, up in the mountain, he (= the enemy) stepped forward to meet me."

independence from the preverbs fairly self-evident, as (35) - (39) illustrate.

(35) *mān ⸗ šan* DUMU.MEŠ ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫatti* ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
    if-prt   sons   Hatti   troops   cavalry

    ANA ᵐ*Duppi-*ᵈU-*up* *šer arḫa uwadanzi*
    d-l   Duppi-Teshub for away bring

    'If the sons of Hatti bring away the troops and cavalry for Duppi-Teshub'
    (CTH 62.II.A = KBo 5.9 ii 31)

(36) ᵈUTU ᵁᴿᵁ*Arinna ⸗ ma ⸗ at* GAŠAN⸗*YA daḫangaš memini šer arḫa ⸗ pat peššiya*
    sun-goddess Arinna-conj-them lady-my *dahanga* matter on reject-emph
    'O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, reject them on account of the matter of the
    dahanga'[113] (CTH 383 = KUB 21.19+ iv 11)

    See also CTH 383 iv 4.

(37) [ᵐ*Ḫ*]*ūdupiya*[*n*]*za š*[(*er arḫa pa*)]*it*
        Hudupianza for away (he) went
    'He went away for the sake of Hudupianza' (CHD P: 30) (CTH 61.II.5.A i 20)[114]

(38) [(1 DUMU.MUNUS⸗*m*)]*a* BA.ÚŠ...
    One daughter-conj   died

    [(*ANA* MUNUS-*TI ⸗ kan* ᴸᵁ́)]ŠU.DAB *šer arḫa tarnanza*
     d-l   woman-prt   prisoner   for was let go

    'But one daughter died . . . A prisoner was released for/in place of the woman'[115]
    (Restored, with Otten StBoT 1.16-17) (CTH 585.A i 11)

    See also CTH 585.S i 3. 5.

(39) *mān ⸗ ta peran šarā ⸗ ma kuiški ēpzi*
    if-you   before up-conj somebody takes
    'If somebody picks up before (anticipates) you'
    (CTH 178.2.b Ro 11)

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[113]The CHD (P: 318 ff) does not translate this text, but for *arḫa peššiya-* lists the meanings "throw away, reject, cast off, disregard (w/ *šer* 'for the sake of'), waive a claim"

[114]Interpretation of (37) is somewhat uncertain due to its broken context.

[115]The sense here is that a prisoner was assigned to replace the woman who died.

A look at the context for (39) helps illuminate both meaning and function. In the event

a king becomes a god and there should be succession to the king's throne, this is an

instruction about what should be done: 'If someone picks up before you,' (i.e., gets ahead of

you in line for the throne) then you should 'write to me and I will help.'

In sentence (39), the first adverb (UGU) is a postposition with a non-local meaning and

the second (*parā*) is freestanding, as discussed in chapter five.

(40)   *tuk = ma apedani meḫuni ANA ZI LUGAL UGU parā namma ⁺kuwayatadu*
       you-conj at that time   d-l life king   for   more then   be concern
       'Then, at that time there should be even more concern to you for the life of the king'
       (CHD P: 123) (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 46)

IV. Adverb + preverb, the first having an evolved, non-local meaning

The context for (41) shows that *šarā* is a preverb to *ēp(p)-*, and *peran* is not a locatival

postposition but an independent temporal adverb meaning 'beforehand.'

(41)   *ŠA MUŠEN = ya = {an} = za = kan memian peran šarā lē ēpši*
       of bird-also-it-refl-prt   matter before do not take up
       'Don't take up the matter of the bird beforehand' (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 iii 18)

See also: CTH 68.C ii 14 (broken), 68.E iii 37, 76.A ii 73 (broken), 182 Ro 30

(broken), 209.23 Ro 7 (also broken).

The phrase *peran šarā warreššatti* occurs only three times in the Neo-Hittite corpus, all

in very similar sentences, making it difficult to interpret for lack of contrasting contexts. The

CHD (P: 303) claims that *peran šarā* has a unified meaning, 'beforehand,' in this particular

case (likewise Francia 2002: 110), but that elsewhere *peran* is an independent temporal

adverb and *šarā* a directional preverb. My conclusion differs from this, and relates to an

earlier discussion. Recall that in chapter six, *šarā* as a preverb with both *išpart-* and *ar-* was

seen to add an element of visibility or availability to the meaning of the verb (e.g., *išpart-*

alone meant 'escape, remain, come up' but with *šarā,* 'arise, emerge, come to prominence').

I believe that sentences (42) and (43) must mean something like, 'You don't show up to help beforehand,' where *šarā warreššá-* is a preverb-verb combination and *peran* a temporal adverb. This appeals in part because it avoids a claim of special circumstances for *peran šarā* in this usage only. *šarā warreššá-* does not occur without *peran* in this corpus, but the total of only three occurrences are not enough to indicate that *peran* must be unified with *šarā* in these instances. Friedrich (1952: 244) comes close to this meaning under his entry for *peran šarā warreššá-* ('vorher zu Hilfe kommen') as does the CHD (P: 303) ('But you do not offer help beforehand'), but both parse them differently than I have.

(42) *zig = a = šši   peran šarā ŪL warreššatti*
you-also-him/it before not show up to help
'Also you don't show up to help beforehand' (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Vo 46)

(43) *ziqq = a   peran š[ar]ā ŪL warriššatti*
you-also before not show up to help
'Also you don't show up to help beforehand (CTH 76.B = KUB 21.5+ iii 68)

See also CTH 76.A iii 51.

I am unsure of the meaning of (44), but have tentatively placed it in this section because *anda nai-* elsewhere is a preverb-verb combination meaning 'turn (in favor) towards.' The context here deals with who is to receive various property, so with that as subject, a meaning 'turn towards' in the sense 'go to' is reasonable, along with a temporal meaning for the accompanying *āppan.* Another argument against *āppan* and *anda* as a compound is that they do not appear in combination elsewhere in the Neo-Hittite corpus.

(44) *kuitta = ya = kan kīdaš ANA* GA[L.×.M]EŠ EGIR-*an anda niya[t ...]*
whatever-also-prt these d-1 lords   afterwards goes to
'Also whatever afterwards redounds (?) to these [ ] lords . . .'
(CTH 225.A = KUB 26.43 Ro 52)

V. Postposition + preverb, the first indicating the starting point of the action

(45) n = aš ANA NIEŠ DINGIR-*LIM kattan arḫa kittaru*
       conj-it d-1   oath   under remove
       'Let it be exempted (lit. 'placed away') from the oath' (CTH 68.C = KBo 4.3+ i 27)

arḫa kitta- means 'remove'[116] and *ANA NIEŠ* DINGIR-*LIM kattan* 'under oath' is a set

phrase in which *kattan* is a postposition, so together the effect of the literal 'Remove it from

under oath' in (45) is 'Let it be exempted from the oath.' (46) is similar.

See also CTH 67 Vo 36 (broken), 68.C iv 19, 68.E ii 18 (broken), 106 Vo 16. 17.

(46) nu = wa   kēdaš [AN]A MAMIT GAM-*an arḫa arḫaḫaru*
       conj-quot those oaths   under   may I be exempt
       'May I be exempted (lit. 'stand out') from those oaths' (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 6)

(47) and (48) may be compared to examples where the Hittites used the phrase

dankuyaz taknaz arḫa ḫarninkandu 'wipe from the dark earth' (e.g. CTH 76.A iv 36-37). It

seems likely that *taknī šer* 'on the dark earth' in contexts like these described the starting

point of the action of 'removal from' (*arḫa ḫarnink-*). In effect, then, the Hittite says 'wipe

from the surface of the dark earth.' As a postposition separate from *arḫa ḫarnink-, šer*

should and does take a dative-locative object. In the absence of any examples of *šer arḫa*

ḫarnink- with an ablative, there is no reason to think that *šer arḫa* had become a unitary

preverb.

(47) n = an = kan kūš NIEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ *dankui taknī   šer arḫa ḫarninkandu*
       conj-him-prt oath gods   dark earth (d-1) on may they wipe from
       'May these oath gods wipe him from the surface of the dark earth'
       (CTH 106 = KBo 4.10 Vo 19)

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[116]See Beckman 1996: 71.

(48) *n ꞉ an ꞉ kan kūš NIEŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ *dankuwai taknī šer QADU* NUMUN꞉ŠU
conj-him-prt those oath gods   dark earth (d-l) on including seed-his

arḫa ḫarnink[andu]
may they wipe from

'May those oath gods destroy him completely, including his seed, from the surface of
the dark earth' (CTH 106 = KBo 4.10 Vo 14)

Similarly in (49), *arḫa aniya-* together means 'remove by treatment' with *peran*

postpositional and indicating that removal was done 'from before the gods.'[117]

(49) *nu kišan* DÙ-*anzi* EME [f.d]IŠTAR-*atti ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *peran arḫa aniyanzi*
conj thus (they) do tongue Shaushgatti d-l gods   before remove by treatment
'They do thus: They will remove "the tongue" of Shaushgatti by treatment from
before the gods' (CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 iii 44)

(50) *nu ḫingani kuit*   [*per*]*an arḫa tarnaḫ*[*ḫun*]
conj plague because before (I) gave way
'Because I gave way (fled) in the face of the plague'
(CTH 61.II.8.e = KBo 14.20 i 21)

At (50) I have translated *peran* as 'in the face of,' an evolved meaning from locatival

'from before, in front of.' The CHD (P: 306) lists a causal meaning for *peran,* 'because of,

from, out of,' and the usage in (50) comes close to that. Compare the Hittite expression *kašti*

peran 'from hunger, on account of hunger' or exactly in German, *vor Hunger.* This

evolution from physical starting point of an action to causal meaning may have evolved

along these lines: 'gave way from in front of' > 'gave way in the face of' > 'gave way

because of . . . the plague' for *ḫingani peran arḫa tarna-.* Compare below in (51), where

peran does express the physical place from which the subject 'gives way' or 'yields' in the

phrase *꞉ mu peran arḫa tarna.*

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[117]In KUB 14.14 Vo 5-6 (see CHD P: 295) the postposition *peran* merely indicates where the
ritual action takes place (before the gods), while *arḫa* has its common telicizing effect: *arḫa*
iyanzi 'carry out completely' (with Lebrun 1980: 200 'on accomplira intégralement').

Sentences (51) - (58) all have preverbal *arḫa* 'away' with a verb indicating some kind

of escape: giving way, running away, fleeing away, taking away, etc. In each case *peran*

precedes the preverb-verb combination and indicates the origin of the escape.

(51)   *man! ꞊ mu ŪL duḫušiyait man ꞊ mu peran arḫa tarnaš*
        irreal-me not (he) waited irreal-me before (he) gave way
        'He would not have waited for me (to approach). He would have (yielded) given
        way before me (꞊fled)' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 iii 18)

Compare the CHD (P: 308), *peran arḫa tarna-* 'flee before.' It describes *peran arḫa* as "in

combination" (p. 292) but hasn't specified it as postposition, preverb, or adverb in this case.

(52)   ^{URU}*Šunupaššiš ŪL tuḫuššiyait*
        Sunupassi   not   waited

        n ꞊ aš ꞊ mu ꞊ kan peran arḫa [p]arašta nu URU-an arḫa warnunun
        conj-it-me-prt before fled   conj city (I) burned down

        'The city of Sunupassi did not wait quietly (for me to approach). It (i.e. the
        population) fled before me and I burned the city down.' (CHD P (*parš-*): 180)
        (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ i 2)

(53)   NAM.RA.MEŠ꞊*wa ꞊ mu ꞊ kan kuiēš peran arḫa par*[*šer*]
        deportees-quot-me-prt   who in front   ran
        '"The deportees who had run away from in front of me"'
        (CTH 61.II.2.B = KUB 14.15+ iii 28)

This is *peran* meaning 'in the presence of,' so 'the deportees who had run away from my

presence.' Likewise below:

(54)   *n ꞊ aš ꞊ mu peran arḫa piddāiš*
        conj-he-me before runs away
        'He runs away from me' (CTH 68.E = KUB 6.41+ i 40)

(55)   *n ꞊ aš ꞊ mu ꞊ kan peran arḫa watkuzi*
        conj-he-me-prt before jumps away
        'He deserts from me' (lit. 'he jumps away from before me')
        (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 ii 18)

(56) *[am]mell ꞊ a? ꞊ [m]u ꞊ kan kuiēš ŠA* ᵈ*UTU-ŠI   peran   arḫa watkuwanteš*
my-and-me-prt   those of My Majesty from before have deserted
'and those of My Majesty who have deserted from me'
(CTH 69.A = KBo 19.70 ii 23)

Compare the following:

(57) *n ꞊ at pean arḫa* [
conj-it/them in front away

kuiš ꞊ ma   kī ṬUPPU ANA ᵈU   ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫatti peran   arḫa dā[i*
whoever-conj these tablets d-l stormgod Hatti   in front takes away

'... away (from) in front'
'Whoever takes these tablets away from in front of the stormgod of Hatti'
(CTH 225.A = KUB 26.43 Vo 35, 36)

We know that tablets were put in front of the gods so the given reading for the second

line at (57) is not in question. The express referent for 'before, in front' may be suppressed,

leaving *peran* as a freestanding adverb, as in (58). As per Francia (2002: 39), the adverb

thus marks the physical sphere of action:

(58)   ('If the King of Hatti besieges some country in battle')
apūš ꞊ ma peran arḫa tarnāi
they-conj ahead   flees
'And it (text 'they') yields/flees ahead'[118] ('... and it comes into your country')
(CTH 62.II.A = KBo 5.9 iii 24)

We may tentatively conclude a similar usage for the first broken clause in (57) cited

above.[119]

See also CTH 61.II.2.B iii 27. 28 (both broken). 34. 36, 61.II.8.e ii 8, 61.II.8.l ii 2

(broken), 61.III.2.A i 31, 68.E i 47, 69.A ii 22, 85.2 Ro 6, 378.1.A Vo 17.

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[118]Beckman (1996: 58) translates "and it flees before him," consistent with the antecedent 'country.' The Hittite text retains the singular verb, but replaces *apāt* 'it' with *apūš* 'they,' referring to the inhabitants.

[119]A unitary preverb *peran arḫa* also appears referring to the flight of birds in augury texts (see CHD P: 311).

VI. Adverb + preverb, where the first indicates the starting point or location of action

Evidence for a preverb-verb combination meaning 'strike up' or 'strike down' was presented in earlier chapters for sentences like the leading ones in (59) and (60). The natural contrast of 'striking down' on a place with 'striking it up from below' supports the interpretation of the second sentences in this way, such that the first adverb is an indicator of the starting point of the action of the following preverb-verb. Because their meaning is essentially the sum of the two parts and not idiomatic, I do not consider these to be compound adverbs as are those in section seven below, but rather that the first of the two is freestanding.

(59)   KUR ^{URU}*Talmalian=kan* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* $^{HUR.SAG}$*Ḫaḫarwaza* GAM RA-*zi*
    land   T.-part   His Majesty Mt. Haharwa (abl) down strike

   LÚ.MEŠ *Gašga*$^{HI.A}$*=ma=an=kan dapianteš* GAM   UGU RA-*anzi*
   people   Gasga-conj-he-prt   all   from below up   strike

   'His Majesty will strike the land of T. down from Mt. H.
   All the people of Gasga strike it up from below' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iii 61-62)

Beal's (1999: 51) translations for (59) are similar to mine. I see close parallels between (59) and (60), which come from different parts of the same text. The Hittite ablative suffix on Haharwa in (59) is equivalent to the logogram TA in (60), showing clearly that in both instances the attack is 'down *from* Mt. Haharwa.'

(60) $^{URU(!)}$*Talmalian=kan* TA $^{HUR.SAG}$*Ḫaḫarwa* GAM *laḫiyaizzi*
    Talmalia-prt   from   Mt. Haharwa down (he) attacks

   n=an=kan GAM   UGU*=ma laḫiyaizzi*
   conj-it-prt from below up-conj   (he) attacks

   'Shall he attack Talmalia down from Mt. Haharwa?
   'Or shall he attack it upwards from below?' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 65 and 68)

Beal and I translate the first sentence in (60) similarly, but differ on the second, which he renders, "He will campaign against it from above and below." I see no reason for this different treatment. The first sentence at (60) considers a *downward* attack from Mount Haharwa, so my contrasting question about attacking it *upwards from below* in the second seems obvious and is supported by the parallel at (59), where Beal and I agree that GAM UGU means 'up from below.' Güterbock (1961: 94) interprets the two sentences at (60) as I have, his conclusion drawn by considering them a "set of alternative questions." The placement of *=ma*, a marker of contrast, is due to the contrast of the entire phrase GAM UGU 'up from below' in i 68 with 'down from Mt. Haharwa' in i 65.

VII.   Unitary combinations of two adverbs

A.   compound preverbs

B.   compound adverbs

C.   compound postpositions

VII.A.   compound preverbs

kattan arḫa

In (45) and (46) cited above in section 5, *kattan* is a postposition 'under,' indicating the starting point of the action of removal marked by *arḫa* 'away.' A meaning 'under' makes no sense for (61), since no one would flee 'from under' the city. The postposition $kattan_2$ in the meaning 'at' would make better sense, but *kattan* 'next to' as a postposition would require its object to have dative-locative case, while it is the Akkadian marker of ablative case that is written here. Thus *kattan* has apparently come to reinforce the 'away' meaning of *arḫa* rather than function as a postposition indicating the place from which the subject flees; *kattan* and *arḫa* have become a combination preverb. (Thus also Zuntz 1936: 49 and Francia 2002:

104).

(61) [   ] *IŠTU* URU-*LIM kattan arḫa piddāizzi*
          from city   flees away
      '(He) flees away from the city' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 ii 41)

See also: CTH 40.V.34 i 18, 61.II.5.B ii 25. 39, 62.II.A ii 8 (all broken).

In (62), *kattan* and *arḫa* together clearly have this unified function, and one that has no relationship with the meaning 'away' or 'out,' but rather denotes completion. *arḫa* has the same meaning elsewhere, such as with the verb *warnu-* 'burn,' where the addition of the preverb produces the sense 'burn completely, burn down.' This same telicizing function occurs with *zinna-* 'finish' in (62).

(62) *n ꞊ aš ꞊ za*   *kattan arḫa ziennaḫḫun*
      conj-them-refl (I) finished off
      'I finished them off' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 60)

There is a question about the function of the reflexive particle *꞊za* in this sentence. A credible origin is suggested to me by Craig Melchert (pers. comm.): *꞊za* may originally have been the object of postpositional *kattan,* so together with *arḫa zinna-* this would have meant 'finish off from next to me,' or something along the lines of English 'rid myself of once and for all.' Over time this became a set idiom, obscuring the original syntactic construction in which *꞊za* was understood as the object of the postposition. In a review of the Neo-Hittite corpus I have found no occurrences of *kattan arḫa zinna-* without *꞊za*, so it is unlikely that *꞊za* any longer holds an independent function or meaning as an object of *kattan*. Neither are there any occurrences of *arḫa zinna-* without *kattan,* supporting the notion that at least with this verb, *kattan arḫa* is a combined preverb.

See CTH 81.A iv 46, 81.B i 50, 81.D i 30, 81.M iv 27 for other occurrences.

awan arḫa

One additional adverb, *awan*, which occurs only in combination with *arḫa, katta,* and *šarā*, must be accounted for here. It was described by Friedrich (1952: 39) in these terms: "richtungweisendes Adverb zur Verstärkung des Begriffs des zweiten Adverbs." This description may be refined with evidence presented here. Below are listed all intact Neo-Hittite occurrences of *awan*, which shows its limited role. This and the fact that it occurs only in compound preverbs leads to the conclusion that its reanalysis had already occurred prehistorically.

While *awan* does not have an independent locatival meaning, it does have a specific syntactic function. When *arḫa* 'away from' refers to a person (or a role filled by a person, such as 'kingship'), ablative case marking is not used on that noun. Instead, a dative-locative plus *awan arḫa* expresses 'away from so-and-so.' Other locative adverbs (*kattan* and *peran* as seen above, and *āppan* as discussed below) perform a similar function, each usage surely having originated with a nuanced difference in meaning. The combination *awan arḫa* with *tiya-* occurs frequently, but other verbs also play a role, as shown here:

(63)   *nu ꓹ šmaš   awan arḫa tiyaši*
      conj-them (you) step away from
      'You step away from them' (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 ii 14)

(64)   ARAD.MEŠ ꓹ *KA ꓹ ma ꓹ tta awan arḫa tianzi*
      servants-your-conj-you   step away from
      'Your servants step away from you'(CTH 68.C = KBo 4.3+ iv 17)

(65)   *n ꓹ aš* ŠA KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti* LUGAL-*eznani awan arḫa tiyazi*
      conj-he of land Hatti   kingship   steps away from
      'He steps away from the kingship of the land of Hatti' (Bo 86/299 iii 29)

See also CTH 68.C iv 13 and 68.G i 18 for examples of *awan arḫa* + *tiya-*.

(66) ('Even in case the queen might die from that deity')
DINGIR-*LIM꞊ma꞊wa꞊šši awan arḫa ŪL tīer*
god-conj-quot-her   have not set away from
'"They haven't set the god away from her"'[120] (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 45)

(67) *nu꞊šši   eni   GIG awan arḫa namma tittanut*
conj-her aforementioned illness remove from again
'Remove the aforementioned illness from her' (CTH 380 = KBo 4.6 Ro 17)

In the examples just above, there is a pronominal referent of 'away from' in each case,

but note that in the second clause of (68), *awan arḫa tarna-* has only a direct object. This

confirms *awan arḫa* as a unitary preverb.

(68) *n꞊an꞊za꞊an꞊kan anda tarna<t>ti našma꞊za꞊an꞊kan awan arḫa tarnatti*
conj-him-refl-him-prt in (you) let or-refl-him-prt   (you) release
'You let him in or you release him' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 ii 20)

awan katta

A function parallel to that of *awan arḫa* is possible for *awan katta ḫašš-* 'give birth

down from' in sentence (69) (repeated from chapter four). That is, *awan* may serve to

reinforce that the downward motion expressed by *katta* is from a person. Note that the

genitive case of 'queen' precludes any attempt to read *awan* as a postposition with the dative-

locative.

(69) ŠEŠ.MEŠ ᵈUTU*ˢⁱ꞊ya kuieš šakuwaššara<aš>* ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL
brothers His Majesty-also those full (gen.)   of   queen

awan GAM *ḫaššanteš*
from down are born

'Also those brothers of His Majesty who are born (down) of the full queen . . .'
(CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 17)

The next three sentences use the phrase *awan katta mema-* (or the synonymous *awan*

[120]Beckman (1997: 206) renders "they (still) have not put away (that is, satisfied?) the deity on her account," but my more literal translation makes sense in context (combined with the preceding clause, translated above).

katta tar-) meaning 'reveal.' This was discussed in the *katta* chapter on evolved preverbal meanings. Perhaps *=za . . . awan katta* originally meant 'from himself,' parallel to the origin of *=za kattan* discussed above at example (62).

(70)   *našma=za* LUGAL-*uš ŠA* ZI-*ti memian kuedanikki awan* GAM *memai*
          or-refl   king   of soul   matter someone (d-l)   reveals
          'Or the king reveals the matter of the soul to someone'
          (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 11)

Compare for (70) the CHD (M: 262): "Or if the king should reveal to someone a personal matter."

(71)   [*na*]*šma=za* DUMU LUGAL *kuiški* GUB-*an uttar* ANA ^{LÚ}SAG [*aw*]*an* GAM *memai*
          or-refl   prince   some evil   matter to   chief   reveals
          'Or some prince reveals an evil matter to the chief'
          (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 27)

(72) shows that again for *awan katta* there is an example of this compound preverb + verb without a dative-locative noun to indicate the recipient of the revelation, strong evidence that this is certainly a compound preverb.

(72)   [*na*]*šma kuin memian* GUB-*an awan* GAM *tardi*
          or   some matter evil   reveals
          '. . . or reveals some evil matter' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 25)

It is curious that the occurrences of *awan katta* in sentences (69) - (72) are the only ones in the Neo-Hittite corpus and all come from the same text, but whether there is any significance in this is impossible to tell.

awan šarā

There are just a few instances of *awan šarā*.

(73)   ^dU-*nili=ma=mu*   *awan šarā /iyanni*
          in storm-godly manner-conj-me   walk upright beside
          'In the manner of the Storm-god, walk upright beside me'(?)
          (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 iii 73)

Singer (2002a: 92) translates (73): "Ascend with me in true Storm-godly fashion!"

Other instances of *šarā* + *iyanni-* do seem to mean 'ascend, go up,' but the idea that the king would ask to ascend with the Storm-god here is unlikely. The overall focus of this section of text is on the unity of the Storm-god and the king, so taking *=mu awan šarā iyanni-* as 'walk upright with me' fits the context. It also recalls the "Umarmungsszene," where a large figure of a god is shown with his arm around a much smaller king figure. The original function of *awan* may have been 'beside' (me), but its total absence as a postposition elsewhere argues against considering it independent of *šarā* in the case shown here.

The same idea of standing up with someone for support is repeated in (74) with *awan* UGU *tiya-*, which I read as an echo of *awan šarā* in (73).

(74) *awan* UGU=*man*=*ši* *tiyanun*
      beside up-irreal-him (I) stepped
      'I would have supported him.' (CTH 124.A = KUB 26.32+ i 16)

'Supported' comes from the literal 'stand/step up beside' here. This is made clear by the context, as the next phrase says, 'I wouldn't have abandoned you.'

See also CTH 124.A i 3.

There are no other occurrences of *awan* in Neo-Hittite.

āppan arḫa

āppan can express *standing behind, supporting,* or *following* someone, so together with *arḫa waḫnu-,* the translation 'turn away from supporting His Majesty' would be most explicit for (75).[121] But as in the case with other locatives with *arḫa,* the meaning of *āppan* here appears to have been "bleached," and it no longer functions as a postposition. (Recall similar

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[121]Compare CHD N: 356-357 for a similar reading with *āppan arḫa nai-* 'turn away from following.' See also chapter three of this work for this use of *āppan.*

evidence with *kattan* in sentence (61).)[122]

(75)　*nu A[NA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI] EGIR-an arḫa waḫnuš[i]*
　　　conj d-l　His Majesty　(you) turn away from
　　　'You turn away from His Majesty' (CTH 69.B iii 13)

In (76) as in (75), *āppan* is surely not functioning as a postposition despite the fact that

it follows a dative-locative noun.　Here a meaning 'cut sickness away *from behind*

Gassuliyawiya' with *āppan* as postposition would be an odd construction.　(75) and (76)

both show that *āppan*, like *awan, peran*, and *kattan,* joins with *arḫa* to form a compound

preverb in this Hittite construction requiring a dative-locative form for reference to a person.

(76)　DINGIR-*LIM⸗ma⸗kan* EN⸗*YA erman ANA* ᶠ*Gaššuliyawiya*
　　　god-conj-prt　　　　　lord-my sickness d-l　Gassuliyawiya

　　　EGIR-*an arḫa namma karaš*
　　　away　　from again　cut

　　　'O god, my lord, again cut sickness away from Gassuliyawiya'
　　　(CTH 380 = KBo 4.6 Vo 17)

Note a similarity in form and function between sentences (67) and (76).

There are a number of occurrences of *āppan arḫa* in oracle texts such as the following:

(77)　DINGIR-*LUM⸗za* EGIR-*an arḫa karpin* ME-*aš*
　　　god-refl　　　away from behind anger took
　　　'The god took anger away (from behind) (⸗*za* for himself)'
　　　(CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 i 45)

In (77), *āppan arḫa* cannot be postpositional without an object, and must again be a

preverb combination, modifying the direction of the verb's motion.　These examples from

oracle texts have same the form as the usage in (76) except that the referent from whom the

deity took something is unexpressed.

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[122]A similar sense also seems appropriate for *āppan arḫa waštul* 'an away from sin' = 'a sin
of betrayal,' cited by Beal (2002b: 78).　See for the text Archi (1974: 128).

(78) 2 DINGIR-*LUM*≠*za* EGIR-*an arḫa karpin* SIG₅≠*ya* ME-*aš*
      2   god-refl   away from behind anger good-and took
      'Second. The god took anger and good away (from behind) for himself'
      (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 45)

For (78) and others in CTH 561, Beal (1999) interprets the two adverbs as independent

of each other, *āppan* in its 'secret' or 'hidden' meaning (and used unusually as an adjective),

and *arḫa* as a preverb with *dā-* (here, ME-). He thus renders for (78): "Second: 'The deity'

took for himself 'hidden (?) anger' and 'good'." (Beal 1999: 45). There is no apparent

reason to give *āppan* and *arḫa* special readings in these oracle texts as Beal has done.

Instead I see (75) - (78) and similar passages all with compound preverbal *āppan arḫa*

'away.'

See also CTH 561 i 25, ii 20. 42, iv 55 for others with EGIR-*an arḫa*.

peran āppa 'back and forth'

The many occurrences of *peran āppa*, usually with motion verbs, in the context of gods

or temples give strong evidence that these work in combination to indicate the performance

of cultic ritual. Clearly attentiveness and repetition are important aspects of the meaning of

this combination, 'back and forth (before),' and 'again and again' having become standard

translations.[123] Sentences (79) - (82) show *peran āppa* with this meaning, in these cases

with the motion verbs *iya-* 'walk,' and *uwa-* 'come.'

(79) *n* ≠ *aš ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* p]*eran* EGIR-*pa* Ū*L iyattari*
      conj-he d-l   god   in front back   not walk
      'He does not walk back and forth in front of the god' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 28)

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[123]See entries in Friedrich (1952: 170), Tischler (2001: 129) and the CHD (P: 306), for
example.

(80) *nu ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *ḫūmandāš peran* [(EG)]IR-*pa iyaḫḫat*
conj d-l   gods   all (d-l) before   back   (I) walked
'I have walked back and forth before all the gods' (CTH 378.2.C i 20)

For (80), cf. Singer (2002a: 58): "I busied myself for all the gods."

(81) *kuetaš ANA* É.MEŠ.DINGIR.MEŠ LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *peran* EGIR-*pa*
which (d-l) temples   king   queen   in front back

iyantari kuetaš = a[(*t*)] *ANA* É.MEŠ.DINGIR.MEŠ *peran* EGIR-*pa ŪL iyantari*
go   which-they   (d-l) temples   in front back not go

'The temples that the king and queen frequent (go back and forth in front of) and
the temples that they do not frequent' (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 iii 7, 8)

For (81), Singer (2002a: 91) renders 'attend' for *peran āppa iya*-.

(82) x[   ]x-*an-ma-aš šumel* ARAD-*KUNU* GÉME-*KUNU per[a]n* EGIR-*pa uwaweni*
                   them male slave-your female slave-your before back   come
'We, your male and female slave, come back and forth before them'
(CTH 384 = KUB 21.27 ii 10)

For (82), cf. CHD (P: 307), " . . . while we, your servant and maidservant, are carrying

out the cult for you" and similarly Singer (2002a: 103).

Now compare (83), which includes *peran* (here *PANI*) with the verb *weḫ*- 'turn

(around), move':

(83) *nu PANI* DINGIR-*LIM* EN=*YA kāš* MUNUS-*aš weḫattaru*
conj before god   lord-my this woman   let frequent
'Let this woman go back and forth before the god, my lord'[124]
(CTH 380 = KBo 4.6 Ro 15)

weḫ- in the medio-passive voice was regularly used to mean 'patrol, frequent.'[125] Thus

weḫ- describes walking back and forth just as *āppa* + motion verb do in the examples above.

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[124]Cf. Singer (2002a: 72): "Let this female go back and forth before the god" ("and turn in
favor toward her . . . save her from sickness") and CHD (P: 295): "Let this woman go back
and forth before the deity (as a substitute)."

Indeed *āppa iya-* in combination could have substituted for *weḫ-* to express this action

involving walking one way, turning around, and walking back. In (83) performing this

action *PANI* DINGIR-*LIM* 'before the god' represents 'attending the god,' so the overall

meaning is equivalent to the usages of *peran āppa* + motion verb above. In all these cases,

peran must have originally functioned as a postposition with a noun indicating the place

where one moved back and forth (typically *before the god*). But over time *peran āppa*

clearly became a unitary preverb as these expressions became idioms for the performance of

rituals. Further evidence for this is at (84) and (85).

There is an alternative way to view the evolution of unified *peran āppa* + motion verb to

describe cultic ritual. Originally postpositional *peran* could have been used along with a

verb of motion to express that someone 'goes in front of the god' with the purpose of

performing some duty of the ritual or to ask for help. Human nature seems to supply the

hope that repeating a gesture of worship or supplication will reap greater benefit than doing it

just once, so *āppa* would have been added to *peran* + motion verb, giving 'goes in front of

the god again (and again).'

In either scenario above, postpositional *peran* + preverbal *āppa* + motion verb could

have been similarly reanalyzed as preverbal *peran āppa* + motion verb meaning 'go back and

forth before, frequent, attend (to).'

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[125]See Neu (1968: 196-197) on the regular use of the medio-passive of *weḫ-* with this
meaning. For an example, cf. CTH 67 Vo 10: LÚ.ME.EŠ *ELLUTIM=ya=šmaš kuiēš
araḫzanda weḫanda[ri]* 'Also the free men who patrol all around them.'

Once *peran āppa* was established in expressions describing the carrying out of the cult, ellipsis of the motion verb was possible.[126] *peran āppa* with the verb *tarna-* 'release, let go' could thus indicate that cultic activity or access would be permitted without any need to express motion explicitly. Unified *peran āppa* must have conveyed much of the sense of repetitive or ritualistic actions even without this mention.

(84) *n ꞊ an ꞊ za ꞊ an* ᵈISTAR ᵁᴿᵁ*Šam[uḫa] peran* EGIR-*pa tarnau*
      conj-him-refl-it Ishtar   Samuha   frequent   let
      'May Ishtar of Samuha let him frequent (it)' (CTH 85.1.B iv 13)

Compare CHD P: 306: "May Ishtar of Samuha allow him free (cultic) access."

(85) ('They have no sahhan and luzzi obligation')
      DINGIR-*LUM damel* NU/MUN-*aš peran/* EGIR-*pa lē tarnāi*
      god   another (gen) seed (gen) frequent not   let
      'Let not the god let (someone of) another's seed frequent. . .(the temple)'
      (CTH 85.1.A = KBo 6.29+ iii 18)

Cf. CHD P: 306: ("Let no other seed seize it (the priesthood)") "May the deity not allow (one) of another seed free (cultic) access."

See also CTH 378.2.B i 1 (broken), 381.B iii 45, 566 Ro 9. 78, 585.A i 5, 585.B i 6 (restored).

In (86), *peran āppa* with *pai-* 'go' seems to show a secular sense of 'to frequent,' rather than the ritualistic activity for carrying out the cult.

(86) ('Whatever *šaḫḫan* and *luzzi* there are,')
      nu ꞊ šmaš peran EGIR-*pa lē kuiški paizzi*
      conj-them before back   no one   go
      'Let no one go back and forth before them' (i.e., no one is to pester them about it)
      (Bo 86/299 iii 55)

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[126]For ellipsis of a motion verb elsewhere, see, for example:
    [zi]qq ꞊ a ꞊ wa ꞊ za ꞊ kan EGIR-*pa anda lē   kuinki tarnatti*
    you-also-quot-refl-prt back   in   prohib. anyone let
    "'Also you must not let anyone (come) back in'" (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 i 20)

Cf. CHD P: 306: 'let no one constantly approach them' (i.e., the above-mentioned cities for the *šaḫḫan* and *luzzi*).

āppan šarā 'up (from) behind, secretly'

āppan and *šarā* occur frequently in combination, meaning 'up behind' or 'up from behind,' and indicating a sense of secrecy. Sentence (87) provides a window into how this might have originated: *šarā* combined with the verb *dai-* to mean 'put up,' and *āppan* may have started as a postposition with an object *=mu*, so together, 'put up (witches) behind me.' Evil actions, or plotting thereof, is done *behind* so as to be hidden from view, and thus *āppan* connotes secrecy (as discussed already in chapter three). Also, *putting someone up to something*, just as in English, conveys an air of underhandedness.

(87)   *namma=mu=kan* ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}UH₇ EGIR UGU *tiešket*
        then-me-prt   witches   behind up   put (iterative)
        'He (Arma-Tarhunta) sicked witches on me' (lit. 'put up witches behind me')
        (CTH 86.1.A = KUB 21.17 i 10)

That Hittite allows separation of a postposition from its object, particularly when that object is an enclitic pronoun, may have enabled speakers to reanalyze *āppan šarā* as a unitary preverb.

In (88), context suggests that this is another example of *āppan šarā dai-*, with sandhi to account for the writing of *āppa* rather than *āppan* in the text.[127] Thus this would be another instance of 'put up behind':

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[127]Craig Melchert, personal communication, suggested this emendation. The sandhi rule is assimilation or loss of final /n/ before initial /s/, but this usually applies before enclitics. The unity of *āppan sarā* might account for its application here. See Melchert (1994: 109) for details on the phonological rule.

(88)   ('If someone has established himself in His Majesty's favor,')
       tuk ꞊ ma ꞊ kan ŠA ^dUTU-*ŠI* LÚ.KÚR-*aš* EGIR-*pa* UG[U] *dai*
       you-conj-prt of His Majesty enemy   behind   up   puts
       'An enemy of His Majesty puts you up (from) behind'
       (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ iii 39)

Compare the translation of the CHD (L-N: 20) "And an enemy of His Majesty solicits you,"

and of von Schuler (1957: 13): "dich aber nimmt ein Feind der Sonne heimlich auf."[128]

A precise translation of sentence (89) is difficult, but there is nonetheless consensus

among scholars about its general sense, as shown in the translations given.

(89)   *n ꞊ aš ꞊ kan*   *1-aš*   *1-edani*   *kunanna* EGIR-*an šara*
       conj-them??-prt   the one (nom.) the other (d-l.) to kill   behind   up
                             'mutually'
       lē   *kuiški*   *dai*
       prohib. neg.   anyone (nom.)   put

       'No one shall put them up behind (secretly)—the one to kill the other'
       (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Vo 13) (See also the equivalent CTH 68.C iv 28.)

Note that *dai-* is the third person singular form of both the verb meaning 'put' and that

meaning 'take,' thus 'undertake' in some translations (e.g., Tjerkstra's (1999:123): "Neither

shall undertake to kill them (= the free men) behind the back of the other.") Puhvel (1997:

209) renders this: "Let no-one set up to kill the other behind his back" (or in 1984: 91,

"Neither shall undertake to kill the other behind his back"). Whatever the particulars of

parsing this sentence, EGIR-*an šarā dai* must have the same effect in (89) as in (87). (90),

though broken, looks parallel:

_____

[128]Tjerkstra (1999: 121) follows the CHD's translation, and notes that this is not an
incidental combination of *āppa* and *šarā dā-*, but a "unity" of *āppa* + *šarā* with *dā-*.

(90) *našma ꞊ šši ꞊ kan* DINGIR.MEŠ UGU [   ]×LI-TI *kuiški*
     or-him-prt   gods   up   someone

      HUL-*uwanni* EGIR-*an šar*[*ā*   ]×x-*yan ḫarzi*
      evil (d-l)   behind   up   has

      'Or if someone has for evil "put up" the gods [ ] behind him'
      (that is 'sicked the gods on him') (CTH 384 = KUB 21.27 iii 20)

In the following four sentences with RA- (=*walḫ-*) 'strikes,' EGIR(-*an*) UGU again

appears. It is reasonable to interpret these to mean 'strikes up from behind,' especially when

compared with sentences like (59) with GAM UGU RA-, clearly 'strike up from below.'

Here, though, EGIR UGU does more than simply indicate direction. It is a true combination

preverb because its meaning has evolved beyond 'up from behind' to implying a covert

operation with an element of surprise. The strike on one city is done with a surprise

approach from another city. *āppan* UGU 'up from behind' refers to the city being attacked,

while the city from which the circuitous attack originates is marked with ablative case.

(91) *nu ꞊ kan* ^{URU}*Tanizilan* ^{URU}*Ziqapallaza* EGIR UGU RA-*zi*
     conj-prt   Tanizila   Ziqapalla (abl) behind up (he) strikes
     'He strikes Tanizila up (from) behind from Ziqapalla' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 79)

Cf. Beal (1999: 45): " . . . he will attack Tanizila up from behind Ziqapalla." Beal's

interpretation is unlikely in part because the noun he implies is the object of *āppan* is case-

marked with the ablative. *āppan* as independent postposition should take a dative-locative

object.[129]

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[129]Recall this example from an earlier chapter for postpositional *āppan* with dative-locative
noun:

     nu ꞊ mu ꞊ ššan INA ^{URU}*Palḫuišša* EGIR-*an* LÚ KÚR *Pišḫuruš* MÉ-*ya tiyat*
     conj-me-prt (d-l) (city) Palhuissa behind enemy   Pishuru battle(d-l) stepped
     'The enemy Pishuru stepped into battle with me behind Palhuissa'
     (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 2)

(92)   *nu ꓤ kan* ^{URU}[...]x-*šašenaz* EGIR-*an* UGU ^{URU}*Tanizilan* RA-*zi*
       conj-prt ... ꓤsasena-city (abl) behind up   Tanizila (acc) (he) strikes
       'He strikes Tanizila up (from) behind from the city x-x-sasena'
       (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 72)

Cf. Beal (1999: 45): "He will attack Tanizila up from behind x-x-sasena."

(93)   *nu ꓤ kan* ^{URU}*Ḫur*(?)*naza* EGIR-*an* UGU ^{URU}*Tanizilan* RA-*zi*
       conj-prt   Hurna (abl) behind   up   Tanizila (acc) (he) strikes
       'He will attack T. up (from) behind from Hurna' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 87)

Cf. Beal (1999: 45): "He will attack Tanizila up from behind Hurna."

(94)   *n ꓤ an ꓤ kan* ^{URU}*Šarkattašenaza ꓤ ma* EGIR UGU RA-*zi*
       conj-it-prt Sarkattasena (abl)-conj behind up (he) strikes
       'He will attack it up (from) behind from Sarkattasena' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 vi 1)

Cf. Beal (1999: 54): "He will attack it up from behind Sarkattasena."

(95)   ^{URU}*Tani<zila> andan* ^{URU}*Ziqaballaza* EGIR UGU *paizzi*
       Tanizila   into   Ziqaballa (abl) behind up (he) goes
       'He will go up behind into T. from Z.' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 v 2)

Cf. Beal (1999: 54): "He will go up from behind Ziqapalla into Tanizila."[130]

Notice that the location of EGIR UGU is flexible within the sentence, but the two

adverbs are never separated as they were in a few cases of other adverb cooccurrences that

were pointed out earlier in this chapter. The particle ꓤ*kan* is also present in four of the five.

As discussed at sentences (91) - (95), the names of the cities of origination of the

attacks are all in the ablative case, whereas in (96) and (97) the city names are endingless,

one way to represent the dative-locative form. One must acknowledge a difference in

meaning with this difference in morphology. In these latter cases Beal's interpretations may

be correct:

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[130]Tjerkstra (1999: 87) is similar to Beal in her translation.

(96) *n⹁aš⹁kan* ^{URU}*Tanizila* EGIR UGU *iyaniazzi*
conj-he-prt Tanizila behind up (he) proceeds
'He will proceed up from behind Tanizila' (with Beal 1999: 43)
(CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 24)

(97) *nu⹁kan* ^{ḪUR.SAG}*Ḫaḫarwa* EGIR UGU *paizzi*
conj-prt Mt. Haharwa behind up (he) goes
'He will go up Mt. Haharwa from behind' (with Beal 1999: 48)
(CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 55)

Another interpretation is possible in these last two sentences. EGIR UGU could

represent *āppa* (vs. *āppan*) *šarā*, so that (96), for example, would have the meaning, 'He

will go back up to Tanizila.' Neither alternative is ruled out by morphology or context. By

contrast, the case marking in (98) does aid interpretation:

(98) ('On the other side of the city of Tapapanuwa . . .')
nu⹁kan MŪLÛ parkuin kuwapi EGIR-*an šarā uwaši*
conj-prt hill pure when behind up (you) come
'When you ascend the "pure hill" from behind' (CTH 61.II.9.A = KBo 19.37 ii 31)

Note that *MŪLÛ parkuin* is not in the dative-locative but the accusative, confirming that

āppan and *šarā* together form a unitary preverb. If these two adverbs functioned

independently, *āppan* as postposition would require a dative-locative rather than the

accusative for 'pure hill.' This excludes the CHD's (P: 166) translation, "when you come up

behind the Bare Peak (the peak is the border)," exactly because the case-marking required

for their interpretation is not in the text.

See also: CTH 61.II.9.C ii 3 (broken).

In the two sentences that follow, the *ḫ.*-words name birds used in taking oracles. It is

possible that this construction indicates that the birds came *up from behind* and thereby *by*

surprise (⹁*kan* . . . EGIR UGU), but this is not certain. EGIR UGU must represent a

compound in both examples, but could simply mean 'up behind' as an indicator of the

physical sphere of action, and be freestanding rather than preverbal.

(99) *ḫa[št]apiš = ma = kan* EGIR UGU SIG₅-*za*　　　　　*uet*
　　　h.-bird-conj-prt　　behind　up　on the favorable side came
　　　'h.-bird came up (from) behind on the favorable side' (CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 iv 19)

(100) *ḫalwaššiš = kan* EGIR UGU SIG₅-*za*　　　　　*uet*
　　　h.-bird-prt　　behind up　on the favorable side came
　　　'h.-bird came up (from) behind on the favorable side' (CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 iv 21)

Compare (101) from the same oracle text, where another bird comes EGIR GAM,

probably 'down (from) behind.'

(101) Á^{MUŠEN} = *ma = kan* EGIR GAM *ku-uš.　uet*
　　　eagle-conj-prt　　behind down *kuštaya* came
　　　'The eagle came down behind on the *kuštaya*-side'[131] (CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 iv 12)

For others with EGIR GAM *uwa-* see CTH 569.1 iii 56. 58.

VII.B.　　compound adverbs

āppan šarā in (102) and (103) remains a unified expression, but without a verb is

obviously not preverbal, and must be considered a freestanding compound adverb. It may

simply indicate the location of the cult-stone of the dog, but it may also continue the use of

this combination of adverbs to connote secrecy, expressing that this object is hidden from

plain sight.

(102) ^{URU}*Kuwaršauwantaz = ma = ši = kan* EGIR-*an šarā* UR.GI₇-*aš* ^{NA4}*ḫuwaši* ZAG-*aš*
　　　Kuwarsauwanta (abl)-conj-him-prt　behind　　up　dog (gen)　cult-stone　boundary
　　　'But in the direction of K. the cult-stone of the dog up behind is the boundary for
　　　him' (Bo 86/299 i 31)

The sentence below is nearly identical.

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[131]For *ku-uš* as an abbreviation for Luvian *ku-uš-ta-ya-ti* see Beal (2002b: 66) and cf. also
CHD P: 311.

(103) ^{URU}Kuršawanta{!}š ꞊ ma ꞊ kan EGIR UGU UR.GI₇.G[A]L ^{NA₄}ḫūwaši ZAG-aš
Kursawanta-conj-prt   behind up   big dog   cult-stone boundary
'But as for Kursawanta, the cult-stone of the dog up behind is the boundary'
(CTH 106 = KBo 4.10 Ro 21)

peran parā 'beforehand'

peran alone can have the temporal meaning 'beforehand, previously,' but the double

adverb combination *peran parā* is also used in this way. There is no apparent meaning

distinction between the two usages, and both are common.

(104) *zik ꞊ ma /[mā]n memian peran parā ištamašti*
you-conj if   matter beforehand hear
'If you hear the matter beforehand' (CTH 68.C = KBo 4.3+ ii 12)

(105) *nu ANA* ^{d}*[UTU-ŠI peran]/ parā karšaya QATAMMA ḫatrāi*
conj to His Majesty beforehand frankly thus   write
'Thus write frankly to His Majesty beforehand/in advance'
(CTH 68.A = KBo 4.7+ iii 17)

(106) *mān ꞊ ma ꞊ tta* ^{d}*UTU-ŠI ꞊ ma kūn AWAT BAL ŪL ḫatrāmi*
if-conj-you My Majesty-conj this matter uprising not (I) write

zig ꞊ an mān peran parā ištamašzi
you-it if   beforehand hear

'If I, My Majesty, do not write you about this matter of uprising, (but) if you hear it beforehand' (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 iii 7)

See also CTH 68.B iii 26, 68.E iii 44. 57.

(107) *namma ꞊ kan* ^{m}*Arnuwandan DUMU ꞊ ŠU* ^{m}*Zi[da]nn ꞊ a GAL MEŠEDI*
then-prt   Arnuwanda son-his   Zida-and chief bodyguard

IŠTU KUR ^{URU}*Tegarama I[NA KUR* ^{UR}]^U*Ḫurri peran paran{sic!}*[132] *naišta*
from land   Tegarama   into land Hurri   in advance   led

'Then he led Arnuwanda, his son, and Zida, chief bodyguard, from Tegarama-land into the Hurrian land in advance' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 ii 31)

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[132]*parā* may have been written "*paran*" because of its similarity to *peran* and by influence of the initial sound in the word that follows, *naišta*.

See also CTH 61.II.7.A ii 39.

The following two examples, although too broken to interpret confidently, are included because they show the double adverb in sentence-initial position. Recall from earlier chapters that this is a common location for freestanding adverbs with a temporal function, which mark a sequence of events.

(108) [(*peran para*)]*a ꞊ ya ꞊ zzi apūn* G[E₆-*a*]*n IŠTU* MUNUS-*ti* [(*tiešḫaš*)]
      beforehand-also-refl   that night   from woman   abstained
      'Also that night before he abstained from a woman' (CTH 486.C = KBo 4.2 iii 58)

(109) *peran parā ꞊ ma ꞊ kan* ᵐ*Kantuzzilin* [   ]×x-*aḫḫun*
      beforehand-conj-prt   K.   I [. . .]-ed
      'Beforehand, I [. . .]-ed Kantuzzili' (CTH 61.II.4.b ii 20)

See also CTH 67 Ro 16, 76.A iii 48, 76.B iii 8. 64, 76.C.2 i 10, 177.3 ii 10 (all *ḫatrai-*); 68.B iii 17. 22, 68.C ii 17, 68.C ii 34, 68.E iii 26. 36. 41, 76.B iii 1 (all *ištamaš-*); 76.A ii 78. Broken texts with this pair include: 61.II.7.C ii 13, 67 Ro 14, 67 Vo 44, 68.C ii 3. 20, 68.E i 34, 68.G i 9, 76.A ii 81, 76.B iii 4, 486.A Ro 19.

VII.C.   compound postposition

The combination *āppan arḫa* was argued above at (75)-(78) to be preverbal, but there is one instance where it looks like a compound postposition due in part to its placement away from the verb and following a dative-locative noun. In addition, it appears here with the verb *ilaliya-* 'desires,' which is not a motion verb. It is unlikely that a preverbal *āppan arḫa* would modify it: 'to desire away from behind' is an odd concept. On the other hand, it works as postposition here, as 'to desire one rule *away from behind* (meaning *in place of*) another' makes sense.

(110) [nu‗z]a ŠA ᵈUTU-ŠI EN-manni EGIR-an arḫa tamel UN-aš EN-utta ilaliyazi
        conj-refl of His Majesty rule   in place of   other one   rule   seeks
        'One seeks the rule of another in place of the rule of His Majesty'
        (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ iv 4)

Note that for (110) von Schuler (1957: 15) suggests the sense 'secretly' for *āppan:*

"anstatt der Herrschaft der Sonne wünscht sie sich heimlich die Herrschaft eines anderen

Menschen." He then says in a footnote 10: "Wörtlich, 'hinter der Herrschaft der Sonne

weg'." 'Secretly' is the sense of *āppan* 'behind' in some cases, as discussed in chapter three

and above, but I disagree with von Schuler that it has a role here, seeing his 'anstatt' as the

correct equivalent of *āppan arḫa*.

    Broken texts containing two adverbs:

EGIR GAM: CTH 255.2.A iii 5, iv 33, 255.2.E 2

EGIR-*an arḫa:* CTH 209.2 iii 10, 378.1.A Vo 36 (with *dai-*)

EGIR-*an . . . parā:* CTH 67 Vo 35

E[GIR-*pa? . . .] šarā:* CTH 181 i 38-39

awan arḫa: CTH 61.II.8.f i 2, 68.B ii 5, 76.B ii 19, 126.a ii 7, 176 Ro 27

awan katta: CTH 70 iii 9

awan: CTH 61.II.1 i 8, 76.B ii 13, 123 i 35

katta anda: CTH 71 iii 1

katta arḫa: CTH 90.1.ii 5, 89.A ii 16

p[arā . . .ka]tta: CTH 176 Ro 22

peran šarā: CTH 182 Vo 25, 384 ii 2

peran arḫa: CTH 61.II.5.B i 36, 61.II.6 3 61.II.7.A iii 7, 61.II.8.e ii 17, 68.A i 52, 68.B i 5,

69.A i 50. 225.A Vo 1, 156 i 13, 378.2.C iii 14, 15

šer katta: CTH 61.II.8.e ii 20. 21

šer parā: CTH 61.II.9.C iii 4

CHAPTER NINE

Word order

Introduction

In this chapter I examine the variety of possible word orders in sentences including local

adverbs as shown in assured Neo-Hittite compositions. In order to frame this discussion, I

first offer a brief overview of the basics of Hittite word order. I give examples of texts that

demonstrate the basic word order, and then illustrate the principal deviations from it. The

examples I have collected were chosen to demonstrate all word order possibilities with local

adverbs, but here (unlike in the previous chapters in this work) my study must be considered

preliminary rather than exhaustive. Since investigation of Hittite word order is ongoing, a

definitive treatment of the word order of local adverbs must await clarification of the overall

processes involved in Hittite configurational syntax.

As discussed in the introduction, there is now general agreement that the three distinct

functions of the local adverbs cannot be determined by word order. Surprisingly, however,

descriptions of the word order of the local adverbs have still not been based on the three-way

functional contrast. For example, that of Tjerkstra (1999: 158-175) fails to distinguish

freestanding adverbs from postpositions. The goal for this chapter is to describe for the first

time the allowable positions for local adverbs in all three familiar functions, that of preverbs,

postpositions, and adverbs in Neo-Hittite, by comparing the occurrences of all three in various sentence positions.

Basic word order

As a case-marked language, Hittite shows a relatively free word order, but certainly the order subject-object-verb is the unmarked one. Sentence (1) serves to illustrate this.

(1)   [(nu = kan)] LÚ KÚR ^{ÍD}*Maraššandan zāi[š]*
       conj-prt   enemy   M.   crossed
       'The enemy crossed the Marassanda (River)' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 ii 5-6)

Predicates with linking verbs show the same order:

(2)   [nu = z]a ammuk LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Ḫakpiš kišhahat*
       conj-refl I   king   land H.   (I) became
       'I became king of the land of Hakpis' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 iii 12)

Various factors described below make it difficult to make definitive statements about the unmarked order of constituents within the verb phrase. However, my preliminary observations suggest the following generalizations:

conj-clitics   S   abl N / IO   DO   place/time/manner adverbials   negation   V[133]

Several examples that illustrate this word order follow. Sentence (3) shows the ablative noun phrase just after the subject of the sentence and preceding the direct object. Note that these ablative nouns are those that have a true ablatival ("from") function; in Neo-Hittite the ablative also has instrumental and adverbial functions, for which different word order

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[133]conj = conjunctions such as *nu*, which is the usual element to introduce a new clause, *namma* 'then,' or similar. clitics = enclitic pronouns, conjunctions, and particles. S = subject. abl N = ablative noun phrase in the sense 'from.' IO = indirect object. DO = direct object. place/time/manner adverbials = those adverbs that are the focus of this work, as postpositions (with their objects), preverbs, or freestanding adverbs; dative-locative noun phrases in the function of locatival phrases, instrumental phrases, and other time and manner adverbial phrases. V = verb.

applies. The position of the postpositional (UGU) phrase with enclitic pronominal object

(=mu) will be addressed in a section below.

(3)   *nu = mu* ^d*IŠTAR = pat* GAŠAN=*YA ḫūmandaza* *palaḫšan* UGU *ḫarta*
        conj-me Ishtar-emph lady-my   from all (abl)   shield   over   held
        '*Ishtar,* My Lady, held over me a shield from everything'
        (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 i 57)

Sentence (4) shows the unmarked order of indirect object before direct object:

(4)   *nu   ammuk   ANA* ^d*IŠTAR   GAŠAN=YA apāt ADDIN*
        conj I   d-l   Ishtar   lady-my   that (I) gave
        'I gave that to Ishtar, my lady' (CTH 81.B = KBo 3.6 iii 69)

For other examples of this order with IO before DO see CTH 81.A iv 66 and 80.

A variety of place, time, and manner adverbials may be positioned between the direct

object and the verb. I will make no claim here about the relative order of these elements

within this slot, only that any of these types may occur here. Sentence (5) shows a dative-

locative noun phrase (written Akkadographically) in this position.

(5)   *nu   ABU=YA   uni   *^m*Ḫutupiyanzan*   DUMU   *^mZida*
        conj. father-my   aforementioned Hutupiyanza (acc.)   son   Zida

        GAL *MEŠEDI*   *INA* KUR ^{URU}*Palā*   *watarnaḫta*
        chief bodyguard   d-l. land   Pala   ordered

        'My father ordered the aforementioned H., son of Z., chief bodyguard, to the land of
        Pala' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 ii 21)

See also CTH 81.A iv 43-45 and sentence (10) below for other locatival adverbials.

Sentence (6) shows a locatival postpositional phrase after the direct object. (Note that

the position of the subordinating conjunction, *maḫḫan,* does not affect the rest of the word

order.)

(6)   *nu ꞊ šmaš* ^dIŠKUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti maḫḫan [(išḫiü)]l ANA* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Ḫatti menaḫḫanda*
        conj-the (dat) storm-god H.   how   treaty   the men of Hatti   toward

        iyat
        made

        'How the storm-god of Hatti made a treaty for them with the men of Hatti'
        (CTH 378.2.A = KUB 14.8 i 14-15)

Time adverbials are also found in this slot between direct object and verb, as in both (7)

and (8):

(7)   ^dU NIR.GÁL EN꞊*YA parā ḫandatar namma tekkušnut*[!]
        Might storm-god lord-my providence again displayed
        'The mighty storm-god, my lord, again displayed his providence'
        (CTH 61.III.2.A = KUB 14.20 + KBo 19.76 i 24)

A similar example is found at CTH 378.1.A Vo 26.

(8)   *nu ꞊ za* ^d*IŠTAR* GAŠAN꞊*YA* [(*parā ḫandandatar apēd*)]*ani ꞊ ya meḫuni*
        conj-refl Ishtar lady-my   providence   at that-also   time

        tikkuššan[(*ut*)]
        displayed

        'Ishtar, my lady, displayed her providence also at that time'
        (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 iii 15-16 with duplicate)

Another example is at CTH 81.A iv 18-19, which has a manner adverb, *mekki*, added

immediately before the verb.

The manner adverb in (9) is again in the same position.

(9)   *nu ꞊ šši* ^dUTU-*ŠI*   *išḫiūl*   *kiššan išḫiyanun*
        conj-him His Majesty obligation   thus   (I) bound
        'I, His Majesty, bound an obligation upon him as follows'
        (CTH 63.A = KBo 3.3+ i 18)

In (10) there is not only a manner adverb but also two locative noun phrases between the

direct object and the verb:

(10) NUMUN ^m*Tutḫaliya ꞊ ma katta*   NUMUN ^{m.d}LAMMA *INA* KUR ^{URU.d}U-*tašša*
         seed   Tuthaliya-conj subsequently seed   Kurunta in the land of Tarhuntassa

        LUGAL-*eznani QATAMMA paḫšaru*
        in kingship   likewise   shall protect

        'Let the seed of Tuthaliya subsequently likewise protect the seed of Kurunta in Tarhuntassa in the kingship' (Bo 86/299 ii 69-70)

For a similar order with *QATAMMA* = *apeniššan* 'likewise' between direct object and verb, see CTH 87 Vo 3-4 and Bo 86/299 ii 73 and iii 25.

As for negation, its unmarked position is directly before the verb (see CHD L-N: 417-418 under j.1'-2'). Changes in the location of the negative relative to the placement of the local adverbs will be discussed below.

Deviations from the unmarked word order are numerous. For example, it is possible for any constituent of the verb phrase to appear before the subject; even two constituents may appear there. I will illustrate below the occurrence of various elements in this position, and will use the term "fronting" only as a descriptive label for this phenomenon. I will deliberately avoid characterizing this as topicalization or focus, as the discourse functions of these word orders will need to be determined before claims may be made about movement and the motivation thereof. Verb phrase (VP) constituents that appear in front of the subject may appear in absolute-initial position in the sentence or in the position just after conjunctions and clitics. It is not clear whether there is any functional difference between those two positions. VP constituents in the pre-subject position are often, but not always, accompanied by the enclitic conjunctions ꞊*a/*꞊*ma* and ꞊*a/*꞊*ya*, which may play a role in marking functions such as topic and focus. I will therefore avoid examples with these conjunctions to the extent possible in an effort to avoid their potential complications.

Sentence (11) illustrates this with two constituents placed in front of the subject:

(11) *ziladuwa* LUGAL-*UTTA ŠA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ·ᵈU-*tašša ŠA*ᵐ·ᵈLAMMA⹀*pat* NUMUN-*anza*
henceforth kingship   of land   T.   of Kurunta-prt   seed (erg.)

ḫardu
let hold

'Henceforth let the seed of *Kurunta* hold the kingship of Tarhuntassa!'
(Bo 86/299 iv 26-27)

Sample sentences showing various elements (as indicated in parentheses) in absolute

initial position are found in: Bo 86/299 i 18-19 (ablative NP), CTH 81.A i 37-38 (indirect

object), CTH 81.A ii 57-61 (direct object), CTH 106 Ro 48-49 (locatival NP), CTH 81.F ii

27 (manner adverb), CTH 81.A i 42 (negation), CTH 378.2.B iii 21 (verb).

As mentioned above, the position after conjunctions and clitics and before the subject is

another potential site for fronting of elements of the verb phrase. In sentence (12) the direct

object appears in this slot:

(12) *nu* É ᵈIŠTAR [ᵐD]ut̬aliyaš DUMU⹀YA ⹀tapardu
conj house I. Tuthaliya   son-my   let oversee
'Let Tuthaliya, my son, oversee the house of Ishtar!'
(CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 iv 77-78)

Illustrations of other types of constituents in this front position are at: CTH 67 Vo 39

(ablative NP), CTH 81.A i 18-19 (indirect object), CTH 61.II.10 ii 9-10 (locatival NP),

CTH 81.A iv 8-9 (time adverb), CTH 61.II.7.A i 17 (manner adverb), CTH 70 ii 10-11

(negation), and CTH 81.A iv 17 (verb).

The constituents included in the generalization on the unmarked order of elements

rarely, or perhaps never, all occur in one sentence. Like other languages, Hittite makes

heavy use of anaphoric pronouns in connected discourse. Furthermore, except in instances of

contrast or emphasis, pronominal substitutes for subject, indirect object, direct object, and/or

the object of a postposition appear as clitics, which by Wackernagel's Law must be attached to the first accented element of a sentence. Thus any of those elements that are cliticized will not appear in their base positions in the sentence. The result is that many Hittite sentences lack a full nominal subject, and many that contain a full subject have a clitic pronoun for at least one of the constituents of the verb phrase.

These factors complicate the issue of determining whether the order of constituents in the sentence is underlying or derived. If we agree through examples (11), (12), and others that fronting places elements in front of the subject in a sentence, then when there is no full subject in place to mark the left edge of the VP, it will not be clear whether one or more constituents is standing in the pre-subject "front" position. For example, sentence (13) could be a counterexample to my claim that an ablative noun phrase (here, *apezza*) normally precedes the direct object in the verb phrase, unless in this instance the direct object, ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠA* ᴴᵁᴿˑˢᴬᴳ*Ḫaḫarwa,* has been fronted. However, because there is no overt subject in the sentence, there is no concrete evidence that the direct object is in fact in the "front" position before it.

(13)   *nu ꞊ kan* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠA* ᴴᵁᴿˑˢᴬᴳ*Ḫaḫarwa ŠALMŪTIM apezza   arḫa laḫiyaizzi*
       conj-prt troops   of   Mt. Haharwa   intact from there campaign away against
       'From there he will campaign away against the intact troops of Mt. Haharwa'[134]
       (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 55)

Likewise in (14), I assume that the ablative noun phrase in the position before the postpositional phrase shows the underlying order, but strictly speaking, this cannot be proven. The ablative noun phrase could be standing in the "fronted" position between conjunction-clitics and the unexpressed subject.

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[134]See discussion in chapter seven for this interpretation.

(14)   *maḫḫan*∠*ma*∠*kan* ^{URU}*Aštataz arḫa INA* ^{URU}*Kargamiš andan iyaḫḫat*
        when-conj-prt   Astata (abl) away d-l. Carchemish into (I) proceeded
        'When I proceeded into Carchemish from Astata-city'
        (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 ii 67)

Another issue in (14) is the position of the preverb *arḫa*. Its place away from the verb in this

example could be a matter of the internal order in the verb phrase, or the result of fronting of

both the ablative NP and the preverb to pre-subject position.

We'll next look at word orders in sentences that include local adverbs, considering

instances of preverbal, postpositional, and freestanding adverbial functions separately.

Word order of preverbs

Shown first here are a number of illustrations of the unmarked word order with preverbs;

that is, with the preverb directly preceding the verb:

(15)   *mānn*∠*a* ŠEŠ   LUGAL *kuieš* EN   DUM[(U LUGAL ^{LÚ}SAG)]
        if-also   brother king   some lord son   king   dignitary

        ŠA LUGAL ḪUL-*lu*   *uttar anda išt[(amašzi)]*
        of king   evil   word overhears

        'If some (pl!) brother of the king or lord or prince or dignitary
        overhears an evil word about the king' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 44)

(16)   *nu*∠*šši*   *ABU*∠*YA* ZAG *anda ḫuittiyat*
        prt.-him(d-l.) my father border pulled in
        'My father pulled in the border for him.' (Bo 86/299 i 23)

(17)   *našma*∠*šši* ZAG-*an*   *anda tepnuzi*
        or-him(d-l.) border-(acc.)   (he) reduces
        'or he reduces the border for him.' (CTH 106 = KBo 4.10 Vo 13)

(18)   *nu   pāun*   ^{URU}*Purandan*   *anda waḫnunun*
        conj (I) went   (city)Puranda(acc.)   (I) surrounded
        'I went and surrounded (the city) Puranda.' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 64)

(19) *nu = kan* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠA* ^{ḪUR.SAG}*Ḫaḫarwa ŠALMŪTIM apezza arḫa laḫiyaizzi*
conj-prt   troops   of   Mt. Haharwa   intact   from there campaign away against
'From there he will campaign away against the intact troops of Mt. Haharwa'
(CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 55)

(20) ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU = man = kan* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*za* GAM *pittaizz[i*
charioteer-irreal-prt   chariot (abl) down run
'Should the charioteer run down from the chariot' . . .
(CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 48)

(21) ^m*Palliliš = ma INA* É.GAL-*LIM šarā iyattat*
Pallili-conj (d-l) palace   up   went
'Pallili went up into the palace.' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 59)

With preverbs, the negative typically intervenes between preverb and verb, as the next

three examples show:

(22) *n = aš* EGIR-*pa* ŪL *pait*
conj.-he back neg. went
'He didn't go back' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iv 63)

(23) *eni = za*   *kuit* ^dUTU-*ŠI*   *AWĀT* MUNUS.LUGAL
aforementioned-refl   that   His Majesty   matter queen

antuḫšaš katta GUL-*aḫḫandaš parā* ŪL *tarnaš*
people   down beaten   didn't let out

'As to the fact that His Majesty did not allow (let out) the word of the queen of
(=about) the 'beaten people' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 43)

The prohibitive negative form also occurs between preverb and verb, even in this case

where the verb 'be' has undergone ellipsis following the noun *kurur*, which provides part of

its meaning:

(24) *ammetaza = ma = wa = za = kan* KUR-*eza arḫa lē kurur*
1 sg. abl.-conj-quot-refl-prt land (abl.) away not hostile (be)
'Do not be hostile from <u>my</u> land!' (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 iv 5)

Francia (2002: 213) claims that this is always the order without exception, but she is

overstating the regularity, as (25) shows. Hoffner (1983b: 86-89) doesn't adequately

distinguish between preverbs and freestanding adverbs in his discussion. Significantly, all

exceptions to this order (i.e., preverb-negative-verb) in the Neo-Hittite corpus that have a full

context may be analyzed as being contrastive. For example, note the context in which (25)

occurs:

(25)   ('What my father could, he restored it. What he could not,')
        n ꞊ at ŪL   EGIR-*pa iyat*
        conj.-it neg. (he) restored
        'He did not restore it' (CTH 378.4.A = KUB 14.13 i 43)

It remains to be seen whether this strong claim that all exceptions to the order preverb-

negative-verb are non-neutral will prove valid for *all* of Hittite.

Hittite has no negative pronouns (i.e., the equivalent of *no one, none, nothing*), but

instead expresses these by combining a negative with an indefinite pronoun. To be in the

scope of the negation, the indefinite pronoun/adjective must follow it, so when present, it too

will intervene between preverb and verb. (26) demonstrates this. Sentence (27) shows the

negative and indefinite pronoun in the same positions relative to a local adverb and verb, but

in this case the adverb they follow is part of a non-locatival postpositional phrase rather than

a preverb.

(26)   *nu ꞊ mu ꞊ kan* IGI.ḪI.A-*wa* LÚ KÚR EGIR-*pa ŪL kuiški nāiš*
        conj-me-prt eyes   enemy back   not any turned
        'No enemy turned his eyes back toward me' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 i 69 = 81.B i 58)

(27)   *namma ꞊ ma ꞊ za* GIDIM   *damēdani memini*   *šer*   *ŪL kuedanikki*
        then-conf-refl   the deceased other   matter (d-l) on account neg anybody (d-l)

        TUKU.TUKU-*uanza*
        is angry

        'If furthermore you, the deceased, are not angry with anybody on account of another
        matter' (CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 i 15)

Preverbs occur in other positions within the verb phrase as shown below.

(28) *nu* ^{d}U KUR-*TAM anda takšulit* IGI.ḪI.A-*it namma au*[135]
conj stormgod land(acc) at with peaceful eyes again look
'Look again, Storm-god, with peaceful eyes at the land'
(CTH 382 = KBo 11.1 Ro 15)

In example (28) the Akkadian ending on KUR 'land' marks accusative case, so this is

unquestionably the direct object of the preverb-verb pair *anda au*. This shows that there are

two elements, the instrumental phrase and the time adverb, within the verb phrase between

the preverb and the verb. And because there *is* an overt subject in this sentence, it is clear

that the preverb has not been fronted outside the VP. Separation of the preverb from the verb

within the VP by elements other than the negation is attested also with other preverbs, as

below:

(29) *nu = šmaš ABU = YA ANA* DUMU-*RI katta namma IṢBAT*
conj-them father-my (d-l) son under again took
'My father again concerned himself with the matter of a son for them'
(CTH 40.IV.E.3 = KBo 14.12+ iv 25)

(30) *n = an = kan BELI = YA* EGIR-*pa parā ḫūdāk nāu*
conj-him-prt lord-my back out immediately send (3 sg imperative)
'Let my lord send him back (out) immediately'
(CTH 202 = KBo 18.15 15)

(31) *n = aš = mu = kan uet INA* ^{URU}*Gappuppuwa = pat* ḪUR.SAG-*i šer parā*
conj-he-me-prt came d-l G. -emph mountain on forth

menaḫḫanda tīet
against stepped

'Right in the city of G. on the mountain he came forth against me'
(CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 i 34)

(32) *nu ANA ABU = YA* MUNUS.LUGAL ^{URU}*Mizri tuppiyaz* EGIR-*pa kiššan ḫatraizzi*
conj to father-my queen Egypt tablet (abl) back thus writes
'The queen of Egypt writes back to my father on a tablet as follows:'
(CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 iii 51)

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[135]There is a similar usage in the same text at Ro 28 without *namma*.

Note the variety of elements involved above: an instrumental and time adverb in (28), time adverb in (29) and (30), postpositional phrase (with cliticized object pronoun) in (31), and manner adverb in (32). It is unclear what conditioning there might be for the orders of adverbs within this preverbal slot.

Sentence (33) is similar to (28) in having the preverb *arḫa* separated from the verb without it having been fronted to pre-subject position. What might account for this? Recall from the beginning of this chapter that ablative noun phrases are base-generated at the beginning of the verb phrase. In (33), the ablative ^{URU}*Maraššaz* occurs as expected in that slot. It is reasonable to think that the preverb *arḫa* is drawn away from the verb and toward its "target" ablative noun by virtue of its semantic link to that constituent. Since ablative noun phrases appear consistently in this slot, and adverbs, as we will see, move frequently in Hittite, this preverb movement is not surprising.

(33)   LUGAL-*uš᷉ma᷉kan* ^{URU}*Maraššaz*   *arḫa*   KARAŠ.[ḪI]/.A *ḫuittiyanun*
       king-conj-prt   Marassa (abl)   away   troops (camp)   (I) drew
       'I, the king, withdrew the troops (or 'moved the camp') from Marassa'
       (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ iii 18)

Sentence (34) (= 14) seems to show the same phenomenon, although there is no overt subject in place to demonstrate the location of the ablative noun and preverb relative to it:

(34)   *maḫḫan᷉ma᷉kan* ^{URU}*Aštataz*   *arḫa INA* ^{URU}*Kargamiš andan iyaḫḫat*
       when-conj-prt   Astata (abl) away d-l. Carchemish   into   (I) proceeded
       'When I proceeded into Carchemish from Astata-city'
       (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 ii 67)

The same may also hold for (35). The subject, *kuiški*, intervenes between ablative and preverb in this case, but constraints on the positions of indefinite pronouns like this have yet to be determined. It's possible that *arḫa* was positioned next to the ablative as in the two examples above, and then the latter was fronted to the slot in front of that subject.

(35) *našma⸗za⸗kan IŠTU* KARAŠ *kuiški*   *arḫa antuḫšan* LÚ ^{URU}*Arzauwa taya[zzi]*
      or-refl-prt   from camp someone away man   Arzawa   steals
      'Or someone steals a man, an Arzawan, away from the camp'
      (CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Vo 39)

The situation for *āppa* may be different. In (36), the presence of an overt subject

precludes that the position of EGIR-*pa* is due to fronting, just as at (33). Here, though,

EGIR-*pa* seems more likely to be associated with the dative-locative noun that follows it than

the ablative one that precedes it, making it unlike other preverbs in that regard. This may be

a holdover from Old Hittite sentence order, where the preverb frequently preceded a dative-

locative noun. (On this see Starke 1977: 152ff., Boley 1985: 13, and Tjerkstra 1999: 159-

160.)[136]

(36) ^dUTU-*ŠI* ^{URU}*Neriqaza* EGIR-*pa* ^{URU}*Hahani* *paizzi*
      His Majesty Nerik (abl.) back   Hahani (d-l.) goes
      'His Majesty goes back from Nerik to Hahani' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 ii 53)

The parallel construction at (34) without an overt subject and the model for word order

at (36) make it seem likely that (37) follows the same pattern. Otherwise one would have to

claim that, unlike the others, it has a fronted ablative and preverb in the pre-subject position.

(37) *namma* ^{URU}*Palhuissaz* EGIR-*pa INA* ^{URU}KUBABBAR-*ti uwanu!un*
      then   Palhuissa (abl.) back d-l.   Hatti   (I) came
      'Then I came back from Palhuissa to Hatti' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 7)

On the other hand, sentence (38) shows that the preceding word order is not required by

rule, but is optional. The preverb occurs in the "preferred" preverbal slot.

(38) *namma⸗aš INA* ḪUR.SAG*Zukkuki* EGIR-*pa uet*
      conj-he d-l mount Z.   back   came
      'Then he came back to Mount Zukkuki' (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 i 1)

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[136]On the other hand, it's possible that *āppa* could, like *arḫa*, be associated with the
preceding ablative, because one must necessarily come *from* someplace in coming back *to* a
place.

In (39), EGIR-*pa* again precedes an associated NP, but the semantics are different, for

the sense is not spatial, but one of restoration of a previous state.

(39)   *[nu]* ^m*Ḫūtupiyanzaš* KUR ^{URU}*Kalaašma ḫūman* [EGI]R-*pa*
       conj H.   land (city) K.   all   back

       ŠA KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti* KUR-*e [iya]at*
       of land (city)Hatti land (acc.) made

       'H. made all the land of K. back into land of Hatti'

Sentence (40) lacks an overt subject, so EGIR-*pa* again *could* have been fronted here,

but it seems more likely to have followed the pattern established in (39) and others above.

(40)   *n=at* EGIR-*pa ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti* KUR-*e iyanun*
       conj-it back of land (city) Hatti land (acc) (I) made
       'I made it back/again into a land of the land of Hatti' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iii 95)

One finds both orders, but usually with EGIR-*pa* first, when the other element involved

is a manner adverb, as below:

(41)   *nu ANA ABU=YA* MUNUS.LUGAL ^{URU}*Mizri tuppiyaz* EGIR-*pa kiššan ḫatraizzi*
       conj to father-my queen   Egypt tablet (abl) back thus   writes
       'The queen of Egypt writes back to my father on a tablet as follows:'
       (CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 iii 51)

But this again seems a preference and not a strict rule, as seen by comparing (42):

(42)   *nu=mu ma[ḫ]ḫan* ^m*Piḫḫuniyaš eniššan* EGIR-*pa IŠPUR*
       conj-me when   P.   as above back   wrote
       'When Pihhuniya wrote back to me as above'

The following are cases where EGIR-*pa* seems to have been fronted to the position

following conjunction-clitics, though the absence of any examples with overt subject

weakens the argument.

(43) *nu ꞊ mu* EGIR-[*pa*] ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti* ŠU-*i*   *d[āiš*

conj-me back   cavalry   of land   Hatti hand(d-l.) (he) put

'He put back [   ] the cavalry of Hatti in my hand'

(CTH 81.B = KBo 3.6+ i 52)

(44) *namma ꞊ aš* EGIR-*pa gimmandariya[uwanzi]* ^{URU}*Ḫattuši*   *uet*

then-he   back   to winter   Hattusa (d-l) came

'Then he came back to winter in Hattusa'

(CTH 40.IV.A = KBo 5.6 i 40)

The status of (45) depends on what was in the gap, where the text is broken.

(45) *namma ꞊ aš* EGIR-*pa* [URU]*Timuḫala andan uet*

then-he   back   (city) T.   into   came

'Then he came back into Timuhala' vs. 'Then he came into Timuhala again'

(CTH 40.V.34 = KUB 19.13 i 46)

Sentence (46) shows *anda* in a similar position.

(46) *zig ꞊ an*   *a[nda] [ANA]* LÚ KÚR   *ŪL pehuteši*

you-him in   to   enemy   not take

'(and) you don't take (use) them against the enemy'

(CTH 67 = KBo 5.4 Vo 22)

The next three could likewise be cases of fronting, though strict proof is not possible.

The subject in (47) appears to have been fronted in a contrastive construction which is also

marked with *꞊ma*.

(47) *kuiēš ꞊ ma* NAM.RA.ḪI.A *parā INA* ^{URU}*Pūranda pāir*

some-but deportees   on d-l   Puranda went

'but some deportees went on to Puranda' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 35)

One sees that *parā* in (48) and (49), like *āppa* and *anda* above, is situated before dative-

locative nouns. This may again be a continuation of the Old Hittite pattern.

(48) *n ꞊ aš*   *parā*   *INA* ^{URU}*Zazziša ārašket*

conj-he as far as (d-l) Zazzisa reached

'He reached as far as Zazzisa-city' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iii 72)

(49) [*n*]*amma parā INA* ^{URU}*Taḫappšuwana*   *pāun*

then   on (d-l) (city) Tahappsuwana (I) went

'Then I went on into T-city' (CTH 61.II.9.C = KBo 16.16 iii 23 = 61.II.9.A iii 31)

Sentence (50) shows *parā* in the same position in front of a dative-locative pronoun, and with an overt subject noun in place, we can see that that it remains in the verb phrase.

(50) *našma! ꞊kan* {text *na-aš-ták-kán!*} LUGAL *parā kuedanikki watarnaḫzi*
      or-prt   king   gives to someone instructions
      'Or if the king gives instructions to someone' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 iv 7)

Examples of preverbs in absolute initial position are not frequent in the Neo-Hittite corpus, but are securely attested:

(51) *nu ꞊wa uet* GIM-*an*   EGIR-*pa ꞊ ya ꞊ wa ꞊ tta INA* KUR ^{URU}*Aḫḫiyawā ammel*
      conj-quot came as   back-also-quot-you   to   land of Ahhiyawa   my

      UN-*aš QATAMMA peḫutezzi*
      man   likewise   conduct

      'As he came, my man will also likewise conduct you back to Ahhiyawa'
      (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 ii 68-69)

(52) É꞊*man ŪL ēšzi*   *anda ꞊ ma ꞊ aš ꞊ kan kuwapi paizzi*
      house-irreal not is   into-irreal-he-prt   where goes
      'That there might not be a house for him, into which he might go'
      (CTH 123 = KBo 4.14 iii 44-45)

(53) EGIR-*pa ꞊ ma* ḪUR.SAG*Ellurian ḫarta*
      back-conj   mountain Elluria   he held
      'He took refuge at/retreated to Mt. Elluria' (CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 iii 5)

In (54), *šarā* is in initial position with *꞊kan* cliticized, and *uwaši*, its verbal partner follows. That *꞊kan* is attached to *šarā* indicates that the preverb is an accented word, so it may be that the preverb was fronted and then the verb secondarily fronted. This gives some additional indication that the preverb and verb could be said to be less syntactically than semantically bound.

(54) *šarā ꞊ kan   uw[(aš)]i   nepišaš   *^dUTU-*uš   arunaz*
      up-prt.   (you) come heaven (gen.)   sungod   sea (abl.)
      'Up you come, sungod of heaven, from the sea' (CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 iii 13)

(55) *katta ašanna ꞊ ya ꞊ aš ꞊ mu*   SIxSÁ-*at*
       down to sit - conj.-she-me   was determined
       'It was determined for me to exile her'
       (lit. 'She was determined for me to set down') (CTH 71 = KBo 4.8 ii 4)

(55) shows a special case where a non-finite form of the verb has been fronted as a single accentual unit.

Word order of postpositions

Hittite does not allow adnominal postpositional phrases, so the underlying position of all such phrases must be somewhere in the VP. For postpositional phrases with locatival sense the preferred position seems to be preverbal, following the direct object. It is hard to find examples of full postpositional phrases in this position (though for one, see (6) above), because when the object is a clitic pronoun, the latter will obligatorily be raised to the Wackernagel position, as will be illustrated. Furthermore, even in cases of a full nominal or accented pronominal object, the NP object most often appears fronted.

In (56) we do see a locatival postpositional phrase between subject and verb, although the sentence has no direct object to demarcate its position more exactly:

(56) *nu ꞊ kan* ^m*Ūḫḫa*-LÚ-*iš aruni   anda* BA.UŠ
       conj-prt Uhhaziti sea(d-l.) in   died
       'And Uhhaziti died in the sea' (i.e., on an island) (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 52)

The next example has a similar configuration:

(57) *nu apādda ꞊ ya* NIŠ DINGIR-*LIM* GAM-*an kittaru*
       conj-that-also oath   under   may (it) be placed
       'May that also be placed under oath' (CTH 76.A = KUB 21.1 iii 55)

Sentence (57) shows GAM-*an (kattan)* again in base position just before the verb and following its object. In (58) it appears (as GAM) to have moved, but in spoken Hittite this would not have been the case. When Sumerograms are used instead of the syllabic Hittite

writing as here, the elements are often written using Sumerian word order. This is simply a convention of the writing system and not a true representation of word order.

(58)　　*kāš ꞊ ta* INIM-*aš* GAM NIŠ DINGIR-*LIM* GAR-*ru*
　　　　this-you matter　under　oath　　　　　may (it) be placed
　　　　'May this matter be placed under oath for you'
　　　　(CTH 105.A = KUB 23.1+ iv 22)

In (59), the word order is again most likely not real for spoken Hittite. The scribe certainly must have written the syllabic Hittite *kattan* in the place where he could otherwise have used the Sumerogram GAM. All three of these sentences then represent the word order written in (57).

(59)　　*n ꞊ aš*{sic!}*꞊ši kattan* NIEŠ DINGIR-*LIM kittaru*
　　　　conj-it-him　　under　　oath　　　　may be placed
　　　　'May it be placed under oath for him' (CTH 255.1.A = KUB 21.42 i 39)

In (60), although the object (*tuk*) has been fronted, the position of *peran* shows that the postpositional phrase must have been underlyingly after the direct object and before the verb. Examples (80) and (81) below also show this configuration.

(60)　　*mān ꞊ kan tuk* ANA ^mDuppi-^dU-*up idālauwa* AWATE^{MEŠ} *kuiški*　ANA LUGAL!
　　　　if-prt　　you (d-l) Duppi-Teshub evil　　　words　　anyone (d-l) king

　　　　našma ANA KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti peran uidaizzi*
　　　　or　　　(d-l) land　Hatti　before　brings

　　　　'If anyone brings before you, Duppi-Teshub, evil words against the king or the land of Hatti' (CTH 62.II.A = KBo 5.9 ii 48)

The next two examples show the postposition again in base location just before the verb, but in these cases the object of the postposition does not immediately precede it. These objects have clitic pronoun substitutes which by rule occur in Wackernagel position, that is, attached to the first accented word of the sentence. (Thus this has nothing to do with fronting).

(61) *nu ꞊ mu   eniššan   kuit*   LÚ.MEŠ ᵁᴿᵁ*Tagašta   šenaḫḫa*
conj-me in that way because people   Tagasta   ambush

pe[r]an   tiškanzi
before   place vs. step into

'Because the people of T. place/step into an ambush before me in the way mentioned'
(CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 i 17)

(62) TUR-*annaš ꞊ mu* ᴸᵁ*KARTAPPU ANA* ᴳᴵˢGIGIR GAM-*an tiškezzi*
youth (gen.)-me charioteer   on   chariot beside (he) stands
'He used to stand beside me on the chariot as the charioteer of youth' (when I was a child) (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 ii 60)

Sentences (63) to (65) are similar, but the object of the postposition is the reflexive

particle ꞊*za*, which is also enclitic to the first element of the sentence. For a full discussion

of this use of ꞊*za* see the excursus at the end of this chapter.

(63) *nu ꞊ za ꞊ kan* ⌈*irmalaš ꞊ pat ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM ḫandandatar šer uškenun*
conj-refl-prt ill-emph of deity   providence over (I) saw
'I saw (watching) over me, even when ill, the providence of the deity'
(Puhvel 1991: 105) (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 i 45)

(64) *nu ꞊ za   maḫḫan eni   ṬUPPA ŠA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*Mizri peran wemiyanun*
conj-refl when aforementioned tablet of land Egypt   before (I) found
'When I found before me the aforementioned tablet about the land of Egypt'
(CTH 378.2.A = KUB 14.8 i 31-32)

(65) *īt ꞊ war ꞊ an ꞊ za ꞊ an ꞊ k[ā]n ANA* ᴳᴵˢGIGIR GAM-*an tittanut*
go-quot-him-refl-him-prt on chariot   beside place
'Go and place him beside you (꞊*za* = 'yourself') on the chariot'
(CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 i 10)

See also CTH 181 i 70.

In the sentences above, the surface position of the postposition shows that it must be

underlyingly immediately preverbal. This isn't true for many non-locatival examples of *šer*,

as the following examples illustrate:

(66)   *nu=za   kāša   ANA* ^dIŠKUR   EN=*YA ḫingani šer*   *arkūwar ēššaḫḫi*
       conj-refl behold to   storm-god   lord-my plague on account of plea   (I) make
       'I am hereby making a plea on account of the plague to the storm-god, my lord'
       (CTH 378.2.A = KUB 14.8 Vo 20)

(67)   *mān=za* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Mizri ANA [ABU]=YA*
       if-refl   king   land   Egypt to   father-my

       edaš ANA KUR.KUR.MEŠ *šer*   *a[rkuwar] iyat*
       those (d-l) lands   on behalf of plea   made

       'If the king of the land of Egypt made a p[lea] to my father on behalf of those lands
       (I did not know)' (CTH 379 = KUB 31.21+ ii 14)

Example (67) is especially useful with its overt subject, indirect object, postpositional *šer*

phrase, direct object and verb in that order.

(68)   *nu mān* DINGIR-*LIM apadda šer*   *šarnikziel ŪL kuitki šanaḫta*
       conj if god   on that account fine   not any   sought
       'If the god sought no fine for that' (CTH 566=KUB 22.70 Vo 7) (likewise Vo 31-32)

       See also CTH 566 Ro 64, Vo 28-29.

(69)   ^dUTU ^{URU}TÚL-*na=ma* GAŠAN=*YA*/GAŠAN KUR.KUR.ḪI.A ^{URU}*Ḫatti* ^dU
       sungoddess Arinna-conj lady-my   lady   lands   Hatti   stormgod

       ^{URU}*Ḫatti* EN=*YA ANA* INIM ^dU ^{URU}*Nerik* DUMU=*KA āššiyanti šer kūn memian*
       Hatti   lord-my d-l matter stormgod Nerik son-your beloved on this thing

       iyatt/en
       do

       'Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, lady of the lands of Hatti (and) stormgod of Hatti,
       my lord, do this thing on account of the matter of the stormgod of Nerik, your
       beloved son' (CTH 383 = KUB 21.19+1193/u iii' 42-44)

(70)   DINGIR-*LIM=naš ANA* INIM ^{m.d}SIN.^dU   *šer* ^{TÚG}*šeknun* EGIR-*pa ŪL* SUD-*yaši*
       god-us(d-l)   (d-l) matter Urhi-teshub on   robe   back   neg (you) pull
       '(If) you, the god, do not pull back your robe on us on account of the matter of
       Urhi-teshub' (CTH 569.1 = KBo 2.6 i 39)

The apparent positioning of *šer* with evolved meaning directly before the verb in the next two sentences is not probative, since the direct object in (71) and comitative phrase in (72) may have been fronted.

(71) *nu ꞊ wa ꞊ ta ꞊ kkan* LÚ.MEŠ KÚR-*KA* *šer*   *kuenun*
      conj-quot-you-prt enemies-   your on behalf of I killed
      'I killed your enemies for you' (KUB 14.B+ i 43)

(72) *nu ꞊ šši*   *QADU* DAM[.MEŠ꞊*KA* D]UMU.ME[Š꞊*K*]*A šer*   *ŪL akti*
      conj-him including wives-your   sons-your   on account not (you) die
      '(If) you, with your wives and sons do not die for him'
      (CTH 105.A = KUB 23.1+ ii 36)

Sentence (73) is an incontrovertible example of a postpositional phrase with evolved *šer* after the direct object:

(73) *nu* DINGIR-*LIM* GAŠAN꞊*YA apāt waštul ANA* ^{d}U ^{URU}*Ner*[*ik* DUMU꞊*KA*]
      conj goddess   lady-my   that sin   d-l stormgod Nerik son-your

      āššianti šer arḫa peššiya
      beloved on   disregard

      'Goddess, my lady, disregard that sin for the sake of the stormgod of Nerik, your beloved son' (CTH 383 = KUB 14.7 iv 3-4)

The preceding examples show that a preponderance of phrases with *šer* meaning 'on account of' have the postpositional phrase in front of the direct object and verb. That word order is not exclusive, as in (73) the direct object precedes the postpositional phrase. This recalls cases of EGIR-*pa* before and after manner adverbs or before and after other elements, which indicated that a particular order is preferred but not required.

In (74) the entire postpositional phrase is sentence-initial (with clitic attached to the object) and is clearly in a marked position. Another postpositional phrase, ^{d}UTU-*i menaḫḫanda,* also appears fronted, based on other evidence that such phrases usually follow the direct object.

(74) *šuḫḫi ꞊ kan šer* ^dUTU-*i menaḫḫanda* 2 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR AD.KID [*ka*]*a?riyanda dāi*
roof (d-l)-prt on sky   facing   2   wicker offering tables   covered   sets
'On the roof, under the sun, he sets up 2 tables of wicker covered (with a cloth)'
(CTH 381.A = KUB 6.45 i 4)

The entire postpositional phrase may also appear in the position between conjunction-

clitics and the subject:

(75) *nu ꞊ mu ꞊ šan INA* ^{URU}*Palḫuišša* EGIR-*an* LÚ.KUR *Pišḫuruš* MÉ-*ya   tiyat*
conj-me-prt d-l. (city) Palhuissa behind   enemy   Pishurus in battle stepped
'The enemy Pishurus stepped into battle against me behind Palhuissa'
(CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 ii 2)

The following two sentences likewise show the postpositional phrase after the

conjunction-clitic compound, but there is no overt subject in either of these examples to set

apart the verb phrase:

(76) *nu ꞊ za ꞊ kan*   ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*aš   anda   šāšduš eššešta*
prt.-refl.-prt.   mountains(d-l.)   in   beds   made
'He made himself beds (a place to stay) in the mountains'
(CTH 61.II.7.A = KBo 5.8 ii 28)

(77) ('Whatever cities were Armatarhunta's,')
n ꞊ an ꞊ kan ḫumanti ꞊ ya ꞊ pat   EGIR-*an* ^{NA4}ZI.KIN *[t]ittanuškanzi*
conj-her-prt all (d-l)-and-emphatic behind   marker   (they) set up
'They set up her as a boundary marker/cult monument behind all of them (the
cities)' (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 iv 72)

In sentence (66) above, the phrase *ḫingani šer* came later in the sentence than in (78),

and suggested that the underlying order of elements is: IO + non-locatival *šer* phrase + DO.

By comparison, (78) shows that it is allowable for the entire *ḫingani šer* phrase to be fronted

to the position after conjuntion-clitic and before the indirect object.

(78) *nu ꞊ za   ḫingani šer   ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *ḫūmandaš   arkuwar [eš]šaḫḫun*
conj-refl plague on   d-l. gods   all   plea   (I) made
'On account of the plague I made a plea to all the gods'
(CTH 378.2.C i 22)

The order of elements in (79) is very interesting. Here the postpositional phrase

(*antuḫšaš katta* GUL-*aḫḫandaš šer*) appears fronted before the subject (*zankilatar*), but the

subjective genitive 'of His Majesty' which modifies the subject NP is itself placed in

absolute initial position.

(79)   *ŠA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI*   *kuit*   *antuḫšaš katta* GUL-*aḫḫandaš šer zankilatar* SIxSÁ-*at*
      of His Majesty because men   struck down   for restitution   was determined
      'Because restitution by (lit. 'of') His Majesty for the "struck down" men was
      determined' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Vo 30)

An object of the postposition may appear in sentence-initial position while its

postposition stays in base position just before the verb, even when it occurs in full nominal

form:

(80)   *INA* ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫurna ＝ ma ＝ šan*   *kuit* É   ᵈU   ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫurna* EGIR-*an ešta*
      d.-l. Ḫurna(city)-conj.-prt. which temple stormgod Ḫurna   behind was
      'The temple of the stormgod of Ḫurna which was behind Ḫurna'
      (CTH 61.II.9.A = KBo 19.37 iii 43)

Similarly, in (81) an object in the form of a full (not enclitic) pronoun is in initial

position.

(81)   *tuk ＝ ma ANA* ᵐ*Alaksa*[*nd*]*u ŠA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI ku*[*išk*]*i* ḪUL-*lun memiyan* [*p*]*eran memai*
      you-conj (d-l) Alaksandu   of His Majesty someone bad   word   in front   says
      'If someone says a bad word about His Majesty in front of you, Alaksandu' (in your
      presence) (CTH 76.A = KUB 21.1 iii 27)[137]

And here a full noun phrase object of the postposition appears in the slot between

conjunction-clitics and subject:

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[137]The objective genitive *ŠA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI* has been fronted away from its head noun, similar to
the case in (79), except that in this sentence the object NP of the postposition is in absolute
initial position. The seemingly peculiar placement of the pronoun *kuiški* 'someone' in the
middle of the direct object, ᵈUTU-*ŠI* . . . ḪUL-*lun memiyan* 'a bad word about His Majesty,'
is a word order issue beyond the scope of this study.

(82) *nu   ANA ABU = YA* DINGIR.MEŠ *peran [ḫ]uēr*
   conj d-1 father-my   gods   in front ran
   'The gods ran in front of my father' (CTH 40.II.G = KUB 19.18 i 4)

See also CTH 62.II.A ii 46-68 for another example like that above.

The postposition too may be clause-initial, occurring ahead of its enclitic pronominal object, as the next four examples all illustrate:

(83) *perann = a = wa = šmaš   lē   we[riannišk]eši*
   in presence-and-quot-their not shout
   'Also do not call/shout in their presence'[138] (CTH 61.II.2.A iv 21 = 61.II.2.B iv 49)

(84) ('They found that gold wreath . . . ')
   kattann = a = šši SUR₁₄.DÙ.A^MUŠEN GUŠKIN ^GIŠGEŠTIN *IŠḪUNADU* NA₄
   beside-also-it falcon   gold   . . .

   8 *AYARI* 10 *pénkita ŠŪR ENI KAPP[Í] ENI ŠA* NA₄ *kittat*
      . . .   lay

   'Beside it lay also the gold falcon . . .' (CTH 566 = KUB 22.70 Ro 19)

(85) *peran = ma = at = mu* ^m.dSÎN.^dU-*aš* DUMU ^mZidā maniyaḫḫišket*
   before-conj-it-me Arma-Tarhunta son Zida was governing
   'Before me Arma-Tarhunta, son of Zida, was governing it'
   (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1+ i 27 = 81.B i 24 = 81.D i 3)

(86) *šer = ši*   *imma ḫanneiškenun genzu = ya = aš = mu ēšta*
   on behalf of-him even (I) litigated   mercy-also-he-me was
   'I even litigated on his behalf, and he was also (an object of) mercy for me'
   (CTH 383 = 1193/u + KUB 21.19 ii 6-7)

More surprising is the possibility of postpositions fronted without their full objects, but there is some evidence for this. Compare these two Old Hittite constructions, the first of which has a postposition following its object as expected, in its base position next to the verb. I follow Francia (2002: 25), against others, in assuming that *andan* in (87) is a postposition already in Old Hittite. However, unlike her (at 2002: 26), I view (88) as a case where the

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[138]Compare CHD (P: 302): "don't involve (yourself) with them"

postposition has itself been put in absolute initial position, and not as an example of a freestanding adverb.

(87) *[(ku)]it kuit*   É-*ri*   *andan [(ḫarakzi)]*
      whatever   house-(d-l.) in   perishes
      'whatever perishes in the house' (KUB XXIX 28 i 8)

andan in (88) must function in the same way as a postposition, but here it alone has been fronted to absolute initial position and thus precedes its object.

(88) *andan=a* É-*ri*   *kuit*   *ḫarakzi*
      in-conj.   house-(d-l.) which perishes
      'that which perishes in the house' (KBo VI 2 iv 54)

I find support for this in the second clause in (89) (from Middle Hittite), where the evolved meaning 'for' makes it certain that *šer* is a postposition, although it precedes its object. Francia herself (2002: 48) argues that the fronted position of *šer* is due to chiasmus.

(89) *nu=ššan ANA* ᵐ*Madduwatta kuit*   *šer zaḫ[ḫ]er*
      conj-prt d-l   M.   because for fought

      [ma]n=kan šēr   *ANA* ᵐ*Madduwatta kuenir*
      irreal-prt on behalf of d-l.   Madduwatta (they)-killed

      'Because they had fought on behalf of Madduwatta, they could have killed on behalf of Madduwatta' (CTH 147 = KUB 14.1+ Ro 59)

Word order of freestanding adverbs

There is a difference between such adverbs serving as part of the predicate and those serving to mark sequencing of events. For the former the unmarked position is preverbal, or in cases of nominal sentences where the present tense third person of 'be' is unexpressed, the predicatival freestanding adverb itself comes last. But in the function of marking sequences of events, freestanding adverbs regularly appear clause-initially, most often though not obligatorily marked with *=ma*, or less frequently in the slot between conjunction-clitics and

the subject. These sequencing cases are different from those where predicatival freestanding

adverbs are fronted.

Sentences (90) and (91) show the unmarked preverbal order with freestanding adverbs.

Technically, (91) is not probative because the subject may have been fronted.

(90) *nu ꞊ kan gurtan šer uetenun*
conj-prt citadel above (I) built
'I built the citadel above' (CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 ii 62)

(91) ÉRIN.MEŠ ꞊ ya ꞊ kan pankuš   šer ēšta
troops-also-prt   totality above was
'Also the totality of troops was above' ('the troops en masse')
(CTH 61.II.2.A = KUB 14.16 iii 11)

The position of the negation in (92) and (93) in front of the adverb indicates that with

freestanding predicatival adverbs, the unmarked location of the negative is different from that

shown earlier for preverbs. This statement also applies to the freestanding adverb example

cited above by Hoffner (1983b: 87) from KUB 21.19 i 19.

(92) ^{m.d}LAMMA ꞊ aš ꞊ ma ꞊ kan ŪL kuwapikki anda ēšta
Kurunta-(nom.)-conj-prt not anywhere therein was
'but Kurunta was not anywhere therein' (i.e. 'he was in no way involved')
(Bo 86/299 i 11) (So also CTH 81.F = KUB 19.67+ i 14 & duplicates.)

(93) *ammuqq ꞊ a ꞊ aš- ꞊ kan   ŪL anda   malanza*
to me-conj-it-prt   not in addition   is approved
'Also to me that is furthermore not acceptable' (CTH 176 = KUB 21.38 Ro 26)

There are certainly instances of predicatival freestanding adverbs appearing in clause-

initial position:

(94) *šer ꞊ ši*   KUR ^{URU}Zallaraš ZAG-aš ā[šta]
up there-him   land   Zallaras   boundary was
'Up there the land of Z. was the boundary for him'

(95) UGU ꞊ kan kuit šešmi
up there-prt because (I) sleep
'Because I sleep up there' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 i 101, 105)

And in the second clause below, freestanding predicatival *anda* appears in the "front"

position after conjunction-clitic, separated from the verb by the adverb 1-*etta* and the

predicate noun.

(96)   *nu꞊za*   ^dUTU-*ŠI*   *kuin* NAM.RA *INA* É LUGAL *uwatenun*
     conj.-refl. I (His Majesty) which prisoner in house king   I brought

     na꞊aš anda   1-*etta*   6x10,000 6 *LIM*   NAM.RA   *ešta*
     conj.-he therein all together 60,000 6 thousand prisoners was

     'The prisoner(s) which I brought to the house of the king, included were 66,000 all
     together' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iii 36)

Examples (97) and (98) show adverbs as markers of sequence in the position after

conjunction-clitics:

(97)   *nu꞊kan* EGIR-*pa꞊ma ANA* ^{URU}*Nerik kēzza* GÙB-*lišzi* NU.SIG₅-*du*
     conj-prt next-prt   for (city)Nerik this (abl.) is unfavorable. Let it be unfavorable.
     'And will it later be unfavorable for Nerik on this account? Let (the oracle) be
     unfavorable.' (CTH 561 = KUB 5.1 iii 40)

(98)   KUR-*ē꞊ya꞊ši꞊šan*   *anda*   *ḫarnikmi*
     country-also-his-prt.   in addition   I will destroy
     'And in addition I will also destroy his country'
     (CTH 76.B = KUB 21.5+ ii 10)

The following sentence has another freestanding sequential adverb in the same location.

In addition it shows fronting of a locatival noun phrase to the position before the subject.

(99)   *nu katta*   *INA* KUR ^{URU}*Amurri* *apāš*   LUGAL-*uš ēšdu*
     conj in future in land (city) Amurri that one king   let be
     'In the future, in the land of Amurri-city let that one be king'
     (CTH 62.II.A = KBo 5.9 i 25)

Similarly, (100) has transitional *katta* and a fronted direct object:

(100) *našma katta*   DUMU.MEŠ ^dUTU-*ŠI*   *kuiški*   *waggariyazi*
     or   subsequently sons   His Majesty someone revolts
     'Or someone subsequently revolts against the sons of His Majesty'
     (CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 iii 13 = 68.E iii 32)

Sentence (101) shows four constituents before the subject. *katta* marks sequence again, its placement and function similar to that in the two sentences just above. The initial time adverb and the direct object clearly would have been underlyingly in the VP, as well as *ḫašša ḫanzašša* 'to the first and second generation,' which have all been fronted to precede the subject.

(101) *zilatiya≠ta*   *katta* *[ḫašš]a ḫanzašša*   *tuēl* DUMU-*an*
       In the future-you down   to the first and second generation your son (acc)

        ammel DUMU.MEŠ≠*YA* DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ≠*YA* *[paḫḫa]ššantari ≠ pat*
        my   sons-my   grandsons-my   will protect-emph

        'In the future, down to the first and second generations, my sons and my grandsons will protect your son' (CTH 76.A = KUB 21.1 i 73)

The next two examples have adverbs from the "sequence of events" category and as such are in the expected initial position. These function almost as conjunctions between clauses; it is unsurprising that markers of sequence would occur in sentence-initial position.

(102) *[na]mma≠an arḫa warnunun parā≠ma* {erasure}*[INA* KU]R *Piggainarešša pāun*
       then-it   (I) burned down next-conj   into land Piggainaressa (I) went
       'Then I burned it down. Next, I went into P.-land' (CTH 61.I.A = KBo 3.4 iv 28)

(103) *nu pāun* KUR ^{URU}*Tāggašta ḫarninkun*   *parā≠ma* KUR ^{URU}*Ištalubba ḫarninkun*
       conj (I) went land T.   (I) destroyed next-conj land   Istalubba (I) destroyed

        parā≠ma KUR ^{URU}*Kappuppuwa ḫarninkun*   *parā≠ma* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫutpa ḫarninkun*
        next-conj land K.   (I) destroyed   next-conj land H.   (I) destroyed

        'I proceeded to destroy the city of Tagasta, next I destroyed the land of Istalubba, next I destroyed the land of Kappuppuwa, next I destroyed the land of Hutpa' (similarly CHD P: 123) (CTH 61.II.10 = KBo 2.5+ ii 6-8)

Together, (97)-(103) show *āppa, anda, katta,* and *parā* as freestanding adverbs in this sequencing function.

Excursus on =za as the object of a postposition:

Several scholars have implicitly identified =za as the object of a postposition with regard to specific examples. However, to my knowledge no one has recognized the implication of this interpretation and made explicit the parallel between this use of =za to the use of enclitic personal pronouns as objects of postpositions. To this end I have collected here all such examples from my restricted corpus of assured Neo-Hittite compositions.

(104) *nu=za* DINGIR.MEŠ *kī DĪNAM peran katta dāišten n=at punušten*
conj-refl   gods   this law case before down lay   conj-it ask about
'May you gods lay down this law case before yourselves and investigate it'
(CTH 71 = KBo 4.8 ii 17)

Hoffner (1983a: 188) also translates (104) 'in front of yourselves,' thus implicitly with =za as the object of *peran*. Likewise CHD P: 310. I take the following usage the same way. See the discussion at chapter eight, example (27), which is repeated here as (105).

(105) *nu=za* ŠEŠ=*YA BĒLU*-MEŠ *peran* GAM *dāi*
conj-refl brother-my lords   in front down sets
'My brother, set down the lords in front of yourself' (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 iii 12)

The CHD (P: 300) explicitly states for (106) that =za is used instead of a dative noun or pronoun. However, it undercuts this by putting the entire construction =za ... *peran ḫuinu-* under its rubric "(local prev.)" because it assumes an evolved sense 'put in charge of.' As discussed in chapter five, this is reasonable as a free translation, but there is no evidence that for the Hittites this meant something different from 'cause to run in front of' = 'put under the supervision/command of.' Boley (1993: 127-128) recognizes the correct meaning, but does not make clear just how she understands the syntax.

(106) ÉRIN.MEŠ=*wa=az* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *peran   ḫūinut*
troops-quot-refl   cavalry   in front cause to run
"'Cause the troops and cavalry to run in front of yourself!'"
(CTH 68.B = KBo 5.13 iii 1)

See also CTH 68.B iii 3.

Again as discussed in chapter five, (107) surely does not have the meaning 'put under the command of,' given its context.

(107) DAM≠*ŠU*≠*ya*≠*wa*≠*z*[(*a* DUMU.MEŠ≠*ŠU* NAM.RA.MEŠ≠*y*)]*a šarāmnaza*
       wife-his-also-quot-refl   sons-his   civilian captives-and acropolis (abl)

       peran ḫu[(*inut*)]
       ahead (he) caused to run

       'He also caused his wife, children, and civilian captives to run (down) from the
       acropolis ahead of him'
       (CTH 61.I.B = KBo 16.1 iv 29-30, restorations from KBo 3.4 ii 72-73)

For (108), Francia (2002: 53) likewise translates "io ho preso con me" and explicitly compares the relationship of ≠*za* and *kattan* to that of ≠*mu* and *kattan* in a parallel example. Boley (1993: 69), on the other hand, explicitly rejects the notion that ≠*za* is the object of *kattan* here, claiming that *kattan ēpp-* is a preverb-verb combination meaning 'take along.' This is incorrect, as nowhere else do we find *kattan* with *ēpp-* without an explicit dative noun or pronoun.

(108) *nu*≠*za* ÉRIN.MEŠ *NARĀRU ŠA* KUR-*TI tepauwaza*   GAM-*an ēppun*
      conj-refl troops   helper   of country in small numbers with   (I) took
      'I took helper-troops of the country along with me in small numbers'
      (CTH 81.B = KBo 3.6+ ii 7 = 81.A ii 22 = 81.E ii 16)

Sentence (109) is a parallel to (108).

(109) *īt*≠*war*≠*an*≠*za*≠*an*≠*k[ā]n ANA* ^GIŠ^GIGIR GAM-*an tittanut*
      go-quot-him-refl-him-prt on   chariot   beside   place
      'Go and place him beside you (≠*za* = 'yourself') on the chariot'
      (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 i 10)

See also CTH 181 i 70.

Neither Goetze (1969: 395), Lebrun (1980: 212), nor Singer (2002: 58) acknowledges the presence of ≠*za* nor *peran* in (110). Without the presence of *peran,* ≠*za* could

reasonably be construed with *wemiya-* in a construction like this. As it is, the appearance of

peran requires an object, and nothing other than ⸗*za* can serve this function here. Boley

(1993: 178) does tentatively render " . . . before me (= ⸗*za*?) . . . " but then makes no further

comment on this analysis.

(110) *nu⸗za   maḫḫan eni   ṬUPPA ŠA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*Mizri peran wemiyanun*
     conj-refl when aforementioned tablet   of   land Egypt   before (I) found
     'When I found before me the aforementioned tablet about the land of Egypt'
     (CTH 378.2.A = KUB 14.8 i 31-32)

Sentence (80) from chapter five is repeated here as (111). See the discussion at

footnote 85.

(111) *n⸗an⸗za⸗an⸗kan   peran   [ʔwatarn]aʔḫmi*
     conj-him-refl-him-prt in presence (I) instruct
     'I instruct him in my presence' (i.e., 'privately, confidentially')
     (CTH 255.2.A = KUB 26.1+ i 57)

Puhvel (1991: 105) implicitly recognizes that ⸗*za* is the object of *šer* in (112), while

Francia (2002: 41) does not, nor does Boley (1993: 113). It is true that ⸗*za* does appear

with the verb *au(š)-* giving the sense 'to experience,' but taking it that way in this instance

leaves *šer* entirely unaccounted for.

(112) *nu⸗za⸗kan ⸙irmalaš⸗pat ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM ḫandandatar šer uškenun*
     conj-refl-prt ill-emph   of   deity   providence   over (I) saw
     'I saw (watching) over me, even when ill, the providence of the deity'
     (As per Puhvel 1991: 105) (CTH 81.A = KUB 1.1 i 45)

Sentence (113) is the case of long distance reflexivization discussed in chapter six, ⸗*za*

being governed by the first person subject of the preceding clause. Francia fails to recognize

that *šer* is a postposition either in the sentence with the pronominal object ⸗*ta* or in the one

with the reflexive. Boley (1993: 177) also fails to take account of *šer* and attempts to

construe ⸗*za* here with the verb *tepawešš-*.

(113) *nu ꞊ mu anda wemiyēr*
       conj-me (they) found

man INA ^{URU}*Ḫayaša pāun꞊pat*   *nu꞊za* MU.KAM-*za šer tēpauēššanza ēšta*
irreal d-l Hayasa (I) went-emph   conj-refl year   for become-small was

BELU-MEŠ*꞊ya꞊mu memier*   MU.KAM-*za꞊wa꞊ta šer tēpauēššanza*
lords-also-me   told   year-quot-you   for become-small

'They found me. I would have kept going to Hayasa, but the year was too short for me. The lords also told me: "The year is too short for you."'
(CTH 61.II.5.B = KBo 4.4 iii 23-24)

I know of no cases of *꞊za* as the object of a postposition before Neo-Hittite, but this would benefit from further investigation. A consequence of this finding is the recognition that, at least for Neo-Hittite, the function of *꞊za* requires taking account not just of the verb but of the entire predicate, just as with the local adverbs. This counters the practice of Boley (1993), who attempts to classify everything according to the verb.

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

This dissertation has systematically and exhaustively evaluated the functions of the local

adverbs in Neo-Hittite as established by their use in assured Neo-Hittite compositions.

Its principal finding is that the system of locatival and directional adverbs described by

Starke (1977) for Old Hittite remains fundamentally intact in Neo-Hittite. This assertion,

against the widely held and persistent view that the distinctions were lost in the later

language, had been tentatively made by Francia (2002). The current study was able to

disprove the purported breakdown of the system through its uniquely thorough examination

of the Neo-Hittite data. It also clearly delineates those limited specific areas in which an

overlap in function has occurred from areas that have not undergone change.[139]

The three distinct functions of postposition, preverb, and freestanding adverb

unquestionably continue into Neo-Hittite. There is no overlap in the use of the paired

adverbs when they function as postpositions. The adverbs *āppan, kattan* as 'under,' *peran,*

and *šer* continue to function as postpositions just as they did in Old Hittite, while *āppa, katta*

'down,' and *šarā* never do. *parā* 'out of, from' has a very limited role as a postposition with

the ablative, but does not overlap with *peran* 'in front of, before.' *anda* and *andan* may both

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[139]One example of a recent perpetuation of incorrect assumptions about the system is by
Groddek (2002) with his false claim of "Zusammenfall" of the roles of *anda/andan* in Neo-
Hittite.

function as postpositions, but in non-overlapping distribution: *andan* 'into' occurs with verbs of motion and noun phrases to express *place to which*, while *anda* may occur with an expressed locative indicating *place where*.

The unpaired Old Hittite postposition *katta₂* 'with, beside, in(to) the presence of' gains an alternate form *kattan* from the time of Middle Hittite. It is now clear that the original form *katta₂* also persists down to Neo-Hittite, a fact that had apparently been obscured until now by confusion with the other *katta* 'down.' *katta₂/kattan* meaning 'with, beside' function as postpositions, and there are a few preverbal uses of *kattan* from this meaning as well. The distinction *must* be made between the meanings and functions of the two sets of forms, *katta/kattan* 'down'/'below' and *katta₂/kattan* 'with, beside, in(to) the presence of.'

Not every local adverb may be freestanding in Neo-Hittite. *anda* and *andan* are divergent in this function, *anda* having taken over the independent sense 'therein, among' from Old Hittite *andan,* and Neo-Hittite *andan* showing *no* freestanding usage.[140] Only *āppan* means 'behind' and only *peran* 'before' in predicatival function. There are a few encroachments in this category. *kattan* 'below' gets overlap from *katta* 'down (there)' to mark location. (Parallels to *katta* are English directional vs. locatival *down* and Latin *deorsum*, which indicates both directional 'downwards' and locatival 'down below,' the directional meaning being the older of the two). Similarly, in addition to *šer* 'above,' *šarā*

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[140]Contra Groddek's (2002: 86, fn. 33) claim that *andan* continues into Neo-Hittite with the meaning 'drinnen.'

'up there' is seen occasionally to specify location (as with Latin *sursum*, which has both directional 'upwards' and locatival 'up' senses).[141]

In the independent function of marking sequences of events, only *anda* 'in addition' is attested from Old Hittite/Old Script. I found *āppa* as 'afterwards,' *katta* as 'subsequently,' and *parā* as 'next' (as opposed to preverbal *parā* as 'further (on)') all used commonly to mark sequences. The expansion of this function is probably a Neo-Hittite innovation.[142]

The category of preverb presents a limited number of cases of overlap that must be acknowledged in the pairs *anda/andan*, *āppa/āppan*, *katta/kattan*, and *šarā/šer*. *andan* was reanalyzed as a preverb in a couple of cases after regaining a place in the language, and in particular replaced preverbal *anda* with the verb *gulš-* ('inscribe'). *šer* has likewise replaced *šarā* as a partner with *šunna-* ('fill up'). *katta* replaces *kattan* with *arku-* ('concur with'), and a few other cases of overlap were found for *katta/kattan*: *katta(n) piddai-* ('rumors circulate surreptitiously'), *katta(n) ēp(p)-* ('undertake, concern oneself with'), and *katta(n) au(š)-* 'watch over.' *āppa au(š)-* means 'see behind' where *āppan* would be expected, and both *āppa* and *āppan* with *kappuwai-* mean 'account for, take stock of.'

Besides adding direction to the meaning of the verb, preverbs may also add a terminative sense even while continuing to convey their local value.[143] For example, *ḫuittiya-* alone means 'pull,' which does not inherently have an end point. In combination, *anda ḫuittiya-*

[141]According to the Oxford English Dictionary, English *down* in its directional sense is older than in its locatival sense. English *up* in directional and locatival senses derives from two different sources (http://dictionary.oed.com, accessed April 10, 2005).

[142]I say "probably" because these occurrences are mainly from annals, with comparable texts composed in Old or Middle Hittite unavailable, making certainty about this claim difficult.

[143]I am grateful to Laura Janda for bringing this to my attention.

means 'pull/gather in (to oneself)' and *parā ḫuittiya-* 'pull out (of a group), select.' Both preverbs maintain a transparent directional component and at the same time indicate an end point of the action. By itself, *iya-* means 'go' or 'walk, be in motion,' whereas *katta iya-* 'go down' and *šarā iya-* 'go up' are, by comparison, inherently limited. *āppa* added to *nuntarnu-* gives 'hurry back,' which implies arriving somewhere as opposed to just being in a hurry.

Other uses of preverbal *anda, āppa, arḫa,* and *parā* with certain verbs result in a telicizing effect without any remnant of direction. This is typologically quite common. Examples are: *anda wemiya-* 'find (out),' *āppa ištapp-* 'lock up, close up, catch,' *arḫa warnu-* 'burn down,' and *parā iya-* 'do completely, carry out, accomplish.'

This study also provides an explanation (where possible) of the path by which a given preverb arrives at its evolved meanings.

Another observation made here but not in earlier studies is that unitary combinations of adverbs also make use of the three-way distinction of preverb, freestanding adverb, and postposition. My analysis of sequences of two adverbs revealed at least one occurrence of each of these types of combination. Compound preverbs were most numerous in having seven different combinations, three of which included *awan*, the unpaired adverb that occurs only with another adverb. There were two compound adverbs and only one combination that functioned as a compound postposition. Because of the small number of instances of combinations in my restricted corpus (e.g. with *kattan arḫa* in cases where there was no possible object for *kattan*), complete treatment of adverb sequences will require the study of a larger corpus.

The position of the local adverbs relative to the other constituents of the Hittite sentence was analyzed, in this study for the first time keeping separate the three distinct functional

categories. A basic word order was determined and the variety of attested deviations from that basic order was illustrated. Adverbs in all three functions occur regularly in the site just before the verb. Two other placements are common for the local adverbs in any of their functions, the positions at the beginning of a sentence and just after the conjunction-clitic compound. In addition to these common (or preferred) locations for adverbs in the sentence, some variety of word orders is seen. Thus while there is evidence for a fronting phenomenon at work here, there is certainly more to account for than simply fronting to pre-subject position. The following additional patterns were identified for each category:

Among preverbs, *āppa* 'back' and *parā* in the meaning 'further, on' occur outside the immediate preverbal position noticeably more often than do the others. They typically precede a dative-locative noun with which they are associated inside the clause. The preverb *arḫa* frequently occurs following an ablative noun with which it has a semantic link, in the latter's usual location early in the clause.[144]

Freestanding adverbs are of two types: those marking a sequencing of events and those that are predicatival. The former variety most regularly occur in sentence-initial position, often marked with the connective *=ma*. They otherwise occur in the position after conjunctions-clitics. The predicatival type, like others of the local adverbs, "prefers" the slot just before the verb.

Postpositional phrases too seem to be generated in the preverbal slot, but they show a wider range of configurations, due in part to the possible separation of the postposition from its object. Pronominal clitics are obligatorily raised to second position; when its object is

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[144]This is one of the cases where an explanation other than fronting to a pre-subject position is required, and one was proposed.

enclitic, the postposition often remains in its base location before the verb. The use of the reflexive clitic pronoun as the object of a postposition was seen in several instances, a finding that had not been formally identified before now. Accented pronominal and nominal objects may also be fronted away from the postposition. Somewhat surprisingly, the postpositions themselves may be placed in front of their nominal or pronominal objects. Finally, postpositions with an evolved, non-locatival meaning such as *šer* 'on account of' were seen to occur regularly but not exclusively before the direct object in a phrase, a difference in base position from that of their locatival brothers. There are also cases in which more than one element intervenes between postposition and verb, yet the postpositional phrase remains part of the verb phrase, so that once again a pre-subject fronting process does not adequately account for word order.

This study of the functions of the local adverbs has described and accounted for all their intact occurrences in Neo-Hittite and has provided a number of new insights detailed above. The word order analysis has made progress toward a greater understanding of the placement of local adverbs in the clause and of the general arrangement of constituents. The latter continues to promise rich and interesting research.

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