

HITTITE *la-ga-a-it-ta-ri*

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In addition to the familiar *la-ga-a-ri* (*la-qa-a-ri*) “lies, is laid (low)”, Hittite provides us with a peculiar mediopassive verbal form *la-ga-a-it-ta-ri* “id.”, which is attested in KUB V 7 Vs. 18. Regarding this hapax 3 sg. *la-ga-a-it-ta-ri* and its morphological relation to the usual *la-ga-a-ri* and the corresponding active *la-a-ki* “knocks out”, Puhvel (2001: 36) states:

“The Hittite data themselves point rather to two stems, an intransitive *lak-* ‘lie’ seen in *lāki*, formally resembling the Gothic preterit *lag* < **loghe* ‘he lay’ beside the old stative present **legyō* seen in OHG *liggiu*, OCS *ležǫ* ‘lie’ [vs. the innovational Goth. *ligan*, Gk. *λέγεται*]), and a *lagai-* ‘lay’ which points to **loghāye-* (perhaps denominatively innovational for a transitive/causative **loghéye-*). *lagai-* underlies the mediopassive *lagāri* and especially *lagāittari* ‘is laid’.”

I am unable to fully understand this passage and especially his reasoning of postulating two different stems, i.e., *lak-* and *lagai-*, both of which are, in his view, derived directly or indirectly from the historically established categories¹. Other standard Hittite dictionaries represented by Güterbock and Hoffner (1980: 17-18) and Tischler (1990: 16-17), on the other hand, subsume both active forms and mediopassive forms under one and the same heading *lak-*, but neither of them gives any particular explanations to *la-ga-a-it-ta-ri*.

la-ga-a-it-ta-ri is recorded in the following passage of an oracle text (CTH 574) written in Neo-Hittite². KUB

V 7 Vs. 18 ... -]at-kan *la-ga-a-it-ta-ri* “(and) it is laid low”. The *la-ga-a-it-ta-ri* used here is functionally no different from *la-ga-a-ri* that appears in KBo XXXIV 116 IV 8 ...] na-at-kan *la-ga-a-ri* “it is laid low”. The philological features observed in *la-ga-a-it-ta-ri* are summarized as follows.

- 1) It is a hapax.
- 2) It appears in a Neo-Hittite manuscript.
- 3) There is no functional difference between *la-ga-a-it-ta-ri* and *la-ga-a-ri*.

These three facts will inevitably cast doubt on Puhvel’s historical derivation of *la-ga-a-it-ta-ri* and strongly suggest that it is not a descendant of any historically well established classes, but a form created relatively late within the inner Hittite history.

Let us first examine a descriptive situation where the verb *lak-* is used during the historical period of Hittite³.

active pres. 3 sg.
la-a-ki KBo VI 2 I 9, 11 (OH/OS), KBo VI 4 I 18, 19 (OH/NS)

mediopassive pres. 3 sg.
la-ga-a-ri KBo XXIV 1 I 13 (MH/MS), KBo II 3 III 19 (MH/NS), KUB X 76, 7 (MH/NS), KUB XIX 23 Rs. 18, 19 (NH), KUB VIII 36 III 9 (NH), KUB XXIX 9 I 28 (NH)
la-qa-a-ri KUB XXXIV 79, 9 (MH³/NS)

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¹ Because the honorands of this volume are eminent philologists, it does not seem very appropriate to spend much space on discussions from a view-point of Indo-European comparative grammar. However, brief comments would be in order. Puhvel apparently assumes that Gothic preterite *lag* goes back to the perfect, but the historical derivation of Hittite *hi-*verbs from the PIE perfect presents serious problems as is exhaustively discussed by Jasanoff (2003: chapter 1). Puhvel’s attempt to connect *lagai-* historically with the causative **loghéye-* must be motivated by its o-vacalism (> *a*) of the root, as is also seen in Eichner’s attempt (1973: 99 and 1975: 97), which is approved by Oettinger (1979: 425) but later retracted by Oettinger (1992: 230). I am quite skeptical about the possibility that the causative **loghéye-* was influenced by the denominative suffix *-*āye-* (< *-*eh₂-ye-*).

² That the manuscript in question is Neo-Hittite is pointed out by Güterbock and Hoffner (1980:17) and “Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte”, a website maintained by S. Kořak. The late character of the form is also clear from a linguistic point of view. 3 sg. present mediopassive verbs of *ta*-class extended by *-ri* are exceedingly rare in Old Hittite as is shown by Yoshida (1990: chapter 3).

³ For the data in the following list I have mainly relied on Güterbock and Hoffner (1980: 17). The abbreviations OH/OS, MH/NS, etc., stand for Old Hittite text in Old Hittite script, Middle Hittite text in Neo-Hittite script, etc.

imperative active 2 sg.

la-a-ak KBo VII 28 Vs. 11, 12 (OH/MS), KBo XXI 22 Rs. 46 (OH/MS), KUB XLIII 61 I² 5 (OH), KUB XLIII 63 Vs. 7, 12, 18 (OH/NS)

imperative mediopassive 3 sg.

la-ga-a-ru KBo II 3 III 22 (MH/NS)

la-a-ga-a-ru KBo IX 106 III 18 (MH/NS)

participle sg. neuter

la-ga-an KUB XXXVI 110, 10 (OH/OS), IBoT III 113 Rs.² 4 (NH)

la-ga-a-an KUB XXXIII 68 II 4 (OH/MS), KUB XII 65, 19 (MH or NH/NS), etc.

The 3 sg. present active and 2 sg. active imperative consistently have scriptio plena *-a-* in the root, whereas the 3 sg. mediopassive present and 3 sg. mediopassive imperative have *-a-* in the ending. Because the scriptio plena reflects the position of an accent with lengthening, this pattern undeniably shows that the strong forms of this verb such as the 3 sg. active present are characterized by the accented root and the weak forms such as 3 sg. mediopassive present by the accented ending: e.g., /lāgi/ vs. /lagāri/. It should be noted that *la-ga-a-ri* is always marked by *-ri*, which was created by adding the deictic *-i* of the present active to the final *-r* which survived after the accented endings; see Yoshida (1990: 113-114) for more details. Because the loss of final *-r* occurred at a Proto-Anatolian stage, the above ablaut pattern is considered to be archaic⁴.

It is to be noted that the above list unambiguously shows imbalance in the attested dates between the active forms and mediopassive forms. The active forms including the imperatives are all recorded in Old Hittite texts in contrast to the mediopassive forms including the imperatives, which are all found in Middle Hittite and Neo-Hittite texts. Although there are not any mediopassive forms attested in Old Hittite

texts, this gap must be taken as accidental because *la-ga-a-ri* is of a Proto-Anatolian date. The complete lack of active forms in later Hittite texts confirms the validity of the observation made by Oettlner (1979: 425) and Puhvel (2001: 33) that the active *lak-* was largely supplanted by *laknu-* “make lie, knock over” after the Old Hittite period. As for *laknu-*, none of the forms listed under its heading in Güterbock and Hoffner (1980: 19) are attested in Old Hittite texts. It is therefore probably legitimate to say that the active *lak-* and *laknu-* are in complementary distribution during the historical period of inner Hittite.

There are a number of *hi*-verbs which have 3 sg. presents in *-ai* as well as usual forms in *-i*. Typical examples are *malla* “grinds” KUB XXV 23 IV 52 (*malla* KUB VII I II 1), *gangai* “hangs” KUB VII 60 II 6 (*kānki* KBo XVII 2 I 7), *šarrai* “divides” KBo V 9 II 37 (*šarri* KUB XXXV 4 III 7), *ārrai* “washes” KBo III 5 IV 48 (*ārrai* KBo X 45 IV 37), etc. The alternating and secondary extension *-a-* is explained by Jasanoff (2003: 65) as originating from 3 pl. present such as *mallanzi*, from which was extracted the enlarged stem *malla-*, which in turn gave rise to the remodeled 3 sg. *malla*⁵. The same account is probably also given to other 3 sg. *hi*-verbs in *-ai* such as *harrai* (< **h₂érh₃-*) “crushes” (cf. 3 pl. *harranzi*), *šannai* (< **senh₂-*) “conceals” (cf. 3 pl. *šannanzi*), etc., although their corresponding 3 sg. forms in *-i* are not attested. It is not unreasonable at all to assume that the same remodeling occurred to *lāki* as well. Needless to say, the theoretically expected *lākai* is not recorded anywhere. However, the assumption of its existence provides us with a very straightforward explanation of the idiosyncratic mediopassive *lagāittari*.

As we have seen above, the ablaut pattern of the active *lāki* and the mediopassive *lagāri* is an archaic feature which is still faithfully preserved in early Hittite. In late Hittite, however, the active *lāki* came to be supplanted by *laknu(z)zi*⁶. This situation would

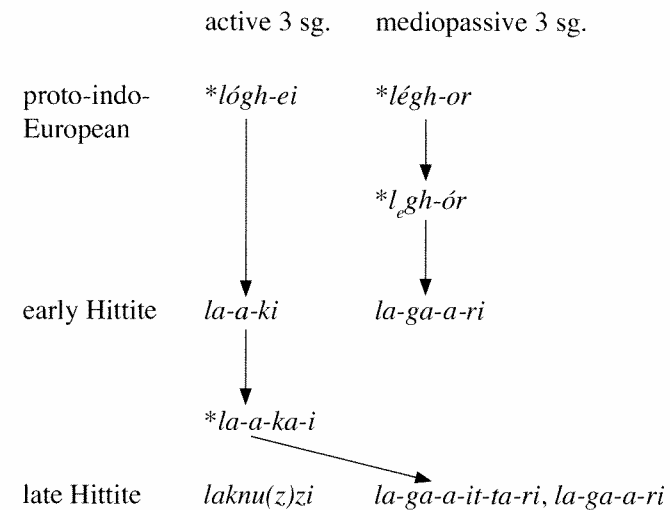
⁴ In this respect the attempt to derive *lāki* from the causative **loghéye-* is faced with a difficulty because a paradigmatic ablaut is not found in causative verbs. In an alternative view proposed by Jasanoff (2003: 150-152), *lak-* is assumed to be originally a protomiddle of the *h₂e*-conjugation root aorist characterized by the ablaut pattern **lógh-* : **légh-*. The transfer of the accent from the root to the ending (**légh-* → ***l_egh-ór*) is in this framework easily understood by the fact that weak forms tend to take zero-grade root and shift the accent to the ending; cf. Sanskrit *stāuti* “praises”: *stuvānti* < **stēu-ti*: **stēu-nti*. Jasanoff (2003: 165) also assumes that *lak-* was originally *medium tantum*. A similar opinion is expressed by Puhvel (2001: 37).

⁵ Of course, *-a-* of the synchronic stem *malla-* is historically part of the 3 pl. ending *-anzi*. The 3 pl. forms of *kānki*, *šarri* and *ārrai* are *ganganzi*, *šarranzi* and *arranzi*, respectively.

⁶ The single *-z-* in *laknuzi* in contrast to the double *-zz-* in *laknuzzi* is not linguistically relevant, but due to the so-called “simplified spelling”; cf. Yoshida (1998: 608).

inevitably make the status of the secondarily created active *lākai* functionally opaque. To remove this functional opacity, *lākai* came to be medialized by the attachment of the productive mediopassive 3 sg. ending *-ttari*⁷, together with the accent shift under the influence of the genuine mediopassive *lagāri*.

Our conclusion may be schematically summarized as follows:



⁷ The exactly parallel phenomenon that happened to *lagāittari* is observed in *išhuuaittai* “scattered”, where the active 3 sg. *išhuuaittai* (*išhuuāi*, *išhuuāi*, *išhuuāi*) was extended by the 3 sg. preterite mediopassive ending *-ttat*. Because 3 sg. preterite active *išhuuaittai* is recorded besides *išhuuaittai* in this case, *išhuuaittai* probably later came to function as the synchronic verbal stem.

I showed that the replacement of the innovative 3 sg. *-ta(ri)* for the archaic 3 sg. *-a(ri)* was still in progress within the historical period of Hittite at the 6th International Congress of Hittitology held in Rome, September 5-9, 2005, where our honorands were in attendance.

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